

PEKING REVIEW

23

June 4, 1965

Great Victories of Indonesian C.P.'s Marxist-Leninist Line

Head of C.P.C. delegation Peng Chen greets
Indonesian C.P.'s 45th anniversary (p. 5).

Indonesian C.P. Anniversary Celebrated

1. Chairman D.N. Aidit's speech (p. 8).
2. President Sukarno's speech (p. 13).

"Dramatic Change" in Viet Nam Situation

U.S. "escalates" towards Korean-type war. *Renmin Ribao*
Observer issues sharp warning (p. 16).

What Shastri's Soviet Trip Reveals

(p. 17).

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

June 4, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 23

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS	
Peng Chen Greets 45th Anniversary of Indonesian Communist Party	5
Intensify Revolutionary Offensive and First Oppose "Five Devils" — D. N. Aidit's Speech	8
Indonesian C.P. Is a Thoroughly Progressive, Revolutionary Party — Sukarno's Speech	13
Vice-Premier Chen Yi Answers Questions of French Correspondent	14
"A Dramatic Change" — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Observer	16
What Shastri's Soviet Trip Reveals — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Observer	17
To Get Stable, High Yields — Chen Hsueh-nung	19
Yunnan's Minority Peoples on the Socialist Road — Huang Chang-lu	22
ROUND THE WORLD	26
ACROSS THE LAND	28
PEKING OPERA	30

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The nation's leading newspapers published the speech of greetings made by Peng Chen, head of the delegation of the Communist Party of China, at the May 26 reception in Djakarta given by the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Party's founding.

The press also frontpaged Peng Chen's May 25 speech at the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences in Djakarta.

• In answering questions by a correspondent of the French journal *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that "the Vietnamese people are perfectly capable, by relying on their own forces, to drive the American aggressors out of their territory."

Renmin Ribao on June 1 published an article by Observer warning the U.S. imperialists that, despite their intensified efforts to escalate their aggression in Viet Nam to a Korean-type war, they could not avert final defeat.

• Dr. Subandrio, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, paid a short visit to Canton where he held talks with Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

Arudji Kartawinata, Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament, arrived in Peking for a visit.

• On May 27, *Renmin Ribao* published the article "What Shastri's Soviet Trip Reveals" by Observer.

• Chinese children joyously celebrated International Children's Day on June 1.

The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China issued a call to organize and educate all children in the spirit of communism and bring them up to be successors to the proletarian revolution.

• The Chinese press published the resolutions adopted at the 4th plenary session (enlarged) of the Indonesian Communist Party's Central Committee on the Viet Nam question, on international problems, on Party work and on the domestic situation.

Dr. Subandrio Visits Canton

Dr. Subandrio, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, paid a short visit to Canton at the invitation of the Chinese Government. Upon his arrival on May 28, he was greeted at the airport by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi who made a special trip to Canton to meet him. That evening, the two Chinese leaders gave a banquet in honour of the distinguished Indonesian guest.

During his stay, Dr. Subandrio held talks with Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi. The Chinese and Indonesian leaders discussed and

exchanged views on the struggle against imperialism and on the forthcoming Second Asian-African Conference.

Dr. Subandrio left Canton for home on the morning of May 29.

Indonesian Parliament Speaker Visits China

Invited by Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament Arudji Kartawinata and his wife arrived in Peking on May 30 following a visit to Korea.

In the evening, at a banquet welcoming the Indonesian guests, Chair-

man Chu Teh and Speaker Arudji Kartawinata toasted the growth of the militant friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Chu Teh pledged firm support for the Indonesian people in their struggle against "Malaysia" — the product of neo-colonialism — and their courageous action of withdrawing from the U.S.-manipulated United Nations. He praised the Indonesian people's efforts to strengthen national unity, with NASAKOM as the nucleus, and to eliminate the influence of the colonial forces, and their great achievements in building up their country as well as their remarkable contributions to the cause of Asian-African solidarity against imperialism.

Arudji Kartawinata said that he was on his fifth visit to China and, as in the previous ones, he had come to strengthen friendship and co-operation between China and Indonesia. Recalling the victories of the Asian-African peoples since the Bandung Conference ten years ago, Arudji said: "The great unity of the Asian-African peoples is a most effective weapon which imperialism headed by the United States is most afraid of." He denounced the U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo (L) and pointed out that the U.S. imperialists, acting against the laws of historical development, were doomed to failure.

Chinese Leaders and Foreign Envoys Meet

The growing friendship between the people of China and other countries was toasted at a friendly gathering of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and foreign diplomatic envoys in Peking on the evening of May 31.

The two Chinese leaders recently made separate visits to Rumania, Albania, Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal and Burma; following this, they visited Indonesia together. At the get-together both took the opportunity to thank the Governments and peoples of the nine countries for the

warm and hospitable welcome they had received on their visits.

Members of the diplomatic corps in Peking expressed their thanks to the Chinese Foreign Ministry for organizing their recent tour of the northeast provinces of Liaoning and Heilungkiang.

Mass Swimming

Mass swimming is off to an earlier start than last year when millions took part in the nationwide campaign to build up their bodies and toughen their revolutionary will. Even before the arrival of hot summer weather swimmers en masse have been crossing rivers and lakes and taking their plunges into briny seawater.

Part of the drive to get as many of the country's 650 million people swimming, including beginners, came on May 14 in a joint call by the Commission for Physical Culture and Sports, the Headquarters of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, urging all servicemen and civilians, particularly young people and children, to get into the water.

Across the country the 1965 call was greeted by a flurry of swimming activity. Men and women in the army and militia and other youths have shown their preference for nature's swimming sites over man-made pools. Here, in the course of battling wind and waves, they can toughen themselves physically and mentally.

On May 27, every major newspaper in China frontpaged the story of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi swimming in the Ming Tombs Reservoir last summer. As Chairmen Mao and Liu swam, trod water and floated, they chatted with a group of young people swimming across with them. They urged the young men and women to swim and battle with the elements to make themselves into stalwart revolutionaries, the newspapers reported.

Before May's end there was already ample evidence of the scope of this year's mass swimming. More than 8,000 army men, militiamen and children swam across the Yangtse

River at Chungking on May 23. Although the river at this point is 900 metres wide and the current's speed is between 1.26 and 2.73 metres per second, formation after formation — some fully armed — reached the other side in about a quarter of an hour. Two days later, a mammoth swim found 10,700 churning the waters of the Chialingkiang, one of the Yangtse's tributaries, while 160,000 spectators lined the shores.

Peking's first mass swim saw 1,200 crossing the lake at the ancient Summer Palace, led by armed militia units. Young Pioneers also manoeuvred the distance. In east China, the scenic lake city of Hangchow was the locale for a mass crossing of the Chientang River. Included in the ranks of several hundred swimmers were youngsters and two of the city's vice-mayors.

Afghanistan's National Day

Afghan Ambassador to China Mohammad Chouaib Miskinyar gave a reception in Peking on May 27 to celebrate Afghanistan's National Day. Among the guests attending were Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Po I-po.

Ambassador Miskinyar and Vice-Premier Po I-po who both spoke at the reception hailed the development of Sino-Afghan friendship. Referring to the boundary protocol and the agreements on economic and technical as well as cultural co-operation between the two countries signed in Kabul this spring, Po I-po described them as "important results of the relations of mutual respect, mutual confidence, equality and friendly co-operation which have long existed between China and Afghanistan."

On the eve of Afghanistan's National Day, messages of greetings were sent by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to King Mohammed Zahir Shah and Prime Minister Mohammed Yusouf respectively.

Children's Day

Happy children throughout China celebrated International Children's Day on June 1.

(Continued on p. 15.)

Peng Chen Greet 45th Anniversary Of Indonesian Communist Party

Following is a translation of the speech delivered by Peng Chen, head of the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, at a reception given by the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party on May 26 celebrating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

Dear and Respected Chairman Aidit,

Dear Comrades, Friends,

Entrusted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, we, the delegation of the Communist Party of China, take great pleasure in coming to Indonesia to celebrate with you the glorious occasion of the 45th anniversary of the birth of the Communist Party of Indonesia. On behalf of all the members of the Chinese Communist Party and the whole Chinese people, I extend my warmest greetings and highest regards to you and, through you, to all the members of the Communist Party of Indonesia and the Indonesian people.

The birth of the Communist Party of Indonesia in 1920 was a milestone in the history of the Indonesian people's struggle for liberation. **During the last 45 years the Indonesian Communist Party has persistently applied Marxist-Leninist principles to Indonesia's revolutionary practice, invariably stood in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and domestic reaction and won great victories in leading the Indonesian people in indomitable struggle over a long and tortuous revolutionary path.**

The Communist Party of Indonesia has rapidly grown in strength in the fire of protracted revolutionary struggles. Since 1951 the Indonesian Communist Party has had a Marxist-Leninist nucleus of leadership headed by Comrade Aidit at its centre. The correct line and policies of its Central Committee have guided and promoted the victorious advance of the revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party and people of Indonesia. Today the Indonesian Communist Party has become one of the largest Communist Parties in the world.

The Communist Party of Indonesia is a creative, militant and powerful proletarian vanguard. It upholds the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line; it has always held aloft the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism

and national liberation and waged an untiring struggle for complete independence, democracy, freedom and socialism in Indonesia.

Not long after its birth and while it was still very weak and small, the Indonesian Communist Party courageously rose in a tit-for-tat struggle against the ruthless Dutch colonialists and led the famous armed uprising of 1926. In the face of the Dutch colonialists' brutal suppression, the members of the Indonesian Communist Party continued to advance in wave after wave and for 20 years maintained an underground struggle in a dauntless revolutionary spirit. In the period of Japanese fascist occupation, they defied enemy tyranny and fought heroically and stubbornly to drive out the Japanese aggressors. After World War II, together with the other anti-imperialist, patriotic forces of the country, the Indonesian Communist Party mobilized and organized the broad masses of the people to launch the stormy "August Revolution," drive out the Dutch colonialists by force of arms and found the Republic of Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party performed indelible deeds in the struggle for the recovery of West Irian, in the struggle to put down successive counter-revolutionary rebellions engineered by the U.S., British and Dutch old and new colonialists, in the fight to smash repeated imperialist intervention, sabotage, subversion and aggression, and in the great cause of winning and safeguarding national independence.

While persisting in revolution in its own country, the Indonesian Communist Party resolutely supports all the revolutionary forces of the world and supports and helps with actual deeds the people of different countries in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles. The Indonesian Communists are at once patriots and proletarian internationalists. By their heroism in daring to fight and the skill in fighting in their revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle, the Communist Party and the people of Indonesia have set a glorious example to all oppressed nations and peoples.

The Indonesian Communist Party is a large national party having close ties with the masses and enjoying the people's profound support. The general line it advanced in 1954 for establishing a national united front, building a national, mass-based Marxist-Leninist party and completing the August Revolution of 1945, has inexhaustible vitality and has now become the mili-

tant banner guiding the broad masses of the people in their heroic fight.

The Indonesian Communist Party enjoys the confidence and support of the Indonesian people because it trusts and relies on the masses, identifies itself with them in their revolutionary struggles, adopts a style and method in all its work that conforms to the mass line, takes the interests of the masses as its starting-point in everything, and serves the Indonesian people heart and soul. This is the source of the Indonesian Communist Party's capacity to overcome all difficulties and to defeat any enemy, however powerful, and it is at the same time the fundamental guarantee for the victory of the revolutionary cause of the Indonesian people.

The Indonesian Communist Party has scored tremendous successes in consolidating and expanding the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal national united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Thanks to the joint efforts of the Indonesian Communist Party and the democratic and patriotic strata, political co-operation and national unity on the basis of NASAKOM are being consolidated and are growing in the course of revolutionary struggles. While imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism are trying by every means to undermine the anti-imperialist revolutionary unity of the Indonesian people, the Indonesian Communist Party and the patriotic anti-imperialist forces of Indonesia are replying by unceasingly consolidating, strengthening and developing this unity. Unity against imperialism is the demand of the Indonesian revolution and the common demand of the Indonesian people. Final victory will go to the Indonesian people who are united in their struggle despite all the plots and wrecking activities of the imperialists and their followers.

In its revolutionary practice, the Communist Party of Indonesia has acquired a deep understanding of the decisive significance of the worker-peasant alliance for the Indonesian revolution and it attaches vital importance to its work among the peasants. Comrade Aidit has aptly said,

The question of the peasants or the rural areas is one of victory or defeat for the revolution, and even a matter of life and death for the cadres of the revolution.

In recent years, the Indonesian Communist Party has actively led the peasants in their anti-feudal struggle and has achieved great success in unfolding a vigorous revolutionary peasant movement. The political consciousness, fighting capacity and discipline of the broad masses of the Indonesian peasants have grown rapidly in this struggle. The experience of the Indonesian Communist Party and of revolutions in other countries has proved that however violent the storm, the party of the working class can stand its ground and prove invincible as long as it rallies the overwhelming majority of the peasants around it and exercises correct and firm leadership.

The Communist Party of Indonesia is a revolutionary party built in accordance with the revolutionary theory and style of Marxism-Leninism. **It stands steadfast in the forefront of the fight in defence of Marxism-Leninism and against modern revisionism. Daring to uphold principle and persist in struggle in the great fight against modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, the Communist Party of Indonesia has displayed profound loyalty to principle and revolutionary steadfastness. It has made outstanding contributions to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the upholding of the principles of independence and equality in the relations among fraternal Parties, and the safeguarding of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.**

The rapid growth and the brilliant achievements of the Communist Party of Indonesia are due to the fact that its Central Committee headed by Comrade Aidit is good at creatively integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Indonesian revolution and at proceeding from the realities in Indonesia, constantly summing up the experience of the Indonesian revolution, independently working out and applying a revolutionary line and policies which conform to the actual conditions of the country, and Indonesianizing Marxism-Leninism. The great achievements of the Indonesian Communist Party serve as yet another conclusive proof that the revolutionary party of the proletariat can undoubtedly keep on growing and keep on furthering the revolutionary cause, provided that it adheres to Marxism-Leninism, maintains the fight against imperialism, persists in the revolution and in the fight against modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, bases itself on the specific conditions of the revolution in its own country, and gives correct leadership to the revolutionary struggle of the people by firmly relying on them.

The Communist Party of Indonesia is carrying on a resolute struggle to crush the "five evils" — "Malaysia," the "seven devils" in the rural areas, the international devil of U.S. imperialism, the "economic dynasty" of bureaucrat-capital, and modern revisionism. It is determinedly launching one momentous revolutionary mass struggle after another to aid Viet Nam in its resistance to U.S. aggression and to support the cause of revolution of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world.

In active response to the Indonesian Communist Party's fighting call for arming the workers and peasants and for "holding a rifle in one hand and a spade in the other," the broad masses of the Indonesian people are heightening their vigilance and are prepared to deal crushing blows at any imperialists and colonialists who dare to commit aggression against them.

We are glad to see that the Communist Party of Indonesia and the other patriotic anti-imperialist forces have further strengthened their unity in the struggle

against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We are glad to see that under President Sukarno's leadership, the Republic of Indonesia has safeguarded and consolidated its independence and sovereignty, recovered its territory of West Irian, opposed "Malaysia," the neo-colonialist creation jointly concocted by the United States and Britain, courageously declared its withdrawal from the United Nations which is manipulated by U.S. imperialism, and struck at the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist economic forces. President Sukarno has called on the anti-imperialist new emerging forces of the world to confront the decaying forces of old and new colonialism. These revolutionary ideas opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism reflect the great Indonesian people's revolutionary aspirations and are encouraging the Indonesian people to advance from victory to victory.

We are convinced that the great Indonesian Communist Party will score even more brilliant achievements in its heroic struggle against imperialism, feudalism, comprador-capitalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and modern revisionism.

Comrades, the present international situation is excellent. The revolutionary forces of the people of the world are stronger than ever while international imperialism has never been so decadent. U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism, has engaged in unbroken wars of aggression and armed interventions. It has overreached itself and made enemies everywhere. It has committed intervention and aggression on Laos, Cambodia, south Korea and Japan. It has forcibly occupied China's province of Taiwan. It has created "Malaysia" in collusion with British imperialism and committed aggression against Indonesia. It is suppressing the revolutionary movement of the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) by armed force. It is using Israel to threaten the security of the Arab countries. It is fostering West German militarism and is trying to annex West Berlin and subvert the German Democratic Republic. In particular, in a deliberate attempt to enlarge its war of aggression after the failure of its so-called special warfare in south Viet Nam, it is making war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam which stands as firm as a rock at the southeasternmost post of the socialist camp. Recently, it has sent large numbers of troops to invade the Dominican Republic and is trying to suppress by armed force the Dominican people's just and patriotic struggle against the United States. All this has further exposed U.S. imperialism as the main and most ferocious enemy of the people of the world; it is the main prop of all the forces of reaction. **It is the common task of the people of the world to unite all forces that can be united in the broadest possible united front against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and for world peace.**

The Chinese people resolutely support all countries and peoples subjected to U.S. imperialist interference and aggression in their just struggle to oppose U.S. im-

perialism and to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty. By their heroic resistance, the Vietnamese people are dealing powerful blows at the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and war and weakening them and pinning them down, defending the security of the socialist camp, supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world. **It is the unshirkable proletarian internationalist duty of all Marxist-Leninist parties as well as the urgent common task of revolutionary people everywhere to do their utmost to help Viet Nam in its resistance to U.S. aggression.** The Chinese people have given, are giving, and will continue to give, resolute and unreserved support and aid to the Vietnamese people in their patriotic and just struggle against U.S. aggression until they drive all the U.S. aggressors out of the country.

The imperialist camp and the revisionist bloc are both disintegrating, while the world forces of revolution and Marxism-Leninism are growing rapidly. This is the main characteristic of the world situation today. The final collapse of the imperialist and colonialist system as a whole is approaching, and the days of U.S. imperialism are numbered.

Dear comrades! The revolutionary unity between our two Parties, which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the militant friendship between our two peoples, which has been cemented by long revolutionary struggles, have stood the test of time and are unbreakable.

The Chinese and the Indonesian peoples have all along supported each other in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Chinese people are grateful to the Indonesian people for the powerful support they give to our country. We firmly support the Indonesian people in their struggle to smash "Malaysia" and firmly support the Indonesian Government and people in the courageous and just actions they have undertaken to defeat U.S. and British imperialism.

The Communist Party and people of China will always fight shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party and people of Indonesia for the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, and for the realization of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

We wish Indonesia prosperity and strength and its people well-being!

Long live the glorious, great and heroic Communist Party of Indonesia!

Long live the militant friendship between the Communist Parties of China and Indonesia and between the peoples of the two countries!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Intensify Revolutionary Offensive and First Oppose "Five Devils"

Following is a translation of a speech by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.), at the May 23 Djakarta rally celebrating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

Your Excellency President of the Indonesian Republic, the great leader of the Indonesian revolution, beloved Bung Karno!

Your Excellencies Vice-Prime Ministers, Co-ordinator Ministers and Ministers!

Beloved comrades, leaders and members of the delegations of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties from Albania, Japan, Korea, Cuba, Rumania, China, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam!

Brothers, friends and dear comrades! Militant Djakarta workers and citizens!

Today, May 23, 1965, we are gathered in the splendid main stadium of the Bung Karno Sports Centre to mark the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Witnessed by the clear sky, looked on by hundreds of thousands of eyes, listened to by millions of ears over the radio and television and watched by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and their henchmen, Bung Karno is among us at the height of the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party. This has worried the imperialists and their lackeys. In the last two weeks, the radio and press of the imperialists have raised a hue and cry over the fact that Bung Karno will attend and deliver a speech at the mass rally. "Malaysia" has stirred up and instigated its henchmen in Indonesia. They have made a lot of noise about the fact that, during the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party, the portrait of Sukarno is displayed together with those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Of course, the question is not merely the display of the portrait of Sukarno. The question is still deeper, namely, the relations between Sukarno and the Communists. This is what makes the imperialists and their henchmen afraid, this is what makes the imperialists

raise a hue and cry, this is what worries them, this is what makes it impossible for them to eat and sleep well, and this is what makes them talk in their sleep. In fact, the matter has long become clear.

Bung Karno himself said at a reception of the Sixth Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1959 that the Indonesian Communist Party "is a relative and brother, should it die, it is my loss." It is also Bung Karno himself who appealed to the Indonesian Communist Party at the closing session of the Seventh Congress of the Party in 1962 to "go ahead, march forward, let us jointly fulfil the Indonesian revolution." With amicable feelings and great responsibility, the Indonesian Communists have responded to the expressions and call of Bung Karno. The relation between President Sukarno and the Indonesian Communists is not a secret or illegal one; it is an honest kind of relation — proper and legitimate — between revolutionaries who believe in the truth of Marxism and serve the cause of revolution.

I say it once more that **the imperialists and their henchmen are worried and have raised a hue and cry. If the imperialists and their henchmen are shouting against our activities, it is good. It shows that we are right, that our actions are correct. If the imperialists like our actions and if they praise us, then that would be very bad indeed! How very bad it is for those who are praised repeatedly by Radio "Malaysia" and by the other propaganda agencies of imperialism!**

The Indonesian people hold that it is a matter of course that Bung Karno, a friend of the Indonesian Communist Party, takes part in the celebration of the anniversary of his own "relative" and "brother." Still, the Indonesian Communist Party expresses many many thanks from the bottom of its heart to Bung Karno for attending the rally and the speech he will make.

Here, I would also like to express in the name of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party profound thanks to all the Vice-Prime Ministers, Co-ordinator Ministers, Ministers, nationalist and religious leaders, leaders of mass organizations, central and local administrators and military officers. In a word, thanks to all the brothers and sisters and friends who have sent us messages of greetings, and offered

their moral and material support for the success of our Party's anniversary celebrations.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to the entire Indonesian working people who have made both moral and material contributions and wholeheartedly devoted their thoughts and energy to bringing about the warm atmosphere and success of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party. Also my most sincere and profound thanks to the sons and daughters of the people for their efforts to celebrate the occasion joyously with various programmes.

I express also profound thanks to the Communists, activists, cadres from the Central Committee to the factories, plantations, villages, suburban areas and coastal areas and elsewhere who have worked day and night for the warm atmosphere and success of the celebration of the Party's anniversary. In particular, I would like to express thanks from the bottom of my heart to the revolutionary artists who have devoted all their efforts for the success of the Party's anniversary celebrations. Thank you all, comrades!

All participants in the rally and especially those from remote areas who came on foot, please accept the heartfelt thanks of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party.

I would like to say a few words to the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties who attached great importance to the invitation of the Central Committee of our Party and sent highly representative delegations. It shows the love of the fraternal Parties for the Indonesian Communist Party, the Indonesian people and revolution. This will inspire the Indonesian Communists and people to carry out more resolutely the struggle to smash imperialism and old and new colonialism. I, in the name of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, the Indonesian Communists and working people, express deep thanks to the fraternal Parties for their concern and love. We also express our thanks to the Communist and Workers' Parties that have not directly participated in the anniversary celebrations of our Party but have sent us messages of greetings. We wish the leaders of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties good health and wish their Parties still greater success in applying Marxism-Leninism to their own countries, in serving the interests of the people and revolution of their countries, and in the common struggle to smash imperialism and to build a new world without exploitation of one nation by another and of man by man.

Beloved Bung Karno!

Brothers, friends, and comrades!

Why is the Indonesian Communist Party celebrating its 45th anniversary on a wide scale? Before answering this question, I want to refute the nonsense of the imperialists and their lackeys. They say that the In-

donesian Communist Party is trying to starve the Indonesian people through its large-scale 45th anniversary celebrations. The money and manpower drawn for these celebrations prove that the consciousness of the Indonesian working people is very high both politically and organizationally. By relying on such a people, we not only can do away with hunger, but also root out the source of hunger — imperialism and feudalism. After the celebrations, the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party will have a balance of 60 million rupiahs from the total amount of contributions it received. And if there is enough means of transport, the coconut, cassava, sweet potatoes and fruits can fill several warehouses. This shows that the Indonesian people will not suffer starvation and will never cry hunger provided that there is no prolonged drought or serious flood. Perhaps Indonesia will be the only place where cassava is even used to hold back the waters or burnt to drive away mosquitoes because there is plenty of it and only transport is lacking.

, If there is still poverty in Indonesia, which I do not deny, it is not because of the "grand celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference by Sukarno" or "the Indonesian Communist Party's anniversary celebrations" but because of the existence of the remnants of imperialism and feudalism and the existence of bureaucrat-capitalists as well as village and off-shore devils. The Indonesian people will surely wipe out all this before long.

The reasons why the Indonesian Communist Party holds big celebrations on its 45th anniversary are: one, the 45th anniversary should indeed be marked in an unusual manner; two, to hail and consolidate the great victories of the Indonesian people, namely, Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations, the success of the third plenary session of the Provisional Peoples' Consultative Congress and the success of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference; and three, to raise the revolutionary enthusiasm so as to continue the struggle and launch a still fiercer revolutionary offensive in all fields.

On the eve of the anniversary celebrations, the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party held its fourth plenary session from May 11 to 13. At the session, **the Indonesian Communists were unanimously determined to implement still more resolutely the revolutionary general line in accordance with the theory of the Political Manifesto, that is, through the national front with NASAKOM* as its core, the workers and peasants as its pillars and the Five Principles of the State Foundation as its moral base, to realize the national and democratic revolution and march forward to Indonesian socialism. In the framework of**

NASAKOM expresses the unity between the three main political trends in Indonesian society; "nas" stands for nationalists; "a" for religious groups, and "kom" for Communists. — *Ed.*

implementing the revolutionary general line, the Indonesian Communist Party will intensify its revolutionary offensive, directed first of all at the "five devils": 1) "Malaysia"; 2) the seven village evils; 3) world devil U.S. imperialism; 4) bureaucrat-capitalists and 5) modern revisionism.

If we want to build our country safely, we should thoroughly smash and dissolve the neo-colonialist project of "Malaysia" which has been set up deliberately to check our revolution. There is no other way. Therefore, the Indonesian Communist Party warmly welcomes the decision of President Sukarno not to go to Tokyo to meet Tunku Abdul Rahman but to remain among the Indonesian people. In order to smash "Malaysia" and reply to the increasing support of British and U.S. imperialism to "Malaysia," the Indonesian Communist Party has demanded that the workers and peasants be armed. The Indonesian Communist Party is convinced that only the armed people and especially the armed workers and peasants can halt invasion by imperialist troops, and defeat any invasion should they dare to come. The imperialists are not afraid of well-trained armed forces because they themselves have such armed forces equipped with even better weapons. However, the armed people will force the imperialist troops into a position where they cannot operate or even make it impossible for them to lie down and rest. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is a vivid proof of this truth. Of course, the imperialists will be more frightened if they face the combination of the well-trained armed forces and the armed people. There is great possibility for us to have such a combination because the two-in-one relations between our people and the armed forces are daily becoming closer in the implementation of the task of the Indonesian revolution.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to express thanks to President Sukarno for the promise he has made to arm the workers and peasants when necessary.

If we want to be self-sufficient in food, the indispensable prerequisite is to liberate the productive forces in the rural areas. There is no other way. In this respect, it should begin at least with the elimination of the village evils, namely: 1) the despotic landlords who refuse to implement the basic agrarian law and the law on crop-sharing agreements; 2) usurers; 3) seedling buyers; 4) bureaucrat-capitalists in the countryside; 5) dishonest middlemen; 6) village bandits and 7) corrupt administrators. The complete elimination of the seven village evils is merely a precondition for the implementation of the slogan "land to the tillers" or the stipulation of the Political Manifesto "to thoroughly wipe out the vestiges of feudalism." The Indonesian Communist Party, while joyously celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Party, is determined to integrate more closely with the peasants, help them completely wipe out the village evils and raise production. If the village evils are not immediately and completely wiped out from our countryside, it will be impossible to success-

fully realize the decision of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress on the turning of the steering wheel to realize self-reliance in economy and construction and the principle of "making agriculture as the base and industry as the backbone."

If we want to eliminate the vestiges of imperialism on Indonesian soil, we should launch more frequent and more stubborn struggles against U.S. imperialism, the world devil and ringleader of all imperialists. There is no other way. **In the present world situation, it would be a sad joke should one oppose imperialism but not oppose U.S. imperialism. The fierce struggle of the Indonesian people to smash U.S. imperialism proves that they are serious in their anti-imperialist policy.** The pressing task of the Indonesian people at present is to confiscate and nationalize all U.S. enterprises, including the oil enterprises, as a reply to the U.S. "active aid" to "Malaysia" and its barbarity against the people of Indonesia and other countries. In addition, the Indonesian people are determined to offer more positive and greater support, together with the other progressive and revolutionary forces, to the peoples now fighting against U.S. imperialism, such as the people of the Dominican Republic, the Congo, the people of Southeast Asia, especially the Vietnamese people, and to force the United States to get out of Viet Nam within this year.

If we want to develop the Indonesian economy in a healthy way and first develop the revolutionary and progressive politics in our country, we should intensify the revolutionary offensive against the economic dynasty of the bureaucrat-capitalists. There is no other way. The bureaucrat-capitalists are the pilferers of state property. In their criminal activities, they establish an alliance with the imperialists and the Trotskyites. Therefore, the "holy alliance" between the bureaucrat-capitalists, the Trotskyites and the imperialists must be completely shattered. The Indonesian Communists hold that steps taken by President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government against the Trotskyite personalities and the banning of the Murba Party — the chieftain of the "body in support of Sukarnoism," are decisive steps in saving the NASAKOM concept and saving the Indonesian Republic and President Sukarno from the disaster which was almost imposed upon our Republic towards the end of last year. For this reason, the Indonesian Communist Party expresses its highest respects to President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government.

If we are to continue marching along the revolutionary road, we should constantly launch revolutionary offensives against modern revisionism and continue our fight against modern dogmatism at the same time. There is no other way. It would be empty talk if the anti-imperialist struggle is not combined with the struggle against opportunism. For the international communist movement and the general revolutionary movement in the world today, the most dangerous opportunism is modern revisionism. While celebrating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Com-

unist Party, the Indonesian Communists are unanimously resolved to continue their offensive against modern revisionism in all fields. Only by so doing can the Indonesian Communist Party remain revolutionary and maintain its prestige both in the ranks of national unity with NASAKOM as its core and in the international communist movement.

The above-mentioned are the five irrevocable decisions of the Indonesian Communists on the occasion of the Party's 45th anniversary. The Indonesian Communists believe that the three sacred principles of "Tavip,"* or the three sacred principles of President Sukarno, or the three sacred principles of national emancipation — political sovereignty, economic self-reliance and a culture with a national identity — are all extremely helpful for the Indonesian Communists to realize their irrevocable decisions. Therefore, the Indonesian Communists take the three principles of national emancipation as an important part of their general programme. It is these three principles that have become the basic slogans of the 45th anniversary of the Party.

Political sovereignty means to completely free ourselves from depending on any side in the political field. This means to implement freely and without any restraints both the internal and external policies fully representing the interests of the Indonesian people.

Economic self-reliance means to completely free ourselves from economically relying on any side and to base ourselves on the economic strength that we actually possess; this means to thoroughly eliminate the vestiges of feudalism and consistently implement the line of our national economy: make "agriculture as the base and industry as the backbone" and "take agriculture and the plantations as the main force and attach importance to the mining industry." This means to free ourselves and enable us to freely wipe out the vestiges of imperialism in the economic field completely and eliminate the bad influence of imperialism on the economy of our country.

A culture with a national identity means to completely free ourselves from depending on any side in the cultural field, that is, to base ourselves on our national identity in culture. This means to liberate ourselves and enable us to eliminate without restraint the vestiges of imperialism and feudalism from the cultural field completely, accept and develop the progressive part of world culture so as to freely develop our literature, art and science serving the people and revolution.

Bung Karno has given the people effective weapons of struggle. Among them are the NASAKOM idea in 1926 — Bung Karno said himself that his idea has be-

*The title of President Sukarno's 1964 Independence Day speech, meaning "A Year Daring to Skirt Dangers." — Ed.

come a living reality — later the idea of the Five Principles of State Foundation in 1945, the Political Manifesto in 1959 which was followed by the policies for its implementation, and then the idea of self-reliance that he advanced this year. If we say that these militant weapons had not yet been mastered by the people prior to the emergence of the Political Manifesto, the situation has now been changed. These weapons, both old and new, have been mastered and used by the people swiftly, sensibly, cleverly and accurately. The people have even created new weapons and learnt new techniques in the use of weapons in their hands with the militant weapons given by Bung Karno as their capital.

In accordance with the NASAKOM theory of Bung Karno, the Indonesian people are now engaged in a stubborn struggle to put the NASAKOM theory into practice in all fields. The realization of NASAKOM in all fields is the indispensable prerequisite for the defence and development of political sovereignty, for economic self-reliance and for the development of a national identity in culture. It is also the indispensable prerequisite for carrying out more smoothly the two-point order of the people for opposing "Malaysia," for the further strengthening of national defence, for giving greater support to the liberation struggle of Malaya and North Kalimantan, and for dissolving "Malaysia." The realization of NASAKOM in all fields is also the indispensable prerequisite for us in unfolding the struggle of the new emerging forces against the old established forces and realize the international NASAKOM — we will begin to materialize the international NASAKOM by holding the Conference of the New Emerging Forces next year. The realization of NASAKOM in all fields is the key to both the progress of the Indonesian people and their positive contributions to the struggle of the people of Asia and Africa and of the new emerging forces the world over. In a word, the realization of NASAKOM in all fields will realize the call of Bung Karno made almost 40 years ago, that is to turn the co-operation of the three ideological trends into "a tremendous and powerful tide and a storm which cannot be halted."

The Indonesian Communist Party is not isolated in the struggle to defeat the enemies of the Indonesian people, namely, imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and comprador-capitalism. Thanks to its loyalty to the NASAKOM idea, the Indonesian Communist Party has good comrades-in-arms among the nationalist and religious believers. Thanks to its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Indonesian Communist Party has support from the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary and progressive movements throughout the world.

The Indonesian Communist Party belongs not only to the Indonesian Communists but also to the entire people and nation. If the Indonesian Communist Party takes correct actions then the whole people and nation will benefit. If the Indonesian Communist Party commits errors, then the whole people and na-

tion will also suffer. Therefore, the Indonesian Communists will open its doors to criticism from anyone outside the Party and at the same time continuously study and creatively practise Marxism-Leninism.

While celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Indonesian Communist Party, **the Indonesian Communists deem it necessary to reiterate their determination to be outstanding—and still more so—elements of NASAKOM unity. The Indonesian Communists are convinced that as long as the Indonesian Communist Party remains revolutionary, and not dogmatic or revisionist, then the role of the Indonesian Communist Party in the NASAKOM unity will become still more important and increasingly positive.** The Indonesian Communist Party is revolutionary, not dogmatic and revisionist, the nationalist group is revolutionary but not chauvinistic and the religious group is revolutionary but not orthodox. These are the guarantee for the development of the living reality of NASAKOM.

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Indonesian Communist Party, **the Indonesian Communists deem it necessary to express their determination to remain a reliable Marxist-Leninist detachment within the ranks of the international communist movement, and to fight for its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and for the realization of the task of the world revolution.**

The integration of patriotism with proletarian internationalism in a militant and creative manner and with a character of its own will continue to guide the action, stand and steps of the Indonesian Communist Party.

The entire Indonesian nation is now in a daily surging and ripening revolutionary situation. The role played by the masses of the people in the political life of our country is becoming increasingly great and decisive. The imperialists are being squeezed out of their special position. In their retreat they are offering more aid and support to the domestic counter-revolutionaries. In such circumstances, only when we are good at adopting an attitude of revolutionary offensive can we push the revolution of our country forward. And only with rigorous and strict discipline can we achieve good results in the revolutionary offensive.

Therefore, I appeal to the Indonesian Communists: Be brave, able and steeled and tempered Communists with strict discipline, both the Party's discipline and the discipline of the state. This is our answer to the daily increasing provocations by the decadent imperialists and their lackeys.

The Indonesian Communist Party, which was born 45 years ago, has undergone long and tortuous struggles, legal and illegal, armed and otherwise, and is now one of the most important factors in the political life of our country. This has been achieved only because of the loyalty of the Indonesian Communists to the revolutionary tradition of the Indonesian people, their loyalty

to the heroic vitality of the 1926 national uprising and their loyalty to the heroic vitality of the 1945 August Revolution.

The Indonesian Communist Party, with less than 8,000 members in 1951, the year of its rebirth, now has more than 3 million members. By adding the 3 million Communist youth of the People's Youth League, the number is more than 6 million. There are about 20 million sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party throughout Indonesia. **On the strength of its membership, the Indonesian Communist Party is the third biggest in the world and the biggest outside the socialist camp. Thus, Communists in our country have a heavy responsibility to shoulder, both to the Indonesian people and the international revolutionary movement.**

Both our friends and enemies are paying close attention to the development of the Indonesian Communist Party. The imperialists have sent many scientists, mostly pseudo-scientists, to pry into and investigate the activities of the Indonesian Communist Party. Some of them even went to the villages and wrote many books.

Both our friends and enemies want to know why the Indonesian Communist Party has developed so quickly. Actually it is not difficult to answer, because Bung Karno had already made it clear in his address at the closing reception of the Seventh Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1962. Bung Karno said: "The Indonesian Communist Party has become strong, the Indonesian Communist Party has spread everywhere, and the Indonesian Communist Party has become powerful. This is because the Indonesian Communist Party has consistently served the workers and peasants, because the Indonesian Communist Party has always loved our fatherland, Indonesia. It is precisely because of all this that the Indonesian Communist Party has grown strong."

I appeal to the Indonesian Communists to learn by heart Bung Karno's analysis of the reasons why the Indonesian Communist Party has become great and strong. Bung Karno's analysis is very correct. **The reason why the Indonesian Communist Party has become strong is simply because it has heart and soul been mindful of the misery of the people.**

Let us march forward continuously in the spirit of the revolutionary offensive, heeding the misery of the people!

Long live the great Indonesian Communist Party!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement!

Long live the Indonesian working class and people!

Glory to the Party and fatherland!

Long live NASAKOM!

Long Live Bung Karno!

Indonesian C.P. Is a Thoroughly Progressive, Revolutionary Party

Following are extracts from Indonesian President Sukarno's speech at the May 23 Djakarta rally marking the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.). Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE P.K.I. has all along stood in the forefront in the implementation of the policies of the Indonesian Republic, the policy against "Malaysia," the policy of economic self-reliance, the policy of political sovereignty and the policy of a culture with national identity.

The policy we are following, that is the policy which I put forward long ago, is a policy to unite all the revolutionary and progressive forces. It is not strange at all that, in the framework of implementing such a policy, the Government of the Indonesian Republic embraces the P.K.I.; and that as a leader authorized by the Provisional People's Consultative Congress and a great leader of the Indonesian revolution, I embrace the P.K.I. Who can deny the fact that the P.K.I. is a tremendous factor in carrying on the Indonesian revolution? The P.K.I. has become powerful; it now has three million members, its youth totals three million, and its sympathizers twenty million. Why has the P.K.I. become so powerful? **This is because it is thoroughly progressive and revolutionary in nature. Brothers and sisters, I hold that if we do not unite all, all, all and all progressive and revolutionary forces, the Indonesian revolution cannot be fulfilled.**

With regard to NASAKOM,* I have told the Indonesian public that all the delegates to the tenth anniversary celebrations of the First Asian-African Conference expressed their admiration for NASAKOM. They were surprised by the fact that Indonesia has become so powerful, they were surprised that Indonesia which has been described by imperialism as a country that is heading for bankruptcy and extermination, the Indonesia where the people are heading for starvation and where chaos is seen everywhere, has been proved to be powerful and its people resolute and healthy. This is the result of the implementation of the policy of NASAKOM.

The imperialists predict this and that; **they are quite afraid of Indonesia. Why? Because Indonesia has united all the revolutionary forces into one, and**

because Indonesia follows a thoroughgoing policy against imperialism. What are our ways and means? They are to unite all the progressive and revolutionary forces. All the delegates to the tenth anniversary celebrations of the First Asian-African Conference expressed their admiration for NASAKOM, which will even become an example for the Asian and African countries which are ceaselessly carrying on the struggle against imperialism.

The Conference of the New Emerging Forces to be held in Djakarta next year is actually an international NASAKOM. Why do we describe it as an international NASAKOM? **Because we want to unite all the anti-imperialist forces at the Conference of the New Emerging Forces irrespective of their colour, all the anti-imperialist forces whether they are from nationalist countries, religious countries, communist countries or progressive groups and forces from the capitalist countries.**

Some Indonesians asked me why did Bung Karno pursue the policy of uniting all the anti-imperialist forces and all the revolutionary forces that were called NASAKOM? Why did Bung Karno not use the word "nasamar" ["mar" referring to Marxism] or "nasasos" ["sos" referring to socialism] but used the word "nasakom"? The word which is most often unlawfully used by political scoundrels and political cockroaches is the word Marxism. Brothers and sisters, you all know the banned Indonesian Socialist Party. Beating its own chest, this party also claimed: "We are Marxists, we are Marxists, we are Marxists!" I say that they are not Marxists, they are the usurpers of Marxism. Therefore, I do not use the word "nasamar." Should I use it, the Indonesian Socialist Party elements would have also sneaked into this "nasamar." Brothers and sisters, they are in fact counter-revolutionaries, they are in fact out and out revisionists, they are in fact the usurpers of Marxism. Besides, I deliberately use the word "kom," the word "nasakom," because there are many Indonesians who suffer from phobia, communist phobia. I just want to wipe out such a phobia and consequently to unite the national revolutionary forces, I deliberately use the word "kom," "kom," "kom." I repeat once more, "kom." Yes, be genuine Communists and not false Communists. There are false Communists, false Marhaenists and false Marxists. In the struggle against imperialism, we do not unite with the false forces. The hypocritical forces are even more dangerous than the

* See footnote on p. 9

imperialists. This is the reason why I ordered the ban on the "body in support of Sukarnoism" and its affiliated organizations not long ago. It is better to have a small number of people with a revolutionary unity of high quality. It is better to have a smaller number of people with unanimity and high quality than to have a greater number of people mixed with agents and counter-revolutionaries.

In the forthcoming Second Asian-African Conference, we, the Indonesian Republic, will base ourselves on the following principle: if it is possible, all the Asian-African countries will take part in the Second Asian-African Conference to be held in Algeria; but, if it is impossible—for example, some countries are pro-"Malaysia" and thus unwilling to take part in the conference—it is better for them not to participate. I can inform you with pleasure that most of the Asian-African countries do not want to accept "Malaysia" to the Second Asian-African Conference. There may be one, two or three countries that accept "Malaysia." I have given an order to Madame Supeni: if there are

some countries which stubbornly defend "Malaysia," then reject their participation in the Asian-African Conference, reject them firmly. If they do not want to take part in the Asian-African Conference, then let them not take part!

"Malaysia" is indeed a lackey of imperialism. "Malaysia" is not an Asian country. It was created by Britain. It was set up to contain Indonesia. It was set up to maintain, secure and preserve the lifeline of imperialism from Gibraltar, the Mediterranean, the Suez, the Red Sea, Aden, the Indonesian Ocean, the Straits of Malacca to Singapore and then to the north. Therefore, **we cannot accept it as an Asian country. Indonesia will firmly reject "Malaysia" entering the Asian-African Conference.**

If I said at the Seventh Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party: Go ahead, Indonesian Communist Party, then I would like to say now: Communist Party of Indonesia, go ahead, onward, onward, onward, never retreat.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Answers Questions of French Correspondent

- **The Vietnamese people are perfectly capable, by relying on their own forces, of driving out the U.S. aggressors.**
- **The United States cannot escape final defeat no matter what its manoeuvres.**
- **China is resolutely opposed to the U.S. peace negotiations fraud and firmly supports the stand of the D.R.V. Government and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.**

Following is a translation of Vice-Premier Chen Yi's answers to questions by K.S. Karol, correspondent of the French journal "Le Nouvel Observateur." Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

Question: Do you believe that the Vietnamese people can, by unilateral action, force the United States to withdraw its aggressive troops? If not, how would you envisage certain negotiations which would enable them to achieve this result?

Answer: Yes, I think **the Vietnamese people are perfectly capable, by relying on their own forces, to drive the American aggressors out of their territory.** The war they are fighting is a just war, a war against aggression and for the defence of their fatherland, a people's war. It is precisely for this reason that U.S. imperialism is becoming weaker and weaker in its war of aggression against Viet Nam while the Vietnamese people are growing stronger and stronger in the course of the struggle. Four-fifths of

south Vietnamese territory with 10 million inhabitants have already been liberated. U.S. imperialism is struggling frantically. However, the heroic Vietnamese people are determined to drive out the U.S. aggressors and if not in this generation, then in the next. The strength of the people is inexhaustible. I have the firm conviction that **the United States cannot escape its fate, that is to say, its final defeat, no matter what its manoeuvres.**

The negotiations of which you spoke are linked with your assumption that the Vietnamese people are not strong enough to resist the aggressors; in fact, there is no ground for such an assumption today. In our view, **the present situation is extremely favourable to the Vietnamese people, and extremely unfavourable to U.S. imperialism.** It is the Vietnamese people who are winning victory, and not U.S. imperialism which is engaged in "escalation." Today, **it is U.S. imperialism and its lackeys who need negotiations to gain a breathing space and get out of their impasse, not the Vietnamese people.** Viewing the matter as a whole, we

are not against negotiation. But, like the Vietnamese people, we are resolutely opposed to the "unconditional discussions" of the Johnson Administration, a fraud under the cover of negotiations for peace. We firmly support the proposition put forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation that the 1954 Geneva agreements should be revived; the United States should withdraw its aggressive troops from south Viet Nam; the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation is the only legal representative of the south Vietnamese people; the internal affairs of south Viet Nam should be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves; the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam is exclusively an affair of the Vietnamese people. By "unconditional discussions," the United States in reality means that U.S. troops will obstinately hang on in south Viet Nam and the United States will stubbornly refuse to recognize the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as the only legal representative of the south Vietnamese people, that it will completely negate the 1954 Geneva agreements and the reunification of Viet Nam by transforming south Viet Nam into a puppet state under U.S. control. In other words, the United States wants to persist in its aggression against Viet Nam until its last breath. The U.S. peace negotiations plot is only an attempt to obtain from the conference table what it has failed to obtain on the battlefield. It is evident that such peaceful negotiations can only be beneficial to the aggressors.

Certain well-intentioned friends wish to see an early end to the war in Viet Nam and advocate peaceful negotiations. This wish is understandable. However, I would like to put them on their guard. If peaceful negotiations are not held on the basis of the conditions put forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, no question can be solved; on the contrary, the sufferings of the south Vietnamese people would be prolonged under U.S. imperialist domination and their sacrifices would be heavier than they would sustain in their resistance.

Question: It seems that the pressure of world public opinion is considered as one of the important factors in the struggle to stop U.S. aggression in Viet Nam.

But world public opinion, in particular, progressive opinion, is perplexed by the continuation of the polemics between People's China and the U.S.S.R. Don't you think that the polemics tend to divert world public opinion from the important problem and, therefore, play a negative role?

Answer: This is not my view. You can see that world public opinion clearly opposes U.S. aggression against Viet Nam and, recently, U.S. aggression against the Dominican Republic. It is true that certain persons with ulterior motives seek to create confusion among those who are not acquainted with the true situation. This is not due to the polemics which you spoke about. The polemics themselves concern a series of major questions of principle, including the important question of whether one should struggle resolutely against U.S. imperialism and firmly support the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations. **The polemics help the people of the whole world to distinguish between truth and falsehood, between real and sham struggle against imperialism, and between real and sham support for this struggle; they contribute to the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. aggression and enable them to see through the political intrigues of the United States. Consequently, the polemics are not negative but positive. They contribute greatly to the mobilization of the people the world over to stand even more resolutely on the side of the Vietnamese people and struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.**

Question: In case of intensification of the war in Viet Nam, do you see any possibility of common and concerted action with the U.S.S.R. to help the Vietnamese people?

Answer: The Vietnamese people are engaged in a just war against U.S. imperialist aggression. Even before intensification of the war, all socialist countries should unite closely and support the Vietnamese people with all their force; otherwise they would no longer be socialist countries. All common and concerted actions should be based on a common understanding of the aggressors and on a common determination to fight against them. Common action would be possible on such a basis, otherwise it would be impossible.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4)

In Peking, 15,000 youngsters celebrated the day at the Workers' Gymnasium together with many foreign children. Chairman Chu Teh of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament Arudji Kartawinata, Chairman M. H. Williams of the Communist Party of New Zealand and Just Lippe, Mem-

ber of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway, joined the children in the festivities.

In Shanghai, May 29 was especially memorable. Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling joined in the afternoon celebrations at the Children's Palace of the China Welfare Institute.

Many children were particularly happy on June 1—a day to be remembered in their young lives—for this was when they joined the Young Pioneers, donning their red scarves

for the first time. The nation's youngsters are now well cared-for, growing up healthy and strong and educated in the spirit of communism. On the eve of Children's Day, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China issued a call to organize—through separate organizations for the younger and older children—and bring up the younger generation to be successors to the proletarian revolution and train them to temper themselves in the revolutionary struggle.

"A DRAMATIC CHANGE"

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of an article by Observer published in "Renmin Ribao" on June 1. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE Johnson Administration is stepping up efforts to send more and more U.S. troops to Viet Nam. It appears that it really wants to escalate the war of aggression against Viet Nam into a Korean-type local war.

What is the proof of this? Did Rusk not say in his May 26 statement that "there has not been any dramatic change in the situation" in south Viet Nam? In reality the statement was only a smokescreen.

Let's look at the following facts and see if there is any "dramatic change" in the situation.

Large numbers of U.S. troops have already been sent to south Viet Nam and the number is growing. They have risen from 23,000 at the end of last year to more than 50,000 today. Some reports say that in the next few months they will be increased to 75,000. Other reports claim that they will go up to 100,000, 200,000, 300,000 or even 500,000. To perpetuate its occupation of south Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration has been compelled to make American troops bear the brunt of the battle. The aggressive U.S. troops which landed at Da Nang and Chu Lai in south Viet Nam have already launched many attacks on the liberated areas and even have mounted "scorched-earth offensives." The U.S. Seventh Fleet has also taken a direct part in these offensives and bombarded liberated areas along the coast.

In order to internationalize the war of aggression against Viet Nam, the Johnson Administration is now getting more and more troops of its satellites into the morass. A battalion of Australian reinforcements is on the way. New Zealand has announced that it will send one battery of artillery. Thailand and south Korea are ready to provide more cannon-fodder and the Philippine authorities say they will send ground forces to south Viet Nam. The United States has also asked military representatives of the SEATO bloc countries to draft plans for participating in the war in Viet Nam.

U.S. air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are moving further north; U.S. aeroplanes have intruded more frequently over areas north of the 20th Parallel and cold-bloodedly bombed crowded residential areas, and they have intruded over the suburbs of Hanoi several times. There have also been repeated clamours

for attacking Vietnamese industrial areas and the communication lines between China and Viet Nam. These U.S. planes not only come from south Viet Nam and aircraft carriers but also from Thailand. They have not only broadened the scope of their raids on the southern and northern parts of Viet Nam but have also heavily attacked the Laotian liberated areas. By these military moves the United States has not only completely broken the provisional military demarcation line on the 17th Parallel, as stipulated by the Geneva agreements, but has also smashed across the borders between Laos, Viet Nam and Thailand and turned this region into a battlefield where the United States runs amuck.

At the same time, the United States raises a hue and cry that D.R.V. regular troops are entering south Viet Nam and talks about massive concentrations of Chinese troops on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Obviously the United States is creating a pretext for extending the war. Washington has already let it be known that U.S. generals are no longer afraid of fighting a war on the Asian mainland.

Is all this not a dramatic change? And is it not an indication that the Johnson Administration wants to have a big go in south Viet Nam, further extend the war of aggression against north Viet Nam, and is preparing to extend the war from Indo-China to Southeast Asia and even to China?

In the face of this dramatic change, **it is necessary to tell the U.S. aggressors in unmistakable and crystal-clear language:**

Since the United States has sent large numbers of troops to make inroads into south Viet Nam, all the Vietnamese people, including those in the north, have secured the right to exert their utmost to hit back at the U.S. aggressors. Since the U.S. aggressors are bombing north Viet Nam round the clock, then **the provisional military demarcation line at the 17th Parallel no longer exists and the people of north Viet Nam have no further restrictions whatsoever in assisting their compatriots in the south.**

Since the United States, in defiance of the Chinese people's many warnings, has not only sent large numbers of its own troops but also has mustered troops of its satellite countries to invade Viet Nam, China's fraternal neighbour, **the Chinese people have secured the right to do all in their power to aid the Vietnamese people in hitting back at the U.S. aggressors.**

With U.S. and puppet planes breaking through the 17th Parallel day and night, the United States nevertheless hopes to have the 17th Parallel as a line to prevent the people in north Viet Nam from assisting their brothers in the south. Such wishful thinking is ridiculous! The United States raises a hue and cry about north Viet Nam sending men to the south. Why all the fuss? The United States is stepping up aggression against Viet Nam, trying at any cost to convert south Viet Nam into its colony; why should the people of north Viet Nam not have the right to assist their own flesh and blood?

The people of north Viet Nam always have the right to do this. Now that the U.S. aggressors are sending military reinforcements by the thousands, the people of north Viet Nam all the more have the right to do so. The Vietnamese magazine *Hoc Tap* has put it very well: "It is the sacred obligation of the people of the north to give vigorous support in every way to our compatriots in the south fighting for liberation." "The Vietnamese nation is a single entity. Viet Nam is a unified country. By no means can any of the Vietnamese people tolerate U.S. imperialist aggression against any part of their beloved fatherland and they are fully entitled to help each other in killing the enemy and saving the country."

While steadily expanding aggression in Viet Nam, the United States nevertheless wants China to stand idly by. This is also ridiculous wishful thinking. The United States raises a howl about how China is assisting Viet Nam. Why all the fuss? The United States, all the way from the other side of the ocean, has sent troops to China's neighbouring country, threatening China's security daily. Why should socialist China not give all-out support to socialist, fraternal Viet Nam?

China has long since had the right to do this. China is duty-bound to uphold the Geneva agreements and has the obligation to aid the Vietnamese people. No amount of threats or intimidation on the part of U.S. imperialism can stop this. Now that U.S. imperialism is sending large numbers of reinforcements to south Viet Nam, expanding air raids in the north, and more and more seriously threatening China's security, the Chinese people all the more have the right to take every additional measure that is necessary.

We are fully aware of the seriousness of the U.S. imperialist manoeuvres to intensify aggression in Viet Nam. The 30 million Vietnamese people and the 650 million Chinese people, who share each other's hardships and hate the same enemy, are determined to fight to the end to throw the U.S. aggressors out of Viet Nam!

What Shastri's Soviet Trip Reveals

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" on May 27. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

INDIAN Prime Minister Shastri seems highly satisfied with his recent visit to the Soviet Union. He repeatedly stated that the visit was "of particular significance," that it was "definitely useful," that it "will bring India and the Soviet Union much closer to each other."

Why is he so pleased?

Everyone knows that things have long been in a bad way for the Shastri government. As a result of continued adherence to a foreign policy of dependence on U.S. imperialism and a domestic policy which opposes communism and the people, the regime has become more isolated than ever internationally and has met with unprecedented difficulties at home. As the Indian press has put it: "The Shastri government is in an era of crises."

To cope with this difficult situation, the Indian reactionaries have, in addition to relying on their Washington benefactors, pinned their hopes on Mos-

cow. That is why Shastri journeyed northward and knocked at the Kremlin gates so soon after Indian President Radhakrishnan returned from Moscow.

To do him justice, Shastri's trip was not in vain.

He got money. The Soviet leaders acted handsomely. It was reported that they had promised him 900 million U.S. dollars in economic aid.

He also got plenty of political capital. The Soviet leaders spared no effort to lavish praise and heap honours on him.

According to the Soviet leaders, the Indian Government initiated the policy of non-alignment, played an important role in the struggle for peace and international security and restrained the forces of war and strengthened the forces of peace. Indeed, no eulogy could be more grandiloquent than this.

But what are the facts after all?

As everybody knows, the Indian Government has received a large amount of U.S. military "aid" for arms expansion and war preparations, and India has been put under the U.S. "air umbrella" and has supplied the United States with naval and air force bases. In the Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, the Dominican Republic

and on the "Malaysia" question, the Indian Government has acted as a U.S. accomplice by donning different masks. In fact, militarily and politically, India long ago entered into alliance with the United States.

India's "non-alignment" policy has long become as much a sham as the emperor's new "clothes" in one of Hans Andersen's fairy tales. The *Hindustan Times* has had to admit that New Delhi's non-alignment policy no longer exists while the *Indian Express* was even more frank when it said that in fact India had become allied with the West.

In international affairs, the role of the Indian reactionaries, who sit in the lap of U.S. imperialism and serve it faithfully, is nothing like what the leaders of the Soviet Union have claimed: "restraining the war forces" and "strengthening the peace forces." **Rather, the hard reality is that the Indian Government's actions have helped the war forces and harmed the peace forces.**

A particularly striking example of this is the behaviour of the Indian reactionaries on the question of Viet Nam.

It is universally accepted that U.S. imperialism has wrecked the Geneva agreements and committed aggression against south Viet Nam. **As Chairman of the International Commission in Viet Nam, the Indian Government, instead of fulfilling its duties by condemning and checking U.S. aggression, has strained every nerve to be of service to U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam.**

When U.S. imperialism was seeking pretexts to step up its "special war," the Indian Government abused its powers as Chairman of the International Commission and abetted U.S. imperialism by concocting a report which falsely accused the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam of committing "aggression" in south Viet Nam.

After U.S. imperialism began desperately bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam last February 7, the Indian Government hastened to issue one statement after another, alleging that "in Viet Nam . . . there has been interference from many quarters." By doing this, it tried to confuse right and wrong and hoodwink the world.

When U.S. imperialism encountered serious difficulties in its aggressive war in Viet Nam, the Indian Government was a partner to the Tito group in initiating a so-called appeal for negotiations "without posing any preconditions" in order to help the Johnson Administration to peddle the hoax of "unconditional discussions" and legalize the U.S. occupation of south Viet Nam.

When U.S. imperialism declared its intention of occupying south Viet Nam and partitioning Viet Nam permanently, the Indian Government bestirred itself to establish a so-called Afro-Asian force with which to "control" and "maintain" the "present boundary" and thus try to perpetuate the division of

Viet Nam and make that Afro-Asian force a gendarmerie for the U.S. occupation of south Viet Nam.

Even during his Moscow stay, Shastri did not neglect his role as political broker for U.S. imperialism on the Viet Nam question. He advertised that "every endeavour must be made to bring the parties concerned to the conference table." And, in tune with the fraud of "temporary suspension of bombing" which Lyndon Johnson was then playing, he called loudly for the cessation of bombing of north Viet Nam to "create an appropriate atmosphere for a peaceful settlement."

Johnson's special envoy Henry Cabot Lodge declared not long ago that Shastri knew what the United States wanted to do and wished the United States success. This let the cat out of the bag.

It is not at all surprising that U.S. imperialism should so highly appreciate Shastri's role in the Viet Nam question. **But on what grounds, people have the right to ask, did the Soviet leaders allege that this favourite of Washington's "restrains the forces of war and strengthens the forces of peace?" What made them repeatedly express the wish that Shastri would make a "new worthy contribution" to the Viet Nam situation? What else did they want if not to encourage Shastri to redouble his efforts in the service of the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression against Viet Nam?**

The reason why the Soviet leaders set such store by Shastri and praise him to the skies is that he is a rare anti-China cavalier as well as Washington's pet. The record of this Prime Minister of India is striking witness to the fact that Shastri loyally continues Nehru's anti-China policy.

The Soviet leaders not only gave Shastri a royal reception but provided him with a forum for unbridled attacks on China. Slandering China by insinuation, he said in Moscow that "some countries look at our Indian territory with covetous eyes and are attempting to infringe on our borders. Thus, a menace to our territorial integrity and national sovereignty is posed." In the presence of the Soviet leaders, he attacked China for exploding its second atom bomb and said, "Whereas your country is trying to promote measures for nuclear disarmament, China has detonated another nuclear device." He described China's nuclear test conducted to counter the U.S. nuclear menace as "the most serious threat to peace in the world" and even cried out for "appropriate measures to fight this menace."

The Soviet leaders took the lead in applauding Shastri's anti-China statements. Moscow radio and television carried his speeches to the whole nation and *Pravda* and *Izvestia* devoted whole pages to them. The joint Soviet-Indian communique specially emphasized the need for "the adoption of effective measures against any proliferation of nuclear weapons" and the impermissibility of the "use of force" to solve "border and territorial disputes." **Thus it is clear that the Soviet leaders and the Indian reactionaries are bed fellows in opposing socialist China.**

Alignment with the Indian reactionaries against China is an important integral part of Khrushchovian revisionism. The formation of an anti-China alliance made twin brothers of Khrushchov and Nehru. Now one of them has fallen and the other is dead. **Khrushchov's successors are pursuing the Khrushchov line to form an anti-China alliance with Nehru's successors.** From the moment the new Soviet leaders came to power, they vowed to the Indian reactionaries that Soviet policy towards India would remain unchanged. **Now they have made a heavy capital investment in Shastri. This demonstrates their determination to unite with India in opposition to China.**

Let's take a look at India's appraisal of Shastri's visit to the Soviet Union. PTI reported on May 19 that the Indian Government was "particularly struck" by the unusual reception accorded Shastri by the Soviet leaders which was "not marked in the visit of any

other foreign dignitary to the Soviet Union in recent years." Indian Ambassador in Moscow T.N. Kaul said: "The visit of Shastri has achieved far greater results than I had expected both in the political and economic spheres, in the shape of further understanding between the Indian Prime Minister and the Soviet leaders, and also in broader economic co-operation in the future."

The Indian reactionaries are political duds. All efforts to whitewash them politically or to give them an economic shot in the arm are futile. Neither dollars nor rubles can save them. The more Khrushchov's successors fraternize with the Indian reactionaries, the more clearly will their revisionist face be exposed. Since Khrushchov's line of alignment with India against China has become bankrupt, will the present Soviet leaders fare any better than Khrushchov when travelling the same path as he?

On the Farm Front

To Get Stable, High Yields

by CHEN HSUEH-NUNG

FARMS throughout China are engaged in a large-scale, mass effort in capital construction. Stage by stage and area by area, they aim to turn the greater part of the country's cultivated land, in not too long a period, into farmland that will give stable, high yields despite long dry spells or too much rain.

Under the guidance of the state agricultural departments, every region is drawing up plans for this. Those areas selected to pioneer the way have already begun to put their plans into effect building water conservancy works, levelling and contouring land, improving their soils and undertaking various other measures of water and soil conservation. At the same time, up-to-date techniques to raise farm yields are being widely popularized. Industrial, commercial, communications and transport, scientific, cultural and other departments and enterprises are being mobilized to do all they can to back up this effort on the farm front.

Important Task

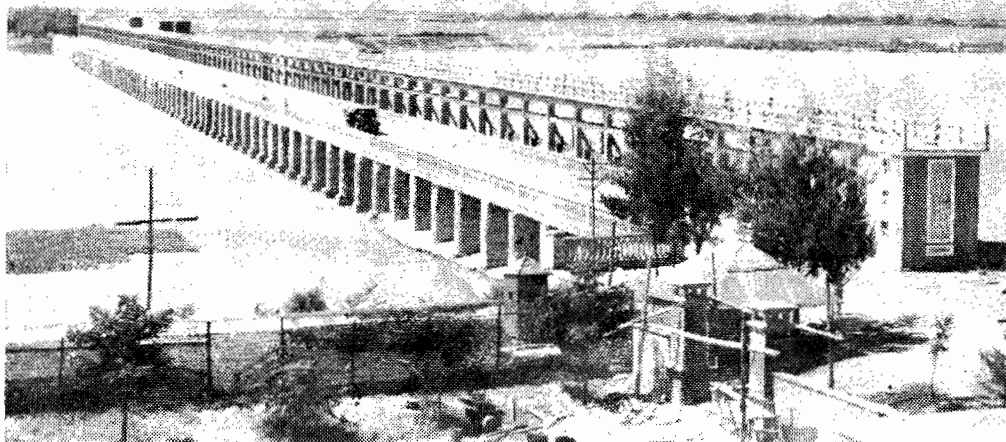
China's peasants have long dreamt of solving the problems of food and clothing by ensuring stable, high yields. But the old society with its feudal system of landlord exploitation stifled the peasants' enthusiasm for production and obstructed the growth of the productive forces. Undernourished and inadequately clad, the peasants with their small individual plots were powerless against natural calamities. Under such conditions, it was impossible to realize their aspirations.

After liberation, nationwide land reform was carried out and the peasants became masters of the land

they tilled. They grew rapidly in political understanding and their initiative and enthusiasm in production soared. In 1953, Chinese agriculture took the path of collective farming. Five years later, with the birth of the rural people's communes, the peasants' collectives became larger and of a more developed socialist character. With more manpower, greater financial and material resources and stronger leadership than the co-op farms, it became possible to plan production and construction on a larger scale. This opened the way for faster and greater developments in agricultural production.

Since the setting up of the people's communes, much has been done in the way of capital construction on the farms and in summing up and popularizing the best farming experience. Particularly after the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1959 announced the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy, industry and all other branches of the economy have given immense aid to agriculture. At the same time great progress has been made in agricultural science and techniques. All this has helped raise farm yields steadily and many farms have appeared which can be relied upon to give stable, high yields.

Nevertheless, harvests in the main still depend too much on the current weather and the level of farm production as a whole is still relatively low. Most farms still reap a good harvest in some years but not in others. Some places are getting steadily higher yields but others



One of the three dams in Tenghai County

are merely maintaining yields or even falling back. This is because the agricultural base inherited from the old society is still weak, which is not surprising, of course, only fifteen years after liberation. But since agriculture is the foundation of the national economy, fluctuating harvests inevitably have adverse effects on economic development. Hence the importance of stable, high-yield farmland, land which will give big increases in yields in a normal year and good harvests even in years of abnormal weather.

When most of the nation's farmland is raised to this level, a tremendous increase in agricultural output will be assured. This will also mean a larger, more dependable supply of raw materials to expand industrial production, a bigger and more dependable home market, and a much higher standard of living for the people. The national economy as a whole will be carried to a new stage. The creation of stable, high-yield farms is therefore an important strategic task of socialist construction.

Effective Way to Expand Farm Output

There are only two ways to expand agricultural production — either by bringing more land under crops or by raising yields.

China has a surface area of about 14,900 million *mu*, only 11 per cent of this is now cultivated. Large areas of the remainder can be turned into cropland, and since liberation the government and people have put considerable effort into reclaiming it. Tens of millions of *mu* of new land have been brought under the plough and in the coming years more wasteland will be opened up in a planned way. But for some time to come, the stress in China's agricultural development will not be on reclaiming wasteland but mainly on creating stable, high-yield farms and by raising yields.

This method gives more immediate and bigger benefits and needs less capital outlay. The main reasons

for this are that, firstly, there is a big potential for higher yields on existing farmland. Secondly, in many areas the creation of stable, high-yield farms involves mainly questions of water (irrigation and drainage) and soil amelioration. In most cases marked results can be got from well-planned small-scale projects such as small water-retention works, ditches and channels to irrigate and drain the fields, levelling the land, terracing the hillsides, soil amelioration and planting small shelter-belts. Such projects demand no great efforts or

capital investments. One small project may benefit only a few dozen *mu* of land, but when all these are added up on a national scale the total area giving stable, high yields is not inconsiderable. Thirdly, the Chinese peasants have a long tradition and rich experience in such capital construction on the land and in meticulous and intensive farming. The scientific summing up of their experience and widespread publicizing of the results will be of immense value in raising yields.

The policy of creating stable, high-yield farms and raising yields therefore fully conforms with existing conditions in Chinese agriculture and well accords with the spirit of the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

Measure for Modernizing Agriculture

One of the goals of the Chinese people in building socialism is the modernizing of agriculture. This means essentially: mechanization, electrification, the extensive building of water conservancy works, widespread use of chemical fertilizers and farm chemicals and a corresponding rise in the level of agricultural science and techniques. This is a big undertaking needing for its realization a tremendous outlay in manpower, material and capital over a considerable period of time. Experience has shown that the creation of stable, high-yield farms is an effective method for speeding up completion of this big job of modernization. Each project completed, each technical innovation introduced by the farms in solving their own key production problems, brings them step by step closer to the goal of modernized farming.

A good example is the irrigation and drainage facilities already built. Tenghai County in Kwangtung Province, south China, for instance, is bounded on two sides by the sea. Its land is low lying and as it had no adequate water-control facilities it was perpetually

plagued either by drought or waterlogging. When farm co-ops were formed there the county Party committee led the people in building dams, dykes, sluice gates and digging irrigation and drainage ditches, thereby considerably increasing the county's ability to fight drought or waterlogging. After the people's communes were set up in 1958, they co-operated to build a large number of water conservancy projects. These included three dams totalling 1,848 metres and a 40-kilometre long sea dyke to keep out high, typhoon-driven tides. Today, with 85 per cent of the county's fields watered by the force of gravity, the average grain yield for the past few years has been above 1,000 *jin* per *mu*, with a steady increase each year. In striving to get stable, high yields Tenghai County, in fact, has laid the groundwork for an extensive irrigation and drainage system. Similar results have been achieved by counties and communes in other parts of the country.

In China, all revolutionary undertakings and construction follow the mass line and such reliance on the masses is particularly important in modernizing an agriculture which is based mainly on the collective economy of the people's communes. Experience shows that building stable, high-yield farms is an excellent means of mobilizing to the full the strength of the masses to create conditions for farm modernization. This means that the people's communes must give full play to the spirit of self-reliance, rely on the strength of their collective economy, make the fullest use of all available manpower, material resources and funds, undertake simple-to-do but highly effective capital construction projects on the farms, and popularize scientific methods and advanced techniques to get consistently high yields. In the process of building stable, high-yield farms, production is expanded, more funds are accumulated and the power of the collective economy is strengthened. All this enables the people's communes to improve the quality and effectiveness of their capital construction projects, buy more machinery and equipment to mechanize and electrify agriculture and purchase growing quantities of chemical fertilizers and farm chemicals.

With the people's communes making the most of their resources in building capital construction projects on their land, the state has been able to channel its own investments into particular sectors of the economy to speed up modernization of industry and produce more farm machines, chemical fertilizers and farm chemicals. This has enabled the state in fact to give greater and more effective assistance to the communes and, at the same time, to concentrate on building the bigger and medium-sized projects (such as reservoirs and power stations) which are still beyond the capacities of the communes but which can give a powerful impetus to the modernization of the farms.

Step by Step, Area by Area

The transformation of most of China's cultivated land into stable, high-yield farms must be done gradually, stage by stage. Every region has therefore

drawn up, or is drawing up annual plans guided by long-term, overall plans. They all aim at turning first one part or one place into stable, high-yield farmland and then gradually extending this area.

The initial effort is usually concentrated in a place which has the biggest potential for higher yields, and which requires only a few, relatively simple, inexpensive projects to give substantially greater yields in a short period. The aim is to get a speedy, effective increase in output so as to build up the economic strength of an area quickly and then go on to develop the less-favoured areas which require more complex efforts and relatively larger investments.

The state also contributes to and backs the efforts of people's communes. Most state aid has gone in recent years to selected areas which have relatively better farming conditions and grow larger quantities of marketable grain and industrial crops. In this way it has been possible to get more quickly the farm products needed for the national economy and the people's livelihood. Besides helping the state to accumulate capital faster, this provides a stronger material base from which to help agricultural construction in other areas at an opportune time.

In building stable, high-yield farms, the principles of adopting measures best adapted to local conditions and "seeking truth from facts" have been conscientiously followed. Before drawing up plans, careful surveys and studies are made to determine precisely what key problems need to be solved and what amount of manpower and materials is available. Along with the building of capital construction projects and technical reform in agriculture, advanced local experience is summed up and popularized. The best experience and scientific research results from outside are studied attentively and applied wherever possible.

Chinese agriculture is entering a new stage of development. The farmers of China have been inspired by successive years of increased yields, and enlightened and encouraged by the growing number of farms that have achieved stable, high yields. They have unfolded a large-scale movement to increase production by "comparing with the advanced, learning from and catching up with them, and helping the less advanced." The advanced are striving for further progress and are also enthusiastically passing along the fruits of their experience to others. The less advanced are taking the advanced as their exemplars, finding out exactly where the differences between them lie and making energetic efforts to catch up. Their common slogan is: Self-reliance! Forward with ever greater vigour! Their common aim is to continuously increase agricultural production, expand the stable, high-yield acreage and realize the modernization of agriculture step by step. The nation is confident that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and in a common advance with the whole national economy, these aims will be realized in the shortest possible time.

Yunnan's Minority Peoples on the Socialist Road

by HUANG CHANG-LU

THE Chinese nation includes more than 50 national minorities besides the Hans, the majority nationality. Members of 21 minorities live in Yunnan — more than in any other province. These include the Yis, Tais, Miaos, Huis, Pais, Tibetans, Was, Lahus, Lisus, Hanis and Tulungs. Six million people, a third of this southwestern border province's total population, are minority peoples; the rest are Hans.

With Yunnan's liberation in 1950, historic changes took place in the life of every nationality in the province. Centuries-old systems of national oppression and of class oppression and exploitation within each nationality itself, were abolished. New relations of equality, unity and mutual co-operation were established between the nationalities. The people took their destinies into their own hands. They have achieved remarkable successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Like the other nationalities in China, they are advancing rapidly on the socialist road of prosperity and happiness.

Bitter Past

For centuries before the liberation, the reactionary rulers carried out policies of national oppression and of "divide and rule" in Yunnan. In the past hundred years in particular, they submitted to aggression by U.S., British, French and Japanese imperialism, while themselves intensifying their cruel oppression of the minority peoples. The Kuomintang reactionaries even denied that there were national minorities in China. They declared that the various non-Han nationalities were merely separate "clans" of the Han nationality or peoples with different religious beliefs. They stopped at nothing to perpetuate their criminal rule and intensify their exploitation of the people of the various nationalities. KMT officials levied arbitrary taxes on the peoples, and together with their lawless troops extorted, plundered and raped. Bloody repression followed attempts to resist them. Members of the present Sunglin People's Commune of Hsuanwei County in eastern Yunnan, where Huis, Miaos, Yis and Hans live together, remember 11 raids by troops of the KMT reactionaries before liberation. One raid in 1949 took over 100 lives.

In addition to oppression and exploitation by imperialism and the reactionary rulers of the country, the

working people of the national minorities suffered brutal oppression and exploitation at the hands of the ruling classes of their own nationalities — landlords, serf-owners, slave-owners and headmen.

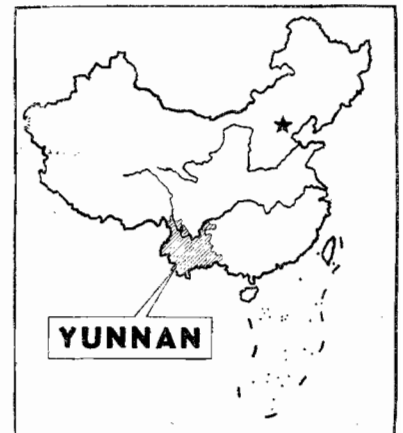
Those minorities with small populations and extremely backward economies were often oppressed too by the ruling classes of neighbouring minorities. The Pulangs, Hanis, Lahus and Yaos of the Hsi-shuangpanna region, for instance, were also oppressed by the feudal serf-owners

of the Tai nationality. Like the Tai serfs, they had to rent land from the Tai serf-owners, pay taxes, submit to their usury, and work three months of every year for them without compensation.

Under such conditions, social change came slowly to most of Yunnan's minorities; productivity was very low and their life was hard. At the time of liberation, peasants of such peoples as the Chingpos did not even know how to plough land with oxen; the Was and Nus were still planting seed, not in ploughed furrows, but in holes dug with wooden sticks. Some minorities were living in caves in the wildernesses, subsisting for more than half the year on wild fruits and vegetables or game. The Penglungs, Tulungs and other minorities with populations of only a few thousand each were driven to make their homes in mountain fastnesses or primeval forests, leading primitive lives. On the eve of liberation, they were on the verge of extinction.

New Life

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 ended the system of national oppression and opened a new epoch of equality, unity and common progress for all China's nationalities. The People's Liberation Army entered Yunnan Province and in



close collaboration with the minorities' working people, wiped out the remaining bands of KMT soldiers entrenched there and drove out the imperialist elements. The P.L.A. men observed strict discipline; they correctly implemented the Party's policy on the question of nationalities. They took not a needle or a thread from the people, helped them to carry water, sweep their yards, and do the farmwork. The minority peoples were amazed and deeply moved. "There never before was such an army," they said.

In 1950, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao sent a delegation to visit these peoples and to publicize among them the Party's national policies. Following this, many work-teams sent out by Yunnan provincial Party and government departments visited the different minority areas, made friends with and helped the local people in a hundred and one ways. They gave them guidance in new ways of farming, distributed relief supplies and state loans, helped them solve difficulties in their everyday life and productive activities, and settled long-standing feuds between the nationalities. Some minorities living in the remote border areas of Yunnan had suffered most severely from national and class oppression in the past, and had very few contacts with other peoples. The work-teams which went there had to be particularly painstaking and patient in their work. These activities played a major role in improving relations between the nationalities, solving misunderstandings between them and strengthening national unity. The minority peoples soon realized what a vast difference there was between the Communist Party and the People's Government and the reactionary governments of the past.

National Regional Autonomy

To enable the national minorities in Yunnan to enjoy full national equality and the right to manage their own affairs, the Party and Government instituted national regional autonomy in areas where the minority peoples live in compact communities. Beginning in 1953, eight autonomous *chou*, 14 autonomous counties and over 300 autonomous *hsiang* were set up.

The institution of national regional autonomy is a basic policy of the Chinese Communist Party for solving the national problem under Chinese conditions. It is a creative development of Marxist-Leninist principles on the national question. All national autonomous areas are integral parts of the People's Republic of China and the system of national regional autonomy is a part of China's system of the people's democratic dictatorship, in which democracy is exercised within the ranks of the people, and the working class unites all people with the rights of citizens — first of all, the peasants — to exercise dictatorship over the reactionary classes, the reactionaries and all elements who oppose the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Like organs of self-government elsewhere in the country, those of the autonomous *chou* and autonomous

counties in Yunnan, besides having the same powers and functions as all local organs of state as laid down in the Constitution, have the right to administer the autonomous areas' finances, organize local public security forces, and lay down regulations on the exercise of autonomy as well as other regulations. Government work is carried on in the spoken and written language or languages commonly in use in the area. Each organ of self-government takes the form which the majority of the people in that particular autonomous area wish.

Large numbers of revolutionary cadres have been trained from among the various national minorities in Yunnan. One of Yunnan's deputy provincial heads hails from one of the minorities; the heads of all the autonomous *chou* and counties are minority people. The Tulungs numbering only 2,500 also have a deputy *chou* head and a county head of their own. This greatly facilitates the exercise of national regional autonomy in the province.

Implementation of national regional autonomy has strengthened unity and mutual understanding between the nationalities. The Chingpos and Tais of the Tehlung area were set against each other by the ruling classes in the past and used to feud constantly. The Chingpos, living in the mountains, dared not come down to the plains where the Tais lived. When the Tehlung Autonomous *Chou* of the Tai and Chingpo Peoples was founded, the Tais invited the Chingpos to open up land on the plain and helped them in many ways to get their farms started.

On Socialist Road

With liberation from national oppression gained and national equality established, the next most urgent demand of the minority peoples was to end class oppression and exploitation within their own nationalities. They quickly learnt that full emancipation and true prosperity could only be achieved when the old, backward social systems and production relations were completely transformed and an advanced, socialist system and production relations established. To satisfy this demand, the Party led them in carrying out democratic reforms and the socialist transformation of their societies.

In Yunnan as in other areas, this advance was carried out step by step in an active and prudent way in accordance with the concrete conditions and specific features of each nationality.

The four million Pais, Chuangs, Huis, Nahsis, Miaos, Yaos, Pumis, Mongolians and the greater part of the Yis, who inhabit the hinterlands of Yunnan, live in mixed communities with the Hans. Before liberation, social-economic conditions in most of this area were in general similar to those of the Han-inhabited areas. Landlords held the greater part of the land and exploited the masses of the working people through rent, usury or hired labour. From 1951 to 1953, the

Party led the minority peoples here in carrying out democratic reforms in conjunction with the Hans. The landlords' land and other means of production were confiscated and distributed to landless or land-poor peasants, though the landlords too received a share of land; usury and hired labour were prohibited. The peasants, after receiving land and other means of production, not long afterwards formed mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives. In 1958, they formed people's communes.

Up to the time of the liberation systems of slavery and serfdom were still prevalent among the 1.6 million Tais, Hanis, Lahus, Achangs, Tibetans and the Yis of the Lesser Liangshan Mountains, who live on the outer borders of the province. Slave- and serf-owners owned all or most of the land and other means of production, the slaves did not even own their own persons, and generation after generation worked for their owners like cattle. The serfs were obliged to hand over more than a half of their yearly produce to the serf-owners, as well as work for them without compensation and pay various taxes.

After liberation, U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek special agents and bandits were entrenched just outside the borders of these areas and the struggle between the people and their enemies was still extremely sharp. The Party and Government therefore adopted a policy of prudent but sure and steady advance. A number of steps were taken first of all to publicize the Party's policy of national unity, to foster production and raise the level of revolutionary consciousness of the masses. By 1955, land reform was completed in the hinterland of Yunnan and the socialist transformation got under way. Under the influence of this revolutionary situation, the national minority peoples on the border lands urgently demanded democratic reforms. The Party and Government, therefore, mobilized the masses and resolutely carried these democratic reforms through, abolishing the centuries-old slave and serf systems. During the reforms, every former slave or serf received on an average 1.5 to 3 *mu* of land, every three households got an ox. As far as possible their needs in land and other means of production were thus basically satisfied. The peasants then immediately organized themselves and took the road to socialism. More than half of all peasant households in these areas have now joined farming co-operatives of a semi-socialist nature.

The approximately 600,000 people of the Lisu, Chingpo, Wa, Nu, Tulung, Penglung and Pulang nationalities living near the boundaries had already entered class society before liberation, but vestiges of primitive communal society still remained. Their economy had a very low level of productivity and the people's life was harsh. Here, the People's Government gave energetic help to the working people, especially the poor, to develop production. Relying on the poorest strata of peasants, it mobilized the masses to carry out democratic reforms step by step and abolished all systems of

exploitation. After this victory, the mutual-aid and co-operative movement in agriculture was unfolded, and the people were led onto the socialist road. Now large numbers of mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives have been organized in the areas where these minorities live and deep-going changes are taking place in their political, economic and cultural life.

In a word, the minority peoples in Yunnan have already embarked on the socialist road. As with the fraternal nationalities in the rest of the country, every step they have taken forward was made in the course of a sharp class struggle. Each step has been a revolution within their own nationalities, a revolution realized not by issuing government orders or through the "charity" of the ruling class but through the efforts of the masses of the minority working people, by mobilizing them to shatter the yoke of exploitation with their own hands. Yunnan's case proves once again that the reactionary ruling classes of the oppressor people or peoples must be overthrown by the oppressed people. It proves that the oppressed people must also overthrow the reactionary ruling classes among their own peoples, otherwise complete emancipation is impossible.

Socialist revolution and socialist construction are still in the preliminary stages among Yunnan's national minorities; it will take a very long time and great efforts before they can be thoroughly completed.

Self-Reliance and State Help

Freed from national and class oppression and having become masters of their own fates, the minority peoples of Yunnan show boundless political enthusiasm and initiative in productive work. United and respecting each other, they learn from each other new ways of farming and other production techniques. They have changed the face of mountains and rivers, built roads and bridges, and founded schools and hospitals, building a happy new life with their own hands.

They are building that life in a spirit of self-reliance, but the state has also given them powerful aid. In the early days after liberation, large sums in relief were allocated to them to help the poor and needy overcome difficulties due to lack of foodgrains, seeds and farm implements. Since 1957, the Government also allocated large sums in subsidies to the minority areas, helping them to build 10,000 small water conservancy projects, 600 electric power and other power stations, 40 new bridges and 30 mountain pack trails. Besides this, the state bought them 5,000 oxen, 3,000 tons of chemical fertilizers and insecticides and 20,000 small farm implements. When they left their refuges in the primeval forests ten years ago, some minorities did so with little more than their bare hands. The state provided them with oxen, farm implements, seeds, foodstuffs, clothing, cotton quilts, cooking utensils, and

much else. They were enabled to end centuries of a wandering life and settle down for the first time.

Since liberation, tens of thousands of cadres, technical personnel, workers, teachers, doctors and scientific workers were sent out by Yunnan provincial Party and Government departments to the various national autonomous *chou* and counties to help develop industry and agriculture, communications, trade, culture, education and health work. The majority of these men and women were of the Han nationality.

All-Round Progress

In the past 15 years, Yunnan's minority peoples, by diligent work and with state help, have made big achievements in the fields of agriculture, industry, culture and education. Here are a few examples.

The Hsishuangpanna Autonomous *Chou* of the Tai People, since it was founded in 1953, increased grain production by 70 per cent. In the ten years since the western Nuchiang Autonomous *Chou* of the Lisu People was founded, four out of its five counties enlarged their paddyrice area by one and a half times, and practically trebled grain output. The Tulungs living in the Tulung River valley in the northwestern part of Yunnan did not raise a single *mu* of paddyrice before liberation. Now there is an average of one *mu* per head, and everybody is getting twice the amount of grain they used to get. The 440 households of Chingpos, Penglung and Lisus who live on Santai Mountain in Luhsi County used to average only 100 *jin* of grain per person per year before liberation. Last year, each got 1,028 *jin*, over 6 times what they got in the early period after liberation.

Most of the minority areas in Yunnan had no industry before liberation. Now factories and plants for generating electricity, making paper, refining sugar, making farm implements and machinery and processing agricultural and subsidiary products have been set up. In 1963, total industrial output value was 25 times what it was in 1952.

One of the major reasons for the economic and cultural backwardness in Yunnan's minority areas in the past was the fact that it is criss-crossed by mountains and hills and communications were extremely poor. Before liberation, there was only one highway in the province that led to the national minority areas. From the borders to the hinterland, goods had to be transported on people's backs and by pack horse or pulled across rivers on ropes. Now highways link the provincial capital Kunming with every autonomous *chou*, and most of the 28 county seats in the border regions are also linked by highways.

Swift progress has also been made in culture and education. Fifteen years ago, most of the 21 minorities here had no written languages of their own. Some had very incomplete ones. Among others, there was not a single person who could read or write any language. Not a few of them made nicks on wooden boards



A Tai doctor on her round

or tied knots in strings to keep simple records. After liberation, with the help of the Nationalities Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, six of these peoples now have new or improved written languages. Some are already publishing newspapers and books in their own languages.

By 1963, four times as many minority youngsters were studying in primary and middle schools as compared with 1949; 40 times as many students were getting a higher education.

For generations, Yunnan's border areas were described as "lands of malaria." This and other infectious diseases were rampant, and population growth was seriously hampered. After liberation, medical and health organizations were set up to serve all these areas, and many medical and health workers were sent to staff them. There are now 41 times as many medical and health organizations there as in 1950, 42 times as many hospital beds and 39 times as many health and medical workers. Some of the infectious diseases which were widespread in the past have been wiped out, while others have been brought under control. In places which had a high incidence of malaria, the rate has now dropped to only a few in a thousand or even ten thousand. Due to the general improvement in standards of living and health, the populations of many national minorities have increased.

ROUND THE WORLD

Viet Nam Victory Scoreboard

300th U.S. Plane Downed

May 27 is a landmark in the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On that day they brought up to 300 the number of U.S. aircraft shot out of the skies since August 5. The big victory was celebrated in Hanoi and all parts of the country as soon as the news was released. A supplementary announcement the following day said an additional U.S. plane damaged over the town of Vinh in Nghe An Province had crashed into the sea. So the May 27 total really reads 301.

The people in south Viet Nam have also done very well in sending U.S. air pirates to their death. In the first 20 days of May alone, the Liberation Army and the guerrillas brought down 27 U.S. planes, including three B-57 jet bombers. This does not include the great losses the United States suffered from the explosion on May 16 at the Bien Hoa airbase which the Pentagon has tried to minimize. The South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency states that 149 U.S. aircraft, including 44 B-57's, were then destroyed or damaged and over 350 U.S. military personnel killed.

Beaucurd Soldiers. The U.S. marines in south Viet Nam who have been spoiling for a fight since landing in Da Nang got it in the neck in their first major engagement with the liberation armed forces. On May 27 units of the South Viet Nam Liberation Army took their enemy's measure. They picked an outpost on Thanh Mountain in Tam Ky District and overran it. In close-quarters fighting lasting a little over 20 minutes they killed 45 marines, wounded many others and sent the rest fleeing panic-stricken.

The U.S. outpost was surrounded by thick barbed wire entanglements and its approaches were heavily

mined. It lies between Quang Nam and Quang Ngai Provinces and a company of marines was stationed there to guard U.S. "seabees" building an airbase for jet aircraft nearby.

This was the first heavy defeat the U.S. marines suffered at the hands of the South Viet Nam Liberation Army in a direct encounter. The U.S. marines enjoy a "reputation" of being tough "leathernecks," vigorously trained in anti-guerrilla warfare and possessed of great fighting power. Cut down to size, they are nothing but beaucurd soldiers.

According to the South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency, the attack on the Tam Ky outpost was carried out with a special purpose. It was launched to greet the Second Conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity With the Workers and People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression scheduled to be held in Hanoi.

Radhakrishnan's Proposal

Denounced by Asian Opinion

In a recent statement a spokesman of the D.R.V. Ministry of Foreign Affairs branded the U.S. endorsed proposal put forward by Indian President Radhakrishnan as a move to "encourage U.S. imperialism to sabotage in a more brazen manner the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam and threaten still further the peace and security in this area." He said that by proposing to send an Asian-African force to police the provisional military demarcation line (the Indian President chose to call it the "boundary") the Indian Government shows that it supports the U.S. imperialists' scheme to perpetuate the division of Viet Nam.

Speaking for the National Front for Liberation, the South Viet Nam Liberation Press Agency on May 25 denounced the Indian proposal as an encroachment upon the sovereignty of Viet Nam. It said the proposal was

designed to serve U.S. interests, and the U.S. imperialists and their Saigon puppets had snatched at it like a drowning man snatching at a straw. This was not the first time that the Indian ruling circles had helped the U.S. imperialists. India, it stated, had been departing further and further from its position as Chairman of the International Commission in Viet Nam to take the side of U.S. imperialism.

Asian opinion outside Viet Nam has been enraged by the eagerness of the Indian Government to serve U.S. imperialism and save it from going down in the south Viet Nam bog. *Harian Rakjat* of Indonesia wrote editorially that it would seem from the proposal that the United States was not committing aggression in south Viet Nam and the existence of the U.S. troops there was not the source of all Viet Nam's suffering. Writing in *Ludu*, the noted Burmese columnist Daw Ahmah said "the present fighting in Viet Nam is not over a boundary dispute between the south and the north. It is a revolutionary war waged by the south Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. If both sides have to carry out a ceasefire, it will amount to justifying the U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam." The Voice of Laos said that the essence of this proposal was to create conditions for continued domination over south Viet Nam according to the piratical plans of U.S. imperialism and to perpetuate the partition of the country. The proposal, the Laotian broadcasting station noted, exposed the reactionary nature of the Indian Government. It was not a neutral but a vassal of U.S. imperialism.

Dominican Republic

O.A.S.—U.S. Cat's-Paw

For the second time in three days Dominican patriots staged demonstrations to protest against the continued U.S. armed aggression. Thousands turned out on May 30 in the area of Santo Domingo under the control of the Constitutional Government of Francisco Caamano to demand that the Yankees get out. The marchers also paid homage to those who had

fallen in the resistance, now entering its second month. Many women wore black to mourn their sons, husbands or brothers, and masses were said in the churches. An atmosphere of grim anger hung over the capital, bespeaking the determination of the Dominican people to rid their land of the invaders.

In other parts of the country the people have shown their solidarity with the patriots in Santo Domingo in opposing the U.S. aggression. Four thousand people in San Francisco de Macoris, capital of Duarte Province, following the example of Santiago, the second largest Dominican city, staged a demonstration on May 30 too to support the patriotic struggle against the Yankees. They demanded the restoration of the 1963 constitution, which was scrapped by the military junta in a U.S.-engineered coup of that year and which U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, determined to prolong the U.S. occupation, has dismissed as being "highly controversial."

In a letter to the notorious Organization of American States, nicknamed "the Department of U.S. Colonies," which is acting as Washington's cat's-paw, the Constitutional Government reiterated its demand for the withdrawal of the U.S. marines and paratroops and other foreign troops. It denounced O.A.S. collusion in the U.S. armed aggression, saying that "so far no one has been able to establish a difference between the interventionists and the O.A.S."

When force and trickery failed to impose a regime of Washington's choosing on the Caribbean republic. Jose Mora, Secretary-General of the O.A.S., who in the Dominican events has revealed himself an obedient U.S. servant, had instructions issued to the so-called "inter-American armed force" to take over important installations in the area controlled by the patriotic Dominican army and people.

This was an attempt to nibble away the areas held by the patriots and extend U.S. military rule. For the "inter-American armed force" with only five of the 19 Latin American member states sending token troops (three soldiers from Salvador,

THE STRUGGLE GROWS IN LATIN AMERICA



Sketch map by Su Li

two dozen policemen from Costa Rica and dozen tag contingents from Brazil, Nicaragua and Honduras) is a basically Yankee set-up with U.S. General Bruce Palmer as boss. The Central Bank has been taken over by Palmer's men. But attempts to occupy the National Palace near the U.S.-controlled "international safety zone" have met with stiff resistance from the patriotic forces. Fighting is reported around the palace, near the "military corridor" established by the U.S. troops and at other points in the capital.

In the meantime, President Johnson has been shedding crocodile

tears. After landing two of the eight reserve combat divisions held in the United States to massacre Dominicans, he has called for "an end to slaughter in the streets." In a speech in Texas on May 28 Johnson said, "In Santo Domingo the last month has been grim. The storm is not yet over . . . the path ahead is long and the way is hard." No, the storm is not yet over. This is true not only of the Dominican Republic but of other Latin American countries where the people have risen to fight the U.S. stooges and Yankee imperialism itself.

ACROSS THE LAND

More Schools for Country Children

Work While on Board, Study While at Anchor. On the western shore of Lake Taihu, nearly 3,000 families of Yihsing County, Kiangsu Province, live on boats the year round and depend on fishing and transport for a livelihood. While some of the children of these boating families can attend the normal elementary schools, most of them live with their parents on board and help with the work. This makes for some tricky educational problems.

Local educational authorities have tackled these difficulties by setting up 120 teaching centres especially for the boatmen's children in the towns and ports between which the fishing and transport boats ply, or near the fishery headquarters or sales stations where the boatmen go to sell their catches or lay in supplies. Pupils can attend classes during the day or evening. They have special cards in which their progress in each subject is recorded so that at their next port of call they can carry on with their studies exactly where they left off. Teachers, eager to meet their pupils' convenience, sometimes go out to give lessons on the boats if these are cruising not too far from port.

This flexible teaching method now enables 86 per cent of the 3,000 school-age boat children to go to school. In the days before liberation these boat people were among the poorest in China. Their children had almost no chance of attending any kind of school.

Part-Time Study, Part-Time Work Schools. The schools for boat people's children in Kiangsu are just one of many types of rural, part-time study, part-time work schools that are being formed all over the country in a new drive to make elementary education truly universal. These schools are being set up in large numbers either by the Government or by people's communes and their

production brigades with state help, and the number of school-going children has gone up with a leap. For example, 90 per cent of all school-age children in Yangyuan County, Hopei Province, are now attending six-year schools near home. Wherever possible the schools are free. Otherwise a small tuition fee is charged. The People's Government, in a spirit of "walking on two legs," is energetically backing this move in every way while building more full-time primary schools.

These schools are set up at a convenient central location in the villages or hamlets and their syllabuses and schedules are arranged with the convenience of their pupils and farm production in mind. During the busier farm seasons, school hours are shortened or staggered; sometimes classes are held in the evening or closed down altogether for a period to let pupils help on the farms. In the winters, classes go on all day. The poor and lower-middle peasant parents especially like the new arrangement because their children can attend school as well as work on the land and help with farmhouse chores.

The many variants of these schools depend on the needs of different communities. In a scattered mountain community, teachers will travel from hamlet to hamlet to give lessons. On the plains, schools are centrally located so that children study close to home. This does away with boarding fees and travelling expenses. On the Inner Mongolian pastures, mobile schools accompany the herdsmen and their families as they move with the herds and seasons.

Schools that combine work with study are not new. Large numbers, including middle schools, were established in 1958. What is new is that experience in running them has been summed up and used to advantage in many forms to get as many children

as possible inside the classrooms as quickly and economically as possible.

Wiping Out Silicosis

SHANSI'S collieries report dramatic success in their fight against silicosis. A recent X-ray screening of 42,000 miners in the province's coalmines shows that the incidence of this disease among men exposed to mineral dust is now 4.6 per cent and that most of these sufferers began work in the pits before liberation. Silicosis (a lung disease caused through constant inhaling of silicate or quartz dust) affected up to 90 per cent of the coal hewers in the capitalist mines of old China.

This success in virtually eradicating the disease is the result of determined efforts to protect the mine workers' health. Each year the mines here spend considerable sums on the purchase of dust-control equipment. In the larger mines wet drilling methods and the use of mist and water sprays at the coal face, better ventilation systems and all-round improvement in working conditions in the mines help to keep the dust down.

Since it has been shown that if dust is kept below a level of two mg. per cubic metre even years of exposure will not lead to the disease, this level has been made obligatory by the state for all mines. More than 100 personnel in the province have been specially trained to measure the density of silicon dust at the coal face and check the effectiveness of dust-prevention equipment. In addition, the mines have their own dust-control units which work in close collaboration with the medical and health departments. There are 63 silicate dust-control departments attached to the 31 modern hospitals and 436 clinics and health centres which serve the Shansi miners. These departments make regular check-ups on the miners and publicize anti-silicosis measures.

Strict attention to the general health of miners is another protective measure. New recruits to the industry get a thorough physical examination and only those who meet



Another Big Sugar-Cane Harvest

Woodcut by Sung Fci-teng

the stiff health standard set are allowed to work at the coal face. Miners who have contracted the disease are transferred to other work well away from the silicate dust. All medical attention is free of charge and miners, like other workers of New China, do not lose their pay while in hospital or sanatorium.

Best Sugar Season Ever

SUGAR output in the 1964-65 crushing season was the highest in China's history. Output of cane and beet sugar exceeded that of 1958-59, the previous best, by 20 per cent. It was 59 per cent above last season's. This season's record came from a bumper harvest which was grown on a smaller acreage than that of the 1958-59 season.

Kwangtung is China's biggest cane-growing province. Its 1964-65 sugar output was 100,000 tons heavier than last season's. Kwangzi produced 50,000 tons more, Szechuan 42,000 tons more, Yunnan nearly 50 per cent more and Fukien 200 per cent as much as in the 1963-64 season.

By the time the crushing season ended in April, the press reported that the sugar-cane acreage planted this spring is the largest in recent years. Kwangtung Province has topped its planting plan by 350,000 mu. Other cane-growing areas in

the south, and sugar-beet areas in the northeast have also put a larger area under cane or beet. Heilungkiang, the country's leading sugar-beet grower, planted an area 18 per cent larger than last year, using better strains and ploughing in more manure.

Though the country's refineries last year got equipment for handling an extra 15,000 tons a day of sugar cane and beet, their capacity was severely taxed by the big crops which came in. They are now expanding capacity further in readiness for the still larger harvests expected this autumn.

Science-Industry Co-operation

A new form of co-operation between science and industry is growing among factories and scientific institutions in Peking. Scientists not only pass on their research results to manufacturers but also continue to supervise and assist the adoption of their newly devised techniques in the factories. This gives them the chance to see at close range how their experimental results work out under industrial conditions. Factories, by introducing the new techniques with such expert aid, have been able to leap straight to highly advanced industrial methods and swiftly master the production of new products which the nation needs.

The Peking city scientific and technical commission has helped promote such co-operation among more than 100 factories and related scientific institutions.

A notable example has been co-operation between the Peking Transformer Factory and a research institute under the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry which resulted in the successful manufacture of high-power silicon rectifiers (to convert alternating current into direct). Silicon rectifiers are more compact than the mercury variety and are up to 15 per cent more efficient. But they are also much more difficult to build. The factory, which had grown out of an amalgamation of a dozen modest workshops, lacked the means to make the new product. On the other hand, the institute had got its experience in making silicon rectifiers only in laboratory experiments which needed to be tried out and improved in regular factory production.

Institute and factory decided to co-operate and a sum of 100,000 yuan was set aside to get production of the new rectifiers started. A new workshop was designed by the institute, which helped train the technicians and skilled workers needed, and also loaned its most experienced engineers to the factory until production was under way.

As a result, the factory has entered a new stage in its development while the institute has gained valuable information from industrial pilot tests of its research results.

Briefs

A hundred experienced Shanghai nurses and medical workers who have been studying in their spare time, have qualified as doctors, pharmacists and laboratory technicians.

* * *

The spring afforestation campaign completed in north China this year planted an area 46 per cent greater than last year. The 13 provinces and autonomous regions involved closely linked the campaign with soil and water conservation and desert control.

PEKING OPERA

"The Red Signal Lantern"

The Red Signal Lantern is an outstanding example of contemporary revolutionary Peking opera skilfully adapting traditional conventions, music and settings to portray revolutionary heroes and heroines. It gives a dramatic glimpse into the underground Communist-led struggle against the Japanese invaders in the 1940s.

Three Generations

The focus of interest is a switchman, Li Yu-ho, an underground Party member, and his family—his aged mother and teenage daughter. They live in a small Japanese-occupied town in northeast China. Using the facilities provided by his work, Li often acts as liaison between the city underground and the guerrillas in the nearby mountains. The events described begin when Li receives the key to a secret code to hand on to the guerrillas. Before he is able to fulfil his mission, he is betrayed by a traitor and taken prisoner. He is questioned in vain, tempted with bribes, threatened, and finally tortured by the chief of the local Japanese military police. Hatoyama. Meanwhile at home, his mother, a woman who has gone through much

for the revolution, reveals to her grand-daughter Tieh-mei the story of the family's past. They had lived under one roof for seventeen years, but unknown to Tieh-mei, none of them were actually related by blood. In 1923, Li was a young worker who took part in the famous February 7th strike on the Peking-Hankow Railway. The old woman and the baby Tieh-mei belonged to the families of his two close comrades who fell in the bloody warlord suppression of the strike. United by working-class solidarity, the old woman and Li had lived together as mother and son, bringing up the child and secretly carrying on revolutionary work. This revelation steels Tieh-mei, who sees new meaning in her life and resolves to fight for the cause.

Then the enemy's hands close over the two women. They are seized. After futile attempts to make them talk, all three are brought to the execution ground. Yet when the shots are fired, only two of them fall—a cruel trick has been played on Tieh-mei in the hope of shocking the girl into betrayal. She stands the test. She is then released by Hatoyama as a decoy. But she eludes him, finds the guerrillas, and finally joins them with the code.

Throughout the story, Li Yu-ho's red signal lantern, which he uses in

his railway duties, plays a big part. It is a memento left him by his fallen comrades 17 years ago. It is also his secret token in contacting underground comrades; it is a family heirloom that gives Tieh-mei strength when she is left alone. It appears in the play as a symbol for the light of the revolution guiding the working class through the darkness of old China, the lantern handed down from the older generations to the younger, burning ever more brightly.

Unlike *Raid on the Tiger Regiment*, which makes great play with the acrobatics of Peking opera (see P.R. No. 3, 1965), this play centres mainly on singing, recitative and acting, three other important elements of China's traditional theatre. There are, however, no ready-made traditional conventions of singing, recitative and acting to portray modern heroes of the working class. These are now being created. The producers of *Red Signal Lantern* have used discretion as well as a bold hand in deciding what traditional conventions should be retained or rejected and where new conventions must be created. One of their most important accomplishments is the way they have utilized and adapted old, and devised new, conventions to build up the three positive characters.

Working-Class Hero

Of the three, Li Yu-ho is the central figure.

The opening scene introduces him: a seasoned underground worker. In an autumn night with a cold north wind blowing, Li Yu-ho waits out in the open near the railway track for the train that brings the comrade with the secret code. Traditional Peking opera would have had him come on stage in the slow, exaggerated walk of the *lao sheng* (old man's role), a pause at each step to give effect. This is obviously too slow for the pace of this drama. In *Red Signal Lantern*, Li Yu-ho comes on stage to the quick beat of the drums and cymbals. He turns to face the audience, holds up his red lamp, circles to the front of the stage, pause for a stance, surveys the night, and sings his lines. The turn, the way he holds his lamp, his cautious look around, each is a concentrated



Li Yu-ho and Hatoyama in the "birthday banquet" scene



Grandmother tells Tieh-mei of the family's past

expression of feeling. His first appearance leaves a deep impression.

In a subsequent scene, Li Yu-ho, already betrayed, receives an "invitation" to Hatoyama's "birthday banquet." Both he and his mother know he will probably not come back. Much could have been said and done at this moment to win the audience's sympathy. The production chooses a powerful economy of means. Just before Li is escorted away by the Japanese, the mother imperiously gestures them to wait. She calmly pours out a drink and gives it to her son with both hands. "I have never approved of you drinking," she says slowly. "But today let me give you this." Li takes the bowl of wine, holds it up, drains it at one gulp. Each movement, derived from tradition, has a monumental quality. In a ringing voice he says: "Thanks — thanks — mother." The short words, accompanied by music and percussion and spoken with the special rhythm of Peking opera recitative, have the impact of steel on steel. An unspoken pledge has been made by both sides never to waver. Instead of the tragedy it might have been, the scene uplifts the spirit.

Victor and Vanquished

Two scenes of face-to-face conflict between Li Yu-ho and Hatoyama are

perhaps the most revealing ones in Li's characterization. Hatoyama is a negative character acted along the lines of the traditional *hua lian* (painted face). His role is important in that he is used as contrast to highlight the incorruptible spirit of Li Yu-ho.

In the "birthday banquet" scene, Hatoyama tries wine, women, money and coercion on Li. All having failed, he strips off the mask and orders Li to be taken to the torture room. Then Li is brought back. His tottering step shows his injured condition, but cannot hide his inner fire. He slams his fist on the table, points a finger at Hatoyama and pours out his contempt in a passage of singing. In spite of all his men and show, Hatoyama's image — mountain of flesh though he is — wilts in the audience's eyes while Li's grows in stature.

In the execution scene, the dramatic conflict of the story reaches a climax. Two moving meetings between mother and son, and father and daughter take place behind prison bars. Each knows the end is near, but not a word of sorrow or regret is exchanged. In another superb passage of singing, Li Yu-ho expresses his conviction that Japanese imperialism will be driven out and China's complete liberation from all reactionary rule is not far off. He sings:

"As I go to my execution, I see —

The red flag of the revolution flying high.

The day will come when

The stormy skies will clear,

And a hundred flowers blossom in beauty.

A new China,

Rising like the sun,

Sheds its rays over the land."

Just before the execution, Hatoyama makes a last effort, almost a plea now for Li Yu-ho to change his mind. It is brushed aside. As the three walk unbowed up the hill slope to meet their death, Li's heroic image is complete. Hatoyama lives, the

vanquished; Li Yu-ho dies, the victor.

Grandmother and Granddaughter

The part of Mother Li is acted along the lines of the traditional *lao dan* (old woman's role) and Tieh-mei in that of the *hua dan* (vivacious young woman). Both actresses too have creatively developed their roles. In some passages the mother's singing is given strength and assurance by infusion of elements of the male *hua lian* role.

In the key scene where, after Li Yu-ho's arrest, she tells the story of the family's past to Tieh-mei, there is a long recitative of 80 lines. She starts the story in a level tone, mainly in the diction of modern play-acting. But as she reconstructs that stormy night of the railway strike years ago when Li Yu-ho, holding the orphaned Tieh-mei, rushed into her home and told her of her husband's death, she abruptly raises her voice and changes into stylized Peking opera recitative. This device gives great emotional stress to the narration. Then follows a tense exchange of questions and answers between Tieh-mei and her grandmother — a traditional means often employed to build up a dramatic climax. The whole passage is cast not in a mood of sorrow and nostalgia, but in a spirit of pride in those glorious days of struggle. Through her narration, the present struggle of the family is linked with that past. Tieh-mei, instead of being submerged by emotion and sorrow, is given strength to look forward to the future.

Tieh-mei is another key figure in that she epitomizes the up-coming generation who carries on the fight. The coquettish element in the traditional *hua dan* characterization is discarded; at first, Tieh-mei is childish and impulsive but instinctively sympathetic to her father's revolutionary activities — the daughter of a working-class family. As her character is unfolded, she matures, and her courage and resourcefulness come to the fore. Her singing in the scene when she comes back from the execution ground to the now-empty home, sees the red lantern and vows to complete her father's and grandmother's unfinished task, is particularly expressive.



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