

# PEKING REVIEW

17

April 22, 1966

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報

## Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Visit To Burma

### *Fascist Outrage by Indonesian Right-Wing Reactionaries*

China lodges the most urgent and strongest protest against  
violent attack on its Embassy in Djakarta.

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### Putting Politics First Is Fundamental To All Work

*Renmin Ribao* editorial.

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# PEKING REVIEW

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## Chairman Liu Shao-chi in Burma

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi has just concluded another friendship visit to Burma, China's close neighbour to the south (see page 5 for joint communique).

Invited by General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, Chairman Liu was accompanied by his wife Wang Kuang-mei. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and his wife Chang Chien were among the members of his party.

Rangoon was in a festive mood when Chairman Liu arrived on April 17, Burmese New Year's Day. General and Madame Ne Win, Burmese government officials and a large number of Rangoon citizens were at the colourfully decorated airport to give the guests a stirring welcome. En route to the state guest house, the national flags of China and Burma fluttered side by side and bunting hailing Sino-Burmese friendship could be seen everywhere.

Friendly co-operation was a commonly stressed theme by both host and guest at the state banquet given that evening in honour of Chairman and Madame Liu. Burma and China, declared General Ne Win, had been linked by a tradition of friendship, with both countries strictly observing the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence in their relations with each other. He expressed appreciation for China's sympathetic interest in and concrete assistance to Burma's national construction. General Ne Win reiterated his government's determination to "preserve for all time the friendship and good neighbourliness" between the two countries.

Chairman Liu in his speech also dwelt on the broad prospects of Sino-Burmese friendly co-operation. Both sides, he said, had earnestly implemented the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence jointly initiated by the two Governments. They had shown mutual respect and treated each other as equals. He underlined



Chairman Liu Shao-chi greeted at Rangoon airport by Chairman Ne Win

the need to carry the anti-imperialist struggle through to the end (see page 6).

Chairman Liu's three programme-packed days in Rangoon were an occasion to review the two peoples' *paukphaw* (kinsmen) relations. Besides official talks with General Ne Win, Chairman Liu Shao-chi also laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Burmese national hero General Aung San, gave a luncheon in honour of General Ne Win, and attended a performance of Burmese music and dancing. On April 19, he was given a grand send-off at the airport and returned to Kunming the same day.

In an editorial on April 20, *Renmin Ribao* acclaimed the success

of Chairman Liu's visit and the smooth development of Sino-Burmese friendly relations. Burma, the paper pointed out, was the first country to conclude a treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression and settle the boundary question through friendly consultation with China. Economic, cultural and technical co-operation between the two countries has also developed continually. This steady growth in Sino-Burmese friendship and mutual co-operation was the result of faithful implementation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence by the two Governments with neither side trying to benefit at the other's expense or impose its views on the other.

## Chairman Liu's Visit to East Pakistan

THE arrival of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his wife Wang Kuang-mei in Dacca touched off the same kind of enthusiastic welcome as was the case on their earlier visits to Rawalpindi, Karachi and Lahore. Continuing his friendship visit to Pakistan, Chairman Liu arrived in the East Pakistan capital on April 15,

where he and his party were given a rousing welcome by several hundred thousand people.

Chairman and Madame Liu were greeted at the airport by President Ayub Khan and East Pakistan Governor Abdul Monem Khan. When Chairman Liu shook hands with the welcomers and waved to the crowd,

a great outburst of cheers broke out from the jam-packed balconies of the airport building.

The four-mile road from the airport to the Presidential House where Chairman Liu was to stay was flanked by cheering crowds. As the motorcade passed by, people waved balloons, paper ribbons, coloured pennants and garlands and showered the cars with rose and jasmine petals. Bengali dances were performed along the roadside. Those who could not get a place in the streets climbed trees to get a closer glimpse.

In the afternoon of April 15, a civic reception attended by 7,000 people was given in honour of Chairman Liu.

Accompanied by President Ayub Khan, Chairman and Madame Liu took a river cruise on the Sita-Lakhya River near Dacca on April 16. More than 100,000 East Pakistan workers and peasants welcomed the Chinese guests with songs and dances. Thousands upon thousands of workers from the jute and textile mills on both banks of the river cheered the two special launches when they sailed near the mills. They got on the roofs and the tops of barges, or even waded into the water or swam towards the special launches, waving and cheering.

Writing about the rousing welcome for Chairman Liu, the Dacca edition of the *Morning News*, in its April 17 editorial, said that "the spontaneous demonstration of friendship, affection and gratitude that our honoured guests have seen here shows only part of our deep feelings for them." China "cannot be encircled, and all attempts at isolating her are bound to fail for she has friends everywhere."

In the evening of April 16, Governor Abdul Monem Khan honoured Chairman and Madame Liu with a banquet at which President Ayub Khan was present.

Chairman and Madame Liu left Dacca on April 17, thus ending their friendship visit to Pakistan. Seeing them off were President Ayub Khan, Governor Abdul Monem Khan and 100,000 Dacca citizens.

Hailing the success of Chairman Liu's visit to Pakistan, *Renmin Ribao*, in its editorial on April 18, said that

## Ten Poems by Mao Tse-tung Published in English and French

ENGLISH and French translations of ten of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's poems are carried in the current May issue of *Chinese Literature* and No. 2 issue of *Literature Chinese*.

The poems follow classical patterns. They include "The Capture of Nanking by the People's Liberation

Army," "Shaoshan Revisited" (Shaoshan, in Hunan Province, is Mao Tse-tung's birthplace), "Ascent of Lushan," "Reply to a Friend," "Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo" (two poems), "Winter Clouds," "Militia Women (Inscription on a Photograph)," "The Fairy Cave (Inscription on a Picture Taken by Comrade Li Chin)," and "Ode to the Plum Blossom."

"the friendship of the Chinese and Pakistan peoples can stand any test and will become stronger in the course of time."

*Renmin Ribao* emphasized that the friendly relations between the two countries were based on principle. "Whatever the changes in the international situation, our two peoples will live together in friendship from generation to generation."

The Indian reactionaries, who alleged that the friendship of the Chinese and Pakistan peoples had made them "uneasy" and "nettled," were warned: "Your inexplicable concern over the friendship of the Chinese and Pakistan peoples shows precisely that you are afraid of their solidarity, because with this solidarity your aggressive schemes and expansionist plans cannot succeed."



Pakistan girls welcome Chairman Liu with flower petals at Dacca civic reception

## Taching Blazes a Trail

EARLY this month, Taching—the big modern oilfield which was built and achieved maximum results in only a few years' time—was back in the news again. This time it took over the front pages of the nationally circulated press for being the first industrial and mining area of a new type—one that

combines industry with agriculture, and town with countryside.

Opened up in 1960, this rising oil centre contributed greatly to China becoming self-sufficient in petroleum products for the first time in history. Equipped with the latest in technology, this sprawling enter-

(Continued on p. 29.)

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# China-Burma Joint Communiqué

April 19, 1966

- **Economic independence is an important condition for maintenance and consolidation of political independence.**
- **There will be no guarantee for the national independence of Afro-Asian countries if imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are not resolutely opposed.**
- **Friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have broad prospects for development.**

1. At the invitation of General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, His Excellency Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Madame Liu Shao-chi paid a friendly visit to the Union of Burma from April 17 to 19, 1966. Chairman Liu Shao-chi was accompanied during the visit by His Excellency Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, and Madame Chen Yi, His Excellency Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other high-ranking officials of the People's Republic of China.

2. The people and the Government of the Union of Burma were delighted that Chairman Liu Shao-chi came to the Union of Burma on a second friendship visit. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party expressed thanks for the warm welcome and cordial hospitality accorded to them during their visit.

3. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and General Ne Win held talks on matters of common interest to the two countries and on the situation of the Afro-Asian nations' struggle against imperialism. These talks, which were held in the spirit of friendship which has all along characterized the relations between the two countries, were most useful and have further contributed to the mutual understanding between them.

4. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and General Ne Win expressed satisfaction at the steady development of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. The two parties were glad to see that the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation between China and Burma is being smoothly implemented and that the technical personnel of the two countries have established good relations of co-operation between them. The two parties held that the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries based on traditional friendship and the Five Principles

of Peaceful Coexistence have broad prospects for development.

5. The two parties held that the newly independent Afro-Asian countries are all faced with the common tasks of safeguarding national independence and carrying out national construction. They stressed that the attainment of economic independence is an important condition for the maintenance and consolidation of their political independence; if the interference, control and subversive activities of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are not resolutely opposed, there will be no guarantee for the national independence of Afro-Asian countries, and the fruits of their economic construction cannot be preserved either. Both parties pointed out that the Afro-Asian countries should further strengthen their unity in order to eradicate colonialism and neo-colonialism and defend world peace.

6. The Burmese side reaffirmed its support for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, its opposition to the "two Chinas" scheme, and its support to the Chinese Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard their national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Chinese side expressed its gratitude for this stand. It reaffirmed China's respect for the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Government of the Union of Burma in international affairs and firmly supports the Burmese Government and people in their struggle in defence of their national sovereignty and independence.

7. The two parties held that the exchange of visits by the state leaders of the two countries is of great significance to the promotion of the friendship and co-operation between the two countries. Chairman Liu Shao-chi's second visit to the Union of Burma has made valuable contribution to the strengthening of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries.

April 22, 1966

# Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Speech

— At Burmese State Banquet Given by Chairman Ne Win —

Your Excellency Chairman Ne Win and  
Madame Ne Win,

Esteemed friends,

Three years ago I had the honour of visiting your country. We are very glad that at the invitation of Chairman Ne Win we now have another opportunity of visiting our Burmese *paukphaws* when they are celebrating their New Year. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in my own name, I would like to express hearty thanks and New Year greetings to Chairman Ne Win, the Burmese Government and people.

China and Burma have always been friendly to each other. In the past decade and more, Sino-Burmese friendship has been developing no matter what changes have taken place in Asia and the world. Both our countries have faithfully observed the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression. The boundary between our two countries is not only a boundary of peace, but has become a bond of friendship between the two countries. Our friendly interchanges have been very frequent, and our co-operation very extensive in various fields.

It is by no means accidental that our two countries can live together in amity and work in friendly co-operation with each other in this way. The most important reason is that both sides have earnestly implemented the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence jointly initiated by the Governments of the two countries. We have truly shown mutual respect and treated each other as equals. We have always treasured the friendship between our two peoples, and have settled the problems between our two countries in an amicable way. Our friendly relations are based on principles, and broad prospects lie ahead for their development.

We are glad to see that in recent years you have waged unremitting struggles against imperialist subversion and interference and for the defence of national independence and sovereignty and that you have made a good deal of effort for developing your national economy and culture. We heartily rejoice in every success you achieve.

It is the common tasks of both our countries and the other Afro-Asian countries to safeguard national independence and carry out national construction. Without genuine economic independence, political in-

dependence is incomplete and not consolidated. If anti-imperialist struggles are not carried through to the end, there will be no guarantee for the national independence of Afro-Asian countries, and the fruits of their economic construction cannot be preserved either. The facts over many years in the past, particularly the imperialists' recent subversive and disruptive activities in Asia and Africa, have made us understand all the more clearly that this is the truth. The Afro-Asian countries' road of independent development is by no means smooth. We Afro-Asian countries must heighten our vigilance, unite still more closely and persevere in struggle. It is absolutely impossible for the colonialists to restore their past colonial rule in Asia and Africa no matter what means they may adopt. There is no doubt that the Afro-Asian peoples will win final victory.

Both our countries are close neighbours of Vietnam. It is only natural that we are much concerned about the development of the situation in Vietnam and hope for an early restoration of peace there.

Fighting against imperialist aggression, the Vietnamese people have been engaged in wars for more than 20 years. It goes without saying that they desire peace. However, as President Ho Chi Minh has said, "Real peace can by no means be dissociated from genuine independence." The 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 5-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation are the basis for guaranteeing the independence of Vietnam and realizing peace and reunification in Vietnam. Among others, the two most essential points are: the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces in Vietnam and the recognition of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole legal representative of the people in southern Vietnam. But the United States has rejected them and continued to expand its war of aggression against Vietnam. In these circumstances, the Vietnamese people have no alternative but to fight resolutely through to the very end. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is just and is bound to triumph in the end. The Chinese people firmly support the heroic people of Vietnam.

Esteemed friends! There has been a frequent exchange of visits between the leaders of our two countries. Each of these visits has promoted our mutual understanding and strengthened the friendly relations between our two countries. I hope that, like the visit

to China made by His Excellency Chairman Ne Win last year, our present visit will make contributions in this regard.

Now, I propose a toast

to the prosperity of the Union of Burma and the well-being of its people,

to the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples,

to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,

to the health of His Excellency Chairman Ne Win and Madame Ne Win, and

to the health of all our friends present here!

## Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Speech at Dacca Civic Reception

- **China firmly supports the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of all peoples, and she is acting on what she says.**
- **If Pakistan is again subjected to aggression, and so long as the Kashmiri people still suffer from oppression, China will continue to give them support.**
- **Should U.S. imperialism insist on imposing a war on China, the Chinese people are determined to resist to the end.**

*Vice-Premier Chen Yi's speech delivered at the civic reception at Dacca on April 15 reads in part as follows. — Ed.*

**C**HINA and Pakistan are friendly and close neighbours. The people of our two countries have always given each other sympathy and support in the struggle to win and safeguard national independence and have formed a profound friendship. Our Pakistan friends have repeatedly praised the Chinese people for their support to your struggle against India's armed aggression last year. We are very grateful for your high appraisal of the Chinese people. The Chinese people have consistently supported all peoples who are fighting against oppression and aggression. We were merely doing our bounden duty in giving support to your struggle against aggression. Moreover, support is in our view always mutual. Your struggle against aggression has not only upheld the sovereignty and dignity of Pakistan, but also made an important contribution to the defence of peace in this part of the world. This constitutes in itself a strong support to the Chinese people. Speaking of thanks, it is we who should first express thanks to you.

Some people said that by supporting Pakistan's struggle against Indian aggression and the Kashmiri people's struggle for the right to self-determination, China was "adding fuel to the fire" and "fishing in troubled waters." These assertions are a complete reversal of right and wrong. Should China have refrained from supporting the victim of aggression but supplied large amounts of weapons to the aggressor as they did, in order not to be labelled as "adding fuel to the fire"? Should China have supported India's annexation of

Kashmir while disguising herself as an impartial mediator as they did, in order not to be labelled as "fishing in troubled waters"? We always draw a clear line of distinction between right and wrong and uphold principles. We maintain that only by supporting the victim of aggression and dealing blows to the aggressor can justice be upheld and peace be defended. In the future, should East Pakistan or West Pakistan again face the armed attack of any aggressor, the Chinese Government and people will continue to support the Pakistan people in their struggle to safeguard national independence, state sovereignty and national unity. So long as the Kashmiri people still suffer from brutal oppression and are deprived of their freedom, the Chinese Government and people will continue to support them in their struggle for the right to self-determination. We will never change this stand of ours, no matter how others may abuse and slander us.

The struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to win and safeguard national independence form a powerful historical current, which cannot be stopped by whatever adverse currents imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism may stir up. The latter's strongholds for aggression in different parts of the world are like a chain of volcanoes bursting into eruption from time to time. In particular, the Vietnamese people have won brilliant victories in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The American people are also awakening, and their movement against their government's policies of aggression and war is gaining momentum.

In order to save themselves from their doomed defeat, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are launching frenzied counter-attacks in desperation. The

Afro-Asian people's movement for national independence is a thorn in their side. They have put their stakes on Southeast Asia where the struggle is the sharpest at present, attempting to put out the anti-imperialist flames there. The U.S. Government has officially announced that it has shifted the centre of gravity of its global strategy to the Far East. It regards China, which resolutely supports the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of all peoples, as its main enemy. On the one hand, it is expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam, and on the other it is planning to build a ring of encirclement around China. Its military provocations and war threats against China have become more and more brazen. China ardently loves peace. But in case U.S. imperialism insists on imposing a war on us, we are determined to resist to the end at any cost and make our contribution to the defeat of imperialism and the defence of world peace.

The United States is genuinely making active preparations for attacking China. But in order to achieve this, it has, first of all, to bring the countries and regions

around China under its control. It is precisely under the "anti-Chinese" banner that the United States is forcing these countries to abandon their independent policies and submit to its strategic needs. Should they refuse to accept U.S. control or obey its orders, it will resort to subversion and sabotage. Although Africa is thousands of miles away from China, yet the imperialists make anti-Chinese outcries to divert the people's attention when they carry out subversion and sabotage there. The peoples of Asia and Africa are not to be duped, and China cannot be isolated. It is an honour for China to be regarded by the imperialists as their main enemy. This proves that China is firm in supporting the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of all peoples, and that she is not indulging in empty talk but acting on her own words. The evil doings of the imperialists are enabling the Afro-Asian peoples to see more clearly who are their enemies and who their friends. Let us, peoples of Afro-Asian countries, unite still more closely and carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

### Foreign Ministry Note

## Most Urgent and Strongest Protest to Indonesian Government

- Chinese diplomatic personnel were injured and a staff member of the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta was seriously wounded by gun-fire when Indonesian armed forces together with hooligans attacked the Embassy on April 15. This reactionary outrage was organized and directed by the Indonesian Government.
- The Indonesian Government is pushing relations between the two countries to the verge of a complete break. It must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.
- Even if the Indonesian Government severs diplomatic relations, it must ensure the safety of Chinese nationals in Indonesia and their proper rights and interests. Whatever the circumstances, the Chinese Government has the responsibility of firmly protecting its nationals.

*Following is the main text of a note, dated April 15, from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Indonesian Embassy in China. — Ed.*

AT 10:50 hours (local time) on April 15, 1966, more than a hundred Indonesian troops and police together with Right-wing hooligans, over 1,000 persons in all, frenziedly raided the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia. They smashed the gate with armoured cars and trucks, broke into the embassy compound, pulled down the national flag of the People's Republic of China, wildly shouted anti-Chinese slogans and in-

dulged in wanton destruction and arson. They smashed or burnt up the embassy buildings, equipment, cars, documents and other articles, and went away with cars and a large amount of property. In particular, they carried away about 600 blank covering sheets for the embassy bulletin, printed with the Chinese national emblem and the letter-head of the Embassy's Cultural and Information Office, with most suspicious motives. They beat up and injured First Secretary Lu Tzu-po, Deputy Military Attache Shih Hsin-jen and three other Chinese diplomatic officials. They went so far as to fire dozens of shots uninterruptedly at embassy person-



nel, and staff member Chao Hsiao-shou was shot in the chest and seriously wounded. The outrage by the hooligans lasted as long as three hours. At their departure the hooligans shouted: "Long live the U.S.A.!" and "We have carried out the mission assigned by Uncle Suharto of smashing up the Chinese Embassy!"

Obviously, this reactionary outrage was organized and directed by the Indonesian Government itself. It constitutes an extremely serious step taken by the Indonesian Government to disrupt the relations between the two countries. Against it the Chinese Government hereby lodges the most urgent and strongest protest with the Indonesian Government and demands that the latter immediately handle this incident in a way satisfactory to the Chinese Government and give a satisfactory reply.

It is a well-known fact that, since its recent seizure of power, the Indonesian Right-wing generals' clique has specially stepped up activities opposing China and discriminating against Chinese nationals and undermined the relations between the two countries in a planned way. The claim of the Indonesian Government that it wants to safeguard the relations between the two countries is a sheer hoax. The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have hired themselves out to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, opposed revolutionary New China and done many evil deeds in the past few months. And now they have gone to the length of making an armed attack on the Chinese Embassy and beating up and wounding Chinese diplomats by fascist methods in complete violation of the principles guiding international relations. The Chinese Government and people express their extreme indignation at this.

It must be pointed out that the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces hate China so intensely for no

other reason than that we sympathize with and support the Indonesian people in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, and that we have factually reported and exposed the sanguinary crimes of those forces in creating white terror and slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Indonesian progressives, Communists and patriots. The rabid opposition of the Right-wing reactionary forces to China proves that we have done the right thing. The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have completely sided with imperialism headed by the United States and with its accomplices and joined the international anti-Communist, anti-Chinese and anti-popular chorus.

While wantonly undermining the relations between the two countries, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces are carrying on an increasingly ruthless persecution of broad masses of Chinese nationals. The Chinese Government is greatly concerned over the plight of the Chinese nationals and has asked the Indonesian Government to shoulder the responsibility of shipping back those persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will. The Indonesian Government has the unshirkable obligation of protecting the life and property of the Chinese nationals. Even if the Indonesian Government severs the diplomatic relations between the two countries, it must ensure the safety of the Chinese nationals and their proper rights and interests. The Chinese Government absolutely cannot ignore the question of safety or danger of the Chinese nationals. It has the responsibility of firmly protecting its nationals, whatever the circumstances.

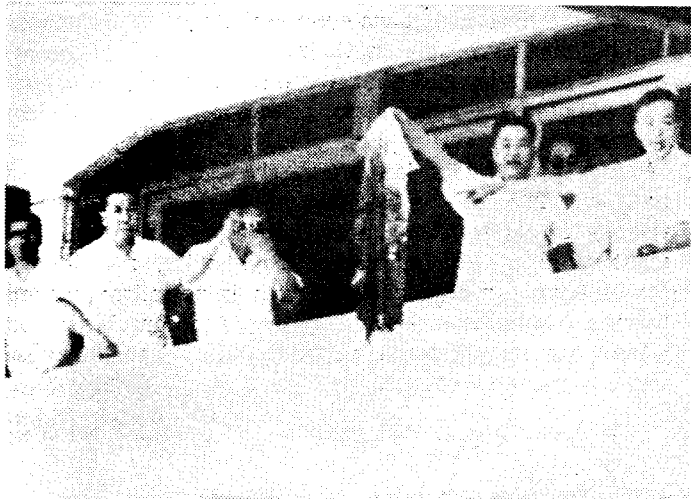
By its doings, the Indonesian Government is pushing the relations between the two countries to the verge of a complete split. It must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

## Indonesian Government Is Organizer and Director Of Raid on Chinese Embassy

**T**HE Indonesian Government is the organizer and director of the April 15 savage raid on the Chinese Embassy. An outright confession of this was made by Radio Djakarta's broadcast and Antara News Agency's reports.

Antara reported that prior to the raid on the Chinese Embassy, **an anti-China meeting organized by the Indonesian Government was held in Djakarta's Banteng Square on the morning of April 15. This sabre-rattling meeting was in fact a mobilization meeting for the bloody outrage.** Attending it were the representative of Adam Malik, Indonesian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; the Commander of the Djakarta Military District; chieftains of the "Indonesian

Students' Action Front" and "Indonesian Youth Students' Action Front" and other Right-wing organizations which have been carrying out rabid anti-Chinese, anti-Communist and anti-popular riots throughout Indonesia. Western news agency reports said that the hooligans attending the meeting held aloft dozens of anti-Chinese placards and madly shouted such anti-China slogans as "Chinese get out!" and "Crush Peking!" while chanting "Long live the Indonesian armed forces!" It was reported that in order to coerce citizens of Chinese descent into attending the anti-China meeting, the Indonesian Right-wing army men clique printed a "statement" beforehand and went to their homes to force them to sign the "statement" promising to take part



Left: Charge d'Affaires ad interim Yao Teng-shan (second from left) and other Chinese Embassy personnel, with the blood-soaked shirt of Comrade Chao Hsiao-shou who was shot, protesting against the bloody attack



Right: Indonesian armed forces and hooligans wrecking and burning the Chinese Embassy's property

in the meeting. The clique then designated special agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang to act as accomplices in raiding and damaging the Chinese Embassy. On the eve of the meeting, the official Radio Djakarta repeatedly "appealed" in its broadcast to citizens of Chinese descent to "attend" the meeting.

Malik sent the meeting "greetings in writing" to stir up anti-China feelings. For vicious agitation against China and Chinese nationals in Indonesia, Malik said in his "greetings" that certain quarters "seek to gain privileges in Indonesia, even special privileges to make profits" and "are engaging in subversive activities." He threatened that the Indonesian Government would take a "clear-cut stand and resolute measures." He added that those who oppose the present demands raised by the Right-wing reactionary forces "will not have the right to exist in Indonesia." But Malik who had a guilty conscience quibbled and tried to deny the Indonesian Government's racist actions.

Right after Malik's "greetings," the anti-China mobilization meeting passed a so-called "statement" in tune with Malik's anti-China ravings. It ranted that it "protests most strongly against the interference by the People's Republic of China in Indonesia's internal affairs," "opposes all threats and attacks from all quarters including the People's Republic of China" and so on.

Following the anti-China meeting, large numbers of armed troops and police and armoured cars, together with truckloads of hooligans, went to the Chinese Embassy to make the barbarous raid.

The regime of Right-wing armymen was the very organizer and director and the arch criminal in this sanguinary crime. The iron-clad evidence makes it absolutely impossible to deny this fact.

The report on the hooligans storming the Chinese Embassy released by the Antara News Agency the same

day amounts to another confession by that regime. It described with gleeful satisfaction how armed troops and police and hooligans violently attacked the Embassy. The hooligans, according to its report, "proceeded to the Embassy at Djalan Gadjah Mada after a roll-call at the Banteng Square." They "used a heavy 10-ton truck to smash the front gate and then swarmed into the embassy premises. In an ensuing scuffle one of the embassy staff members sustained serious injury . . . the red flag with five yellow stars was hauled down from the flagpole and torn to pieces, while the Indonesian two-colour was hoisted amidst the singing of *Indonesia Raya*, the national anthem. The Chinese coat of arms [meaning the Chinese emblem] was torn from the front wall and set afire. Furniture was taken out of the building and thrown into a heap in the garden for a bonfire. The demonstrators [hooligans] also searched rooms for important documents and pictures which were compiled to be presented to the authorities later."

Antara added that the hooligans "had also managed to smash the inner gate leading to the back part of the premises. Here they destroyed various embassy cars. . . ."

While acknowledging these outrageous actions, Antara tried to lay the blame on the Chinese Embassy. It put out the nonsense that the hooligans broke into and attacked it because the Embassy had its gates and doors "tightly locked." This is pure gangster logic!

One would like to ask the gentlemen of the Indonesian Right-wing: You have again and again spurned the rudimentary principles of international law and violated the inviolable immunity of diplomatic missions and personnel, and have mounted a dozen or more gangster-like raids on Chinese diplomatic missions. Can you expect the Chinese Embassy to open its gates wide and welcome the gangsters to come in to burn and kill, when you have brought out large numbers of armed

troops and police and hooligans and even armoured cars to commit the violence?

Lying is another method which Antara used to justify the crime of the Right-wing army men regime in storming the Chinese Embassy. It falsely accused the Chinese Embassy of "firing shots" at the hooligans. Antara alleged that "from inside the building [of the Chinese Embassy] two shots sounded, apparently fired by Chinese." An Indonesian army officer, on the other hand, told a Reuter correspondent that "a group of [Chinese] embassy staff fired on demonstrators with machine-guns. Three were wounded."

To cover up its own heinous crime, the Indonesian Right-wing army men gang resorted to lying, slander and false charges. This is not the first time that it did so. Similar lies had been spread after the raids on the Chinese Consulates at Medan and Makasar. All these lies were nailed and fell completely flat. This time, the gang once more resorted to lying to deceive the public. But this will only help the Indonesian people and the world public to see better its true nature as a group of gangsters.

The rabid anti-China crimes committed by the Indonesian reactionary army men's regime in certain respects even exceed those committed by the Hitlerite fascists and Japanese militarists. Yet they are a sign

of the weakness of that regime, and not its strength; they are indications of its desperation.

### Chinese Diplomats Cannot Be Cowed

Soon after the attack on the Chinese Embassy, Indonesian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Malik appeared on the scene posing as a neutral "observer," as if his government had nothing to do with this bloody crime. Yao Teng-shan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy, lodged the strongest protest with Malik and the Indonesian Government. Other Chinese diplomatic officials present also voiced their protest and showed Malik the blood-soaked shirt of Chao Hsiao-shou who was seriously wounded while heroically defending the Chinese national flag with his bare hands. Chao was still in danger after an emergency operation lasting from 5 to 8 a.m. on April 16. Two of his ribs on the right side of his chest had been broken and a bullet had pierced his right lung.

On the afternoon of April 15, Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad interim Yao Teng-shan lodged the strongest verbal protest with the Indonesian Government against the raid, and demanded that the Indonesian Government bear responsibility for all the consequences of the incident. He solemnly pointed out that "the diplomatic personnel of the great People's Republic of China will not be intimidated by any brute force."

## A Full-Scale Fascist Outrage

ON April 15, a crowd of hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces and helped by the army, broke down the gate of the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta with trucks and armoured cars. In an orgy of destruction they burnt and smashed things up in the Embassy and assaulted and injured Chinese diplomatic officials. They opened fire and wounded a member of the embassy staff. This violent outrage committed by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces is a rarity in international relations. The Chinese people express their strongest indignation and protest against it.

### A Grave Violation of China's Sovereignty

The Chinese Embassy in Djakarta is the office of the plenipotentiary representative of the People's Republic of China in Indonesia. As any embassy, it should enjoy inviolable diplomatic immunity. The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have employed hooligans to break into the Chinese Embassy and engage in wanton destruction and violence. This is a grave violation of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China.

The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces, guilty of perverted and lawless actions at home, have now

cast to the winds the rudimentary principles of international law. Only the Hitlerite hordes were capable of such behaviour. What the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have done proves that they are nothing but a gang of fascists.

The fanatical anti-China campaign of the Indonesian Right-wing forces is inseparable from their reactionary anti-Communist and anti-people policy at home. For more than six months, these reactionary forces, while massacring revolutionary people and Communists wholesale and frenziedly persecuting the patriotic progressive forces, have been carrying on their anti-China and anti-Chinese activities with ever greater ferocity. They have raided the Chinese Embassy and Consulates one after another in Indonesia. They have victimized Chinese nationals in Indonesia with appalling brutality and even massacred many of them. In addition, they have arbitrarily closed the Djakarta branch of the Hsinhua News Agency.

Again and again, the Chinese Government, through normal diplomatic channels, has lodged strong protests with the Indonesian authorities against these outrages. It has demanded that they take effective action to end

the outrages which jeopardize the relations between the two countries. But, ignoring China's serious warnings, they have carried on their anti-China activities with redoubled vigour and even attacked and ransacked the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta. This shows that they intend to push the diplomatic relations between the two countries to a break.

### **Why the Rightists Hate China**

Why should the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces harbour such hatred and hostility towards China?

The Chinese people have always held high the banner against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and resolutely supported the just struggles of the people of the world. For this very reason the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries nurse an inveterate hatred towards China. The Indonesian reactionaries are no exception. The Indonesian people are friendly to the Chinese people. The Indonesian patriotic progressive forces too are friendly to the Chinese people. Because the Right-wing forces look upon the Indonesian people and patriotic progressive forces as the enemy, they of course attack and vilify China and do not even hesitate to use naked violence in striving to disrupt the friendship between the two peoples. This stems from their reactionary class character and there is nothing strange about it.

This small handful of Indonesian Right-wing army-men and reactionary politicians have all along been agents of imperialism. Their counter-revolutionary military coup d'etat was engineered by U.S. imperialism

and Japanese reaction. After they have thoroughly completed their scheme to usurp state power, they are bound to make a thorough change in Indonesia's foreign policy. Of late, while engaging in rabid anti-China activities, they called for "improving relations with the United States." The latest attack on and wrecking of the Chinese Embassy show that they have openly thrown themselves in the lap of the imperialists, headed by the United States, and their accomplices, and have joined their anti-Communist, anti-China and anti-people chorus.

### **A Warning to Indonesian Reactionaries**

We must warn the Indonesian reactionaries that no one can provoke the Chinese people with impunity. The U.S. imperialists confront China with an economic blockade, political isolation and military encirclement; and yet we do not care a straw about them, let alone a group of petty thugs like you! The more you oppose China, the more you will show up your reactionary features.

The Indonesian Right-wing forces have plunged their country of 3,000 islands into a bloodbath, and in a paroxysm of fury have given unbridled vent to their anti-China hysteria. They have reached the peak in their counter-revolutionary actions. From now on their path leads downhill. All the doughty anti-China warriors in the world have come to no good end. The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces are no exception.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 16.)*

### **Foreign Ministry Note**

## **Anti-China Outrages Undermine Basis of China-Indonesia Economic Co-operation**

**Chinese assistance to Indonesia in the construction of a textile mill has to be discontinued.**

*Following is the main text of a note, dated April 18, from the Chinese Foreign Ministry to the Indonesian Embassy in China.—Ed.*

**I**N pursuance of the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation signed by the Chinese and Indonesian Governments on October 11, 1961, the Chinese Government has made great efforts in helping Indonesia build the textile mill in Bandjara. In compliance with the stipulations of the relevant contracts the Chinese side has sent more than 3,200 tons of equipment and materials, which amount to more than 70 per cent of the total. It has also dispatched con-

struction experts to help build the mill. Up to the end of September 1965, the project had been progressing smoothly.

Since October 1965, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have launched large-scale campaigns, and created a series of grave incidents, opposing China and discriminating against Chinese nationals. In order to uphold the friendship between the peoples of the two countries, the Chinese Government has nevertheless exercised maximum restraint and continued to help with the construction work. The Chinese experts persisted in their work under very difficult conditions. The Chinese Government also notified the Indonesian

Government of its readiness to continue the sending of equipment and materials, provided that safety was guaranteed. All this shows that the Chinese Government has been sincere in fulfilling the Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation between the two countries and has done its utmost.

The Indonesian Government repeatedly declared that it would take measures to prevent activities opposing China and discriminating against Chinese nationals and clear the obstacles out of the way of economic and technical co-operation between the two countries. But the activities of the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces opposing China and discriminating against Chinese nationals have become increasingly violent. Since its seizure of power, the Indonesian Right-wing generals clique has grown more and more rabid in opposing China. Recently, it has gone so far as to brazenly send

armed forces for raiding the Chinese Embassy together with Right-wing hooligans, beating up and wounding Chinese diplomatic officials. There is no longer any guarantee for the safety of the Chinese missions and personnel. The doings of the Indonesian side have obviously destroyed the basis of economic co-operation between the two countries and made it impossible to continue the assistance in the construction of the mill in Bandjaran.

Consequently, the Chinese Government hereby informs the Indonesian Government that the Chinese side cannot but stop its assistance in the construction of the mill in Bandjaran and withdraw the Chinese experts. The Chinese Government has to point out that the responsibility for disrupting the economic co-operation between the two countries rests wholly with the Indonesian Government.

## Antara Slander Refuted

by HSINHUA CORRESPONDENT

**Toadying to imperialism and demonstrating their hostility to China, the Indonesian Rightists have decided to close down the Antara News Agency's office in Peking. However, it is most absurd for them to try to confuse public opinion and lay the blame and responsibility on the Chinese side for their action.**

**T**HE Antara News Agency in a dispatch from Djakarta on April 11 said that Chinese newspapers have stopped their subscriptions to the news bulletin published by Antara's Peking office and that the Hsinhua News Agency has stopped supplying Antara's Peking branch with the morsecast of the head office of Antara. The dispatch alleged that as a result of the foregoing, M. Noor Nasution, Antara's administrator, has decided to close down the agency's office in Peking. It is most absurd for Antara to try to confuse public opinion and to slander and malign the Hsinhua News Agency and the Chinese press on such groundless pretexts.

Hsinhua and Antara have never signed any agreement on supplying each other's branch office with the newscast of its head office. The Hsinhua News Agency is under no obligation to supply the Peking office of Antara with the newscast from its head office. As to whether the Chinese press subscribes to the news bulletin published by the Peking branch of Antara, it is a freedom of the Chinese press in which no one has the right to interfere. Now that the Antara News Agency has degenerated into a despicable tool of the Right-wing reactionary forces and its news bulletin is replete with anti-China slanders, why should Chinese

newspapers spend money to subscribe to such filthy scrap paper? Day after day Antara releases venomous anti-China calumnies and yet it expects Chinese newspapers to buy them. Nothing could be more preposterous!

Out of their desire to strengthen the Chinese people's friendly relations with the Indonesian people, Chinese newspapers and Hsinhua had done much to assist in and facilitate the work of the Antara office in Peking. For nearly eight years, without reciprocal benefit and free of any charge, Hsinhua had supplied Antara's Peking office with a copy of the news release which it received from the transmissions sent out by the Antara head office. This is a proof of Hsinhua's goodwill towards Antara arising from its desire to enhance the friendship of the two news agencies in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

However, since last October, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces violently persecuted the Hsinhua Djakarta branch and even ordered their troops and organized hooligans to raid it, and finally arbitrarily closed it down. Despite these actions which seriously worsened the friendly relations between the people of the two countries and the two news agencies, the Chinese side has not taken similar action. The Antara correspondent in Peking still enjoys the same facilities in his work as the other foreign correspondents in Peking. The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have decided to close Antara's Peking office to toady to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to demonstrate their hostility towards China. That is their business. But it would be in vain and they

would only be exposing themselves if they tried to lay the blame and responsibility at the door of the Chinese side.

As it is, relations between China and Indonesia have been most seriously sabotaged by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces. We, nevertheless, are convinced that no reactionary force can destroy the

amity between the people and progressive journalists of the two countries, who will unite with each other in their common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and frustrate all machinations to wreck the great friendship between the people of both countries.

(April 16, 1966.)

## Djawoto Explains Why He Quit As Indonesian Ambassador to China

**MR.** DJAWOTO, the former Indonesian Ambassador to China, announced at a press conference on April 16 in Peking that starting from six o'clock that morning, he was no longer the Indonesian Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

In a statement, he explained the main reasons for his resignation. He said: "Firstly, on matters pertaining to the relations between Indonesia and the People's Republic of China I feel that I can no longer execute the tasks given me by President Sukarno two years ago, due to the worsening of the relations between the two countries as a result of the change in the Indonesian situation and the present policy pursued by the Indonesian Government. The policy of the Republic of Indonesia has shifted far to the Right."

Mr. Djawoto pointed out that "since early October 1965, the relations between the two countries have suddenly worsened and still continue to deteriorate as a result of the whipping-up of the anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign and the launching of racist terrorism in Indonesia. . . . The entire development in Indonesia during the last six months and a half has demonstrated that there are really the Right-wing forces which systematically create provocations serious enough to cause the severance of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, in line with the U.S. plan for the 'containment' of China." "They have damaged the relations with Peking, which is completely in contradiction with what was meant by my task before my departure to Peking two years ago."

Mr. Djawoto declared that "so far the Government and people of China have maintained a correct attitude to the Indonesian Embassy and its staff." "The deterioration of relations between the two countries due to the events in Indonesia, for which the Indonesian Right-wing forces are responsible, is the reason why I consider as no longer possible for me to implement the task which was given to me before."

"Secondly," Mr. Djawoto continued, "the policy of the Republic of Indonesia, both its domestic and foreign policy, since early October 1965, has become a Right-oriented policy." "Within the country, the Right-wing forces in power have suppressed all progressive

movements and people, revolutionary patriots, both Communists and non-Communists, irrespective of whether or not they were involved in the October 1 affair. With regard to foreign relations, they are more and more shifting their policy orientation to imperialist countries and deserting friendly countries which pursue an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist policy and which uphold and develop the Bandung spirit."

"The Indonesian Right-wing forces who are paying lip-service to the idea of consolidating the solidarity of the New Emerging Forces, in reality have been continuously inciting communist-phobia which has eventually turned into a witch-hunt which has led to the massacre, torture, persecution and imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian people," Mr. Djawoto added. "Democratic liberties have been abolished, racism is being fanned up, the press is singing a one-sided tune, namely that of the ruling group, terrorism is rampant, institutions that had been set up to consolidate Afro-Asian or NEFO solidarity were dissolved, while the offices of some of them were ransacked."

Mr. Djawoto stated: "According to my personal conviction, the imperialists and their agents, especially the C.I.A., have played an important role in the shifting to the Right of the policy pursued by the Republic of Indonesia which has caused such a great damage. . . ."

In conclusion, Mr. Djawoto declared: "The Indonesian people have a high revolutionary political consciousness. The revolutionary progressive movement of Indonesia, as a part of the revolutionary progressive movement in the whole world, can never be contained. It is possible for the Indonesian people to experience a temporary setback in their struggle, but they will quickly rise up again and win victory, together with the attainment of victory by the revolutionary progressive peoples in other countries."

Referring to his own plans, Mr. Djawoto said that he would preside over the enlarged Plenary Conference of the Afro-Asian Journalists Association Secretariat, which was scheduled to open on April 20 in Peking, as the Secretary-General of that organization.

# Putting Politics First Is Fundamental To All Work

**W**HETHER or not we put proletarian politics first is a question that concerns which direction we will go: whether we will keep steadfastly to the socialist road or not; whether our society will advance to communism or revert to capitalism.

It is some time now since our country entered the stage of socialism but many comrades are still very unclear about this question. Some have given it no serious thought; others still have reservations. Some comrades think that since the revolution has succeeded and our country has already entered the stage of socialist construction, construction under the socialist system naturally means developing socialism, so how can there be any question of which direction we are going? Actually, these comrades do not understand that, in a socialist country, construction depends primarily on politics. Without proletarian politics we may lose our bearings and get nothing done well.

## Relationship Between Politics and Economics

To clarify this question, let us first get a clear idea of the relationship between politics and economics.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us: "Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class." He also points out: "Economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics."

Class struggle is the motive force in the development of class society. The relations of men to each other in the process of production, that is, the relations of production, are the basis of classes and class struggle. Landlords own land, and use it to exploit the peasants; the bourgeoisie owns factories, mines and other means of production, and use them to exploit the proletariat. The class struggle between the ruling classes and the classes under their rule is a concentrated expression of the relationship between exploitation and anti-exploitation in the economic sphere. In order to consolidate the economic system of exploitation of man by man, the ruling classes employ the state machine to suppress the resistance of the exploited classes. In order to overthrow the system of exploitation and establish an economic system which conforms to their own class interests, the classes that are ruled must carry out a violent revolution and seize state power, and, relying on their state power, establish, consolidate and develop their new economic system. Feudal economy was born in slave society, but it was consolidated and developed only after

the feudal class overthrew the slave system. Capitalist economy was born in feudal society, but it, too, became consolidated and developed only after the bourgeoisie had overthrown the feudal system. Socialist economy is different to the economies of the slave system, of feudalism and capitalism. It is an economy that has eliminated private ownership of the means of production. It cannot be born within capitalist society; it can only emerge and grow when the proletarian revolution has destroyed the bourgeois state machine and the proletarian dictatorship has been set up.

Lenin said: "... without a proper political approach to the subject the given class cannot maintain its rule, and consequently cannot solve its own production problems." "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics."

That is to say, all class societies put politics first, the politics of one class or another. The economic system depends on politics to clear the road for it, protect it and develop it. Politics serve the economic base.

In a socialist society, it is all the more imperative that politics be put in first place.

## Class Struggle in Socialist Society

It is true that in a socialist country private ownership of the means of production has been transformed and socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership have been established. But this does not mean that the socialist system has been perfected and consolidated and classes and class struggle no longer exist. In a socialist society, there exist two types of social contradictions: namely, contradictions among the people, and contradictions between the people and their enemies. The entire stage of socialism, from beginning to end, is attended by class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. Class struggle remains the motive force in the development of socialist society. Only by persevering in class struggle can the socialist system become consolidated and grow, can classes and class distinctions be gradually eliminated and the transition to communism accomplished.

Our reason for stressing that politics must be put first and that we must consciously wage class struggle is in line with this law of development of socialist society.

In a socialist society, class struggle is far from over when the socialist revolution on the economic front is

in the main completed. The bourgeoisie and the other overthrown reactionary classes always try to make a come-back. They try to usurp leadership in our primary organizations by sneaking into our ranks or dragging our cadres into their camp. They collude with new bourgeois elements, embezzlers, grafters and degenerates and ceaselessly carry on speculative activities; they carry on all sorts of intrigues to undermine the economic foundations of socialism. All such phenomena show that not all is well on the economic front but that grave class struggles exist. Under such circumstances, if proletarian politics is not placed in first place, if class struggle is not taken as the key factor, if no effort is made to persevere in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, then the socialist society will retrogress and eventually revert to capitalism.

Many contradictions among the people still exist within the socialist economy, within enterprises owned by the whole people, within the people's communes under collective ownership, and between the state, the collective and the individual. If proletarian politics is not put in first place to resolve this type of contradictions in time, they will grow and may even change into antagonistic contradictions.

### **New Relationship Between Man and Man in Socialist Society**

In the old society, the relationship between man and man in production and labour is that of the ruler to the ruled. In a socialist society, the transformation of private ownership to public ownership in the means of production fundamentally changes the relationship between man and man of the ruler to the ruled to one of equality, mutual aid and co-operation between ordinary working people. But this new relationship does not come into being automatically with the transformation in ownership. The old systems of management left over by the bourgeoisie, the set patterns and formulae copied from abroad, the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideas and the force of habit of all kinds hinder the formation of a new relationship between man and man under the socialist system.

In a socialist society, the new relationship between man and man finds concentrated expression in the relationship between the cadres and the masses. Cadres at all levels of the Communist Party and the state are servants of the people, not overlords sitting on their backs. Between cadres of the Party and the state and the masses, there exists only the distinction arising from division of work, but no distinction of high and low, superior and inferior. The cadres should go out among the masses as plain working people and must not enjoy any privileges. To put this principle thoroughly into effect, it is necessary to put proletarian politics first, strictly practise socialist principles and solve this question ideologically and by systems and regulations, so that the relationship between man and man in production and labour left over by the old society is completely changed. Otherwise it will be possible for cadres

to use their power to put themselves in privileged positions and get more than their due or even turn to embezzling and graft and usurp the fruits of others' labour. The result will be the emergence of a privileged stratum to the detriment of socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership. The social base on which the Khrushchov revisionist clique is effecting the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is precisely a privileged stratum of this kind. Using their power of control over the means of production and over the means of livelihood, they are embezzling the fruits of the labour of the Soviet people and changing the system of distribution of "to each according to his work." As a result, the industrial and mining enterprises and collective farms have been turned into instruments whereby they make money and get rich. Socialist ownership by the whole people and by the collective is gradually being turned into something superficial, while in actual fact there is a degeneration into ownership by the privileged stratum. This altered form of the relations of production between exploiter and exploited creates the basis for a new class struggle of an antagonistic nature. It follows that in a socialist society, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is in the main completed, proletarian politics must still be put first in order that a new relationship between man and man in production and labour is gradually established and developed and the emergence of a new privileged stratum is prevented. Only so is it possible to consolidate and develop socialist ownership, destroy the roots of revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and ensure the steady advance of the socialist cause.

### **Struggle Between Socialism and Capitalism in The Political and Ideological Spheres**

In a socialist society, the question of "who will win in the political and ideological spheres, socialism or capitalism?" will be resolved in protracted and intense class struggle. This is because once the socialist revolution on the economic front is in the main completed, the class enemy in its attempt to restore capitalism has to gain the upper hand first of all on the political and ideological fronts. Bourgeois and feudal ideas still command considerable influence in the political, and in particular in the ideological, realm — in the fields of art and literature, history, philosophy, economics, education, journalism and so on — since there are still bourgeois elements and bourgeois intellectuals who have not been reformed or not been sufficiently reformed, and the spontaneous tendency to capitalism still exists. Some places or departments are even still dominated by these bourgeois and feudal ideas. The class enemy tries to take advantage of these factors to effect a "peaceful evolution" within socialism. Unless proletarian politics is put first, unless attention is paid to the class struggle on the political and ideological fronts, bourgeois politics will certainly come to the fore and the poisonous stream of bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideas will rise unhindered to a flood.



The proletariat wants to transform the world in line with its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. If proletarian ideas do not take hold of people's minds, they will certainly be taken hold of by bourgeois ideas. Therefore, we must persist in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship — vigorously develop proletarian ideas and thoroughly eliminate bourgeois ideas, defeat the attacks of the bourgeoisie against socialism in the political and ideological realms, and ceaselessly consolidate and expand proletarian positions there. Only so can we transform the people's subjective world while transforming the objective world. Only so can we overcome and eventually eradicate bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideas, give a great forward thrust to the communist consciousness and moral qualities of the entire people, develop the initiative of the masses in socialist construction, consolidate and develop the socialist system, cultivate a new generation for the cause of communism, and thus guarantee the future transition to communism.

Communism is our ultimate goal. In the course of building socialism, while greatly developing the forces of production we must gradually narrow the gaps between worker and peasant, town and country and manual and mental labour. This is a long-term historical task. If we do not take effective revolutionary measures in the course of building socialism and widen rather than narrow these gaps, we will not be able to advance to communism but will certainly slip back to capitalism. In order to narrow these gaps, it is above all necessary to put proletarian politics first and, under the command of proletarian politics, greatly develop the forces of production.

### Lessons Provided by the Soviet Union

Since usurping the leadership of the Party and the state in the Soviet Union, the Khrushchov revisionist clique has led the world's first socialist country on to the road of restoration of capitalism. This grave historical lesson forces us to ponder seriously over this question: How can such a restoration of capitalism be avoided? This is a tremendously important problem as yet unresolved in the history of the international communist movement. Drawing lessons from what has happened in the Soviet Union, our Party and Government must adopt political lines, principles, policies and measures — our policies on labour, distribution, education, art and literature, cadres, relations with other countries, and our work in every field: industry, agriculture, transport and telecommunications, trade, military affairs, public security, culture, education, health, foreign affairs, and Party work — which help the consolidation and development of socialism, the gradual bridging of the gaps between worker and peasant, town and country and manual and mental labour, and prevent a capitalist come-back. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have not only formulated the general line for socialist construction, but have put forward a series of prin-

ciples, policies and measures. These include the socialist education movement, the two kinds of educational system, the two forms of labour, the system of cadres participating in physical labour, and of building new-style industrial and mining areas in which industry and agriculture and town and countryside are integrated. All these are related to the aim of gradually closing the gaps between worker and peasant, town and country and manual and mental labour.

When any measure directed towards closing these gaps is put into practice, it inevitably comes up against opposition from the old forces in society. And, in essence, the struggle against these old forces is a struggle between two opposing classes, between two roads. If in this class struggle we do not persist in proletarian politics, in keeping to the communist direction, in fighting back against the bourgeois forces — whatever form they take — these gaps will widen, the socialist superstructure will degenerate and change its nature, the socialist cause will be undermined, the bourgeois forces will grow into a flood and the socialist revolution will fail half way.

### Chairman Mao's Warning

In 1963, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out to the whole Party: "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour." We should always bear in mind this warning from Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Chinese Communist Party has built up a fine tradition of putting politics first. When our Party formed the first detachment of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and established the first revolutionary base more than 30 years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already pointed

out the importance of political work, criticized a purely military viewpoint, and clearly pointed out that politics must be in command of military affairs. Since then, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized that politics must be in command, that it is the very soul of all our work. This was true in the period of the democratic revolution, and it is even more true in the period of the socialist revolution. Precisely because of this, our Party has led the Chinese people from one great victory to another. Today, a new upsurge is shaping up throughout the country in industry and agriculture and in the study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings, and this, too, is precisely a result of putting proletarian politics first.

In every department and on every front our comrades must put politics first, put Mao Tse-tung's thinking to the fore, and carry the socialist revolution through to the very end, consolidate and develop the

socialist system, and make our country a powerful socialist state with a modernized industry, agriculture, national defence, and science and technology, exert efforts in support of the world revolution, and fully prepare the material and ideological conditions for the gradual transition to communism in the future.

A big debate on the relation between politics and particular profession is now taking place in every department or unit throughout the country. Party organizations at all levels must strengthen their leadership in this debate, so that through it the cadres and masses will fully understand the truth that putting politics first is fundamental to all work, so that they will raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, steadfastly put politics first always and in every kind of work and so ensure that we do our work better.

(“Renmin Ribao” editorial, April 6.)

## The Dawn of a New Epoch

# Worker, Peasant, and Soldier Masses Master Theory

by “HONGQI” COMMENTATOR

*Following are excerpts of an article originally entitled “The Dawn of a New Epoch in Which Worker, Peasant, and Soldier Masses Master Theory,” which was published in “Hongqi,” No. 2, 1966. Subheads and bold-face emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**A**N unprecedented mass movement for studying theory is spreading far and wide in China. It is a movement in which workers, peasants and soldiers are consciously studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works. The results show that the working masses not only can understand Marxist-Leninist theory but can make their study fruitful and apply it successfully.

**An increasing number of people have grasped the basic concept of the proletarian world outlook, that is, the idea of complete dedication to the revolution, everything for the revolution, and wholehearted service to the people, and have taken it as their guide to action.**

The worker, peasant, and soldier masses have an ever-clearer understanding of the fundamental concept in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge that correct ideas come from social practice and that material things can be transformed into mental things and vice versa. Guided by this concept they are creating boundless material wealth.

**The law of “one divides into two”—or the unity of opposites—which is the kernel of materialist dialectics is now nothing new to them. They apply it consciously and widely in daily practice.**

Mastering Mao Tse-tung's thinking and raising the level of their own political consciousness, the workers, peasants and soldiers understand that their factory work, their farming, and their military training and fighting are all for the revolution. And they are better able to do their tasks when they consciously apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking and find out the laws governing their particular work. The same holds good with people in other trades and professions. Once they master Mao Tse-tung's thinking, they realize that they are working for the revolution and thus do their work better. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the worker, peasant, and soldier masses are continuously making new inventions and creations in the great struggle to subdue Nature and transform society.

### **An Earth-Shaking Change**

Throughout the history of mankind the masses of working people were barred from the gates leading to theoretical knowledge. The very mention of theory immediately made people think of it as something for intellectuals only. The proletariat has been raising its

own intellectuals for a long time now but they are after all few in number. Today, an earth-shaking change has taken place in China. Led by the Communist Party, the worker, peasant, and soldier masses have broken down the barriers to theoretical knowledge. They have started to master philosophy and the social sciences as well as natural science. Theory has been taken outside of the classroom and the laboratory. The monopolization of it by a small number of intellectuals has been shattered and **a new historic epoch has dawned in which the worker, peasant, and soldier masses are mastering theory.**

This is a development of tremendous significance which will become more and more evident as time goes by.

The masses are the makers of history. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is only proper and normal that they should get a firm grasp of the theory that is concerned with knowing and transforming the world. This is an inevitable historical trend independent of human will. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, which are scientific expressions of the interests of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, can and should be understood by them.

### **The Most Important Guarantee for Victory**

The masses' grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory and Mao Tse-tung's thinking will generate boundless strength. **This is the most important guarantee for the victory of the revolution and construction, and for preventing the rise of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism.** All class enemies, both at home and abroad, and monsters and freaks, will crumble in the face of the masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. **Its creative study and application by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers is "capital construction" of prime importance in our political and ideological fields. This has a vital bearing on the future of our country**

**and on the revolutionary cause of the proletariat for a long, long time to come.**

The upsurge of this creative study and application by the masses will give a great impetus to cadres in their study. Such study is the most important part of the education of functionaries and in Party building. Only by mastering it can we effectively carry on the struggle against modern revisionism and the other bourgeois trends in ideology, conduct class struggle and the struggle for production and scientific experiment, ensure correct and thorough implementation of the Party's line and policies, and educate the masses and help them to make constant self-improvements and to advance steadily in the correct direction.

The method of creative study and application consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is being used well by the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They bring to their studies the problems they have in mind, apply immediately what they have just learnt, or study and apply their new knowledge at the same time. They use Mao Tse-tung's thinking to analyse and solve practical problems. In this way they both do their work well, that is, transform the objective world; and raise their ideological level, that is, remould their own subjective world. It is on this basis that many good articles have been written by workers, peasants and soldiers. By drawing on experience of practical struggle and life, these articles, vigorous and vivid in style and rich in content, lucidly expound philosophical principles in the masses' own language. They are warmly welcomed and are of great use.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking provides the best guidance for us in our work of revolution and construction. So long as we follow the method of creative study and application, exert ourselves to the utmost to apply what we study and put his thinking in command of all our work, we shall be invincible.

## **PHILOSOPHICAL ARTICLES FROM THE MASSES**

### **"One Divides Into Two" Always Helps Me**

by **HSIEH YUEH**

*Spinner of the Taiyuan Textile Mill, Taiyuan, Shansi Province*

**I** BEGAN to study Chairman Mao's works in real earnest and learn to view myself in the light of the concept of "one divides into two" in 1963.

Before, I was always making big plans for study, but then I always found that I had a thousand and one other things to attend to and could never get these plans fulfilled. At that time, though I was by no means diligent in studying Chairman Mao's works, I was full of zeal in improving my spinning techniques. I was

always busy practising how to mend breaks in the yarn during the spinning. I did this whenever my hands were free, out walking, in the dormitory, and even lying in bed. Why this extraordinary enthusiasm? It was because I was bent on outstripping Li Kuei-ying, the most capable hand in our workshop.

Li could mend 20 breaks in one minute, but I could only do 19. Logically I should have gone to learn from her modestly. But I just could not reconcile my-

self to this idea. I thought to myself: "I'm not going to learn from you but I'll outstrip you just the same."

### **Failing to Rise to the Occasion**

The strange thing was that no matter how I practised, I stayed put at 19. I even did worse sometimes when I worried too much about it.

Seeing my vexation, our Party branch secretary had a talk with me and suggested that it might be helpful to read *In Memory of Norman Bethune*.

I had read this article by Chairman Mao before but this was the first time that I really tried to link his words with my own thoughts. I had the feeling that that sentence "At every turn they think of themselves before others" was addressed to me.

I had been working hard to become more efficient because I could not bear the idea of letting others get ahead of me. Was it not putting myself before others?

Then I re-read *Serve the People* and this sentence struck me as it had never done before: "We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective." What a wrong attitude I had adopted towards a class sister, I thought to myself! She increased her efficiency for the sake of the revolution and here was I out of purely personal considerations, taking her as my rival! Was this not individual heroism?

What should I do? Clearly, as Chairman Mao has taught us: do away with personal considerations and make revolution our motivation for surpassing others. I went straight to Li and asked to be her student.

Soon I mastered her method and furthermore discovered that she could cut her time further by contracting the circular movement of her fingers in winding a broken thread. I didn't withhold this knowledge from her. Shortly afterwards I worked out an even better method in practice and I passed it on to my teacher immediately. In this way I raised my record to repair over 20 broken threads a minute.

It was at this time that the leaders of our spinning shop called on us to improve the quality of our work and I concentrated all my attention on this.

### **Learning From Others**

In this drive for quality, some of us, including myself, were sent to learn from the mills in Shanghai in September 1963. Thinking things over on the train I decided that my Shanghai colleagues must have first-rate equipment to produce the high-quality goods they did. To my great surprise, I found that the Shanghai No. 12 Mill was housed in old buildings that were not as bright and roomy as our new ones were, and that its equipment was also old, and could bear no comparison with our new plant.

This made me take a serious look at the contradiction in my thought: on the one hand, I felt that I should learn from my Shanghai colleagues since their products were of high quality; on the other hand, I blindly at-

tributed their high quality work to new equipment, which in essence meant that I was content with the level of work I had already attained.

"Complacency is the enemy of study," Chairman Mao has said. "We cannot really learn anything until we rid ourselves of complacency." I was thus alerted to the danger of learning nothing from this study trip. To avoid this I asked to be given a chance to work at the machines right away so that in the course of actually doing the job I could make a critical analysis of my blind self-complacency, and find the true answer to the question of how good quality could be got on old equipment.

Working at the machines, I soon noticed three things, all throwing a revealing light on the meticulousness of my Shanghai colleagues. One was that each of them carried a small piece of clean cloth with which she wiped her hands from time to time—to ensure that the yarn would not be soiled. The second was that they took great care in knotting together broken threads. To eliminate defective knots they often did a knot several times over before moving on. The third thing was that they were paying close attention to my way of work, and particularly studying my method of rejoining a broken thread. So these teachers were working hard to find out if there was anything they could learn from their student! This was indeed an unspoken criticism of my previous attitude.

When I passed through the mill's main entrance my attention had immediately been attracted by a slogan on a huge streamer: "Outstrip advanced world levels for the honour of the motherland!" The attention my Shanghai colleagues paid to details in order to ensure good quality turned that abstract slogan for me into a vivid, concrete thing. This too answered my question why my Shanghai colleagues were able to produce high-quality goods with old equipment in old buildings.

I was in high spirits on my return to Taiyuan from Shanghai. While admiring my Shanghai colleagues' achievements with all my heart, I was fully determined to catch up with and surpass them. Back in my workshop, I made a bold plan and submitted it to the leadership: to eliminate all faulty knots in mending breaks.

### **Meeting With Setbacks**

I looked into my mind and saw it was divided into two: on the one hand I was determined to eliminate all defects; on the other my mind was not entirely free from the delusion that defects could not be completely eliminated.

Was it possible to get rid of this delusion? With this question in mind I turned to Chairman Mao's writings for guidance. I found two passages which were particularly encouraging. Talking with students, Chairman Mao told them that the future of China was in their hands. On another occasion, he said: "We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new."

As a youth of the Mao Tse-tung era and coming from the younger generation of the Chinese working class, I felt that I must by all means shatter this delusion with my own hands. Mao Tse-tung's thinking has made me bolder. Instead of setting my sights on the advanced level achieved by one person, I now set my sights on the peak levels of our time.

But success did not come so easily in practice. I continued to make ugly knots in connecting up broken threads. Why these repeated failures? I read Chairman Mao's *On Practice* and came to this passage: "If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice." I naturally could not avoid making defective knots since I had no knowledge of the objective laws involved in knotting the broken ends of a thread.

Chairman Mao went on to point out: "After he fails, he draws his lessons, corrects his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by 'failure is the mother of success' and 'a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit.'"

This carried my thinking to a higher stage. Following this advice, I decided to do all I could to master the objective laws of mending breaks in the yarn.

I spent hours after work watching comrades on the next shift working at the machines. I was so absorbed in my studies that I forgot meals and fatigue. I practised the movements I learnt from others until sometimes my fingers were sore!

In this way I familiarized myself with the methods of over 30 comrades. Then, in accordance with Chairman Mao's ideas, I began to examine their experience in the light of my own practice, adopting what was useful, discarding what was useless, and integrating the useful with what I myself could do best. I experimented an untold numbers of times until finally I evolved a method of ensuring a smoothly knotted join in a broken thread.

### Tending 1,600 Spindles

Shortly afterwards, in March 1965, there came a new upsurge in industrial production. The mill's Party committee called on us workers to tap all hidden reserves and try to increase production without employing more manpower.

Answering that call, I asked the leadership to allow me to tend 1,600 spindles instead of the original 1,200.



Hsieh Yueh (centre) demonstrating to her workmates her method of rejoining broken threads of yarn

Some of my workmates, on hearing of this, told me: "You are trying to fly before your wings are strong enough."

I compared this statement to Chairman Mao's approving quotation of an old Chinese saying that if you want to catch tiger cubs, you have to enter the tiger's lair, and reasoned to myself: if I never tried to "fly" or dared not even try, how could my "wings" get strong? My conclusion was: I must build up the strength of my "wings" in the course of "flying."

Then I read in Premier Chou En-lai's *Report on the Work of the Government* the part where he quotes Chairman Mao, saying: "The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. . . . In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience, make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing."

This strengthened my determination to forge ahead and reach a still higher level. I wanted to soar. This question seemed to be ringing in my ears all the time: could you be justifiably called a revolutionary if you dared not "fly up" for the revolution? Eventually, from tending 1,200 spindles, I "flew" to 1,600.

But at this point, I met fresh difficulties. The system established for moving round and tending 1,200 spindles did not fit this larger number of 1,600. As I tried to cover the extra ground, hurry and disorder set in.

At this time, my thought could again be divided into two: on the one hand I told myself that I must not

relinquish my hold on those 1,600 spindles; on the other hand, I was apprehensive that I could not hold on to the position taken in this new advance in technique.

My older workmates gave me timely advice: "Haven't we all studied *On Practice*? Now you have proved this can be done in practice. The next thing for you to do is to boldly sum up your experience in future practice and create your own method of inspecting the spindles." This encouragement, an expression of profound class feeling, filled me with fresh energy and enthusiasm.

With the help of the leadership and my workmates, and after a month of tireless efforts in summing up experience, I finally evolved a new routine for inspecting 1,600 spindles that again put me in full control of the machines.

### When You Are Praised

On July 10, 1965, our mill called a general meeting to celebrate this success. This was a memorable day and I wrote in my diary: "Chairman Mao has told us: 'Even if we had achieved extremely great successes, there is no reason whatsoever to feel conceited and complacent. Modesty helps one to make progress

whereas conceit makes one lag behind. This is a truth we must always bear in mind.'"

In fact, working together, we are always unavoidably making comparisons among ourselves, and this always helps me to see my shortcomings. This is why I always sense the antitheses in my mind and have the feeling that I will lag behind if I do not make progress or only make slow progress.

Technically, I can also find where I fall short of expectations. Not long ago, in summing up the experience gained in handling 1,600 spindles, I found no less than 14 questions that had to be solved to improve my new way of work.

By resolutely and constantly using the concept of "one divides into two" I can always find the distance I have to cover to catch up with my workmates, both ideologically and technically.

I am firmly determined to become a thoroughgoing revolutionary. In climbing this peak, I have found that the best guide is the dialectics of "one divides into two" as taught us by Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

(Abridged translation of a "Shansi Ribao" article.)

## I Learn Dialectics and Grow Bigger Crops

by YAO SHIH-CHANG

Leader of the Unity Brigade of the Nanwang People's Commune, Penglai County, Shantung Province

I AM a peasant who only had four years of schooling, but in the last few years, thanks to the guidance of our local Party organization, I too have taken up the study of Chairman Mao's works. This study, especially of the philosophical writings such as *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, has opened my eyes to the fact that we working people should and can study Chairman Mao's works; and, furthermore, we are quite capable of applying what we have learnt — and to good effect too.

I have been making various kinds of scientific experiments on our farm ever since 1953. I had some successes, but I also had quite a few hard lessons. The one that hit me hardest was in the spring of 1958. That was a dry season and when the time came to sow the peanuts we were faced by a big problem: How to ensure full sprouting of the seedlings? I had heard that another village in our commune was using a new method for planting; what they called "planting in deep furrows with a thin covering layer of soil." This was said to be suitable for dry weather planting. Without giving it sufficiently careful study, I gave the word that our brigade should popularize this method.

The fact was that in our brigade we grew peanuts on poor land and for this reason, planted them rather closely in rows 0.4 metres apart. So it came about that

in ploughing a deep furrow for one row, we were actually throwing soil on to the row just sown. The result was we were "planting in deep furrows with a thick covering layer of soil." That year we suffered a big drop in peanut yields. This made everybody in our brigade unhappy. Some even charged: "That Yao Shih-chang was responsible for our poverty."

### Science Is Honest, Solid Knowledge

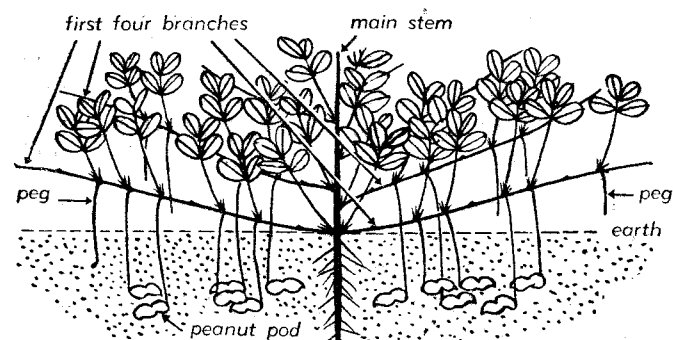
Was this criticism justified? I had to acknowledge the truth of it, especially after seriously considering Chairman Mao's words. In his article *Reform Our Study*, he writes: "Marxism-Leninism is a science, and science means honest, solid knowledge; there is no room for playing tricks. Let us, then, be honest." I pondered this passage a long time and finally came to see my problem. That new method was invented by other people. I myself had no clear idea of its principles, nor had I made it part of my own experience. Thinking I had hit on a short cut, I right away gave the order to popularize this method in our brigade. Was this an "honest" attitude? Wasn't it "playing tricks"? Since I was responsible for the decrease in production, others of course had the right to blame me. From now on, you had better do as Chairman Mao advises, I told myself, and "Be honest!"

But how? Chairman Mao has said: "To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. 'Facts' are all the things that exist objectively, 'truth' means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and 'to seek' means to study." I underlined this passage several times lest I forget it.

I studied further and figured out that if my efforts were to bear fruit, besides having the right attitude, I would have to follow two other pieces of advice. For one thing, Chairman Mao said: "Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practising) in its environment." And "If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself." In my case, to master the techniques of growing peanuts, I would have to come into contact with peanuts, live in their environment, change them and learn to know them inside out.

The second piece of advice was: "This dialectical world outlook teaches us primarily how to observe and analyse the movement of opposites in different things and, on the basis of such analysis, to indicate the methods for resolving contradictions." In my case, I had to know how to observe and analyse the problems arising during the process of growth of peanuts, and through practice, try to discover the laws governing their growth and seek solutions for those problems.

Having arrived at these conclusions, I went into action right away. I picked out two peanut plants for special study. Besides daily inspections, I went to see them three times each night. I kept a detailed record of their growth: I put a label on each flower complete with information regarding the time of flowering, the developing of the peg from the base of the withered flower, the thrusting of the peg into the ground and the developing of the pod of peanuts from the tip of the peg. I also noted down the number of pods on a stalk. I worked in this way for more than 50 days and nights, rain or shine, without interruption. Sometimes, I even slept by the side of these two plants.



Diagrammatic drawing of a peanut plant

From this study and observation, I found that the first two pairs of branches, that is, those which grew first after the emergence of the main stem, bore the greatest number of pods. These were the earliest to develop, flower, and bear fruit, and their pods were substantial and full. I found that the development and

growth of these four branches had a very direct and decisive bearing on the yield. Our failure in 1958 resulted largely from the extra soil thrown over the seeds in the deep furrows. Those thick layers of soil retarded development of these four branches and even caused some to wither.

Remembering Chairman Mao's words "Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth," the next year I conducted a roughly similar experiment to verify the laws I had discovered. That experiment not only proved my findings to be true, but also gave me the added knowledge that the main stem did not bear any fruit and that its too swift or flourishing growth would affect the yield adversely.

### Research Means Solving Contradictions

After having mastered these laws governing the growth of peanuts, the next thing was to apply this knowledge to production. I learnt from *On Contradiction* that contradiction exists in everything and at all times. So if we wish to make good use of our knowledge of the laws of peanut cultivation we must analyse and resolve the contradictions which arise in the raising of peanuts.

Take seed-time for instance. If the seeds are sown too late, yields suffer because of the shortened period of growth. If sown too early, yields likewise suffer, because the soil temperature is not high enough to ensure good sprouting and emergence of the seedlings. Here lies a contradiction.

After making a careful analysis of local conditions and the laws of the growth of peanuts, we found out how to resolve this contradiction. The key is to seize the appropriate time to plant by shock work, that is, in the period May 5-18 when soil temperatures remain stable around 14-15°C.

With this contradiction solved, another one came to the fore, that between sparse and close planting. If the planting is too dense, the plants will not grow well and this causes a drop in yields and total output; when the plants are widely spaced, each plant, individually, bears a larger number of pods, but since there are fewer plants, total output is also low. In the past we thought that the best thing would be to plant closely on fertile soil and sparsely on poor soil. But practice showed that on fertile soil there is such a thriving growth of foliage that sunshine is kept from the ground and this makes it difficult for the peanuts underground to grow well. On the other hand, sparse planting on poor soil helped each individual plant to produce more nuts, but taking the plot as a whole, the total output was low. Repeated experiments have led us to the conclusion that the key to resolving this contradiction lies in proper handling of the relationship between the individual plant and the community of plants. We solved this contradiction by planting 9,000 clusters on each *mu* of poor sandy land, 5,000 to 6,000 on fertile soil and 7,000 on medium quality soil.

My attention was then drawn to another contradiction. My investigations showed that the first pair of branches generally produced 60 to 70 per cent of the pods on a single plant. Therefore, we shall increase the yield if we can make these two stalks grow and develop well, flower and bear fruit as early as might be. Shallow planting helps early flowering but this cannot guarantee luxuriant sprouting of the seedlings; on the other hand, deep planting helps the seeds to grow into strong seedlings but retards growth of the branches. Here lies the contradiction.

After three years of experimentation, we evolved a new method of cultivation: we planted deep and then at an early stage removed the earth around the seedlings to facilitate early growth of the first two branches. Doing this has two other positive results. It prevents the main stem from shooting up too quickly and removes all weeds from around the base of the seedling. This method brought about 10-23 per cent increases in our peanut yield.

At present, I am conducting a new experiment to solve the contradiction between the main stem and branches. I found that when the main stem grows too quickly, this impairs the growth of the other stalks. Nipping off the tip of the main stem at a certain stage may help, but it is still too early as yet to draw any fast conclusions. But since we have discovered this contradiction, I am sure we can solve it one way or another.

There is no end to contradiction; nor is there any end to our scientific research. My own experience has brought me to this conclusion. I will continue with my study of Chairman Mao's works as well as my scientific experiments. I am determined to get to the bottom of one "secret" after another in our productive work, to unravel one contradiction after another and gain one success after another in my scientific experiments for the cause of socialism.

*(Abridged translation of an article from "Dazhong Ribao" published in Shantung.)*

## Root Out the Imperialist Forces In Africa!

**T**ODAY [April 15] is "African Freedom Day." On the African continent, the thrones of imperialist rule have fallen one after another, and the fire of anti-imperialist struggle is raging everywhere. On the eve of the complete collapse of the imperialist-colonialist system, an exceptionally sharp and intense struggle is going on between the African people and imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States.

The African people have won tremendous victories in their anti-imperialist struggle since the close of World War II. In spite of its twists and turns and the emergence of adverse currents, the African revolution is galloping ahead. In the first ten postwar years, the struggle for national independence raged throughout the continent. Oppressed and enslaved for centuries, the people rose courageously to throw off the colonial yoke and fight for independence and freedom. In the second postwar decade, imperialism's old colonial system in Africa tumbled like a house of cards. Since 1955 the number of independent countries on the continent has grown from 4 to 36. They account for more than 80 per cent of the total population and area in Africa. Africa has awakened. The anti-imperialist struggle of the people of this continent is merging with that of the Asian and Latin American peoples to form a mighty historic current of the contemporary world.

### Reactionary Coups Engineered by Imperialism

But no reactionary and decadent forces accept their doom lying down. This is a universal law of class

struggle. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, the imperialists and reactionaries "are not resigned to their failure in Africa and will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord. The imperialists and reactionaries have tried, are trying and will continue to try their utmost to obstruct and undermine the cause of independence and progress of the African peoples." The reality in Africa proves that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis is entirely correct.

In the past few years African governments have frequently been replaced. Successive military coups d'etat have taken place, particularly south of the Sahara. Six such coups have been staged in the last four months or so: in the Congo (L), Dahomey, the Central African Republic, Upper Volta, Nigeria and Ghana. Such a succession of coups d'etat has been rare.

In only a few cases were government changes the result of the overthrow of reactionary regimes of imperialist lackeys by the patriotic and democratic forces or the result of factional strife among the ruling circles. In most cases, they were the result of counter-revolutionary military coups d'etat stage-managed or engineered by imperialism. These may be classified as follows:

One type is that in which imperialism instigates reactionary armymen to overthrow those nationalist governments which hold fast to an independent policy, or those leaders with nationalist inclinations.



Another is that in which, when the imperialist puppets can no longer maintain their rule as a result of the dissatisfaction and resistance of the masses, imperialism resorts to swapping horses to deceive the people and at the same time strengthen suppression.

A third is that in which the agents of one imperialist country are replaced by those of another as a result of the rivalry between the old and new colonialists for spheres of influence.

These circumstances fully testify to the sharpness and complexity of the struggle between the African people and colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The series of reactionary coups d'etat in Black Africa have sounded the warning for the African people. It is proof that imperialism and colonialism are not yet dead in Africa. They not only seek to maintain their vested interests but also try to wrest back their lost positions. The struggle of the African people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is far from over. To combat imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, and to thoroughly liquidate all forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism on the continent remains the primary task of the African people.

### **Khrushchov Revisionists' Erroneous Views Bankrupt**

To break up the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement in Africa, the Khrushchov revisionists try their best to spread the illusion that imperialism has become "sensible," that it will "get out of the colonies" of its own accord, and that "the national-liberation movement has entered the final phase of the abolition of colonial rule" and that "in the new stage of the national-liberation revolution the socio-economic question becomes the key question." Quite obviously, these erroneous views of the Khrushchov revisionists are intended to lead the African people astray and render service to imperialism.

It is pertinent to ask: Which imperialist country has ever abandoned its colonial rule readily and voluntarily? The old colonialists of Portugal, whose power is fast declining, today are still holding on like grim death to colonies in Africa 23 times Portugal's size. If this is the case with tiny Portugal, it is more so with the other colonial empires.

Has the abolition of the colonial system entered "the final phase"? The only argument the Khrushchov revisionists can produce is that the colonies' population accounts for only 1.5 per cent of the world's population. This ludicrous juggling of figures is designed to hide the naked fact that colonialism and neo-colonialism are still continuing their aggression in many parts of the world and especially in Africa.

The Khrushchov revisionists claim that the key problem facing the African countries at present is the socio-economic problem. What they mean is that these countries should give up their struggle against imperialism and stop their national-democratic revolution half way.

What after all is the reality in Africa? While taking account of the great successes of historic significance won by the national-liberation movement in Africa, one should also not be blind to the fact that imperialism, far from having withdrawn from Africa, is still wildly launching counter-offensives against it.

Whenever the people rise up against colonial rule, imperialist powers carry out sanguinary armed suppression. Wherever imperialism can, it struggles desperately to cling to its old colonial rule.

When the imperialist countries can no longer maintain their rule as before, they change their methods and resort to neo-colonialist tactics. They may be compelled to agree to declarations of independence by some African countries, but they continue to control and commit aggression against them in the political, economic, military and cultural fields.

As to those African countries which follow an independent policy and persist in combating imperialism, the imperialist countries seek every opportunity to carry out sabotage, intervention and subversion and try hard to stage a come-back and re-impose colonial rule.

Imperialism also creates puppet regimes such as the one in the Congo (L) and supports white settlers' rule such as in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It uses them as the last strongholds to resist and counter-attack the African national-liberation movement.

What warrants special attention is the fact that U.S. imperialism is penetrating far and deep into the continent and that it has become the most ferocious and dangerous enemy of the African people. Wherever a revolutionary struggle erupts, U.S. imperialism invariably tries to suppress it, directly or indirectly. So long as a country persists in its independent policy, U.S. imperialism never gives up its attempts to interfere with and subvert that government. As the main bulwark of modern colonialism, U.S. imperialism is giving energetic support to the old colonialists to put down the African revolution. That is not all. By fostering its own agents and carrying out economic infiltration, U.S. imperialism is endeavouring to replace the old colonialists and make itself the new slave-owner on the continent.

### **The Task Confronting the African People**

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism never quit till they are driven out; and never fall till they are struck down. The African people have accumulated rich experience in their struggles. They have both the experience of success and the lessons of failure. From the victories and failures and the successes and setbacks in their revolution they have drawn an important conclusion: the national-democratic revolution must be pushed ahead continuously and the struggle against imperialism must be carried through to the end.

The task confronting the African people who have yet to shake off the colonial yoke is to overthrow the brutal rule of imperialism and its lackeys by revolutionary violence in order to win independence and liberation.

The task confronting the African countries which have gained independence is to eradicate thoroughly all imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist influences in the political, economic, military and cultural spheres. Only by doing so can the fruits of revolution be safeguarded. Only by doing so can complete independence be won.

In the face of the wild counter-offensives of imperialism, the African peoples have greater need than ever to strengthen their unity. Every country has different classes and strata and different political factions and forces. This is so in all countries in the world and African countries are no exception. The supreme interests of all African countries lie in combating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Confronted by these inveterate enemies, it is entirely possible for all patriotic and democratic forces in these countries—which of course do not include the imperialist lackeys—to closely join and form the broadest national united front against imperialism.

In the face of the unbridled imperialist counter-offensive, the African peoples more than ever are in greater need of fortifying the anti-imperialist solidarity of the whole continent and their solidarity with the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in Asia, Latin America and throughout the world. The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles waged by the peoples of different African countries are closely interrelated; and they support and are supported by the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the other peoples of the world.

### How to Assess African Situation

The reactionary coups d'état engineered by the imperialists in Black Africa have raised the question as to what is the correct way of viewing and assessing the current situation there. The imperialists and their followers are elated. They think that the wind has changed in their direction in Africa. The *London Times* openly expressed the hope for "a turning point" in the African situation. But African history will develop in accordance with the will of the African people, not according to the wishful thinking of the imperialists and their followers.

Today, the anti-imperialist revolutionary tide of the African peoples is surging forward wave upon wave, uninterruptedly. The peoples of those countries and territories yet to attain independence are persevering in their armed struggle. While some countries have yielded to imperialist pressure or cajolery and beat a retreat in their revolution, others maintain their stand against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonial-

ism and are battling at the forefront of African solidarity against imperialism.

The African people have stood up. They dare to fight against their seemingly formidable enemy, to break the colonial fetters and win national liberation. They dare to safeguard the fruits of victory of their revolution and to counter imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist aggression and intervention. This is what comprises the main current in the situation in Africa.

### Two Different Destinies

Today the African states are confronted by a crucial struggle between two different futures and two different destinies: They have either to beat back the attacks mounted by the imperialists and their flunkies and firmly carry forward the national-democratic revolution as desired by their people, or to be overwhelmed by the imperialist counter-offensive and reduced once again, for a time, into de facto colonies and suffer enslavement, oppression and exploitation as before. Such is the momentous choice before the continent's people.

The future and the destiny of Africa will eventually be determined by its people and by them alone. Even though the imperialists may have their way in some countries for the time being, the people there will rise again and carry on the struggle with redoubled vigour until they have rid their countries of imperialist and colonialist influence. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "A revolution by the people can triumph and imperialism and its lackeys can be defeated. The tide of opposing imperialism and colonialism has swept across Africa. All countries, whether they have attained or have still to attain independence, will win complete and thorough independence and liberation some day or other."

The counter-offensive recently sprung by the imperialists has greatly incensed the progressive African countries and the entire African people. A new high tide of the anti-imperialist struggle is emerging on the continent. The African people's struggle enjoys the sympathy and support of all the other peoples of the world. The 650 million Chinese people are firmly ranged behind the African people. They condemn the criminal manoeuvres of the imperialists and support the just struggle of the African people.

Africa is making progress, it cannot be thrown back by reaction—this is the general historical trend which no one can change. In spite of the difficulties and twists and turns of one kind or another that lie ahead, the African people will undoubtedly be able to carry the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle through to the end and rid the continent of the influence of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism lock, stock and barrel. An independent, free and prosperous new Africa will rise like Mount Kilimanjaro in all its splendour.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 15.*)

## The World Advances Through Revolution

**T**HE world is changing. It is changing so drastically and so rapidly as to surpass the expectations of many.

All reactionary classes are incapable of comprehending the changes. They are basically afraid of them.

To revolutionaries, changes are inevitable. Nothing in the universe stands still. Everything is moving, developing, changing. This is true of nature as well as of human society, of national and international affairs.

A change is a process of newborn things steadily prevailing over the decaying. Contradiction between the new and the old is inherent in everything. The struggle between the two opposites results in the new rising to a dominant position and the old dying out. Such is the cause, content and law of change.

Surveying the world of today from this dialectical materialist point of view, one can perceive the basic trend through the maze of events. The revolutionary movements of the peoples of the world are growing continually and heading towards victory, while the imperialists and reactionaries are on the decline and heading towards their doom.

Take British imperialism for instance. Time was when one-fourth of the globe and a quarter of the world's population were under its heel. Yet in the space of 50 years it has become the "sick man of Europe" and degenerated into a junior partner of the United States.

U.S. imperialism, too, is on the decline. How puffed up were the rulers of the United States at the end of World War II! They declared that this was the "American Century" and that God had invested them with the responsibility to "lead the world." However, all that is over and done with within 20 years.

The process of change is one of a series of quantitative changes leading to a qualitative change. The process of quantitative change is slow and hardly noticeable; that of qualitative change is sudden and swift. The transformation of things can be accomplished only through qualitative changes.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us: "There are two states of motion in all things, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change. Both are caused by the struggle between the two contradictory elements contained in a thing. . . . Things are constantly transforming themselves from the first into the second state of motion; . . . the contradiction is resolved through the second state."

Thus when surveying the changing world, we must see not only the quantitative but also the qualitative

change, and particularly the switch-over from the quantitative to the qualitative. We must be able to anticipate the sudden change of things on the basis of their slow changes.

Lenin once said: "Motion, in its turn, is regarded from the standpoint, not only of the past, but also of the future, and that not in the vulgar sense it is understood by the 'evolutionists,' who see only slow changes, but dialectically."

Thus we can readily see that the lands dominated by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys may at one time or another appear "peaceful"; but there will be radical changes sooner or later. We must therefore be good at perceiving the development of contradictions in a state of "peace," sensing the revolutionary storm when there seems to be a lull and detecting the distant rumblings when all around is quiet.

The process of change is full of tortuous and complicated struggles. Changes in society, unlike changes in nature, are accomplished through men's conscious action, through class struggle. Imperialism and reaction never go down without a fight. Only through struggle can the newborn revolutionary forces defeat the decadent reactionary forces and bring about radical changes in society.

Hence, we must not be mere onlookers. We are participants. The only reason why a Marxist-Leninist should be good at observing changes in the world and grasping their laws is that he wants to be a promoter of change and able to turn the old world into a new one by relying on the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people.

The Khrushchov revisionists, at the very time when imperialism is heading towards extinction, worship U.S. imperialism as an almighty God and willingly enter into its service as an accomplice. On the one hand, they oppose revolutionary changes and are content to see all oppressed peoples live for ever under slavery; and on the other, they promote counter-revolutionary "peaceful evolution" and try to bring capitalism back to the liberated, socialist countries.

However, the world is changing not according to the wishes of the imperialists or the Khrushchov revisionists. In the final analysis, it can only go forward and not backward. If the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries get the upper hand in some places and retrogression sets in temporarily, this is a mere twist in the path of history. The tide will eventually turn in accordance with the laws of historical development.

The world is going through a process of great upheaval, division and realignment. It is on the threshold of stupendous changes. The law of change is unchangeable. A new world is sure to be born in the raging flames of people's revolution.

—Tung Feng-hao

# ROUND THE WORLD

## SOUTH VIETNAM

### U.S. and Puppets in a Fix

Only a fortnight after the blowing-up in Saigon of the Victoria Hotel American billet which inflicted more than 200 casualties on the enemy, the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces in the Saigon-Gia Dinh military sector again attacked successfully the Tan Son Nhut Airport in the early hours of April 13. Sixty-seven U.S. planes were destroyed or badly damaged while 300 enemy pilots and technicians were killed or wounded.

During the attack, some of the shells landed only a few hundred yards from the house of coup-conscious puppet Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky, who, reported AFP, mistaking the attack for a coup attempt, fled with his family in a helicopter which he had parked near his house just in case of emergency. This "foresight" arose from the fact that the internal strife among the puppets and the recent anti-U.S. mass struggle have come to a head. Ky realizes that his military government may fall at any time and thinks a helicopter may help him avoid the fate of his predecessor Ngo Dinh Diem.

Less than two months ago, Johnson personally hugged Ky in Honolulu and Ky's military junta was hailed as the strongest "government" since Diem. The other puppets' opposition to Ky in the past month, starting after Ky removed his chief rival Nguyen Chanh Thi from the puppet First Army Corps Command, is like a slap on the face for the Johnson Administration.

At the same time, a political struggle against the U.S. aggressors and the Saigon puppet group is mounting. Between March 12 and April 8, a cumulative total of 800,000 people in 13 enemy-occupied south Vietnamese cities took part in anti-U.S. and anti-Ky demonstrations. Washington is in a dilemma. It is reported that "Ambassador" Lodge has cautioned the White House not to make any statements in support of Ky which

would "increase his image as an American puppet and make his rule more unpopular and more difficult." Besides, as the British paper *Financial Times* noted, "if he is backed too strongly and openly, . . . anti-Americanism is bound to become even more widespread."

Thus, upon the advice of their American mentors, the Saigon puppets called a three-day "National Political Congress" in an attempt to ease the month-old scramble for power among the puppets and placate the angry masses. They failed. On April 12, the very day the "congress" opened, more than 17,000 people took part in demonstrations in Da Nang and Hue. These two cities refused to send "delegates" to the "congress." Among the 191 "delegates" invited, only 92 attended and 20 of them walked out when the "congress" opened. The opposition set up a "committee for a unified struggle" and demanded that Ky resign at once.

Commenting on the events, the French paper *Le Monde* wrote editorially: "Less than two months ago when he returned from a tour of [south] Vietnam, U.S. Vice-President Humphrey boastfully claimed that, the Americans, parallel with their military success, had also begun to win the war on 'the second front,' the political and social front. The new crisis raging from Saigon to Hue shows the value of such rash and delusive optimism."

It is the south Vietnamese people who, in addition to their successive victories on the military front, are making fresh gains on the political front.

## AFRICA

### Fighting Imperialism Is the Main Current

The African people observed this year's African Freedom Day (April 15) amidst an intense and complicated struggle against U.S.-led imperialism. The Freedom Day was initiated by the 1958 Accra conference

of independent African states under the slogan "Hands off Africa! Africa must be free!"

As the national-democratic revolution in Africa deepens, the imperialist plot against the independent African countries also spreads. The imperialist-stage-managed coups in a number of lands, Ghana included, are but one manifestation of the plot. But every cloud has its silver lining and this one has brought about a new awakening of the African people. The alarm has been raised, from Guinea on the west coast to Tanzania on the east.

Soon after the coups, Mali formed a national committee in defence of the revolution; the Tanzanian National Assembly approved a bill to strengthen the country's defence forces and Guinea stressed the need to arm the people to fight against imperialism. The words of some of the African leaders show what is the main current in Africa today. The imperialist counter-offensive, said President Modibo Keita of Mali in March, only "proves that the political and ideological consciousness of the African peoples has grown greatly in the past several years." Earlier, speaking of an excellent revolutionary situation in Africa, Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere declared that the African people must carry on their revolution and they need not be alarmed by the present adverse current. President Sekou Toure of Guinea expressed his belief that the imperialist attacks would in fact accelerate the progress of African history.

In countries which have yet to win independence, the flames of armed struggle are raging. In **Angola**, during the last week of March alone, the nationalists killed 27 Portuguese soldiers in attacks on enemy military convoys and patrols. That month, they succeeded in forcing the Portuguese colonial troops out of a number of strongholds in Cabinda, northern Angola.

In **Mozambique**, where the freedom fighters have been most active, 28 enemy soldiers were killed recently in Niassa and Cabo Delgado Provinces alone. The Mozambique Liberation Front Headquarters said

in a communique that as a result of the development of people's war there, Portuguese soldiers became so nervous that they had killed men of their own whom they mistook for guerrillas.

Early this year, in "Portuguese" Guinea, the armed patriots increased their activities on all fronts, particularly in the north and south, putting some 100 colonial soldiers out of action in a single month.

In the Congo (L), where fighting against the U.S. puppet regime is

going on, the patriotic armed forces in the northeast have intensified operations around Stanleyville. Fierce fighting was reported early this month near Mokaria, northwest of the city, and Ponthierville, to the south.

The recent imperialist counter-offensive only adds fuel to the fire of the African people's hatred and heightens their anti-imperialist revolutionary spirit. As the Guinean paper *Horoya* has put it, the imperialists are only hastening the advent

of another revolutionary storm on the continent.

CORRECTION. In *Peking Review*, No. 10, March 4, 1966, p. 19, we carried a sketch map showing British military bases east of Suez in which the symbol for British military bases is placed on Ceylonese territory. This is inaccurate. In October and November 1957, Ceylon recovered British military bases on its territory.

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## THE WEEK

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(Continued from p. 4.)

prise ranks with the most advanced oilfields in the world. Yet Taching workers live in a simple way and in the best revolutionary tradition.

Dozens of communities dot the area, and the economically constructed but well-designed and practical houses are similar to those of the peasants in the surrounding countryside. Living around the oilfield, Taching workers' family members have reclaimed large tracts of wasteland and raised various kinds of crops and vegetables. The people here are filled with understandable pride in their novel undertaking. They regard Taching as a village-like city or a city-like village—a new social organization which helps eliminate the differences between industry and agriculture and between town and countryside. Its trail-blazing influence on the building of new industrial and mining areas in China is bound to be tremendous.

### Lessening Differences Between Town and Countryside

When the pioneers first arrived six years ago, they were confronted by a sparsely populated grassland. Great difficulties had to be overcome: housing, food and other supplies, welfare services and schooling for their children were only a few. One solution was a proposal that a modern city be built about 20 kilo-

metres from the oilfield. However, this idea was rejected after thorough discussions on the grounds that it would take too much time and effort, and that it would slow down the building of the oilfield in the quickest way needed to free the country from dependence on imported oil. Moreover, to build a satellite town would have created differences between town and countryside and the building of socialism called for lessening these differences. Hence the conscious effort from the very start to base the planning and lay-out of the oilfield on the long-term principle of integrating industry and agriculture.

As the men set to work drilling for oil, wives and dependents began opening up the virgin land and building farms with whatever tools they had. Now equipped with tractors and other machines, these farms produce tens of millions of *jin* of grain and vegetables as well as hundreds of thousands of *jin* of meat, eggs and poultry every year which otherwise would have to be brought in from other parts of the country.

### New Organization

In the same spirit of self-reliance, the Taching people have used clay, straw and other materials on hand to build their own houses which total about a million square metres. Simple in structure, well heated in winter and with electric lighting, the houses cost half as much as brick-and-tile buildings. Large

amounts of money and time have thus been saved and used to speed up the development of the oilfield.

Complete with schools, nurseries, hospitals, cinemas, theatres, shops, canteens and other amenities, the communities in Taching are the prototype of a new kind of organization combining municipal and industrial administration which is in charge of oil production, farming, catering services, public security and civil affairs. Life in Taching is vigorous and busy. Practically every adult is at work either in the oilfield or on the farms. Children are in school and babies are in the nurseries. Only a few elderly people stay home. Everyone works consciously for the revolution, all sharing the same ideals and contributing to the building of socialism.

The new organization introduced in Taching is an experiment and needs to be improved and perfected. But it is an essential first step towards eliminating the differences between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture and between mental and manual labour. Over a century ago, Marx and Engels foresaw that the elimination of the differences between town and countryside would not only be possible but would directly correspond to the needs of industrial and agricultural production. These differences, created by class society, will take a long time to eliminate. Though only an initial step, Taching's experiment points out the road to be taken in the building of socialism in China.

# ACROSS THE LAND

## Reducing Gas Hazard In Mines

**A** NEW method of guarding against gas explosions worked out by the Tsiaotso Colliery in Honan Province has speeded up production in these mines over the past year by ensuring maximum speed of work consistent with maximum safety.

Explosive accumulations of fire-damp and other gases are one of the major hazards faced in coalmining. Gas explosions were common and took a heavy toll of life in the Tsiaotso mines before liberation when, in their greed for profits, the capitalist owners ruthlessly exploited the miners and the mines and grossly neglected safety precautions.

Such conditions were ended when the people took over the mines. But the danger of gas, as in many mines, remained. It necessitated regular tests at the coal face and investigation of suspected danger points by mining technicians. Coal-cutting was often interrupted to deal with unexpected concentrations of gas. This slowed down production. The new procedures now in operation warn of the danger of gas accumulations by as much as five days to a month ahead. This leaves plenty of time to take necessary steps and ensures a steady rhythm of work.

The new procedures involve, besides the normal precautions, systematic study and analysis of the geological strata, the thickness of coal seams, meteorological (atmospheric pressure)

and other factors. With accurate forecasts of gas conditions underground thus worked out, the optimum speed of cutting can be determined and precautionary measures taken well in advance.

Tsiaotso engineers and technicians worked out the principles governing gas conditions in coalmines through practical experiments based on extensive study of local meteorological records, geological and other data gathered over the last ten years by the miners and administration. The practical experience of the miners was a great help to them.

## Dockers Mechanize Their Work

**D**OLEFUL work chants are no longer heard in China's docks. They went out with the Kuomintang regime and the gangland bosses who dominated the waterfronts. Lively music from loudspeakers fills the air today as stevedores move cargoes with machines.

Travelling cranes, elevators, conveyors, chutes and winches, and various types of hoists and trucks now move the bulk of goods in the big ports. Quite a bit of this equipment was devised and installed by the dockers themselves. In the north-eastern port of Lushun-Talien an exhibition of modern dock equipment introduced 170 items made by local dockers to lighten and speed up work.

Mechanization of dock work was nowhere more welcome than in the inland riverport city of Chungking situated on cliffs high above the Yangtse River. Here all goods formerly had to be carried by men up or down hundreds of stone steps or ramps. Today cargoes are moved by cable-cars, chutes and overhead

cables. Big savings in time, effort and manpower have resulted. Electric winches have alone replaced 3,500 workers in this port. After a period of re-training, these are now working as crane operators, truck drivers or mechanics. Others are working in the new port machinery repair plant or on port improvement projects.

The character of work on the nation's wharves has changed so much with the introduction of machines that many women are now employed. On Shanghai's wharves nearly a third of the 2,400 truck drivers, hoist and crane operators are women.

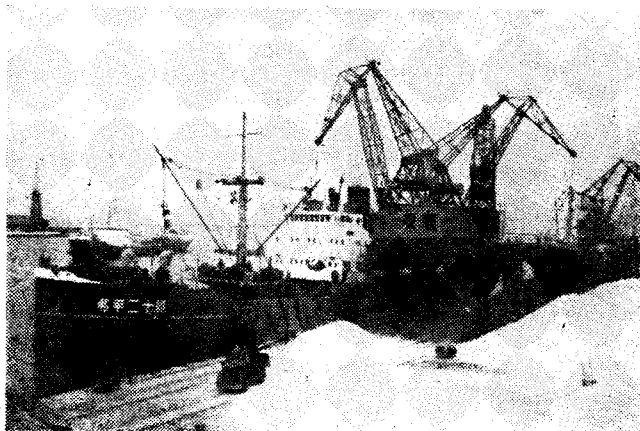
## Language School's 10th Anniversary

**T**HE 7 million people of the Chuang nationality in south China had no written language of their own until linguists sent by the People's Government helped them work one out after liberation. Last month, the first Chuang language school celebrated its tenth anniversary. The school is in Wuming County, Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, where the Chuang language is spoken in what is considered its purest pronunciation. Its 9,600 graduates are now either teachers or themselves engaged in perfecting the Chuang written language. The 30 other Chuang language schools in the autonomous region are staffed chiefly by graduates from this school.

## New Homes for Hainan Islanders

**O**N tropical Hainan Island 9,000 peasant families of the Li and Miao nationalities living in the Wuchih Mts. have moved from thatched huts into comfortable brick and tile houses built almost entirely of materials produced by the islanders themselves in their people's communes. A small state subsidy was provided but higher incomes from commune farming provided most of the building funds.

A decade and a half ago both these national minorities raised crops by simply clearing the ground, sowing the seed and then waiting for the harvest. Brick houses were unthinkable under such circumstances.



In the port of Talien

## CINEMA

### Science and Educational Shorts

What does an avalanche look like? In the new coloured short made by the Shanghai Science and Educational Film Studio, it is seen as an awe-inspiring torrent of boulders, earth and mud hurtling down with relentless force, tearing up rocks weighing hundreds of tons, destroying villages, roads and bridges, and bringing disaster to forests and farms. It took cameramen months of strenuous, hazardous work to make this record. A natural calamity on this scale normally happens only once in many years but the one filmed here in Tibet surged forward 82 times in a couple of months. But this is not just a record of a disaster. The film shows the causes of these disasters as well as how they can be prevented or their effects minimized.

*Avalanche* was one of the 37 films being screened in ten cinemas in Peking and twenty-two in Shanghai during a special public showing of science and educational films from March 10-31. A third are in colour; most were completed in 1965 by studios in Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Sian and Changchun; 17 deal with agriculture; 13 with industry and most of the remaining 7 with health work. Their popularity is a measure of the success of the current determined drive in China's film industry to make more films of direct value to the development of industry, agriculture and science. In 1965, China produced five times as many science and educational films as in 1964.

The reviewed films are arousing immense popular interest not only in the cities; special showings arranged in the suburban people's communes have sparked lively discussion and comment that are giving the film makers many suggestions for future work.

#### Fresh Approach

These new shorts are also the fruit of a fresh approach to the making of science and educational films. In recent years, film workers in this field have been taking a direct part

in many kinds of productive labour in factories and on farms and in scientific experiments. This brings them to grips with their subjects in a way not possible before. The vividness of their record of the Tachai farm brigade given in *Tachai Farm* owes much to the fact that they lived and worked in Tachai for more than a year to learn how these mountain farmers raised record outputs of grain by scientifically terracing and otherwise transforming their dry mountain slopes. In making *Farewell to the God of Plague* they followed teams of medical workers to areas where schistosomiasis was once prevalent. To produce *Tools Innovations* they worked with and learnt from workers and technicians. They travelled together with geological teams to record the scenes of the avalanches.

Scientific reservoir management, making seamless tubes of irregular shapes, coal-saving ovens, the techniques of cotton planting, and the growing of certain kinds of green manure are the practical themes of other new shorts made in this way.

Audiences like these entertaining, informative shorts because they are readily understandable and make it easy to learn and apply what they teach. Furthermore, they not only give practical guidance in solving the day-to-day problems of peasant and worker audiences, but impart their information in a way that inspires still greater confidence and enthusiasm in socialist construction.



Filming the Avalanche

comers. The two youngest competitors were 11 years old.

The Shanghai men's and women's teams won the team titles for the second year in a row. Defending singles champion Chuang Tse-tung, also reigning world champion, defeated Li Fu-jung to retain his title. In the women's singles Shansi Province's Chou Pao-chin won a national title for the first time when she defeated Liang Li-chen in the finals.

Shanghai's men — Li Fu-jung and Chang Hsieh-lin, members of the world championships Chinese Swaythling Cup team, and Yu Yi-tse — had great difficulty in defeating the Hopei provincial team on its way to the finals. Despite Chuang Tse-tung and other veterans, the Peking team just managed to defeat the Kiangsu team by 5:4.

All seven events found up and coming newcomers fearlessly fighting it out with China's world champions.

Yang Jui-hua, coach of the powerful Shanghai team, gave his view as to what made the 1966 Championships a success: "Uppermost in our minds is not individual glory but the determination to make a good showing in order to develop the game."

## SPORTS

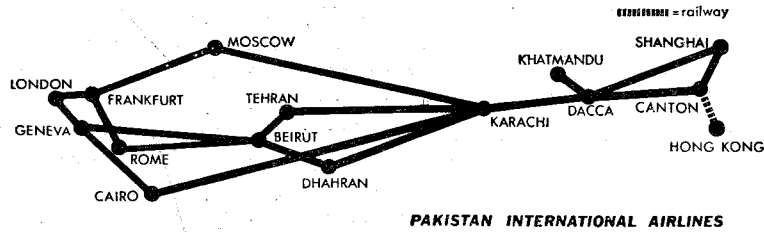
### 1966 National Table Tennis Championships

One of the highlights of this year's National Table Tennis Championships in Shanghai from April 5-15 was the high percentage of young players. Forty per cent of the 292 players battling for the national honours were under 17 and two-fifths of the contestants were new-

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WESTBOUND			CHINA—PAKISTAN—MIDDLE EAST—USSR—EUROPE—UK							INTERNATIONAL SCHEDULE BY BOEING 720-B		EFFECTIVE: 1st MARCH, 1966	REMARKS
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EASTBOUND			UK—EUROPE—USSR—MIDDLE EAST—PAKISTAN—CHINA							INTERNATIONAL SCHEDULE BY BOEING 720-B		EFFECTIVE: 1st MARCH, 1966	REMARKS
HRS FROM GMT	DAYS FLT NO. CLASS		(2) PK702 F/Y	(3) PK750 F/Y	(3) PK704 F/Y	(3) PK706 F/Y	(5) PK708 F/Y	(6) PK752 F/Y	(6) PK710 F/Y	(7) PK712 F/Y			
+ 1	LONDON	DEP	1230		1845	1600	0945		1845	2100	(A) ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TIMES AT CAIRO SHOULD READ ONE HOUR EARLIER UPTO 30/4/1966 (B) ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TIMES AT ROME SHOULD READ ONE HOUR EARLIER UPTO 21/5/1966 * PK704 NO TRAFFIC RIGHTS BEIRUT—DHAHRAN NOTE: TRAFFIC RIGHTS CAN—SHA FOR INTERNATIONAL PASSENGERS ONLY		
+ 1	FRANKFURT FRANKFURT	ARR DEP			2005 2055	1720 1800	1105 1210						
+ 3	MOSCOW MOSCOW	ARR DEP				2255 2345							
+ 1	GENEVA GENEVA	ARR DEP	1355 1450						2005 2045	2220 2300			
+ 2	ROME ROME	ARR DEP			2330B 0010 (4)		1445B 1525		(7)	(1)			
+ 2	BEIRUT BEIRUT	ARR DEP			0305 0405		1820 1920		0210 0220	0335 0435			
+ 3	CAIRO CAIRO	ARR DEP	2025A 2125										
+ 3½	TEHRAN TEHRAN	ARR DEP			*		2255 2335		0555 0635	0810 0850			
+ 5	DHAHRAN DHAHRAN	ARR DEP	(3)		0920 1000	(5)	(6)						
+ 5	KARACHI KARACHI	ARR DEP	0345 0600		1215	0720	0335 0630		1035	1250			
+ 6	DACCA DACCA	ARR DEP	1020				1050	1210					
+ 8	CANTON CANTON	ARR DEP			1625 1715								
+ 8	SHANGHAI	ARR			1900				1825				

EASTBOUND		CANTON—SHANGHAI—PEKING		
DAYS	FLT NO.	(3) CAO38	(3) CAO57	(6) CAO56
CANTON	D	1720		
SHANGHAI	A D		2005	1930
PEKING	A	2050	2300	2225

— ALL TIMES LOCAL —

GENERAL SALES AGENTS FOR PAKISTAN INTERNATIONAL AIRLINES

**GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AVIATION OF CHINA**