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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- How to bring up the children of China as worthy successors to the revolutionary cause is the keynote of Madame Soong Ching Ling’s article published on International Children’s Day, in the nation’s major papers; this is also the theme of a speech by Teng Ying-chao, Vice-President of the National Women’s Federation and the Renmin Ribao editorial of June 1.

- Newspapers frontpaged reports on the fine style of work of the cadres of Hsiyang County, Shansi Province, who keep up the practice of regularly taking part in productive labour on the farms. Commenting on this, Renmin Ribao published an editorial on the great revolutionary significance of cadres taking part in physical labour.

- The summer harvest has begun. A good crop is in the offing. If the weather holds good, it’ll be a better crop than last summer’s.

- A jet pilot of Chiang Kai-shek’s air force came over to the side of the people. He flew from Taiwan to the Chinese mainland in his F-86F Sabrejet.


The press also printed a speech made by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, at a mass rally in Djakarta on May 26 on the 43rd anniversary of the founding of the Party stressing that modern revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement today.

- Renmin Ribao on May 31 published in full the joint U.S.S.R.-Cuba statement.

- The Chinese Foreign Ministry on June 2 sent a note to the Indian Embassy in China rejecting an unwarranted protest of the Indian Government over three alleged cases of Chinese soldiers entering the Spanggur Lake area. It points out that this area has always been China’s territory, and that the Indian Government has no right at all to raise any objection against Chinese activities there.

Children’s Day

Mass festivities greeted International Children’s Day in China.

Fifteen thousand youngsters of the capital celebrated the festival together with many foreign children and guests at a big gathering in the Workers’ Gymnasium. Vice-Mayor Wu Han greeted them there, and they enjoyed a morning watching table tennis matches, acrobatics, juggling and other attractions. All the parks of the capital were open free to the children that day. Theatres, cinemas, radio and TV stations arranged special programmes for them.

In Shanghai, 4,000 children gathered at a campfire party in the Children’s Palace to celebrate the day with model workers, armymen of the “Good 8th Company on Nanking Road,” well-known stage artists and young foreign guests. There were other gay get-togethers in schools and parks in Shanghai, and in Tientsin, Shenyang, Harbin, Hangchow, Chungking, Lhasa and many other cities. Wherever there were children in China, June 1 was unmistakably Children’s Day.

Greetings From Soong Ching Ling

Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People’s Republic Soong Ching Ling sent the nation’s children a special message of greetings which was carried by all the leading newspapers in the country. She congratulated the children on their happy life today, on living at a time when the Chinese people are carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction with might and main under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. She told them that they must know how they got this happiness, that they must not forget...
the past. They must not forget the oppression and exploitation their elders suffered at the hands of the reactionaries, landlords and capitalists in the old society, the humiliations the imperialists imposed on our country in the past, the valiant struggles of countless revolutionary forerunners who laid down their lives for the cause of liberation of the Chinese people, and the heroic exploits of the children who followed the Communist Party in the long revolutionary struggle. She told them that they must always remember all this and let the revolutionary tradition take root in their young hearts. This, she said, would help steel them into worthy heirs of the revolution.

The need to educate the youngsters in class consciousness and class struggle, give them an all-round training and bring them up with fine moral, intellectual and physical qualities was also stressed in Renmin Ribao's June 1 editorial. It said that the children should be taught to cherish, right from their childhood, the thought of serving the people and the noble ideals of working for communism, so that when they grew up they could withstand the stresses of the class struggle and shoulder heavy responsibilities.

Teng Ying-chao's Message. Parents, representatives of women's organizations, teachers and child-care workers in various cities also took the opportunity to discuss and exchange views on educating the younger generation in the proletarian outlook and revolutionary ideals.

At a meeting held by the Peking Women's Federation, Teng Ying-chao, Vice-President of the National Women's Federation and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's National Committee in Defence of Children, spoke to over 1,000 parents, child-care workers and representatives of women's organizations.

In bringing up the children to become young builders of socialism and communism and prepare them to work wholeheartedly for the interests of the people and the cause of the liberation of mankind despite all difficulties and hardships, she stressed that, first and foremost, they should be educated in class consciousness and the tradition of revolution with living ideas and examples. Through day-to-day happenings, she said, the youngsters should be helped to distinguish right from wrong from the proletarian standpoint, and so enhance their understanding and become more class conscious.

In our society today, she told them, "there still exist classes and class struggles, while bourgeois ideas and the force of habit of the old society still have a deep influence. Internationally, there still exist the imperialist bloc headed by the United States, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists; within the country our class enemies are deliberately trying by every possible means to spread their poisonous influence." Hence the necessity to educate the youngsters in class consciousness and revolutionary tradition; teach them to love the Communist Party and the motherland, to love socialism and the labouring people; imbue them with sympathy for the struggle of all the oppressed nations and peoples, with the spirit of internationalism, and with hatred for class exploitation and the old society, for the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists.

Teng Ying-chao added that the children should be tempered through study, manual work and collective life, and that they should be taught to love the collective and be glad to help others. She attached great importance to parents, teachers and child-care workers setting a good example for the young. For only in this way and through concerted efforts by all, she concluded, could we bring up our younger generations to be staunch builders of socialism and communism.

Chen Yi Entertains Four Asian Envoys

The Ambassadors of Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam were guests of honour at a banquet given on May 31 by Vice-Premier and Madame Chen Yi to thank the four countries for the warm reception they gave to Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi during their recent visits.

Present at the banquet were Indonesian Ambassador Sukarni Kartodirjo, Burmese Ambassador Kyaw Winn and his wife, Cambodian Ambassador Sisowath Sirik Matak and his wife, Vietnamese Charge d'Affaires ad interim Le Tan and his wife, Prince Naradipo, son of the Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk, was also present.

Addressing the guests of honour at the banquet, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the recent visits of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to their countries had turned a new page in the friendly relations between them and China. During the visits, Chairman Liu had had fruitful talks with President Sukarno, Chairman Ne Win, Prince Sihanouk and President Ho Chi Minh. The joint statements and communiques issued were important international documents of our time which would play a big role in the struggle of the world's people against imperialism and colonialism, the Vice-Premier pointed out.

"We five friendly countries unanimously uphold Laotian peace and neutrality, support the Laotian people in their struggle to implement the agreement of the enlarged Geneva conference and oppose U.S. imperialist intervention in Laos and sabotage of Laotian peace and neutrality. We also unanimously support the struggle of the people in south Viet Nam against U.S. imperialism," Vice-Premier Chen Yi continued.

"We support President Sukarno's proposal for the convening of a second Afro-Asian Conference and Indonesia's proposal to hold the Games of the New Emerging Forces."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi thanked the four countries for their support for the Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan and for the demand to restore to China her legitimate seat in the United Nations. He also thanked them for their appreciation of the measures taken by China for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Unity Against Common Enemy

Two visiting Japanese delegations — of journalists and relief workers — signed joint statements with their Chinese counterparts on May 28. They express the common conviction of the peoples of the two countries that U.S. imperialism is their common and most rabid enemy and the determination of the two peoples to help and support each other in the struggle to smash the schemes of U.S. imperialism.

The Japanese journalists' delegation headed by Kazuo Asami came to China at the invitation of the Chinese journalists' association after attend-
ing the First Asian and African Journalists' Conference held in Djakarta in April. During their visit, the Japanese journalists exchanged views with their Chinese colleagues on many questions of common interest. The joint statement they signed hailed the Djakarta conference as "a great success" that "further advanced the Bandung spirit of opposing imperialism and colonialism and strengthening the unity of the Asian and African countries." It also hailed the documents adopted as "a common programme for Asian and African journalists in their future work and struggles."

The statement reaffirmed that U.S. imperialism was the most vicious and common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. It declared that the journalists of the two countries would give each other active support in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism whose policies of war and aggression were meeting increasing opposition from the people of the whole world. Noting that the militant friendship between Chinese and Japanese journalists was growing daily, the joint statement declared that they would continue to develop their friendly relations and co-operation and struggle resolutely against their common enemy till final victory.

Relief Associations' Statement. The delegation of the Japanese National Relief Association was headed by Kisaku Saito. It came to China on April 30 and took part in the May Day celebrations in Peking, after which it visited Wuhan, Changsha, Hangzhou, Shanghai and other cities. The joint statement it signed with the Chinese People's Relief Administration was the third such statement signed by the two organizations. Like the two earlier statements signed in 1960 and 1961, the present joint statement reaffirmed that exchanges of visits and views further strengthened the unity and militant friendship of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The Chinese People's Relief Administration, said the statement, paid high tribute to the Japanese National Relief Association for its struggle to expose and combat the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' plot of suppressing the Japanese workers and other democratic forces, for its work in assisting the defendants in the Matsukawa and Shiratori cases and to other victims of oppression and their families, and for its contribution to the Japanese people's struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. It pledged firm support to the just, patriotic struggle of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism, which, the joint statement said, was the common enemy of the peoples of the two countries.

"U.S. imperialism," the joint statement declared, "menaces world peace, and is the source of calamities for the people of all countries. The two sides reaffirm that they are determined to fight with all their strength to consolidate further the solidarity of the Chinese and Japanese peoples, root this source of calamities and defend Asian and world peace."

Back to the People With His Plane

Captain Hsu Ting-tse of Chiang Kai-shek's air force in Taiwan flew his U.S.-made F-86F jetfighter over to the Chinese mainland and landed safely at an airport in east China on the morning of June 1. He was given a warm welcome by the Chinese People's Liberation Army and local residents.

Hsu Ting-tse was a pilot of the 43rd Squadron, 11th Group, 2nd Wing of Chiang's air force.

On June 3 he was received by Air Force General Liu Ya-lou, Vice-Minister of National Defence and Commander of the P.L.A. Air Force. General Liu said that for Kuomintang air force personnel the right thing to do was to come over to the Chinese mainland with their planes. Those who had chosen to do so had been honoured by the people, the Communist Party and the Government.

The next day a rally was held in Fukien at which Hsu Ting-tse received his award. Before 1,200 P.L.A. officers of various units on the Fukien front and amidst thunderous applause, General Liu Ya-lou, on behalf of Minister of National Defence Marshal Lin Piao, officially granted him the rank of a major of the P.L.A. Air Force and presented him with a certificate for the award of 2,500 liang of gold (1 liang equals 1.1023 ounces). This award was given in accordance with the government regulations for rewarding Chiang Kai-shek air force personnel coming over to the side of the people.

In a speech made at the ceremony, General Liu pointed out that Hsu Ting-tse's patriotic act had won him the welcome of the whole nation.

He specially noted that Hsu had come over at a time when the Kuomintang gang was clamouring for a comeback offensive against the mainland and feverishly preparing for harassing attacks against the southeastern coastal areas. Hsu's act, he said, also marked the beginning of the crossing over of the Chiang air force personnel with their jetfighters following the announcement of the P.L.A. regulations on rewarding Chiang air and naval personnel for coming over to the side of the people.

General Liu pointed out that Hsu's return showed that not only the people in Taiwan but officers and men of the Chiang forces as well could no longer stand the U.S. imperialist occupation of the island and Chiang
Kai-shek’s misrule. The growing strength of the motherland and its bright future are exerting an ever greater attraction for Chiang’s troops.

Since 1949, the general continued, 42 Chiang air personnel had come over to our side with 31 planes. These men had received a warm welcome from the people and were now working actively for socialism and the advance of China’s aviation. The Chinese people would definitely liberate Taiwan, he said. He called on Chiang military personnel to follow Hsu’s lead and return to the embrace of their motherland. He exhorted Hsu Ting-tse to study and work hard to do his bit for the country.

Deeply moved, the former Chiang pilot expressed thanks for the welcome and honour accorded him. He said that while in Taiwan he had understood very well that as a tool of the Chiang gang he had no future. The hearts of the military personnel in Taiwan were with the motherland, he declared. It was under such circumstances that he had come back. He pledged that he would work hard to repay the kindness of the people.

Returned Chinese Settle in Yunnan

Seven hundred and forty-one of the Chinese who were persecuted in India and returned from there in April are settling down in new homes in Yunnan Province. They are joining with spirit in China’s socialist construction.

They were given a real home-coming welcome on their arrival in Kunming, provincial capital of Yunnan in southwest China. Hundreds of people welcomed them at the station, and hundreds more saw to their needs at their temporary quarters. Among those welcoming them were many whom the Indian Government had earlier forced on the flimsiest pretexts to leave India.

It was a joyous home-coming. The welcoming rally held for them was attended by more than 1,000 representatives of all the nationalities who live in Kunming. Vice-Governor of Yunnan Liu Pi-yun, welcoming them at the rally, said he felt sure they would find both land and climate in Yunnan suitable. He gave them a lively description of the progress the province had made since liberation—in contrast to the backwater it was under reactionary rule. There were, he said, unbounded opportunities here in the home country for them to turn to good account their energy and talents in the common cause of building socialism.

Everything possible has been arranged for the convenience of the returnees and to help them settle down. As many of them are tea growers, carpenters, mechanics or building workers, they will join farms run by other returned overseas Chinese or be given other jobs according to their skills and wishes. The Ping-yuanchien, Pinchu and Taiho state farms run by returned overseas Chinese have built new quarters for prospective new members among them. When they have settled down, their children will go to suitable schools. The middle school for overseas Chinese students in Kunming, for one, has already completed preparations for taking in additional students.

Altogether, over 900 Chinese nationals returned from India in April. The rest of this first group of returnees are as well looked after as the 741 who have decided to make their new homes in Yunnan. Some of them will soon join their families in their native counties, while others will go to places where they wish to settle down.

Kwangtung Beats Drought

While most parts of the country this year have received adequate rainfall, subtropical Kwangtung Province has been hit by the worst drought in living memory. But the heart-warming news is that the people’s communes there have successfully transplanted rice seedlings on more than 90 per cent of the planned acreage. This phenomenal success is to be attributed mainly to the extensive water conservancy works built over the past few years and to the collective efforts the workers and peasants of the province have organized to overcome the difficulties caused by the long dry spell.

Kwangtung was hit by a severe drought in 1943. The dry spell that year parched most of the farmland, caused complete crop failure or greatly reduced yields on 80 per cent of the cultivated land. Famished peasants deserted many villages, and about 3 million people died of hunger.

The drought this year is much worse than that of 1943. There has been scanty rainfall in the seven months from last October to May this year, and rain gauges in most parts of the province show 30 to 60 per cent less rainfall than in 1943. Despite all this, the early rice seedlings have been transplanted in time and are growing sturdily. The paddyfields in the Pearl River Delta and on the Chaowan-Swatow plain now look like a lush, green carpet.

It is irrigation that has done the trick. Since 1958, thousands of reservoirs of all sizes have been built, with irrigation channels crisscrossing the land like the fabric of a net. These and the thousands of pumping stations powered by electricity or diesel engines have extended the irrigated acreage many times, making it possible for the commune members to get the transplanting of early rice done on most of the farmland in good time. In the Pearl River Delta, one of Kwangtung’s major rice-producing areas, the 1,600 electrically-powered pumping stations built in recent years have sent an endless flow of water from the rivers, reservoirs and ponds to the paddyfields to water the seedlings. On the Leichow Peninsula facing Hainan Island, where drought used to be a constant menace, the Youth Canal Irrigation system and the many reservoirs built since 1958 have proved their effectiveness against this year’s drought—the worst in the last 60 years and more.

Timely and well-organized collective effort played its part too in combating the long dry spell. When signs of drought first made their appearance, the Communist Party committee of Kwangtung Province at once mobilized the people to take appropriate measures. Industrial and communications departments sent shipments of pumping machines and other equipment to the villages, while thousands upon thousands of cadres, technicians and workers went to the countryside to fight the drought together with the commune members. They built temporary dams on the rivers to raise their water level for irrigation and sank wells to get water for the paddyfields. These efforts have paid off handsomely and

(Continued on p. 31.)
The Indonesian People’s Revolutionary Struggle and the Indonesian Communist Party

In Celebration of the 43rd Anniversary of the Founding of the Indonesian Communist Party

by HSIUNG FU

Following is an abridged translation of an article published in the May 20 combined issue (Nos. 10-11) of “Hongqi,” theoretical fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

The Indonesian people’s struggle against imperialism, for complete national independence and in defence of their democratic freedoms has developed rapidly in the past ten years or so. Their struggle smashed the dreams of the Dutch colonialists and imperialism headed by the United States to turn Indonesia once again into a colony and defeated the frenzied attacks on the people’s revolutionary cause by the reactionary forces at home which are fostered by imperialism headed by the United States. In this struggle, the Indonesian people have greatly increased their political consciousness, strengthened their unity and accumulated rich, useful experiences. The victorious growth of the Indonesian people’s anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle has greatly inspired other peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for national liberation and has made valuable contributions to the defeat of the aggressive and war policies of imperialism headed by the United States and to the defence of Asian and world peace.

The Indonesian people have a glorious anti-imperialist tradition. In the late 15th century and afterwards, the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch colonialists successively invaded Indonesia. In the more than 300 years from the early 17th century to World War II, the Dutch colonialists step by step nibbled away at the territory of Indonesia and finally occupied the whole country. During those long, dark days, the Indonesian people, in order to realize their aspirations for national independence, never ceased to resist the foreign colonialists.

The birth of the Indonesian Communist Party in May 1920, marked a historic milestone on the road to Indonesia’s national independence and the Indonesian working people’s social liberation. In 1926, under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party, the Indonesian people launched a large-scale uprising against Dutch rule, dealing a heavy blow to the Dutch colonialists. Under the Japanese fascist military occupation in World War II, the Indonesian people, the Indonesian Communist Party and other patriotic democratic forces, in the teeth of ruthless persecution, persevered in heroic struggles to drive out the Japanese fascists until final victory in the anti-fascist war was won.

August Revolution

After the end of World War II, the Indonesian people started their August Revolution with the struggle for their complete national independence as its main content. On August 17, 1945, Indonesia declared its independence and the Republic of Indonesia with Sukarno as President was founded. But the U.S. and British imperialists and the Dutch colonialists supported by them, colluding with each other, were bent on crushing the Indonesian people’s struggle for complete national independence. The British imperialists sent troops to Indonesia nominally to accept the Japanese surrender and then used Japanese fascist troops to clear the way for the “reconquest” of Indonesia by the Dutch colonialists. In a vain-attempt to restore their colonial rule, the Dutch sent troops to launch a military attack against the Republic of Indonesia. The U.S. imperialists vigorously supported this attack by giving the British and Dutch colonialists large supplies of arms and money. While stepping up their armed attack and imposing an economic blockade on the Republic of Indonesia, the Dutch colonialists adopted the tactic of splitting the unity of Indonesia’s anti-Dutch front under the camouflage of “peaceful negotiations.” They wooed and bought over groups of compromisers and capitulationists in Indonesia in their endeavours to subvert the young republic from within and without. They used Indonesia’s traitors to set up the state of “Eastern Indonesia” and 14 other puppet states in opposition to the republic.

To protect the young republic, the Indonesian Communist Party, together with other patriotic and democratic forces represented by Sukarno, raised the battle cry of “once independent, independent for ever” and other militant slogans, and mobilized the masses of the people to launch a large-scale armed struggle against aggression. This struggle won the support of the peoples and progressive public opinion in the world. The British and Dutch imperialists were defeated in their plot to strangle the republic by military means. But the then government headed by Sjahrir, a Right-wing Socialist, adopted a policy
of compromise and capitulation and in November 1946 concluded with the Dutch colonialists the “Linggaardjati Agreement” which caused Indonesia loss of sovereignty and brought humiliation to the country. The policy of the Sjarhrir government aroused the strong opposition of the Indonesian people. Under their pressure, the government was forced to step down in June 1947 and a new government led by Sjarifuddin, a Communist, was formed.

Though frustrated in their aim to bring the Indonesian people to their knees, the Dutch colonialists did not give up. Soon after the formation of the new government and with the support of U.S. and British imperialism, they unleashed an all-out colonial war against Indonesia. During this war, the U.S. imperialists, in addition to continuing to supply arms and loans on a large scale, sent their military personnel to build aerodromes for the Dutch colonialists and directly help them complete their military deployment. Through the “Committee of Good Offices” of the United States, Belgium and Australia, formed according to a decision passed by the Security Council of the United Nations under U.S. manipulation, Washington openly intervened in the internal affairs of Indonesia and, wooing Indonesian reactionaries, plotted the subversion of the Sjarifuddin government, which was leading the troops and guerrillas of the republic in a resolute resistance to the Dutch colonialists’ armed attacks. Unfortunately, under the pressure of imperialism and the domestic reactionaries, the government collapsed in January 1948 and political power passed into the hands of the reactionary Hatta cabinet.

To give a more effective leadership to the struggle of the masses of the people against imperialism and the domestic reactionaries, the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party called a national representatives conference in August 1948, at which, summing up the experiences gained in its activities since the August Revolution, the Party passed the resolution “On the New Path of the Republic of Indonesia.” In his book The Birth and Growth of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Comrade Aidit points out that “the New Path Resolution laid the foundation for further improving the work of the Indonesian Communist Party in the united front, armed struggle, Party building and other fields,” that “the New Path Resolution is an important and first step in the building of a nationwide, Bolshevik Communist Party with close ties with the masses and consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally,” and that “the new policies of the Indonesian Communist Party as expounded in the New Path Resolution effectively aroused again the struggles of the masses and thus made it possible to bring about a new upsurge of the Indonesian revolution.”

Madiun Incident

In an attempt to hinder the continuing development of the Indonesian revolution and undermine the unity between the Indonesian Communist Party and other patriotic and democratic forces the Hatta government, supported by Dutch and U.S. imperialism, manufactured the bloody “Madiun incident” in September 1948. Under the lying pretext that the Indonesian Communist Party would “seize political power” in Madiun and “build a Soviet state,” it arrested and murdered Indonesian Communists and other progressives throughout the country. In this situation, the Indonesian Communists and other patriotic progressives had no alternative but to take up arms in self-defence against the reign of flagrant White terror. Demonstrating high heroism and firm revolutionary will in this struggle, the Indonesian Communists paid a heavy price for safeguarding Indonesia’s national interests. Many famous leaders and important cadres of the Indonesian Communist Party died martyrs’ deaths; about 10,000 people—Communists, workers, peasants, and those from other social strata and their leaders—were murdered in cold blood. But the counter-revolutionary atrocities of imperialism and the reactionaries failed to extinguish the angry flames of the Indonesian people’s revolution. Instead, their revolutionary movement against imperialism and for complete national independence continued unabated.

Another Colonial War

In order to bring the Indonesian people entirely under their colonial rule, and realize the criminal plan they had long advocated for the formation of a so-called federal government to swallow up the whole of Indonesia, the Dutch colonialists brazenly unleashed another large-scale colonial war against Indonesia in December 1948, immediately following the Madiun incident. The Dutch colonialists’ armed aggression aroused patriotic Indonesian soldiers and civilians again to a war of resistance. Knowing that the Dutch armed forces had started attacks, many Communists who were in concentration camps escaped and rushed to join in the struggle. The widespread guerrilla war waged by the Indonesian people dealt fresh, heavy blows to the Dutch colonialists. To safeguard its interests gained in aggression against Southeast Asia, U.S. imperialism continued to intervene in Indonesia by manipulating the United Nations and compelled the Indonesian Government to accept the unreasonable demands of the Dutch colonialists. The Hatta government which represented the interests of the Indonesian landlords and comprador bourgeoisie submitted itself to imperialism and betrayed Indonesia’s national interests. Directed by U.S. imperialism in the name of the United Nations, it concluded with the Dutch colonialists in November 1949 the humiliating, unequal “Round Table Conference Agreement.”

These above-mentioned facts show that in the historic period from the start of the August Revolution in 1945 to the signing of the “Round Table Conference Agreement” in 1949, there developed in Indonesia a most tortuous and complicated political situation in which serious national and class contradictions and struggles were interwoven: the bloody colonial war unleashed by imperialism and the revolutionary war waged by the Indonesian people for their complete national independence; the sowing of discord by imperialism and the compromise and capitulation to imperialism of domestic reactionaries and the struggle waged by the Indonesian people against splits and capitulation; the counter-revolutionary war conducted by imperialism and its lackeys to strangle the revolutionary forces and impose the reign of White terror and the war of self-defence fought by the Indonesian people against White terror. In this historic period, the Indonesian people, holding high the glorious banner of the August Revolution and defying all kinds of difficulties and hardships, persisted valiantly in the struggle. Throughout this period the Indonesian Communist Party stood in the
forefront of the revolutionary struggle and together with
the Indonesian people fought heroically for the completion
of the tasks of the August Revolution. The revolutionary
spirit manifested by the Indonesian people in the anti-
imperialist struggle won the admiration and praise of the
peoples all over the world. Although their revolutionary
struggles in this historic period suffered temporary
setbacks, the Indonesian people and the Indonesian Com-
munist Party acquired rich experience and learnt
very useful lessons from these struggles.

The "Round Table Conference Agreement" turned
independent Indonesia into a semi-colony. Although the
Dutch colonialists recognized that Indonesia enjoyed the
so-called right to self-government, its state power was
in fact completely controlled by the imperialists and first
of all by the Dutch colonialists. Indonesia was changed
into a member of the so-called Netherlands-Indonesian
Union. Indonesian state organs and armed forces
continued to be controlled by the Dutch colonialists' civilan officials and military officers; Indonesia's foreign
policy and foreign trade were under the control of the
Dutch colonialists. Important economic resources were
also in the grip of imperialist powers. West Irian, strate-
gically important and mineral-rich, was still completely
occupied by the Dutch colonialists.

U.S. Imperialism — Most Dangerous Enemy

It should be mentioned in particular that the "Round
Table Conference Agreement" opened the door for U.S.
imperialist penetration into Indonesia in the political,
economic and military fields. After the signing of the
"agreement," U.S. imperialism made use of the then reac-
tionary government of Indonesia to impose a series of
predatory and enslaving agreements upon the Indonesian
people and to expand its political and economic in-
fuence in the country. U.S. imperialism intensified its
interference in Indonesia's internal affairs and supplied
the Indonesian reactionary forces with arms and money
to suppress the country's revolutionary forces. The facts
have shown clearly that U.S. imperialism became more
and more the most dangerous enemy of Indonesia.

In this situation, the abrogation of the "Round Table
Conference Agreement" and the recovery of West Irian
became the demand of the entire Indonesian nation. Im-
mediately after the signing of this "agreement," the Politi-
cal Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party issued a
statement exposing the imperialist nature of the "agree-
ment" and pointing out that the Indonesian people should
mobilize all forces to fight for the complete independence
of their country. The Indonesian people waged a pro-
tracted and persistent struggle for the abrogation of the
humiliating, unequal "Round Table Conference Agree-
ment" and for the recovery of West Irian. Under the
pressure of the powerful mass movement, the Dutch
colonialists were forced in August 1954, to abolish the
"Netherlands-Indonesian Union" and nullify the agree-
ments forcing Indonesia into military, diplomatic and
cultural "co-operation" with the Dutch colonialists as
provided in the "Round Table Conference Agreement."

After the signing of the "Round Table Conference
Agreement," the Indonesian Communist Party saw in the
new situation the possibility of establishing a united
front with the national bourgeoisie and restoring the
Party's legal status. From the very beginning of this
period, the work of Party building was vigorously
strengthened. In 1951, a central leading nucleus headed
by Comrade Aidit was formed in the Indonesian Com-
munist Party, a new Political Bureau of the Central Com-
mitee of the Indonesian Communist Party was set up
and a Marxist-Leninist Party charter was worked out.
This has reinforced the Party's unity and coherence on
the basis of Marxism-Leninism and increased its fighting
power a hundredfold.

The democratic forces developed day by day in In-
donesia and the reactionary forces became ever more
isolated in this period as a result of the new upsurge
of the Indonesian people's struggle against imperialism and
for complete national independence, and because of the
fact that the Indonesian Communist Party at the begin-
ning of this period adopted the correct line and policy,
combining the establishment of the national united front
with the building of the Party.

Fifth National Congress of the Party

In March 1954, the Indonesian Communist Party held
its Fifth National Congress which was of historic signi-
ficance. The congress solved all the basic and important
questions concerning the Indonesian revolution. The
 congress pointed out that the way for Indonesia to rid
itself of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism lay in
changing the balance of forces between the imperialists,
the landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie on the one
hand and the people on the other, and in rousing, mobiliz-
ing and organizing the masses, primarily the workers
and peasants. The congress laid down two urgent tasks:
First, the establishment of an anti-imperialist national
united front led by the working class and on the basis
of an anti-feudal worker-peasant alliance. Second, con-
tinued building on a nationwide scale of a Party of a
mass character and completely consolidated ideologically,
politically and organizationally. The tremendous achieve-
ments of the congress were of inestimable historic signifi-
cance for the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle
and the rapid growth of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Following this Party congress, the Indonesian Com-
munist Party made arduous and outstanding efforts to
establish the national united front. It continued to fight
for the abrogation of the "Round Table Conference Agree-
ment" and the recovery of West Irian and strengthened
its unity with President Sukarno and other patriotic
democratic forces in Indonesia. The growth of the Indo-
nesian patriotic democratic forces dealt repeated blows
to the counter-revolutionary, anti-popular schemes of im-
perialism and the reactionaries and enabled the Indonesian
people to score one victory after another in their struggle
against imperialism and feudalism.

In 1956, the second All Sastroamidjojo government
unilaterally declared the complete abrogation of the
"Round Table Conference Agreement" and cancelled the
3,661 million guilders of "debts" to the Netherlands. As
a result, Indonesia in the main won political indepen-
dence over all its territory except West Irian. The victory
in this struggle was an immense inspiration to the Indo-

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nesian people in their further struggle to eliminate the Dutch colonialist forces and recover West Irian.

In October 1957, the Indonesian Government set up a National Action Committee for the Liberation of West Irian.

After the resolution on the West Irian question was voted down in the U.N. General Assembly at the end of November 1957 as a result of U.S. and Dutch imperialist manipulations, the Indonesian Government, under the leadership of President Sukarno, adopted the policy of wiping out the aggressive forces of the Dutch colonialists by relying on Indonesia’s own efforts and with the support of the anti-colonialist forces throughout the world. It launched a campaign to take over Dutch enterprises and brought the struggle to a new upsurge.

With the intensive development of the struggle, the unity of Indonesia’s anti-imperialist patriotic forces became daily more consolidated and strengthened and the U.S. imperialists and Dutch colonialists and their running dogs became increasingly isolated. But striving to retain their remnant colonial interests in Indonesia, the Dutch colonialists stubbornly opposed the recovery of West Irian by the Indonesian people. The U.S. imperialists regarded West Irian as an important military base in the Southwest Pacific for themselves and SEATO as well as a springboard for their military threats and subversive activities against Indonesia. Using various underhand tactics, they consistently tried to undermine the struggle of the Indonesian people for the recovery of West Irian.

Recovery of West Irian

The aggressive acts of the old and new colonialists set off a wave of anger throughout Indonesia and the Indonesian people became more and more determined to liberate West Irian.

On December 19, 1961, President Sukarno proclaimed the three orders for the liberation of West Irian, announced the start of a resolute, all-round struggle against the Dutch colonialists and called on the entire Indonesian people and all members of the armed forces to be ready for the liberation of West Irian. The Indonesian Communist Party raised the militant slogan of “democracy, unity and mobilization” and called on all Indonesian people to hold “gun in one hand and hoe in the other” to give energetic support to and thoroughly carry out the three orders. The Indonesian people warmly responded to President Sukarno’s call and 5 million people in all parts of Indonesia enrolled for the liberation of West Irian. Two thousand volunteers went on an expedition to West Irian and, fighting in co-ordination with the people’s guerrillas there, occupied a number of West Irian towns.

The heroic fighting of the Indonesian people’s armed forces dealt repeated blows to the Dutch colonialists and placed them in an ever more unfavourable position. They were eventually forced to negotiate and signed an agreement with Indonesia on the West Irian question in August 1962.

As a result of the Indonesian people’s continued persistent struggle, the Indonesian Government took over all administrative power in West Irian on May 1. This was an important victory of the Indonesian Government and people in their struggle to recover West Irian and achieve the unification of the country.

Struggle Against Rebellion and Subversion

The Indonesian people’s struggle for the abolition of the “Round Table Conference Agreement” and the liberation of West Irian was a serious political, economic and diplomatic fight against the new and old colonialists, and also a fierce military struggle against rebellion and subversion. The U.S. imperialists and Dutch colonialists intended to enslave the Indonesians once again, but their aggressive manoeuvres received one telling blow after another from the Indonesian people. After successive defeats, the imperialists and reactionaries turned to open military rebellions and subversive activities in a vain attempt to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. For many years the U.S. imperialists and Dutch colonialists fostered more than ten groups of armed bands in Indonesia and directed them in staging rebellions. Of these, the main ones were “D.I.-T.I.” in Java, “R.M.S.” in Moluccas and “PUSA” in north Sumatra. In 1956, U.S. imperialism and the Dutch colonialists successively instigated and aided Lubis, Hussein, Simbolon and other reactionary military officers to launch military coup d’etats and armed rebellions. In 1957, with U.S. imperialist support, the “P.R.R.I.-Permesta” clique revolted in north Sulawesi. Abetted again by U.S. imperialism, the Right-wing Socialists and Masjumi launched armed rebellions in central Sumatra, north Sulawesi and other places.

The iron-hard facts confirm that the Dutch and British imperialists, and particularly the U.S. imperialists, were wirepullers of various rebellious activities in Indonesia. Headed by the United States, the imperialists consistently shipped large quantities of ammunition and food to the rebel groups in Indonesia, provided them with funds, sent them military instructors, and directed them to sabotage the domestic economy and assassinate state leaders of the Republic of Indonesia. Moreover, the U.S. Seventh Fleet once attempted landings on north Pakanbaru. The United States even took a direct hand in the rebellions. It sent its airmen on wanton bombing missions over some regions of eastern Indonesia.

The successive rebellions engineered by the U.S. imperialists and Dutch colonialists caused the Republic of Indonesia serious difficulties. But the imperialists and the reactionaries, underestimating as always the strength of the people, made wrong appraisals of the situation. Supported by the people, the Indonesian Government took resolute measures to quell the armed rebellions incited by imperialism. Comrade Aidit issued a statement in February 1958 pledging full support for President Sukarno’s policy of ruthless suppression of the rebels and calling for further efforts to mobilize and unite all forces to back up the Central Government in smashing the schemings of the rebels. In response to the call for the defence of the revolutionary cause, the Indonesian people closed their ranks and fought valiantly to stamp out the rebellions. Many Communists and other people gave their lives in the course of this struggle. After protracted, arduous struggles, the Indonesian people eventually succeeded in putting down these rebellions. The Right-wing Socialists and Masjumi who engineered the rebel-
lions reaped the bitter fruits of what they had sown when they were disbanded in August 1960.

While fighting imperialism and crushing rebellions, the Indonesian people have also struggled for people's democracy and for the improvement of the people's livelihood. The Indonesian Communist Party has always held that in order to organize and mobilize the broad masses of workers and peasants for the accomplishment of the national revolution, it is essential to ensure the people's democratic rights, safeguard their vital interests and work in every way to solve their problems of food and clothing. To this end the Party has led the masses of the people in waging unremitting struggles.

The struggle of the Indonesian peasants to cast off the yoke of the feudal land system has made much headway. The Indonesian working class has also won great achievements in their struggle to uphold their trade-union and democratic rights and to improve their livelihood.

In February 1957, President Sukarno announced his programme for the establishment of a co-operative and mutual-help cabinet embracing the three forces of religious believers, nationalists and Communists, a programme generally known as "President Sukarno's Programme." The proclamation of the programme won the immediate approval of the Indonesian Communist Party, which called on the entire Indonesian population to support it wholeheartedly and strive to carry it out.

**Three Tasks Ahead**

On the basis of the victories already won, the Indonesian people are making continued efforts to fulfil the mission of the August Revolution. In his political report at the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, Comrade Aidit pointed out that the victories won by the Indonesian people were only preliminary ones and that the Indonesian Communists had before them the following three most urgent and practical tasks: 1. Consolidating the victories already won; 2. Overcoming economic difficulties; 3. Opposing neo-colonialism. This means that while opposing Dutch imperialism, it is necessary to pay special attention to opposing the most dangerous, number one enemy, U.S. imperialism. Dutch imperialism remains a dangerous enemy to the Indonesian people, for it still has considerable investments in Indonesia, continues to raise unjustified demands over the enterprises that have been taken over and nationalized, still maintains its former political relations and is trying hard to renew these relations. Recently, British imperialism has come out with its Malaysia plan, and the West German and Japanese imperialists have also begun their economic penetration. All this has aroused the vigilance of the Indonesian people. But of all the imperialists manoeuvring in Indonesia, the U.S. imperialists are the most dangerous, arch-enemy of the Indonesian people. U.S. imperialism is using every conceivable means to expand and consolidate its economic base as well as political influence in Indonesia. Under their so-called Programme for the Stabilization of the Economy, the U.S. imperialists are seeking to set up a disguised form of "Alliance for Progress" in Indonesia. They are also peddling in Indonesia their so-called Peace Corps. The United States has surpassed all other imperialist powers in political influence in Indonesia, in investments, and in military and cultural penetration as well. That is why the struggle against the danger of neo-colonialism is primarily a struggle against U.S. imperialism.

**Rich Experience of Struggle**

The Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people have stood the test of long revolutionary struggles since the founding of the Republic of Indonesia. There have been recurrent trials of strength and struggles between the Indonesian people on the one hand and imperialism and the domestic reactionaries on the other, during which the Party has gained rich experience. Proceeding from its scientific analysis of the class relations in the country, the Party has set forth its political line in the united front as, "to do its utmost, and work tirelessly to develop the progressive forces, to unite with the middle forces and to isolate the diehards." The advance of the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people is inseparable from this correct political line followed by the Indonesian Communist Party.

The Party attaches foremost importance to the development and consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance. It lays great emphasis on work among the peasantry and believes that the peasants are an important moving force of the revolution and are a strong and the most reliable ally of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, that the worker-peasant alliance is the basis of the people's struggle and that it is the cornerstone of the struggle waged by the entire people against their external enemies.

The Indonesian Communist Party believes that the most fundamental problem for the working class in establishing its revolutionary leadership in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal national united front is to ensure its effective leadership of the peasantry. It has formulated a revolutionary agrarian programme and laid down the class line and policies for its rural work. It sends its cadres to the countryside to conduct investigation and research, live and toil together with the peasants, help to train peasant cadres, consolidate and develop the revolutionary peasant organizations and carry on long, arduous and meticulous work among the peasantry. After these arduous efforts, the Indonesian revolutionary peasant organizations are growing in strength as never before, while the Party exerts a steadily increasing political influence among the peasants and has formed flesh-and-blood ties with them.

An extremely important problem in the united front is for the Party to handle correctly its relations with the national bourgeoisie. The Indonesian Communist Party, having in the past both co-operated and broken with the national bourgeoisie, has gained rich experience in this respect.

**Building of the Indonesian Communist Party**

The revolutionary gains of the Indonesian people are inseparable from the work done in the building of the Indonesian Communist Party. The Fifth National Congress of the Party pointed out that to realize the Party's political line, "the essential, central point lies with the Party itself — the question of building the Party." In the past decade and more, the Indonesian Communist Party has made ceaseless and painstaking efforts to build itself into a Marxist-Leninist Party of a national and broad
mass character, and one that is perfectly consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. Splendid results have been achieved.

The Indonesian Communist Party attaches exceptional importance to educating its members in Marxism-Leninism and, in Party building, lays particular emphasis on ideological building. The watchword it passes to its members for study and work is: "grasp Marxism-Leninism and take in the situation." It knows well how to arouse the enthusiasm of its members and cadres for studying political theory and how to lead, in a planned and organized way, its members in the study of Marxism-Leninism. It is good at summing up the experience of revolutionary practice at home and also at critically drawing ideological strength from the revolutionary struggles of other peoples and from the international communist movement in order to raise the theoretical, political and ideological level of the whole Party.

The Indonesian Communist Party educates all its members in the development of a style of work linking theory with practice, keeping close contact with the popular masses and making self-criticism; it adopts as its method of work the line of "from the masses and to the masses"; it calls for combining zealous work with persistent and untiring work and for combining the work of rousing the spirit with practical, profound and accurate day-to-day work, including work in the fields of organization, education, politics and ideology—a set of working directions characterized as "walking on two legs."

Consolidation and Growth of the Party

The sustained attention given to the building of the Party and adherence to the principles of democratic centralism and criticism and self-criticism have brought about a Marxist-Leninist ideological unity within the Indonesian Communist Party. The Party has thus consolidated itself politically, ideologically and organizationally. Its organizational growth has been in keeping with its work of ideological building. Its membership has increased from fewer than 10,000 in 1951 to more than 2 million at present with organizations now spreading throughout Indonesia. All this shows that the Indonesian Communist Party is worthy of being called the vanguard of the proletariat, full of revolutionary vigour. "It grows vigorously," to quote Comrade Aidit, "like a banyan whose roots are spreading and deep-lying and whose branches are strong and thick-leaved."

The Indonesian Communist Party is a party imbued with proletarian patriotism and also proletarian internationalism. Comrade Aidit said: "From the very day of its founding to this day, and assuredly in the future, too, the spirit of proletarian patriotism and internationalism has vitalized and will continue to vitalize the Indonesian Communist Party." He also said: "The Indonesian Communists will continue to struggle unremittingly for the unity of the international communist movement and for its high prestige, play an active part in this powerful movement and give expression to their proletarian internationalism in words and in deeds, for they believe that to strengthen the international communist movement is to strengthen the movement of the peoples of the world in opposing imperialism and striving for national independence, democracy, peace, socialism and communism. The Indonesian Communists are patriots as well as internationalists."

Holding Aloft the Banner of Marxism-Leninism

Holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Indonesian Communist Party always adheres to and resolutely upholds the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It is firmly opposed to modern revisionism, the main danger in the international communist movement. It has pointed out that the Declaration and the Statement are the common guide and programme which each and every Marxist-Leninist Party must faithfully abide by and put into practice in handling relations between Parties and in the general struggle against imperialism and for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism, and that loyalty to the two documents in practice is the chief yardstick for measuring the purity of a Party. In his speeches at a number of meetings held this year, Comrade Aidit drew special attention to the glorious tradition of the Indonesian Communist Party in opposing revisionism, saying that it has opposed revisionism ever since the founding of the Party. "As a true Marxist-Leninist Party," he declared, "our Party will continue to oppose revisionism, classical and modern. Discontinuance of the struggle against revisionism signifies the departure from the road of revolution and from any real struggle against imperialism and other enemies of the people, and the Party operating along this line will be repudiated by the people before it becomes aware of its betrayal of the people." He stressed the need constantly to expose and struggle against the modern revisionists wherever and in whatever form they raise their heads. To defeat the revisionists, who go against Marxism-Leninism, is to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement—an indispensable, fundamental condition for the strengthening of the international anti-imperialist united front which promotes peace.

Resolutely Expose Modern Revisionism of Yugoslavia

The Indonesian Communist Party resolutely exposes and criticizes the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia. In his political report at the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Aidit pointed out unequivocally that the U.S. imperialists "continue to spend enormous sums on the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia to enable them to expand their disruptive activities to split the international communist movement and the working-class movement, sap the strength of the socialist camp and its unity, and castrate the liberation movement of all peoples"; hence the need "to unfold a vigorous struggle against them." Comrade Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, in his speeches at mass rallies held not long ago by the Party's Djakarta and Medan committees, reiterated the Party's determination to oppose the Yugoslav modern revisionists. He pointed out that criticism of Yugoslavia does not fall under the category of polemics within the international communist movement. He also said that the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties stresses the need to criticize modern revisionism of Yugoslavia and defines this criticism as obligatory; Indonesian revolutionaries would criticize it all the same, even if this were not made obligatory by the Moscow Statement. The reason
is that, as Comrade Aidit pointed out, the Indonesian Communist Party’s criticisms of Yugoslavia are not abstract, but are always specific—specific in the sense that the Yugoslav revisionists are undermining the unity of the workers of Asia and Africa, that they have worked to sabotage the Colombo conference, that they are giving encouragement to Malaysia, and that they are co-operating with the Right-wing Socialists of Indonesia. Other instances could be adduced in evidence, he declared.

Urging its members to uphold the Party’s long and excellent tradition of linking the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, the Indonesian Communist Party has time and again stressed, in the light of the experience gained through its protracted struggle, the importance of this principle, and has made it clear that in order to uphold it, the Party must constantly struggle against dogmatism while opposing revisionism.

Comrade Aidit also said in his political report at the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party: “For a long time in the past, since the rebuilding of our Party in the early fifties, we have always struggled against classical dogmatism. As a result, our comrades know today that it is wrong to apply indiscriminately the ‘set’ formulas in the Marxist-Leninist classics without considering the specific conditions of the Indonesian revolution. In the recent period, we have successfully struggled against modern dogmatism, that is, against the practice of following blindly the recent experience, conclusions and programmes of the fraternal Parties. Of course, it is necessary to study the recent experience, conclusions and programmes of the fraternal Parties, but the object is not turn them into something of our own blindly, foolishly and irresponsibly. This attitude, an attitude of modern dogmatism, will easily alienate our Party from the masses and from the nation and make it impossible for our Party to work as a champion for the interests of the masses and the nation.” Comrade Aidit also stressed that “revisionism, classical and modern, and also dogmatism, classical and modern, are both subjectivism. Hence the need to work constantly to oppose them. Both are dangerous, but the greatest danger is that we refrain from opposing them.”

Glorious Road of Struggle

In the past 43 years, the Indonesian Communist Party has traversed a long, tortuous and glorious road of struggle. The Indonesian Communist Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party with a correct line, a Party which is united as one, closely linked with the masses and imbued with militancy and creativeness. It stands firmly in the front ranks of the Indonesian people’s revolutionary struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries at home, playing a great, exemplary pioneering role and manifesting mastery of the art of struggle. As a true representative of the interests of the Indonesian nation and people, the Indonesian Communist Party has enjoyed ever increasing prestige and exerted ever growing influence among the Indonesian people and is playing an ever more important role in the political life of Indonesia. A strong force loyal to Marxism-Leninism in the international communist movement, it has successfully integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice in Indonesia, and has made positive contributions to enriching the world’s theoretical treasury of the fight for socialism and national-democratic revolution. The Indonesian Communist Party has become the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world and one of the largest Parties in the whole world. Its influence and prestige in international affairs is increasing day by day.

Solidarity Between Chinese and Indonesian Peoples

The Chinese people are gladdened and encouraged by the tremendous successes achieved by the Indonesian people and the Indonesian Communist Party in fighting against imperialism and for complete national independence. The Chinese people have always resolutely supported the Indonesian people’s struggle. The Indonesian Government and people have consistently supported our people in the struggle to liberate Taiwan and oppose the “two Chinas” scheme and stood for the restoration of China’s legal rights in the United Nations. The peoples of our two countries share the common experience of suffering long imperialist aggression. The relations of friendship and co-operation built between our two countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference have made encouraging advances. In the common cause of fighting imperialism and colonialism, safeguarding world peace and promoting Asian-African solidarity, the mutual support and co-operation between our two peoples have become increasingly strengthened. The Chinese people will for ever stand together with the Indonesian people in the struggles ahead.

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China Supports Indonesia’s Efforts to Smash Imperialist Subversion

by OBSERVER

Following is an abridged translation of Observer’s commentary in “Renmin Ribao” (May 30). Subheads are ours.—Ed.

A SERIES of counter-revolutionary riots have recently taken place in a number of Indonesian cities. Counter-revolutionary elements, on the pretext of acting against Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent and overseas Chinese, have wantonly burnt down and destroyed houses, shops, and means of communications and production in various places; they also attempted to seize government depots of arms and munitions, and supplies of oil and food grains. These disruptive activities have seriously disturbed social order in some places in Indonesia and disorganized the economic life of the people there and have also impaired the country’s national unity and economic construction.

Fresh Imperialist Intervention

Events in various places have confirmed that these counter-revolutionary riots are carefully prepared and executed in a planned and organized way, and are part of an extensive political plot. On May 19, President Sukarno declared unequivocally that “these recent events are counter-revolutionary in character; they are counter-revolution.” He stated that these disruptive activities were carried out in collusion with foreign subversive elements.

These activities were aimed at overthrowing the Republic of Indonesia and President Sukarno. They are obviously fresh crimes of intervention and aggression committed by imperialism against Indonesia.

It is by no means accidental that imperialism and its lackeys have engaged in such counter-revolutionary activities at the present time. The Indonesian people led by President Sukarno, have raised aloft the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, strengthened Afro-Asian friendship and unity, fortified the national unity of Indonesia centring on NASAKOM (the co-operation of nationalist, religious and communist forces) and have scored many important victories. They have recovered West Irian, intensified their struggle against the imperialist-engineered neo-colonialist Malaysia plan, defeated the imperialist scheme of sabotaging the Fourth Asian Games, and actively prepared for the holding of the Games of the New Emerging Forces. Chairman Liu Shao-chi’s visit to Indonesia, in particular, has further cemented the ties of friendship and co-operation between China and Indonesia, strengthened the unity of the two peoples in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and new colonialism and contributed greatly to peace in Asia and throughout the world.

These achievements of the Indonesian Government and people have thoroughly riled and alarmed the imperialists and their lackeys; hence the virulent attacks on the Indonesian Republic and President Sukarno by U.S. imperialism through its congressmen and propaganda machine.

U.S. imperialism regards its subversive moves against Indonesia as important steps in carrying out its policies of aggression and war in Southeast Asia and the Far East. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Hilsman said that Indonesia is “in every sense, a key strategic area.” U.S. Under Secretary of State Harriman declared that the U.S. would not “abandon” Indonesia, but would give the latter “a helping hand” when necessary “to overcome communist propaganda” and make Indonesia “come closer” to the U.S. This throws into bold relief the U.S. imperialists’ vicious ambitions towards Indonesia.

Need for Keener Vigilance

The Indonesian Government and people are well aware of these intrigues of imperialism and the reactionaries. President Sukarno has called upon the people to do their utmost to assist the Government in beating back these counter-revolutionary attacks and restoring public order. The Indonesian Government has taken certain necessary measures to quell the riots. The Communist and other parties and people’s organizations of Indonesia have supported President Sukarno’s call, resolutely demanding that the counter-revolutionary riots be suppressed, national unity be safeguarded and the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Indonesia and solidarity among the new emerging forces be upheld. This correct stand and resolute attitude taken by the Indonesian Government and people has dealt heavy blows to imperialism and its lackeys. But many signs indicate that these enemies will not give up their activities. That is why it is necessary for the Indonesian people to increase their vigilance and take further measures to crack down on the riots and prevent the recurrence of similar incidents.

Joint Struggle Against Imperialism

Chinese nationals in Indonesia were victims of brutal attacks by the counter-revolutionary rioters; they suffered serious losses in property and their lives were endangered. The Chinese Government and people sympathize with their compatriots in Indonesia and are concerned over
the hardships they have gone through. In the face of the attacks by imperialism and the reactionaries, the Chinese nationals in Indonesia and the Indonesian people are in the same boat; they should help each other, cement their unity and wage a joint struggle against imperialism and its stooges. We hope and believe that the Indonesian Government will take effective measures to care for the victimized Chinese nationals properly and to ensure the safety of the lives and property of all Chinese nationals in Indonesia and to protect their legitimate rights and interests.

**International Communist Movement**

**Marxism-Leninism Will Stand Firm and Develop**

by D.N. AIDIT

D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia, made a speech entitled “Let’s Arrest and Smash the Counter-Revolutionaries” at a mass meeting in Jakarta on May 26 in honour of the 43rd anniversary of the founding of the Party. In his speech Aidit expressed support for President Sukarno’s call “Let’s smash counter-revolution.”

Following are excerpts from Aidit’s speech. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE First Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) held in February 1963 called the people’s attention: “All democratic and patriotic forces should not hesitate or retreat; on the contrary, they should be bold enough to frustrate the attempts aimed at creating a situation in which there exists a state of emergency without an emergency law. In a word, after the emergency law has been repealed, what has been said by President Sukarno, i.e., the MANIPOL (the Political Manifesto) must be fully implemented. This reminder is correct because immediately after the state of emergency had been lifted, counter-revolutionary forces, the former Partai Sosialis Indonesia (P.S.I.), Masjumi, P.R.R.I.-Permestra and D.I.-T.I.I., together with pro-Kuomintang and pro-Malaysia elements, unleashed a series of disturbances of a wanton, terrorist, and racist character. These disturbances started in Tegal, then spread to Bandung, Tasikmalaya, Garut, Bogor, Tjindjur, Sukabumi, and other places.

**A Sadistic and Vandalistic Racist Movement**

No pretext can hide the fact that this movement is a racist movement, a sadistic and vandalistic racist movement, and like any racist movement, this one too is reactionary and therefore in contravention with Pantja Sila (Five Principles of Founding the Indonesian Republic), with the Political Manifesto, with the Five-Point Programme and the revolutionary Economic Declaration.

There are people who try to minimize the reactionary character of those racist actions by saying that the victims are “economically strong,” so these actions should not be linked up with racism. There are others who try to defend these actions by saying that they are simply an “outbreak” of national feelings of our younger generation, of our students and youth. In advancing these pretexts they show themselves to be infected with racist and chauvinistic ideas and also show that they want to give in to the counter-revolutionaries, to pave the way for those who want to compromise, and thus prevent the adoption of clear-cut measures against the counter-revolutionaries. As a matter of fact, they have already done so. They did not take any firm measures during the “Tjirebon incident.” Events in Tegal, Bandung and other places are simply the result of this act of submission.

**Why do I say that this is not a question of struggle for economic emancipation between the “economically strong” and the “economically weak”?** The struggle for economic emancipation must mean for the Indonesian people a struggle on the one hand, the imperialist and feudal economy, and on the other hand, to strengthen the national economy. But what can we see from the actions of the racist terrorists? They damaged Indonesia’s national economy by smashing its means of production, transportation and distribution, thus placing its national economy in even greater difficulties. These actions clearly contravene the Political Manifesto and the Economic Declaration which mobilizes all progressive funds and forces.

Another proof that this terror is not aimed at economic emancipation, but is just plain racism, is the fact that they destroyed the property of poor citizens of Chinese origin. They even tore up the shirts and trousers, smashed the earthen bowls and threw away the spices of the *gado* sellers of Chinese origin; they upturned the frying pans and the tables of the sellers of fried bananas; they smashed all types of earthenware and committed I don’t know...
what other savage actions. Even the pillows, lecture notes and books belonging to students of Chinese origin were burnt by their roommates who describe themselves as of “pure blood.” Naturally, there are people who say that these actions are excesses. No, they are not excesses, this is where the essence of the question lies, this is racism!

Foreign subversive elements and the wealthy gentlemen, old and new, have all fanned the flames of racism in the name of the “struggle for economic emancipation.” If one permits the use of such an arbitrary method to resolve contradictions between the “economically weak” and the “economically strong,” then, those rich people from B.P.M.-Shell, Stanvac, Caltex and Unilever, and the rich people in cities and villages will lose all they have overnight. They will be attacked by city and village poor who hate these rich exploiters and have long wanted to take revenge upon them. It is not a difficult job to mobilize people to destroy completely the wealth of the rich people, whether they are new rich or old rich.

The Indonesian Communists not only oppose but also denounce such methods of resolving contradictions. This is in flagrant conflict with the Political Manifesto, because the Political Manifesto clearly states that the basic contradiction which must be resolved now is the contradiction between the Indonesian people and imperialism and feudalism.

President Sukarno is right when he said that these counter-revolutionary racist actions were committed by former Masjumi and P.S.I., P.R.R.I.-Permesta elements. Apart from that, it is also clear that Kuomintang and pro-Malaysia elements took part in these incidents. It is not difficult to understand this truth, because it is precisely in regions where Masjumi and P.S.I. were formerly strong, precisely in those places where there are many former D.I.-T.I.I. gangs, that the most violent acts of sadistic and vandalistic terror occurred.

Characteristics of the Counter-Revolutionary Movement

This counter-revolutionary movement is sharply characterized by the fact that it is: (1) anti-Sukarno; (2) anti-China; and (3) anti-communist.

The anti-Sukarno policy is most evident from the fact that these actions are directed towards sabotaging the implementation of the Economic Declaration by destroying the means of production, transportation and distribution. The counter-revolutionaries hate to see what they call the “Sukarno regime” carry out successfully its food and clothing programme. By destroying the economy, they caused great sufferings to the people, and they believe that in this way it will be easier for them to get the people to oppose the “Sukarno regime.”

The anti-China policy and the racist policy are also evident, as has been explained before. They want to practise the “American way of life” on the model of Alabama where racism runs amuck; they want to pursue the insane policy of Verwoerdism. They attacked not only Indonesian citizens of Chinese origin but also Chinese nationals in Indonesia. They want to provoke a Sino-Indonesian conflict, thereby wrecking Afro-Asian solidarity. They want to continue the cursed “Assaat Movement” and to continue to put into practice Presiden-

tial Regulation No. 10, i.e., to destroy the economy under an anti-China signboard.

The anti-communist policy is evident from the fact that they challenge the Indonesian Communists who are resolutely fighting against racism, defending the Economic Declaration and opposing the sabotage of Sino-Indonesian friendship. They believe that they will succeed in opposing the Indonesian Communists to the Indonesian people and thus frustrating the formation of a NASAKOM cabinet.

It may be asked: Have the counter-revolutionaries achieved their objectives? They have indeed succeeded in damaging the Indonesian economy. Various factories have stopped work because they have burnt and wrecked them. Goods and passenger traffic have come to a standstill in wide areas as a result of the burning of trucks, buses, taxis, etc. Distribution is slowed down due to the stoppage of goods traffic and many shops and stores have been compelled to close down because of the destruction. By wrecking the means of production, transport and distribution, the counter-revolutionaries have succeeded in sending prices sky-rocketing and increasing unemployment. They may possibly rejoice at the successes they have so far achieved.

They are now lying low gloating over what they have done. Their leaders talk about their successful “mass action” and say that the time has come for them to “step up” their actions.

Complete Failure for Counter-Revolutionaries

However, have they succeeded in achieving the political objectives of their anti-Sukarno, anti-China and anti-communist policies? They have failed entirely; they now set themselves against the whole nation. They are facing not only Sukarno, not only Chinese and Communists, but the entire nation who condemn them and are determined to arrest and wipe them out.

To cope with the attacks by the imperialists and domestic counter-revolutionaries, the Indonesian people, through the Provisional People’s Consultative Assembly, appointed Bung Karno as President for life. This means that the people and Bung Karno are more firmly united. The firm position of President Sukarno against the counter-revolutionaries has greatly enhanced his prestige among the people. The people themselves have seen more clearly that the increase of economic difficulties is not the fault of Sukarno’s leadership, but is due to the destruction caused by counter-revolutionary acts of terror committed by former members of the Masjumi, P.S.I. and D.I.-T.I.I. and Kuomintang gangs and the defenders of Malaysia. This anti-Sukarno scheme has met with failure.

The terrorist activities against the Indonesian citizens of Chinese origin and against the citizens of the People’s Republic of China have deepened the feelings of solidarity between the genuine Indonesians and the victims of racism. The eyes of the Indonesian people have been further opened to the fact that their enemies are not Chinese but the counter-revolutionaries who receive their orders from former members of Masjumi and P.S.I., etc., and that it is the counter-revolutionaries who have caused confusion in the economic fields. The victims of racism have increased their political consciousness and
they have come to realize more clearly that there is no other way for them except to join the revolutionary ranks and actively fight counter-revolution. In this way, their anti-China objective has also met with failure.

The anti-communist designs also have failed. The Communists are not alone; the whole nation fights against racism, defends the Economic Declaration and defends the friendship between the Indonesian and Chinese peoples demonstrated in the recent joint statement of President Sukarno and Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China. The Indonesian people, through the recently adopted resolution of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, have dealt blows to the anti-communist policy.

They have failed completely in a political sense. Terrorist acts, ruthless plunder and robbery, violation of citizens' rights and all their counter-revolutionary actions have laid bare the ulcers of the Rightists, and have exposed them as misusing civil order and trying to make the state of emergency effective again. The Rightists have been cornered by their own actions. The entire nation has risen to oppose them. The President's speeches have shown that the state apparatus, the parties and mass organizations have expressed their attitudes singly as well as jointly in a statement issued by the leaders of the parties and mass organizations in Bandung recently.

**Wiping Out Counter-Revolution Courageously And Swiftly**

However, this does not mean that the counter-revolutionaries have already surrendered. As has been said before, they are now talking about "stepping up" their actions. Therefore, the whole people, all parties, mass organizations, the national front and the state apparatus should heighten their vigilance, and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries with greater courage and alertness. Courage and swiftness in action are the decisive factors in eliminating the counter-revolutionaries.

After the adoption of the Political Manifesto as the broad outline of state policy, the publication of the Economic Declaration is only second in importance to the Political Manifesto. This economic task cannot be carried out properly unless the present political power is changed. Only a state power reflecting mutual co-operation on a national scale and centring around NASAKOM will be capable of creating the necessary conditions for thorough implementation of the Political Manifesto and Economic Declaration.

**Lesson From the Liberation of West Irian**

The most important event in our country is, of course, the heroic feat of the liberation of West Irian. This has furnished an important lesson for our people — a lesson that imperialism, however strong it may appear, can be beaten back by a united and determined people.

West Irian which has now returned to the authority of the Republic of Indonesia must not become a neo-colonialist area where the imperialists are free to invest their capital. The struggle for the liberation of West Irian cannot be regarded as completed simply because of its incorporation into the Republic of Indonesia.

Inspired by the Bandung spirit, the peoples of Asia and Africa are daily strengthening their solidarity. The Asian-African Journalists' Conference represents a real victory for the peoples of Asia and Africa, because it has succeeded in strengthening the united front of the Afro-Asian peoples against U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism, for national independence, democracy, peace and socialism. I hope that the Asian-African Journalists' Conference will in the not too distant future develop into an Afro-Asian-Latin American journalists' conference, and eventually into one comprising all countries of new emerging forces.

A demonstration of new emerging forces is not only discernible at the Asian-African Journalists' Conference, but also at the preliminary meeting of the Games of New Emerging Forces (GANFEO). The Indonesian Communists, together with the entire Indonesian people, will work with all their energy for the successful organization of GANFEO this year.

The imperialists are receiving one blow after another. Everywhere they try to carry out their aggressive policy, but if the people oppose them by united action and get the help of the socialist countries and progressive peoples of the world, the imperialists will be unable to achieve their aims.

The imperialists headed by the United States have not succeeded in achieving their evil design on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The wise attitude of People's China which gave pride of place to de facto Asian-African solidarity, has produced a ceasefire on the border, so that, as a matter of fact, an atmosphere has been created for negotiations between India and People's China. In such circumstances, the diehard attitude of Nehru in being unwilling to negotiate becomes all the more exposed. Although it has received large quantities of weapons from the United States, Yugoslavia and other countries, India will not succeed in destroying the Bandung spirit and the development of the new emerging forces.

**What Happens to Half-Hearted Revolution?**

Though it has sustained a series of blows, imperialism is not yet dead, and as long as it is alive it will always be imperialism. In Iraq there took place a reactionary coup d'etat which is carrying out a large-scale slaughter of progressive people. Events in Iraq furnish a lesson of what will become of a half-hearted revolution. Kassim, on the one hand, wanted to fight imperialism but on the other, was afraid of the people, suppressed the progressive forces and the Communists. As a result, he failed to unite all national potentialities, and so it was easy to overthrow him.

Now the U.S. imperialists are seeking to provoke a civil war in Laos, but we are convinced that the people of Laos who have already accumulated rich experience in their protracted struggle will be able to frustrate all these imperialist intrigues.

Therefore, in the international field, in the struggle against imperialism, there must be utmost vigilance, and all people of the world must maintain the closest unity and solidarity.

**Sino-Indian Border Conflict — A Form of U.S. Aggression**

Therefore it is the duty of all new emerging forces to continue to stand vigilant against all kinds of attacks,
subversion and plots of the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries and their agents who have always attempted to disrupt and set the new emerging forces against one another. The people who are fighting against imperialism will never forget the activities of the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia who have always and everywhere attempted to embellish imperialism in an effort to form a "third force," and to weaken the anti-imperialist struggle by adopting a disruptive policy as demonstrated by their attitude towards the Malaysia plan and the Sino-Indian boundary question. The public has come to realize that the Sino-Indian border conflict is a form of aggression adopted by the U.S. imperialists through exploiting Nehru's expansionist policy which has completely and treacherously renounced the ten principles of the Bandung Conference.

Welcoming Talks Between C.P.S.U. and C.P.C.

As for the efforts to overcome the present differences in the international communist movement, the Communist Party of Indonesia warmly welcomes the forthcoming talks between the delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China scheduled for July 5, 1963. As we have often stated, it is necessary to hold friendly consultations and discussions between fraternal Parties with each respecting the full independence and sovereignty of every other Party on the basis of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. Fidelity to the Declaration and the Statement in practice becomes the main yardstick of sincerity of a given Communist Party.

Here I want to repeat what I have said: the methods used by the social democrats and anarchists for settling differences in the international communist movement are certainly methods which cannot bear fruit because they are non-Marxist-Leninist methods. Social democrats often resort to liberalism in settling disputes, and therefore divide their followers into various factions. The anarchists often manage affairs not in accordance with regulations, or like to go against regulations in managing affairs. We Communists are used to a disciplined life, to living by regulations set forth consciously and followed by ourselves. Such regulations already exist in the international communist movement, that is the 1960 Statement of the Communist Parties.

Of late, the development of events in the international communist movement is like the blast of a big strong wind which seems to shake lofty Marxism-Leninism. Our Party has adopted a responsible and correct attitude. We have also hoped that all polemics and mutual attacks, whether speeches or articles, whether directed against the Albanian Party of Labour or other Communist Parties and Workers' Parties can be stopped. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia has adhered to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and applied them flexibly; it has done the same on the question of split in the international communist movement. Such an attitude has been welcomed by P.K.I. cadres and its members. Our Party's Central Committee believes that such an attitude is correct, and teaches the Party members to take a critical, open-minded, self-confident and serious attitude towards the question of unity of the international communist movement.

Modern Revisionism — The Main Danger

In the struggle to restore the unity of the international communist movement, we must consistently oppose classic and modern revisionism, and constantly oppose classic and modern dogmatism. The 1957 Moscow Declaration correctly points out that the main danger in the international communist movement at present is modern revisionism. And the 1960 Moscow Statement calls upon the Marxist-Leninist Parties to ceaselessly expose Yugoslav revisionism which has fallen more and more into the tight grip of U.S. imperialism, and wage an active struggle against it. To stop opposing revisionism, whether classic or modern, means to stop struggling against imperialism and other enemies of the people. To stop opposing dogmatism, whether classic or modern, means to be divorced from the masses and the nation, and to block the possibility of the Party becoming the leader of the masses and the nation. Both are dangerous, but the greatest danger is not to struggle against them.

We Indonesian Communists will continue the struggle to restore unanimity in the international communist movement, to implement proletarian internationalism in words and deeds, to realize in practice equal rights and independence for all Marxist-Leninist Parties, and to strive for the attainment of agreement among the leaders of Communist Parties of various countries in direct exchange of opinion as a preliminary form leading to bilateral and multilateral meetings between Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries.

However great the hurricane may be at the moment, Marxism-Leninism will continue to stand firm, will grow and be all-powerful!

So far as the Communist Party of Indonesia itself is concerned, the recent period has been a period of test and trial politically, ideologically and organizationally. And we can say that the P.K.I. has passed the test.

Apart from this there is unanimity of thinking among the Indonesian Communists regarding all political stands and policies pursued by the Central Committee on domestic questions and on international questions regarding both foreign policy and the international communist movement. This unanimity of thinking is important and we must guard it as we would the apple of our eye.

P.K.I. — A Mighty Communist Organization

Another achievement of ours is that we have been able to build a party of a mass character that is not only the nucleus of a mighty communist movement but, since 1959, has also been a mighty communist organization.

Our experience shows that such a mass Party will not dissolve itself into an ordinary mass organization, but remains the supreme form of organization of the working class and performs its functions as the most advanced detachment, as a Leninist Party of a new type. Such a party is at one and the same time a mass party and a cadres' party. This is our Party!
From our experiences in Party building we have drawn the conclusion that there are three characteristics of the Indonesian Communists. Firstly, the Indonesian Communists are imbued with the idea of integrating patriotism and proletarian internationalism; secondly, the Indonesian Communists take the stand that organizational building is important but ideological building is even more important; and thirdly, the Indonesian Communists firmly uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism but the way in which they apply these principles is flexible. We must preserve these three characteristics and develop them; they must become the most fundamental things for us.

It is indeed a law of the development of society that when the revolutionary classes make greater advances and the reactionary classes are more and more driven into a corner, class struggle will become fierce and the reactionary forces will resort to vile methods to defend themselves.

With the return of West Irian to the authority of the Republic of Indonesia, the Rightists are now trying to divert the vigilance of the people from the real enemy. In the light of the situation we are facing today, the P.K.I. has drawn the conclusion that the main and the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people is U.S. imperialism. In fighting against this enemy of ours, we need even greater national unity and unanimity than ever before.

**On Strengthening Class Education**

"KEUNROJA" EDITORIAL

Following are excerpts from the editorial of "Keunroja," journal of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, published in its seventh issue of 1963 and entitled "The Present Stage of Our Revolution and Class Education Among the Working People." Subheadings are ours. — Ed.

ON the basis of a scientific analysis of the present stage of development of our revolution and of internal and external conditions, the Korean Workers' Party stresses the need to raise still higher the level of class consciousness of Party members and of the working people so that the motive forces of the revolution in our country can be further tempered, both politically and ideologically, and can grow steadily into an invincible force able to wage a long-term struggle against the enemy.

Reinforcing Our Ideological Arm

Following the recent steps taken by the Workers' Party in economic construction and to increase the strength of our national defence, the raising by the Party of the question of reinforcing the ideological arming of the revolutionary masses of our country is an epoch-making action designed to reinforce our revolutionary base politically.

This action is of immense importance both for the further advance of socialist construction in the northern part of Korea and for greater preparedness to achieve the unification and independence of the fatherland, and the carrying through of the revolution all over the country. It is also of immense importance in the struggle against the aggressive designs and war provocations of the imperialists, against revisionism, and for the further consolidation of the revolutionary position of our country—the eastern outpost of the international communist movement.

The ideological arming of the motive forces of the revolution is a matter of decisive importance for the advance of the revolution. Our Party has always attached prime importance to this question. Without arming the revolutionary masses ideologically, it is impossible to have an organized army of political forces or to prepare the revolutionary forces, and without such preparation, the victory of the revolution is impossible.

Only when revolutionaries are fully armed ideologically can they maintain their revolutionary integrity regardless of the different situations they may be in—whether in a protracted and arduous struggle, in easy circumstances with rising living standards or when confronted by the strong influence of antagonistic ideologies and opportunism. Only when they are armed in this way will they persevere in the struggle until the revolution in their own country is victorious and until the world revolution is also triumphant.

Our era is one of revolution and struggle in which the reactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism are engaging in frenzied activities everywhere, opposing the socialist camp, attempting to suppress the national-liberation struggles and the communist movement and stepping up their policies of aggression and war provocations. Our enemies are attempting to restore capitalism in countries of the socialist camp, whipping up a violent anti-communist wave and spreading abroad the corrupt ideology of the bourgeoisie and its decadent way of life.

**Modern Revisionists Work With the Imperialists**

Working in co-ordination with this movement, the modern revisionists are doing their utmost to prettify imperialism and to spread illusions about imperialism among the people in an attempt to paralyse the revolutionary consciousness and stop the class awakening of the working class and the rest of the labouring masses.

Successful socialist construction and daily improving living standards can give rise among certain people to cravings for a quiet, comfortable life and a relaxation of effort; on the other hand the arduous and protracted course of the revolution can breed feelings of weariness.

June 7, 1963
It must not be taken for granted that the old way of thinking of the working people will automatically change with the elimination of antagonistic classes and changed living conditions. New, communist ideas and revolutionary ideas will never take shape of their own accord. Experience has shown that when there are remnants of the old ideologies at home, and bourgeois ideology exerts a ceaseless influence from abroad, the work of ideological remoulding among the working people must not be left to itself. The more socialist construction progresses and the higher the living standards of the people become, the more necessary it is to strengthen their ideological education. If this is not done, remnants of the old ideologies, instead of vanishing, will raise their heads and grow, putting up obstacles in the way of socialist construction.

Educating the Rising Generation

A new generation is now growing up under our system without direct experience of exploitation, oppression, maltreatment, and insults at the hands of imperialist aggressors, landlords, and capitalists. It now occupies important positions on the various fronts of socialist construction and at the outposts of the defence of the fatherland, and in the future it will gradually become the main force of the revolution.

This situation urgently demands that class education among our Party members and the working people, especially among the youth and children, be made more effective than ever and that their ideological arming be further reinforced.

In order to enhance the class consciousness of the revolutionary masses in the changed situation of the revolution and the new conditions in which we carry on class education today, it is of prime importance that the class nature of the enemies of the revolution be made clear, and that ideological education in opposing imperialism be strengthened so that Party members and all the working people will have a clear understanding of its aggressive nature and the inevitability of its doom.

U.S. imperialism is the ringleader of world reaction, and a bulwark of aggression and colonialism. It was the sworn enemy of the Korean people in the past and remains today the biggest obstacle to Korea's revolution and the number one target of our struggle.

While exposing U.S. imperialism, it is also necessary to expose Japanese imperialism for its aggressive aim to regain a foothold in the southern half of our country, and call attention to the dangers involved.

The revolutionary masses must be taught to understand clearly the class nature of the landlords and capitalists so that they learn to have a bitter hatred for their class enemies, and wage an uncompromising struggle against them; this remains at all times the most important content of class education.

The fundamental principle in giving the revolutionary masses a class education is to inspire them with an unshakable confidence in the superiority of the socialist system now established in our country.

Our socialist system guarantees to the working people material and cultural standards immensely superior to those of the capitalist system. This truth is naturally one of the important aspects to stress in making the working people understand the superiority of our system.

Basic Aspects of Superiority of Socialism

But the working people should understand that under our system there is no exploitation and oppression, that all men are equal, and all are entitled to work and to study, that all working people have the opportunity to develop their talents and creativeness to the full—these are more fundamental matters. Much more attention should be paid to enabling them to understand how the policy of our Party gives a complete guarantee of the fulfilment of these principles.

If the working people are educated, not in this spirit, but by showing them that our system is good only because it can give us more material wealth than capitalism does, then they can hardly grasp properly the meaning of the superiority of our system. Education would then become merely vulgar, teaching them to be interested only in raising their living standards.

At the same time it is necessary to educate Party members and the working people in such a way that they regard it as a matter of honour and duty to fight for the consolidation of the socialist system and for the promotion of socialist construction and look upon this as a fight for the freedom and well-being of the entire people. It is necessary to educate them not to forget for a single moment the people in the south of the country and fight more actively for the reunification of the fatherland.

Party members and the working people must be helped to grasp the Marxist-Leninist theories concerning class, class struggle, and social revolution. They must be armed with the historical experience of the class struggle waged by our Party so that they will take part in revolutionary struggles more consciously and will defend the Party and the working-class stand no matter how complicated the conditions may be.

Class Line and Mass Line

In class education special attention must be paid to making Party members and the working people understand correctly the mutual relationship between the Party's class line or class policy and the mass line so as to ensure the complete implementation of the class line in class struggle.

We must always have a firmly based class stand, know how to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and be good at waging struggles to isolate and annihilate the enemy. But this is inconceivable if it is separated from winning over the masses and fighting for their interests.

It must be clearly understood that the struggle to unite and educate the masses of the various social strata and to rally them around the Party is a profound class struggle to isolate the enemy completely and wipe him out.
LAOS

U.S. Intervention Must Stop

The Laotian situation has continued to deteriorate.

At U.S. instigation and with U.S. support, the Laotian reactionaries have launched a three-pronged offensive in the Plain of Jars aimed at wiping out the patriotic forces. This large-scale attack followed weeks of Savannakhet troop movements and harassing activities in the area in violation of previous agreements. At about the same time, the Indian and Canadian members of the three-nation International Control Commission, taking advantage of their so-called majority, submitted a report to the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference characterizing the true picture. This was an obvious attempt to cover up U.S. interventionist intrigues and to put the blame on the Neo Lao Haksat.

Faced with this critical situation, the Neo Lao Haksat has made yet another effort to uphold the Government of National Union. In a central committee statement issued on May 29, it has once again nailed down U.S. imperialism and its Savannakhet followers as the true criminals working against Laotian peace and has put forward concrete proposals to remove the present tension.

Point one of the proposals is the cessation of U.S. intervention in Laotian internal affairs in all forms. This demand is essential, since experience has demonstrated again and again that unless U.S. intervention and aggression are stopped, all other measures are useless to improve the Laotian situation.

The Neo Lao Haksat statement also demands that the Savannakhet group cease its military attacks against the patriotic forces, end its terrorist control over Vientiane and stop its arrests and assassinations. Restoration of the principle of unanimity among the three parties to the National Union Government and prompt meetings of the leaders of the three sides are also called for. The Neo Lao Haksat expresses its readiness to meet with Prince Souvanna Phouma, General Kong Le and other neutralist leaders. These proposals are significant; they show that the patriotic forces want to uphold the Geneva agreements, restore peace in Laos and ensure that the National Union Government really follows the road of peace and neutrality.

The Neo Lao Haksat statement makes clear that it is ready at all times to co-operate with the International Control Commission, but is opposed to the commission's unwarranted interference in Laotian internal affairs. This fully accords with the Geneva agreements. The first task of the commission is to uphold these agreements. By using their so-called majority vote to interfere in Laotian internal affairs, India and Canada have broken the agreements and made the commission a tool of U.S. aggression.

The Polish member of the commission has observed the principle of non-interference in Laotian internal affairs. He has expressed opposition to the mistakes of the Indian and Canadian members. Recently the Polish Press Agency issued an authorized statement informing the world of the truth of the Laotian situation and reiterating Poland's position that the only realistic basis for co-operation among members of the commission was observance of the Geneva agreements in letter and spirit.

Voicing China's consistent stand on the Laotian question, Renmin Ribao in its editorial of June 4 declared: As a next-door neighbour of Laos and a signatory of the Geneva agreements, China is deeply concerned with the present grave situation there. She is firmly opposed to the unbridled U.S. imperialist schemings in Laos. She endorses the just stand of the Polish Government. China fully supports the proposals of the Neo Lao Haksat and hopes that they will be accepted by the interested parties in Laos.

THAILAND

Aid, Sweet Aid

While New Delhi is singing paeans, Bangkok grumbles about that woderful commodity commonly known as U.S. "aid." The Sarit government complained last March when Washington talked of slashing its "aid" to Thailand, and has done so again although U.S. "aid" is coming in as before.

It turns out that to pacify Sarit, the United States has decided to revoke the planned cuts but the "aid" will now be given more as "loans" than "grants." Yet its hanger-on in Bangkok is unimpressed. Speaking on May 23, he warned that Thailand had paid "high interest and other charges" for U.S. loans and was considering asking West Germany and France instead of the U.S. for money. As a footnote, Deputy Secretary of the State Economic Commission Bunchana Athakorn added that U.S. "aid" had adversely affected the country's economy and finances. More than half of Washington's "aid," he revealed, had gone into buying U.S. goods and paying U.S. specialists; and the "counterpart funds" required for the "loans" had greatly increased the budget deficits. Another point is that most of these "loans" were also actually spent on building strategic roads and other military installations.

Sarit's "high interest" remark referred not only to money payments, but even more to the political pound of flesh which Washington exacts for its "aid." Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman reminded his Washington masters of this last March when he pointedly remarked that his government had not asked for U.S. troops to be dispatched to Thailand last year. (This gave the lie to Kennedy's hypocritical talk that he sent American soldiers there to safeguard Thailand's security and at the request of the Thai Government.)

Khoman said that of all countries in the world, Thailand gave the "highest returns in service and cooperation" but the United States did not like to speak about them. "One day," he added, "it may be necessary to disclose the nature of the returns. The kind of returns we give cannot be bought with any kind of money."

Khoman may or may not one day take the wraps off the "returns" he spoke of. But the fact that he has threatened to do so is a good comment on what happens to a country once it
swallows the bait and is hooked with U.S. "aid."

ARGENTINA

As the Crisis Deepens

In what was generally recognized as one of the biggest ever mass movements in the country, 5 million workers and salaried employees in Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities staged a 24-hour general strike on May 31. Industry was at a complete standstill. Railways and ports were idle. Commercial air transport, shipping, telephones and other public utilities and even government offices limped along trying to maintain skeleton services. Ground transport too was strike-bound, including private-owned transport services in which any strike is punishable by law. Bank employees, teachers and students also walked out in force.

Argentina’s economy, in a mess following implementation of the International Monetary Fund “stabilization plan,” has been going downhill ever since President Guido was installed after a U.S.-supported coup more than a year ago. Unemployed workers exceed 400,000. The cost of living rose by 32.6 per cent between April 1962 and April 1963. According to Time magazine, last year the peso dropped 67 per cent in value, the nation’s balance of payments deficit soared to 320 million dollars, and business bankruptcy increased by 46 per cent. So shaky are the Guido government’s finances that it was forced to freeze savings accounts in private banks on May 22 to back the issue of 5,000 million pesos worth of government bonds to meet the salary arrears of government employees.

The general strike climaxd a “Week of Workers’ Fight.” Sponsored by the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) and supported by the Movement of Unity and Co-ordination of Trade Unions (M.U.C.S.), it had the backing of many political parties and wide sections of the people. Against the background of a dismal economic situation and growing political unrest, the strikers raised both economic and political demands—wage increases, measures to prevent dismissals and soaring living costs, payment of workers’ back pensions, housing relief, release of political prisoners and economic and social reform.

To clamp down on popular resistance stemming directly from the growing discontent, the Guido government has adopted a number of fascist laws. It has also thrown many patriotic democrats into jail. Yet the country is plagued with political instability, as was reflected in the sharpening contradictions within the ruling cliques over the question of the participation of the Peronists in the July elections. During Guido’s 13 months of office, he has survived 5 coups but there have been 5 war secretaries, 4 navy secretaries, 3 air secretaries, 5 ministers of the interior, 3 ministers of foreign affairs, 4 defence ministers, 3 economic ministers, and 5 treasury ministers. A record even by Argentine standards!

The May 31 strike was a powerful protest movement of the workers. It frustrated the repressive moves of the reactionary rulers, overcame the waverings of some of the Peronist leaders of the General Confederation of Labour and advanced the popular struggle. The fact that for the first time large sections of the middle class have also joined shows that the overwhelming majority of the people in this U.S.-controlled country of South America are pressing for a radical change.

KENYA

A Step Towards Independence

June 1 found Africans throughout Kenya jubilant. On that day, Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), was sworn in as the country’s Prime Minister. Oginga Odinga, KANU Vice-President, was made Minister of the Interior; James Gichuru, another Vice-President, Minister of Finance. Economy and Planning; and Tom Mboya, Secretary-General, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs.

The new KANU government was formed following the party’s victory in the recent general elections. In the 117-seat House of Representatives, KANU has 64 seats, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) 32, and the African People’s Party 8. In the race for the 41 Senate seats, 18 have gone to KANU and 16 to KADU. As a result of a boycott by the inhabitants of the “Seventh Region,” a territory disputed with Somali, elections to 5 seats in the House and 3 in the Senate were not held. In the regional assembly elections, KANU and KADU each won three regions, there again being no voting in the disputed “Seventh Region.”

The proclamation of internal self-government marks a significant step forward in Kenya’s march towards independence. A limited concession, the British colonialists were forced to it only following prolonged struggle on the part of the Kenyan people. For many years after 1952 Britain resorted to brutal terrorism in an attempt to

(Continued on p. 28.)

raising the ceiling

The U.S. Senate has approved a Kennedy Administration bill to raise the national debt limit by another $4,000 million to $309,000 million. The U.S. national debt is already $305,000 million and the government expects to ask for another raise in the ceiling to $320,000 million in August.

Looking Around?

Ex-Nazi and former West German defence minister Strauss last month arrived in Tel Aviv on a ten-day visit to Israel at the invitation of Premier Ben Gurion and was met with—a nationwide wave of protests.

Tel Aviv saw three days of demonstrations against renascent militarism in West Germany. Many demonstrators wore the yellow star which Jews in Europe had been forced to wear during the Nazi occupation. They carried slogans: “Never forget the death camps!” and “Strauss, Raus!” (“Strauss, Get Out!”)
China's Light Industry Today

by YEN CHI

China continues to boost her light industry along the path of independent development. She is expanding domestic supplies of raw materials, manufacturing equipment and successfully tackling problems of design and technology. 1962 was a better year than 1961 in light industry and 1963 bids fair to be still better.

1962 Achievements

In 1962 China continued to grapple vigorously and successfully with the difficulties caused by serious natural disasters in the three consecutive years 1959-61. That year the nation's economic situation as a whole had improved compared to the preceding year. Light industry made its contribution to this general trend. Its progress was considerable. In many branches annual targets were over-fulfilled and output registered big increases. Compared with 1961, for instance, increases of from 20 to 80 per cent were registered in the production of bicycles, sewing machines, rubber footwear, thermos flasks and enamelware; increases of more than 100 per cent were achieved in the output of such more recently developed products as viscose pulp, plastic (polyvinyl chloride) shoes and synthetic detergents.

Light industrial goods made in 1962 were of better quality than before and there was a bigger range of goods to choose from. Shanghai, China's biggest light industrial centre, is typical of these trends. It increased the number of its high quality light industrial products by nearly 50 per cent in 1962 and successfully trial produced 1,560 new products (this figure includes newly designed versions of products already being made); 630 of these have already gone into regular production.

This year the nation's light industry continues to grow encouragingly. First quarter figures show a steady month by month rise in daily output. The quarter's total output tops the figures for any quarter last year.

China's light industry is delivering the goods in increasing quantities, of better quality and in a widened range. Even a casual visit to the shops in Peking or any other city or rural market centre gives a clear impression of better stocked shelves and showcases compared with a year or two ago. This is a significant victory for China's socialist construction and the principle of building an independent national economy in a spirit of self-reliance. It is steadfast adherence to that principle and implementation in the past few years of the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards that has enabled China's light industry so quickly to overcome the temporary difficulties and reach a higher level of all-round development.

Towards National Economic Independence

Since there could clearly be no real national independence without economic independence, New China began to develop her independent national economy as a matter of principle and policy from the moment of her birth. New China inherited a semi-colonial, semi-feudal economy. The old China was shackled by the aggression and domination of foreign imperialism and the tyranny of the domestic reactionary feudal forces and of bureaucrat-capital. In the field of light industry, imported consumer goods, especially those dumped by the United States, flooded the market. Virtually all equipment and a considerable portion of the raw materials used had to be imported. Production techniques remained backward; few products made were designed in China. And even these underdeveloped forces of production were severely damaged during the final years of Kuomintang misrule.

It was the victory of the people's revolution and the founding of New China that made it possible to end this situation and start establishing an independent light industry orientated to the domestic market and based on home resources. With the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism ended, the basic social conditions impeding the healthy growth of light industry were removed. The establishment of the people's state power led by the Communist Party of China opened the way to utilization of China's rich natural resources and manpower to develop production to satisfy the growing needs of the urban and rural population in a planned, socialist way.

Guiding Principles and Policies

China in her socialist construction relies chiefly on her own efforts. Outside aid has been received but it is mainly by her own efforts that she has created the necessary conditions for progress and forging steadily ahead. This principle governs all aspects of China's socialist construction, including the building of an independent, comprehensive, modern industrial system with a highly developed light industry.

The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always paid great attention to the development of light industry. Comrade Mao Tse-tung regards the relationship between heavy industry, light industry and agriculture as a matter that vitally concerns China's advance to industrialization. As early as 1956, the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in its Resolution on the Political Report of the Central Committee pointed out that only by energetically developing light industry "can we supply more consumer goods to satisfy the increasing needs of the people, and keep commodity prices stable. Only thus can we provide more manufactured goods of daily use in exchange for farm produce, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance economically. Only thus can we accumulate funds more rapidly to further the growth of heavy industry." Drawing on the experience accumulated since liberation and especially in the past few years, the conclusion has been reached that the
national economic plan must be arranged in the order of: agriculture, light industry, heavy industry. This assigns light industry its proper position in China's socialist construction.

The development of light industry along an independent path means chiefly that instead of relying as in the past on foreign countries, it must develop home sources of raw materials and equipment and seek to solve its designing and technological problems by rallying its own forces.

More Domestic Raw Materials

Raw materials supply is of key importance to the growth of light industry, and China's general industrial and agricultural progress has made it possible for light industry to foster a vigorous development of its own domestic raw material sources. This is an outstanding feature of China's light industrial growth. It was not easily achieved.

China was an agricultural country before liberation, but it still had to import certain industrial crops. Annual imports of tobacco from the United States alone amounted to tens of thousands of tons. Nearly all the hops for beer brewing and the essences and perfumes for the cosmetics and food industries had to be imported. Liberation soon changed this state of affairs, and the changes were even faster after the collectivization of the farms and the resulting swifter growth of agricultural production. The nation's farms were able to go in for more advanced crop specialization. In the old days tobacco was grown on a large scale only in Honan, Anhwei and Shantung Provinces. Today, Yunnan and Kweichow Provinces in the southwest and Liaoning and Kirin Provinces in the northeast have all developed tobacco production on a big scale. The country now has seven major tobacco belts and at their peak they produced more than twice as much tobacco as in the pre-liberation year. Similar successes have been achieved in other fields.

The hop vine has been successfully acclimatized and China is now self-sufficient in hops. In recent years, more than 100 kinds of perfume essences have been successfully extracted from indigenous plants which have been brought under cultivation. Home production of such essences as attar of roses, jasmine extract and citronella oil—all previously imported—has increased to such an extent that a surplus is now available for export.

The fact that there has been the swiftest advance in those branches of light industry which use artificial materials produced by industry testifies to the tremendous growth of China's heavy industries—the metallurgical, chemical, petroleum and coal industries in the first place. In the three years 1958-60 the state allocated to light industry more than twice as much rolled steel and non-ferrous metals as during the entire First Five-Year Plan period (1953-1957). Compared with 1961, light industry received last year from 10 to 80 per cent more steel, rolled steel, copper, aluminum, zinc, potassium chloride, red phosphorus, rubber and the raw materials for making detergents. A bigger range of factory-made materials was supplied to light industry. In 1962, the consumer goods industry received over a score of new kinds of rolled steel.

As a result of these developments, China's light industry no longer depends chiefly on imports for the metals and chemicals it needs.

Various branches of light industry have developed many new materials as a result of their own research work and investigations into China's natural resources. They have also made more rational and comprehensive use of available raw materials. The paper-making industry, for example, has made a systematic study of the techniques of making pulp from the fibres of Masson's pine, bamboo, reeds, rushes, straw and bagasse that are in abundant supply, and is now able to utilize these pulps for the manufacture of newsprint, relief printing paper, typewriting paper, etc. This has helped to boost paper output many times compared with the early days of liberation. The industry is also manufacturing alcohol, fodder yeast, flotation agents and adhesives from its waste liquor. Likewise, the brine, final molasses and bagasse of the salt and sugar-refining industries are being utilized to make many products.

Chinese-Made Equipment

Equipment supply is another important material pre-condition for the healthy, independent development of New China's light industry. Before liberation virtually all light industrial equipment in China were imported from Britain, Germany, France, the U.S.A. and Japan.

With the advance of science and technology and the building of a powerful heavy industry, New China has been able to build plants in a planned way to supply light industry with the equipment it needs. Today it is independently designing and manufacturing complete sets of certain types of equipment for the paper-making, sugar-refining, glass, ceramic and other industries. It has also ended its former complete dependence on foreign countries for the technical designing of a whole range of light industrial plants. In recent years, it has in fact been helping other countries to design and build certain types of light industrial enterprises equipped with Chinese-made machines.

During the First and Second Five-Year Plans (1953 through 1962), China built a number of key light industrial enterprises equipped with modern technology. These form the backbone of the consumer goods industry. A number of new industries have been started to produce, among other things, photo-sensitive materials, optical glass, cameras, plastic goods, synthetic detergents, paper for industrial technological uses and viscose pulp.

Another big development is that the situation in which light industrial enterprises were concentrated in a few coastal areas has begun to change. The hinterland has steadily increased its relative share of national light industrial production. No enamelware, for example, was produced in the inland areas in the past. Today inland enamelware plants account for over 40 per cent of the national output. The hinterland's share in the production of paper, matches, rubber footwear, thermos flasks, flashlight batteries, cigarettes, wines, etc., is also rising. Light industry has forged ahead particularly rapidly in such national minority areas as Sinkiang, Chinghai, Inner

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Mongolia and Ningsia where little modern light industry existed before. They are meeting an increasing portion of the local demand for industrial consumer goods.

Product Design and Technology

An important achievement in light industry is that plants which could only do repair and assembly jobs in the past, that is, most of the old light industrial plants, are now able to design and manufacture products on their own. After administrative reorganization and technical modernization, China's bicycle works have carried annual bicycle output from 10,000 machines before liberation to over 1 million now, and these are in a whole range of finely designed new models. A sewing-machine plant which handled only repairs and assembly jobs in prerevolutionary times today is a modern self-contained enterprise producing up-to-date machines. Many other light industrial products have been redesigned and improved, thanks to the "three-in-one co-operation" between leading cadres, technical personnel and the rank-and-file workers within enterprises, and between enterprises, scientific research institutions and technical colleges. Standardization of parts and components is aiding the drive for economy and ensuring better quality products. Standard movements have been designed for alarm clocks, for example.

The preservation and development of traditional skills is another outstanding feature of New China's light industrial development. The producers of famous Chinese wines have been given every encouragement. New cellars have been built for longer aging; time-honoured wine-making processes have been restored and improved. China now produces from several to more than 10 times as much of her eight famous wines — the "Great Eight" — as she did before liberation.

Great attention has been paid to the age-old ceramic trade. Production is now concentrated in 12 centres. Many famous kilns are again operating. Chingtehchen in Kiangsi Province is best known for its traditional designs and forms, polychrome glazes and "rice" pattern designs.

*The "Great Eight" are: Shaohsing Wine, Xifeng Liquor from Shensi, Fen Liquor from Shansi, Luchow Samshu from Szechuan, Maotai Liquor from Kwetchow and Chefoo Red Wine, Vermouth and Gold-medal Brandy.

Education

Socialist China's Children

by CHOU PAO-CHEM

Socialist China's children are healthy, happy, keen and alert. Love for the motherland and the people, love for labour and science and love for socialism is an essential part of their education. They are being reared as worthy heirs to the cause of socialism and future builders of communism.

CHILDREN born in the same year as the People's Republic was founded are 14 years old this year. All China's elementary school children today, that is, belong to a brand new generation raised and reared by the people's state according to the educational policy of the Chinese Communist Party. Can one then see a radical difference between this generation and pre-liberation generations? No one can doubt it. To those who know the old China it is revealed at a glance in any school or playground with its crowds of children — vital, busy, gay. It is no subtle difference. It stands out a mile when children are gathered together in a typical home or class-

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room, at festivals or celebrations. This is a generation that is surrounded with care in a people's state—the first in China's long history—that can give it adequately, though never as much as it would like.

Here is a generation that is, first, healthy and well-fed. You'll see no pot-bellied, tattered starvelings. They're not dressed in silk and satin, but the clothes are solid. The nation's health service pays first attention to the health and well-being of the children from before they are even born, in prenatal care, in regular health check-ups and innoculations against such diseases as whooping cough, diphtheria or small pox. From there kindergartens and schools, children's organizations and community services take over. Physical culture is an important part of the school curriculum. There isn't a city district, town, factory settlement or farm community in the country that hasn't got its playgrounds and sports facilities for its children.

Adequately fed, healthy, decently dressed and housed children—that alone is an achievement of momentous import for a nation of 650 millions.

It's a literate generation. The overwhelming majority of China's children today are getting the basis of a good education in the three Rs—reading (mastering 3,500 basic Han characters or ideographs), writing and arithmetic—history, geography and the elements of science, over a full or partial six-year course.

This is a keen-eyed, keen-minded generation. Health and education make for a good foundation for inquisitive, inventive, busy minds and hands. The school caters for this by combining study with practical manual work and so do a host of other extra-curricular activities run by organizations like the Young Pioneers, children's palaces, libraries and amateur arts and crafts and hobbies circles. The children's publishing houses are hard put to it to satisfy their customers. Two alone in Peking and Shanghai have printed and distributed 3,400 books in 100 million copies and still the demand mounts. The classics of China and of other lands, modern stories of the revolution, science and science fiction, pour from their presses and over the counters of children's bookstores and libraries in every sizable town.

To cultivate a love for science at an early age, a number of China's outstanding scientists have turned children's writer and produced some excellent books for the younger generation. Among the most popular in recent years has been Scientists Talk About the 21st Century in which 26 famous scientists give their forecasts about the world a century hence, and the 100,000 Whys, a children's encyclopedia. These and biographies of famous men including Darwin, Michurin, Tsu Chung-chih, China's great ancient astronomer, and others, sell in hundreds of thousands of copies. A particularly popular form of literary and scientific education is to get the children and the men who know together. A visit by a famous writer, scientist or artist to a school or cultural palace is no rare event but always an event that is not to be missed. Such get-togethers are already part of the custom of the country, a regular element of contacts between children and adults that binds the generations together in common ideals.

Socialist Education

But most important: this is a socialist generation. Socialism is for them at once a way of life and thought, an accepted ethic of everyday civilized behaviour. These are children who are growing up in a land where the whole people is building socialism, where the idea of exploiting others, and of personal gain at the expense of the community is something to be ashamed of.

A glance at the primary-school readers gives an excellent idea of the nature of this socialist morality that is taught to China's young.

Two rabbits, white and grey, give a lesson in love of labour and unselfishness and a warning against laziness and selfishness. There is a story of the young Mao Tse-tung entitled When You Drink From the Well Remember the Well-Digger. These are only two of many that teach respect for labour since it is the creator of all social wealth. There are reading lessons inculcating abhorrence of lies, extravagance and showing off; love of honesty and truth; respect for teachers and elders and the fine virtues of care and respect for the aged and the young, care for public property and love of the people and the collective. There is the story of the little girl who returns a dropped purse to its owner and the boy who broke the vase and owned up. From many angles the child learns the great qualities of the working class—industriousness, courage, honesty and thrift. Organized school life and school democracy give a practical introduction to the methods of constructive criticism and fearless, sincere self-criticism.

This is a generation that is being brought up to take racial and national equality as a fact and a good to be defended by all, everywhere; it is a generation of patriots and internationalists.

Book lessons and exhortations are reinforced by lessons from life and practical activity. The child is taught to apply the ideals he reads about in his daily life, by such little acts of kindness and thoughtfulness as giving a seat up in a trolleybus to a burdened adult or a child younger than himself, helping toddlers cross the road or participating in organized social activities. A group of Pioneers will often volunteer on their holiday to help a librarian mend books or a gardener weed the public garden. The children have a slogan: Do a good deed.

That outlook of regard for others, for social discipline, is carried out into ever wider spheres of life as the child grows up. Chinese social life and education today aims at a suitable development of the child step by step in an ever greater awareness of the facts of life, social as well as political. Children learn early that one can't stand by idle when bad things are being done, that one must stand up for just rights. Later they apply that standard in their wider social life and, as they learn about it, on the international arena, for example, in the fight against imperialism and its wars and for national liberation.

Children being brought up in China's new socialist society are mainly under the influence of the ideology of the proletariat; the progressive society moulds them decisively, but education in contemporary China takes full account of the fact that there are still classes and class
struggles in a socialist society, that class struggles will continue throughout the historical period of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism and a classless society, and that this struggle is complex, now flaring up, now less intense and then sometimes again very sharp. Under these conditions bourgeois ideology, survivals of ideas and habits of the old society still exercise an influence and need constant vigilance. They are down but not yet out, and the proper ideological and political education of the children in communist ideas to guard against this bourgeois influence is therefore of the utmost importance and cannot be neglected.

Extra-Curricular Activities

These ideas of a socialist and communist outlook and morality are, of course, inculcated in the classrooms, but over the years the schools and Young Pioneer organizations have discovered and fostered a variety of outside classroom activities and ways that are well liked by and suited to the youngsters and which are also fine for educating them in revolutionary and communist ideas. One is that ancient draw card beloved of children everywhere — story telling. It is no unusual sight to see hoary-headed veteran revolutionaries, men who worked in the underground revolutionary movement or who fought in the early Red Army in the 1920s and 30s telling groups of children tales of their adventures, of early workers’ strikes and demonstrations, or stories of the historic 25,000 li Long March, of the hard days of fighting the Japanese invaders in the guerrilla areas or the great struggles of the Liberation War. The children find nothing more absorbing than to have such a storyteller of real life tales take them round one of the revolutionary museums where they can see the relics of those struggles and understand better what is meant by plain living and hard work and struggle for the ideals of the revolution.

Children are avid readers of revolutionary memoirs and stories of revolutionary fighters. Their heroes are revolutionary fighters like Huang Chi-kuang, the young hero of the Korean war, Tung Tsun-ju who gave his life on the battlefield of the War of Liberation or Liu Hu-lan who defied the warlord gangsters. Now, more recently, everyone of them knows about the young P.L.A. soldier Lei Feng who led a simple, heroic life of service to the people until his untimely death last year. It is men and women like these who are held in deepest respect, whose immortal spirit is held up for emulation. It is the leaders of the revolution and the many heroes of labour of the factories and farms and science who are loved as models to learn from and emulate. From them they learn that service to the people in whatever sphere of life you may be called upon to enter — scientist or barber, book-keeper or farmer — is equally glorious.

Pioneer members in many places have set up their own Red Scarf Investigation Teams which collect revolutionary relics and souvenirs of the revolutionary struggle in their localities and visit and collect the stories of local revolutionary fighters. . . . With these they set up their own "revolutionary museums." They read and learn of the leadership of the Communist Party but it is in such direct personal contacts that they become more fully aware of what it has meant to China.

An ancient custom has taken on a new form and significance. Spring is the time when according to immemorial custom the Chinese people go to visit the ancestral tombs. They still do so but today the idea of membership of the family and clan has taken on a wider significance: one is a member of the collective, the nation, of the people of the world. Today the children go to the tombs of the revolutionary martyrs and plant saplings there as a mark of homage and respect and remembrance. Sometimes their story sessions are held there recalling the men and women and children who gave up their lives for the New China, for the bright new life of today but who live on today as an inspiration to the young to carry on to completion the work that they began but had to leave unfinished.

The School of Life

This is a busy generation of Chinese youngsters. There is book work and study, games and relaxation — and more. Schools and youth organizations are helped by the organizations under which they operate (local authorities, Youth League groups, commune and factory administrations) to provide suitable opportunities for the children to take an active part in the workaday and political life of the nation. This is all part of the school for life. That is how you see the children out on a gleaning expedition after the harvest, out with rake and basket gathering farmyard manure or on a mountain picnic gathering herbs or firewood. Some have taken up even more ambitious projects that have become an essential part of their communities’ life. Several weather stations run by school children are furnishing production teams and communes with regular weather information.

This identification with the adult world doesn’t cause any smiles. It is accepted and fostered as part of the children’s preparation for life “in the big world,” struggling for peace, democratic rights, national freedom and socialism. It is no simple gesture when the school children
ROUND THE WORLD
(Continued from p. 22.)

suppress the famous “Mau-Mau” movement. However, during the last few years, the struggles of the peasants, workers and other strata of the people have become still more extensive and their growing activities threaten colonial rule.

Complicated tasks and arduous struggle still confront the Kenyan people. While the new constitution fixes no definite date for independence, it does stipulate continued control by the British Governor over matters of defence, external affairs and internal security, including the police force. He retains, in addition, the “emergency powers” vested in him under the racist laws.

Britain still maintains an East Africa Command and extensive military bases in Kenya. She is also playing her favourite game of divide-and-rule. To make the colonialists give up the rich land they have seized from the Africans and with it their fabulous profits, a tough fight is unavoidable. All this notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that colonialism in Kenya and in all Africa will in the end be defeated.

SHORT NOTES

During the Conference of African Heads of State in Addis Ababa, Kennedy sent them a glowing message in which he waxed eloquent about “the cardinal importance of unity, freedom, human dignity and self-realization.” He received a reply in the form of an open letter from Uganda Prime Minister Obote.

“There is an iron curtain which has been drawn over events ... taking place in Birmingham,” noted the African statesman. “These Negroes, who have been subjected to the most inhuman treatment, who have been blasted with fire hoses cranked up to such pressure that the water could strip bark off trees, at whom police have deliberately set snarling dogs, are our own kith and kin. The only offences which these people have committed are that they are black and that they have demanded the right to be free and to hold their heads up as equal citizens of the United States.”

Noting that all this was going on when Kennedy addressed the conference, Prime Minister Obote wrote: “Nothing is more paradoxical than that these events should take place in the United States and at a time when that country is anxious to project its image before the world screen as the arch-type of democracy and the champion of freedom.”

According to Dawn, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan told a British delegation that India’s past conduct had left no one in doubt that it was a country seized with expansionist designs. The Indian leaders somehow seemed to think that every country from Afghanistan down to Indonesia where there was a semblance of Indian culture formed a part of an Indian political empire. The President said. The present leadership in India, he added, believed that the ultimate frontiers of India would lie far beyond its present frontiers and it was this mentality which made the Indian leadership blind to its wrong attitude.

Kennedy: “Look this way, my African friend!”

Cartoon by M. Ku
MUSIC

Shanghai Spring Music Festival

The first concert of this year's Shanghai Spring Music Festival opened on the night of May 11 to a capacity crowd of 4,000 at the city's indoor gymnasium. It turned into an unusual musical occasion. The programme originally listed performances by a dozen professional and amateur choruses, the latter formed by the city's Young Pioneers, workers, peasants, soldiers, students, teachers and returned overseas Chinese, altogether 1,800 strong. But when the evening really got going, there were times when everybody was singing, so caught up by the music was the audience.

For three hours, the big hall echoed and re-echoed with spirited singing almost without a break. In between the programmed items, the workers' chorus would strike up a song, to be capped immediately with another by men of the three defence forces, and yet again by the students.

Revolutionary Character

Militant, inspiring revolutionary songs brought performers and audience together. Workers of All Countries, United!, a popular new work by the well-known woman composer Chu Hsi-hsien, rang out powerfully from thousands of throats. Over 30 revolutionary songs in all dedicated directly to the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction in China, as well as revolutionary songs from Korea and Albania, were sung. The Internationale brought the whole hall to its feet.

Among the audience that evening were guests from a dozen countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Australasia visiting Shanghai at the time. To the delight of all, three women visitors from Algeria rose from their seats, went up to the microphone and sang The Song of Algeria. The storm of applause that greeted them was a salute to them and their heroic people. Deeply moved, they launched into a spirited rendering of their national anthem. Members of the trade union delegation from fighting Cuba too joined in the singing of the Cuban Ode to July 26. No one was a passive listener that evening.

This first concert summed up the distinguishing features of Shanghai's Spring Music Festival this year: a festival of music and song with a strong revolutionary content and a broad mass participation. It was a highlight of the new upsurge in the mass movement of singing revolutionary songs that has been shaping up lately throughout the nation. The fourth such annual festival held in the city, it included 21 concerts of vocal and instrumental music, as well as China's first contests for the erh hu (two-stringed Chinese bowed instrument) and the violin, presented to audiences totalling more than 38,000 people. Of the 222 pieces performed, over 60 per cent were revolutionary songs and musical compositions, and over three-fourths were by Chinese composers. Of the 3,700 participants, over half were amateur music-lovers from among the workers, peasants, soldiers and students. A special concert was exclusively devoted to amateur singing and instrumental music.

Variety of Styles

Another highpoint was the concert of music from Asian, African and Latin American countries. This time eight professional and amateur ensembles performed to 8,000 people on the packed Cultural Square in central Shanghai. There were revolutionary songs, folk songs and music from Korea, Viet Nam, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Cuba and Brazil, and musical compositions by Chinese composers dedicated to the anti-imperialist struggle and national-liberation movement on these three continents. A poem by the Congolese national martyr Lumumba Let Our People Be Victorious! was sung to music by the Chinese composer Sang Tung.

Besides songs and small orchestral pieces, there were several large works. These included the new symphony Cheng Cheng-kung by the young Chinese composers Lu Chi-ming and Hsiao Heng. In praise of the Chinese national hero of the 17th century who liberated Taiwan from the Dutch colonialists, it is in four movements and has a rich national colour. Other major works included the symphonic poems Monument to the People's Heroes by the noted composer Chu Wei and August First by the young composer Liu Fu-an, and the chorale Cantata of the River of Happiness. This last was composed by four young musicians after a period of living and working in the rural people's communes. It won a first prize at the Seventh World Youth Festival in 1959.

Concerts of National Music

Chinese national music with its centuries-old history has been accorded an important place at all the Shanghai Spring Music Festivals. This year, a recital of national music was given by the well-known Shanghai National Instruments Orchestra and the students of the national music department of the Shanghai Conservatory, and another concert at which 15 young singers of the Tibetan, Mongolian, Miao, Chuang and other national minorities sang the songs of their peoples. Never before had so many local folk singers gathered together on one Shanghai stage.

The festival gave music-lovers a chance to hear a considerable number of orchestras, musicians and singers playing and singing in different styles. The Shanghai Symphony Orchestra, under the baton of its able conductor Huang Yi-chun, gave a highly successful performance of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. China's first women's string quartet with Su Li-na (violinist) and her colleagues performed Beethoven's Quartet in F Major, op. 18, No. 1. This quartet won a prize at the Second Schumann International Song and String Quartet Competition in 1960. There were performances of piano pieces by Liszt and Chopin and solos of famous songs of China and other lands.

China's First "Erh Hu" and Violin Contests

The erh hu and violin contests aroused special interest.

The erh hu has for many centuries been one of the most popular stringed musical instruments in China, while the violin was introduced into China some 50 years ago. But this was the first time that a competition has been held for either in China.

First prizes in the erh hu contest went to Min Hui-fen, 17-year-old second-form girl student of the middle school attached to the Shanghai Conservatory, and Chiang Sun-feng, 28-year-old player of a cultural troupe belonging to the P.L.A. units stationed in Peking. First prize for the violin contest went to 26-year-old assistant at the Shanghai Conservatory Cheng.
Shih-sheng. The erh hu contest drew 29 players from 8 cities and 6 provinces; 18 violinists from 8 cities competed. They were all under 32 years of age, as specified by the rules of the contest. The youngest competitor was only 14.

Two special sets of prizes were awarded during the contest for the best players of new erh hu work and for playing a Chinese musical composition on the violin. New erh hu works reflecting the surging new socialist life of the Chinese people were successfully rendered by seven erh hu players, who all won prizes. One violinist won the prize for playing Chinese music on the violin. The prize-winners later gave four enthusiastically received public performances.

The festival had as its special guests 400 prominent musicians and musicologists from various parts of the country. They included the Chairman of the Union of Chinese Musicians Lu Chi, and its Vice-Chairmen Ma Ssu-sung, Ho Lu-ting and Cha Fu-hsi. During the festival they and their Shanghai colleagues held nine discussions on the further promotion of the mass singing movement, the development of national music and of the technique of singing and performing socialist music. The unanimous opinion of the critics was that the festival was an unforgettable occasion, a grand concert reflecting our new times.

TOYS

Children's Day Gifts

Long before June 1, Children's Day, the toy departments in the big Children's Shop on Nanking Road and other Shanghai stores were drawing crowds like a magnet. They held a dazzling display of 1,300 varieties of toys made of metal, wood, plastic, velvet or art clay. Excited kiddies and their parents walked out laden with boxes; young nursery teachers carted away the loads of gifts they chose for their charges: new sets of building blocks from which aspiring young engineers and architects can build miniature duplicates of China's longest bridge - the Yangtse River Bridge - or Peking's Tien An Men Square; models of "East Wind" sedans, New China's first home-produced de luxe sedan; or big meccano sets which enable their young owners to construct working models of aeroplanes and ships, trains and lorries, tractors, and other modern machinery and vehicles.

A golden-skinned Han girl in satin jacket and trousers, Tibetan and Miao girls with their colourful national costumes and trinkets are three of a set of attractive dolls on sale which has a representative each from 20 of China's many nationalities. Young owners of these early get to know and love the other members of China's big family of nationalities. Incidentally, the dolls appearing this year are ensured of better health and longer life than their predecessors - they have got washable and unbreakable new heads made of plastic.

Little pails and shovels and spades, wooden screw drivers, hammers and pliers give young workers outlets for their creative energy. New toys like "Little Sister Washing Clothes," "The Teddy Bear Cooks," "The Kitten Makes Shoes for the Little Dog" give youngsters an early education in being useful and helpful to others. One popular new toy has a dark-haired doll holding a tea tray in her hands. When a cup is placed on the tray, she starts walking towards you, nodding and smiling, and stops only when the cup is taken from the tray.

Fluffy, life-like toys made of velvet bring the zoo into the children's corner: pandas, drum-beating teddy bears, tigers and lions that Chinese children are fond of. A mechanical kitten wags its tail as it chases a ball. Monkey Sun and Piggy, popular characters from Chinese mythology known to every Chinese child, have also come to life in velvet likenesses.

Then there are the ever popular wooden swords and tasselled spears, colourful clay figurines, diabolas and spin-tops, theatrical masks and a variety of other traditional Chinese toys made by the master folk craftsmen at Shanghai's Chenghuangmiao temple fair.

This year's Children's Day has been memorable to Shanghai's children for the crackerjack selection of toys it brought them. These are toys that entertain and teach, that help bring up the children in the ideals of the new China: love of labour and nature, love of the people and knowledge. Designers at the 14 big toy factories in Shanghai are assiduous students of books on children and child psychology, and frequent visitors at schools and nurseries. Seven thousand workers in these plants are daily turning out the toys which are eagerly welcomed all over the country.

PHILATELY

Happy Children

As its contribution to Children's Day, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications issued on June 1 a new set of stamps with New China's children as the theme. There are twelve stamps in the set, all in bright colours, and in denominations of 4, 8, 10 and 20-fen. They were designed by Wan Wei-sheng.
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the rice seedlings are now all doing well.

Water for Hongkong

Like Kwangtung Province, Hongkong is experiencing its worst drought in 60 years. There has been little rain for nine months, and the water reserves there are dwindling fast. The Hongkong authorities now supply water only for four hours every other day. This has caused great difficulties to local industry, commerce and the everyday life of its inhabitants.

The Chinese General Chamber of Commerce in Hongkong and the Hongkong-Kowloon Federation of Trade Unions cabled Governor Chen Yu of Kwangtung for help. In his reply, Governor Chen said that he was concerned about the difficulties facing our compatriots in Hongkong and expressed willingness to take active measures to help solve Hongkong's acute water shortage. He undertook to supply 20,000 tons of tap water every day from Canton's mains free of charge or to supply fresh water to Hongkong residents from some other suitable source, provided that the Hongkong authorities arrange the necessary transport facilities.

Since the reservoir at Shumchun was completed in early 1961, it has been supplying Hongkong's inhabitants with part of the water they need. During the current dry spell, the reservoir has already supplied Hongkong with the 5,000 million gallons of water stipulated as the annual quota in a previous agreement. In addition to this, an extra 700 million gallons would be supplied to help relieve Hongkong's water shortage. About half of this extra amount has already been supplied. As the present severe drought has greatly reduced the Shumchun reservoir's level, it is difficult to make a further increase in the supply of water from this source. It is in the light of this that Governor Chen Yu has indicated willingness to provide water from Canton's mains. As regards practical measures for getting the water to Hongkong, the Governor has suggested that the Hongkong authorities send representatives to Canton to confer with the Chinese organizations concerned.

As we go to press, news comes that consultations are under way.

Freighter Disaster Probed

Careful investigation has established that the Japan-bound Chinese freighter Yueh Chin sank after having struck a rock. This was announced in a Hsinhua News Agency statement issued on June 2.

The vessels sent by the Ministry of Communications to probe the disaster were assisted by ships of the P.L.A. Navy and located the sunken ship at 32°16'N. and 123°11'42"E. This brought to an end the 15-day investigation conducted between Socostra Rock, Le Bruix and Alacry.

June 7, 1963

Ally Muwabe Kirunda Kwejiranza, Secretary for Research and Information of the People's Congress Party of Uganda, who is now visiting China, was received by Premier Chou En-lai on May 23. On May 13 he gave an address to a meeting sponsored by the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs on the Uganda people's struggle for national independence and against imperialism and colonialism.

Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade gave a banquet on May 24 welcoming a visiting group of Japanese businessmen. More than a hundred Japanese friends attended.

Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and his wife Chang Chien called on Mme. Quinim Pholsena at the hospital on May 23 and expressed their cordial regards. Mme. Quinim Pholsena has made marked progress since she came to Peking in April for medical treatment of the wounds inflicted on her by the assassinator of her husband.

The 1963 executive plan for implementation of the Sino-Hungarian cultural co-operation agreement was signed in Peking on May 25.
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