

PEKING REVIEW

22

May 30, 1975

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報

Ideological Weapon for Restricting Bourgeois Right

— Notes on studying Chairman Mao's "Report to the
Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central
Committee of the Communist Party of China"

Chinese Mountaineering Expedition Again Ascends World's Highest Peak

"Big Drama on a Small Stage"

— The first of two articles showing how a city develops
industry at high speed

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Greeting 55th Anniversary of Founding of Communist Party of Indonesia

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia

c/o The Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia;

On the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and all its Party members extend the warmest congratulations to you.

The Communist Party of Indonesia is the core leading the Indonesian people's revolution. For the past 50 years and more, the Communist Party of Indonesia, fearing no brute force and advancing wave upon wave, has led the Indonesian people in carrying out

arduous struggles for the cause of Indonesia's national liberation. At present, the Indonesian revolution has suffered temporary setbacks and the Communist Party of Indonesia is in a difficult position. But, no matter how frantic the counter-revolutionary forces may be, the Indonesian Communists have neither been cowed nor subjugated. Your Party has strengthened its unity and persevered in struggle under the most difficult and complicated conditions. We are firmly convinced that so long as your Party integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution in your own country, continues to uphold your Party's three banners of building a Marxist-Leninist Party, carrying out people's armed struggle, and establishing a revolutionary united front, constantly

sums up experiences and keeps in close touch with the masses in struggle, you can surely overcome all difficulties and lead the revolution to victory.

Our two Parties and two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the protracted revolutionary struggles and forged profound revolutionary friendship and militant unity on the basis of proletarian internationalism. This friendship and unity will certainly be further consolidated and developed in the future in the common struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
May 22, 1975

Condolences Over Heroic Deaths of Comrades Thakin Zin and Thakin Chit

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma

Comrade Thakin Ba Thein Tin:

We are shocked to learn of the deaths of Comrades Thakin Zin and Thakin Chit, Chairman and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, who died heroically in action. We express to you our deep condolences.

For decades Comrade Thakin Zin and Comrade Thakin Chit engaged in the long struggle against imperialism, feudalism and reaction,

and devoted their precious lives to the Burmese revolution. Though they are now dead, the historical trend of the Burmese revolution cannot be checked.

The Communist Party of Burma, with a glorious tradition of revolutionary struggle, has for decades led the Burmese people of all nationalities in the struggle against the class enemies at home and abroad, advancing wave upon wave and overcoming one difficulty after another, thus making a great contribution to the revolutionary cause of the Burmese people. We are con-

fident that all the members of the Communist Party of Burma and commanders and fighters of the People's Army will unite closely around the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma headed by Chairman Thakin Ba Thein Tin and win thorough and complete victory in their revolutionary war by upholding a correct line, firmly relying on the people of all nationalities and carrying out a dauntless struggle.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
May 20, 1975

P.L.A. Third Sports Meet Closes

The Third Sports Meet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army closed on May 25 in Peking.

During the 15-day meet, nearly 5,000 athletes from P.L.A. units across the land made it a point to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, display the P.L.A.'s time-honoured fighting style characterized by courage, tenacity and indomitability, and put into practice the principle of "friendship first, competition second."

Attaching importance to friendship, unity and sportsmanship throughout the competition, the athletes achieved good results. In all 18 events, 104 athletes and seven teams toppled 46 P.L.A. records on 207 occasions and 19 athletes and one team broke nine national records on 25 occasions. In addition, Tung Hsiang-yi of the Peking Units set a world record in the women's 25-metre small-bore pistol shooting event, while Tu Ning-sheng from the Nanking Units equalled the listed world record.

This meet fully demonstrated the revolutionary new outlook of fighters of the P.L.A., made up of sons and daughters of the people, after being tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. It also reflected the solid mass basis and the booming excellent situation in the development of sports in the P.L.A. units.

The closing ceremony was attended by Party and state leaders as well as leading members of the P.L.A. general departments, services and arms.

Military attaches of embassies of various countries in Peking and their wives were also on hand by invitation.

Li Ta, Chairman of the Presidium of the Third Sports Meet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., delivered the closing speech, which was followed by performances

of songs and dances, *wushu* (Chinese boxing and swordplay) and calisthenics.

Literary and Art Workers Pledge to Consolidate Proletarian Dictatorship

The 33rd anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* (1942) was recently commemorated by literary and art workers amid the high tide of nationwide study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At a forum in Peking to mark the occasion, literary and art workers dwelt on the great significance of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of art and literature.

Linking their discussions with the history and the present situation of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines in art and literature, the speakers pointed out that, in the period of socialism, there are fierce class struggles in the realm of art and literature which is an important component part of the superstructure. Should the proletariat fail to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in this field, the latter will enlarge its position and make a come-back. They also pointed out that the revolution in art and literature, which started in 1964 under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in art and literature, has produced fruitful results. Emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties were driven off the stage and were replaced by a group of model revolutionary theatrical works which play a tremendous role in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Proletarian heroes and heroines imbued with the communist spirit created by these works are examples for hundreds of millions of people to follow.

Nevertheless, they went on to say, there should be no slackening of vigilance. The class enemies invariably try to sabotage in every possible way in a vain attempt to stage a come-back. Poisonous weeds cropped up in the past and may emerge

again in the future; some persons are still disseminating feudal, bourgeois and revisionist works, and old ideology, the old forces of habit and the ideology of bourgeois right still influence and corrode revolutionary art and literary workers.

Participants at the forum — actors and actresses, composers, vocal soloists and other art and literary workers — unanimously pledged to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat well, go deep into the people's struggles, consciously resist and break down the ideology of bourgeois right, painstakingly remould their world outlook and go forward in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao in his Yanan talks.

Lesotho Foreign Minister Visits China

J.R.L. Kotsokoane, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Lesotho, arrived in China on May 19 for a visit.

Premier Chou En-lai met him and his wife in a hospital. Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua held talks with his Lesotho counterpart Kotsokoane.

Speaking at the banquet welcoming the Lesotho guests, the Chinese Foreign Minister said: Since Lesotho attained independence in 1966, her government and people have achieved gratifying successes in safeguarding national independence, defending state sovereignty and developing the national economy. In international affairs, the Government of Lesotho pursues a policy of non-alignment. Defying duress, it has recently exposed and denounced publicly the "detente" trick by the white racist regimes of Vorster and Smith and thus won the African people's praise.

Referring to the current excellent situation in Africa, the Chinese Foreign Minister pointed out: While stepping up arms expansion and war preparations and intensifying counter-revolutionary repression, the racist regimes of Vorster and Smith, prompted and supported by imperialism, sing the tune of "detente" in an attempt, by soft tactics, to inveigle national-liberation fighters into lay-



**Premier Chou En-lai
meets Foreign Minis-
ter Kotsokoane.**

ing down their arms and to split the unity of African states. However, the clumsy stratagem of Vorster and Smith has been seen through by more and more people. It is our belief that no matter what tactics Vorster, Smith and their ilk may use, they will be thoroughly defeated by the African people who are increasingly awakening and fighting in unity. The people in southern Africa will surely achieve liberation.

In conclusion, Foreign Minister Chiao said: Both China and Lesotho belong to the third world. This visit by the Foreign Minister will definitely contribute to promoting mutual understanding and relations between China and Lesotho.

In his speech, Foreign Minister Kotsokoane said: We have come here to seek genuine friends who can help us not only to develop economically but also to survive as an independent sovereignty.

He condemned those countries in the world that think that, because of their military power, or economic power or their size, they have the right to dominate the destiny of other peoples.

He said: As members of the third world with you, we believe that we all have a role to play in ensuring that the small countries of the world are protected from domination by either superpower. Our strength

lies in our friends, and together we cannot lose. The third world forms the majority of the population of the world.

Speaking of the situation in Africa, Foreign Minister Kotsokoane said: In Africa, we are committed to the struggle for the total liberation of the continent. Nothing can stop the tide of liberation which is now lapping the shores of the southern tip of the continent.

As we have seen, he added, in many parts of the world, especially in Indochina recently, nothing can stop the people from winning victory when they are determined to obtain their freedom.

12th Anniversary of African Liberation Day Celebrated

The heads of states, governments and representatives from independent African countries met in Addis Ababa in May 12 years ago and adopted the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and set up the Organization of African Unity. May 25, the day of the signing of the O.A.U. Charter, was designated as African Liberation Day.

To celebrate the anniversary, diplomatic envoys of African countries to China gave a reception in Peking. Among the guests were Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Wu

Teh and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua.

Cameroon Ambassador to China Langue-Tsobgny Clement spoke at the reception on behalf of the African diplomatic envoys.

He said that the work of the Organization of African Unity in the 12 years since its founding has been very inspiring. During this period the O.A.U. has succeeded in uncovering intrigues and crimes hatched by imperialism. In 1963, the O.A.U. was made up of only about 30 independent states. Today the number is 42.

He said: After the independence of Guinea-Bissau in September 1974, we are waiting with eagerness to celebrate the forthcoming nationhood of the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique and Angola in the not too distant future. Needless to say, independence was not a gift on a silver platter. It was precisely the brilliant victories which have been won by the heroic sons and daughters of Africa.

The Ambassador pointed out that no true African can claim to be free until the vestiges of colonialism, in whatever form, have been eliminated from the African continent and that no African country has the right to assume being sovereign and really free as long as Vorster, Smith and their ilk remain stubborn in carrying out their hateful and criminal policy of apartheid.

He condemned Israeli provocation and aggression in the Middle East as menacing the African countries, the Arab countries and the third world.

The Ambassador warmly hailed the glorious victories of the Indochinese peoples and expressed support for the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation and for the People's Republic of China in its efforts to liberate Taiwan and reunite the motherland.

Speaking at the reception, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua extended the warmest festive greetings to the governments and people of the African states on behalf of the Chinese Government and people.

He said: Great changes have taken place in the African continent over the past 12 years. In response to the great call "to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa" set forth in the O.A.U. Charter, the African countries and people, holding high the banner of unity and struggle, fought unyieldingly and persistently and won one great victory after another in the struggle to combat imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, Zionism and big-power hegemonism, and to win and safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy and protect their national resources. Africa is now a vigorous fighting force in the third world's united struggle against hegemonism.

He pointed out: At present, the situation in Africa is getting ever better. The people in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola have won the right to national independence through protracted armed struggle. The national-liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania is developing. Of course, no reactionaries will step off the stage of history of their own accord, and they will invariably put up a deathbed struggle. What merits our attention now is the fact that the white racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, supported and instigated by imperialism and the superpowers, are resorting to counter-revolutionary dual tactics to maintain their reactionary rule. While intensifying armed repression, they energetically trumpet "detente" in an attempt to undermine the militant unity of the African countries and stamp out the flames of the armed struggle by the people of southern Africa. However, we are convinced that the African countries, which have a glorious tradition of combating imperialism, and the increasingly awakening African people will see through the enemies' various stratagems and use revolutionary dual tactics against their counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Strengthening their unity and persevering in struggle, the great

African people will certainly win independence and liberation for the whole African continent.

The Foreign Minister said: China and the African countries belong to the third world. Bound closely together by the lot we have shared in history and by our common fighting task, we are comrades-in-arms on the same front. We sympathized with and supported each other in the past, and we will continue to strengthen our unity and fight together in the days ahead. The African people may rest assured that we Chinese people will always stand on your side and remain your reliable friend.

Portuguese Communist Party (M-L) Delegation

The Delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) led by General Secretary Vilar paid a friendly visit to China from April 3 to May 13. It toured Peking, Shanghai, Changsha, Shaoshan and Tientsin.

Chi Teng-kuei, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on May 12 met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with members of the delegation and later gave a banquet in their honour. Earlier, Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, also had feted the delegation.

Delegation of Argentine Communist Vanguard Party Central Committee

Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation recently with all members of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Vanguard Party of Argentina led by Oscar Fleitas.

After the meeting, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan gave a banquet in honour of the delegation.

Among those at the meeting and banquet was Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

The guests toured Changsha, Shaoshan, Anyuan, Kwangchow, Shanghai, Tientsin and Yen-an before leaving Peking for home.

Chinese Performing Arts Troupe in Trinidad and Tobago

The Chinese Performing Arts Troupe left Trinidad and Tobago for Guyana on May 17. The troupe had been invited by the governments of the two countries and Venezuela to make a performance tour there.

Following its arrival in Trinidad and Tobago, a beautiful island country, on May 3, the troupe gave eight shows to audiences totalling more than 18,000. Items included voice and piano solos, Chinese national instrument solos, and dance, as well as folk songs of Trinidad and Tobago.

The troupe was given a warm welcome by the Trinidad and Tobago Government and people.

Prime Minister Eric Williams gave a big reception on May 5 for all members of the troupe.

Among the audiences at the troupe's premiere were Governor-General Ellis Clarke and his wife, Prime Minister Eric Williams, and other high ranking officials. Delegates from more than 30 countries attending the 16th Session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America were also present at the invitation of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

The troupe was the first one ever sent by China to Trinidad and Tobago and also the first comprehensive Chinese performing arts troupe of music, songs and dances to tour abroad since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began.

Ideological Weapon for Restricting Bourgeois Right

— Notes on studying "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China"

by Chi Yen

STUDYING Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory well is a task of paramount importance for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country today. In this study, it is necessary to read again Chairman Mao's *Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* made in March 1949.

In the report, Chairman Mao made an overall analysis of the new situation in class struggle at home and abroad and of the changes in the mutual relations between the various classes in society after the victory of the new-democratic revolution. He pointed out that the principal contradiction at home is **"the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie"** and that the proletariat must learn how to wage struggles against the bourgeoisie in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres, and he laid down the line, principles and policies for carrying out the socialist revolution and establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the light of the class relations and economic situation in China at that time, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out: A policy of confiscation must be adopted towards bureaucrat-capital to effect its transfer to the state so as to **"enable the state-owned economy to become the leading sector of the entire national economy"**; it is necessary to **"adopt well-measured and flexible policies for restricting"** private capitalist elements beneficial to the national economy from several directions and according to specific conditions so as to utilize, restrict and transform them; the scattered and backward individual agriculture and handicrafts in large numbers **"must be led prudently, step by step and yet actively to develop towards modernization and collectivization."** He also pointed out that we would commit Right deviationist errors if we negated the socialist nature of the state-owned economy built on the basis of confiscated bureaucrat-capital, discarded the policy of restricting capitalism and failed to see the necessity of transforming the individual economy, and that we would make "Left" deviationist errors if we thought private capital

could be eliminated immediately and completely and overlooked the fact that the transformation of the individual economy would be protracted. A deep understanding of these important ideas of Chairman Mao's helps us today to get clear the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie both in theory and in practice, persist in restricting bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat and correctly implement the various policies of the Party.

Deal Correctly With Bourgeois Right

In 1956, our Party led the people of the whole country to complete in the main the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce and thus turn private ownership of the means of production into socialist public ownership by following the direction and course pointed out by Chairman Mao in his report and acting in accordance with the Party's general line for the transitional period. In the wake of the socialist revolution and socialist education movement on the political and ideological fronts in the ensuing 18 years, especially after the series of struggles such as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius, the socialist economic base has become increasingly consolidated and the socialist system has shown its tremendous superiority. There is indeed a world of difference between the new and old societies.

But socialist society, after all, is born out of capitalist society. In this historical period, classes and class struggle still exist and the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes are bound to dream of getting back their lost "paradise"; it will take a fairly long time to accomplish the task of socialist transformation which remains unfinished with regard to the ownership of the means of production; socialist society is economically, morally and intellectually **"still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges"** (Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme*), and there are still the commodity system, distribution according to work and exchange through money as well as the differences between workers and peasants,

between town and country and between mental and manual labour, and bourgeois right still exists. Pinpointing this state of affairs, Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This important instruction of Chairman Mao's has provided us with a sharp ideological weapon for further understanding the characteristics of socialist society. If we see only the essential difference between socialist and capitalist societies but fail to see that the former "differs very little" from the latter in some aspects, we cannot possibly persist in exercising all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, restrict bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism through to the end.

Fundamentally, the reason why some comrades have failed for a long time to have a clear understanding of bourgeois right with respect to the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work and have even taken a great interest in them is that they do not recognize, in both theory and practice, that bourgeois right carries the birth marks of the old society and is not communist and that it is an important economic base for engendering capitalism, revisionism and new bourgeois elements. As we now can see, the emergence of new bourgeois elements from among the working class, Party members or personnel of state and other organs is inseparable from the fact that the areas or units they belong to are trying to preserve and extend bourgeois right and these elements themselves value and crave for it. At the same time, the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes often use bourgeois right as a tool to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Such being the case, an important task of the proletariat in exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie lies in imposing necessary restrictions on that part of bourgeois right which still exists and, through a protracted socialist revolution, gradually creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. (Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.)

Doing just the opposite, the chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao always stopped at nothing to consolidate, extend and strengthen bourgeois right and used it to struggle against the proletariat. Chairman Mao has said: "Restriction versus opposition to restriction will be the main form of class

struggle in the new-democratic state." The struggle centring around the question of bourgeois right waged by our Party against the chieftains of the revisionist line is precisely one of restriction versus opposition to restriction, and it constitutes an important component part of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the entire historical period of socialism.

Restriction of bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat involves an extremely arduous and complicated struggle. Restriction means gradually reducing the scope and role of bourgeois right and actively creating the ideological and material conditions for its final abolition in the future. But it is impossible to abolish bourgeois right until after a fairly long period of time. In the struggle to restrict it, therefore, we must resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies, use Marxist-Leninist theory as our weapon to make a historical and class analysis of bourgeois right so that we can see both the inevitability of its existence and the necessity of restricting it, and study in what aspects it should be restricted and work out the ways and the proper extent of restriction. Without such a concrete analysis, mistakes of one kind or another will arise detrimental to the great cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Deal Correctly With the Principle of "Distribution According to Work"

Restriction of bourgeois right with regard to distribution is an important measure for preventing the emergence of new bourgeois elements and waging struggles against them. The socialist principle "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" applied in our country at the present stage is a negation of the distribution system under which the capitalists extract surplus-value created by the workers. Since individual workers differ in physical strength, have a higher or lower cultural and technical level and have more or less mouths to feed, application of an equal standard of distribution to different workers inevitably gives rise to inequality in fact. Hence, "equal right" as embodied in distribution according to work "is still — in principle — bourgeois right." (Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.) This principle of distribution, applied in the form of wages, divides people into different grades and inevitably causes some people to seek fame, higher position and better treatment. This runs counter to the attitude of communist labour which is voluntary, without quotas and in disregard of pay. Precisely because of this, our Party has stressed again and again that in applying the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," it is imperative to take the Party's basic line as the key link and persist in putting proletarian politics in command. Departing from proletarian politics which is the "soul," and making "more pay for more work" the "motive force" for mobilizing the masses' enthusiasm, "putting bonuses in command" and "putting work-

points in command" will lead people astray and on to the revisionist road, making them "calculate with . . . coldheartedness . . . whether one has not worked half an hour more than somebody else, whether one is not getting less pay than somebody else." (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*.) Abusing that part of power in their hands, some people may even put up the sign-board of "needs of the revolution" and "needs of work" and turn public property into private property and appropriate the fruits of labour of the masses by various subterfuges.

If such a state of affairs should be allowed to develop without any restrictions, the gap between those with more and those with less would become wider and wider to the extent that a polarization would take place. A few people then would convert their money into capital with which to engage in usury, set up underground factories or go in for speculation, all for carrying out criminal activities to exploit others. Once these newly emerged "vampires" come to power, the miserable plight in the old society where the broad masses of the labouring people were subjected to oppression and exploitation will occur again. If we fail to see the dire consequences arising from the extension of bourgeois right in distribution and fail to restrict it to a proper extent, but choose to extend it at will, we shall commit Right deviationist errors. Conversely, if we hold that the principle of "distribution according to work" can be done away with right now and there is no need to carry out the distribution policy for the rural areas at the present stage, we shall make "Left" deviationist mistakes.

Deal Correctly With the Commodity System

The growth and spread of capitalism can be prevented only by restricting bourgeois right in the existing commodity system. Commodity production in our country is carried out under the unified leadership of the state economic plan to meet the needs of the state and labouring people. But commodities as such still contain the contradiction between their use-value and value, the law of value is still operative and money remains the medium of commodity exchange. If no restriction is imposed on bourgeois right in respect to the commodity system and exchange through money, the bourgeoisie and capitalism will still be engendered. It is for the purpose of plugging the loopholes in commodity economy giving rise to capitalism that we stress bringing the production and exchange of commodities into the orbit of the state plan and putting finance and the economy under the unified management and supervision of the state, giving full scope to state-owned commerce's leading role and doing a good job of planned supply and normal circulation of commodities, and making earnest efforts to strengthen the leadership and management of trade carried out at rural fairs.

Lenin pointed out: "Without comprehensive state accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods, the power of the working people, the freedom of the working people, cannot be maintained,

and . . . a return to the yoke of capitalism is inevitable." (*The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.) This is exactly how things stand. If and when we give up restricting bourgeois right in the commodity system, revisionists and those deeply imbued with capitalist ideas will disobey the state plan in departments and units under their control and go in for capitalist management by "putting profits in command." They will make a big effort if there are large profits, little effort in the case of small profits and no effort at all when there are no profits. This way of doing things will lead to the supply of certain commodities being short or in excess of demand, with the result that social production and social needs contradict each other. Taking advantage of such a "breach" between supply and demand, some persons with capitalist ideas will, actually making use of each other in the name of mutual support, arbitrarily draw upon state and collective funds, equipment and products to exchange goods and buy state-controlled materials through illegal channels. In carrying out such so-called "co-operation," they will not hesitate to engage in underhand dealings such as feathering their own nests at the expense of the public interest, embezzlement, graft, theft and speculation. Some people may even introduce the capitalist principle of the exchange of commodities into the political life of the Party and state and turn the relations between people into those of "naked self-interest" and "callous 'cash payment.'" (Marx and Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.)

If a unit should go that far, socialism would metamorphose into capitalism under which the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie would be exercised. If we do not persist in imposing proper restrictions on bourgeois right in the commodity system, we will commit Right opportunist errors. On the other hand, on no account should we negate the historical role of the commodity economy in socialist society just because its existence involves the possibility of engendering capitalism, and call for the immediate abolition of production and exchange of commodities, the small plots farmed by commune members for their personal needs and the limited household side-line production as well as trade conducted at rural fairs under state leadership. As a matter of fact, those who put forward such "Left" slogans as "abolishing commodities" were none other than Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Chen Po-ta and their like who clung to the reactionary programme for restoring capitalism.

Deal Correctly With the Three Major Differences

Gradually reducing the three major differences is one of the conditions to be created in which it is impossible for a new bourgeoisie to arise. The opposition between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labour was the result of thousands of years of private ownership and an indispensable condition by which the reactionary ruling classes oppressed and exploited the labouring

people and consolidated and developed private economy. Compared with the state of opposition between town and country in the old society, these differences have been greatly reduced in socialist society as a result of the conversion of private ownership of the means of production to public ownership. This notwithstanding, it is still an objective fact that industry is more advanced than agriculture, the cities are more modernized than the countryside and mental workers are in a better position than manual workers. Moreover, the ideology of bourgeois right which reflects these three major differences still corrodes people's minds. Some people attach importance to industry while disdain agriculture, others are so enamoured with city life that they are unwilling to go to the countryside, still others regard themselves head and shoulders above others and despise physical labour and the labouring people once they acquire cultural and technical knowledge, thinking they are entitled to some special position and treatment. All these are nothing but manifestations of the influence of the ideology of bourgeois right.

An important task in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to gradually reduce the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labour until their final elimination. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have issued the call that the whole Party should go in for agriculture and that industry and all other trades should give substantial support to agriculture so as to gradually bring about its modernization; they have also called on the vast numbers of cadres, workers, peasants, commercial workers, students and soldiers to take the May 7th road, urged the cadres to take part in collective productive labour and the educated young people to settle in the rural areas, and initiated the socialist revolution in the spheres of education, health and literature and art so that working people can master intellectual work and intellectuals can integrate with the working people. These are revolutionary measures taken to gradually reduce the three major differences. The fulfilment of this task requires arduous efforts for a long time to come. If these differences are not reduced but extended without limit, the worker-peasant alliance will inevitably be undermined, town and country will be seriously opposed to each other, the working class will lose its reliable ally, and a handful of bourgeois intellectual aristocrats will be engendered monopolizing the cultural, educational and other undertakings in society whereby they proceed to look for economic and political privileges. This will then be followed by a recurrence of the bygone situation when industry exploited agriculture, cities plundered the countryside and mental workers ruled over manual workers. If we do not look at the problem in this way, we are liable to commit Right deviationist errors. However, it should be noted that the three major differences can only be eliminated step by step, which requires a process taking a long period of time and calls for the creation of material and ideological conditions; it is impossible to try to solve this problem all at once. Atten-

tion should be paid to guarding against such sentiments which are divorced from reality.

Carry the Struggle to Restrict Bourgeois Right Through to the End

On the question of how to deal with bourgeois right, our Party waged an extremely sharp and intense struggle against Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, chieftains of the revisionist line, in the 25 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China. It is therefore very instructive and beneficial to us to review and sum up in earnest the historical experience gained in this period. From 1949 until 1956 the struggle was focused on the question of retaining or abolishing the private ownership of the means of production. Liu Shao-chi raised such slogans as "exploitation has its merits" and "consolidating the new-democratic order" and prattled that "hiring labour and farming on one's own should be allowed to take their own course" and "should not be restricted." Lin Piao on his part had notices put up giving the green light to the "four freedoms" (freedom to practise usury, hire labour, buy and sell land and engage in private enterprises) in that area under his leadership. Their programme and slogans were diametrically opposed to the spirit of Chairman Mao's report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This shows their mortal fear and hatred for the socialist revolution; what they followed was the bourgeois motto that "private property is sacrosanct."

After a series of struggles under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the guidance of the Party's general line for the entire transitional period, we had by 1956 basically abolished bourgeois right as far as the ownership of the means of production is concerned, though we had not yet completely abolished it. Following the rectification campaign and the struggle against the Rightists in 1957, the broad masses of the people who had broken down blind faith and emancipated their minds began pounding hard at all decadent ideology and other incongruous parts of the superstructure. Speaking highly of the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm, Chairman Mao said with elation in *Introducing a Co-operative*: "The communist spirit is growing apace throughout the country." "Never before have the masses of the people been so inspired, so militant and so daring as at present." Expressing the revolutionary demands of the masses in a concentrated form, he explicitly pointed to the need of doing away with the ideology of bourgeois right. Out of their counter-revolutionary nature of the landlord and capitalist classes, Liu Shao-chi and his gang, however, held on to bourgeois right like grim death. The big polemics on restricting or upholding bourgeois right carried on in the newspapers and periodicals at that time constituted an important aspect of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. After the "bourgeois limitation" (Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme*) had been broken through by the masses' revolutionary actions,

Liu Shao-chi and his followers changed their tactics and took on a "Left" appearance, crying for the immediate abolition of commodity production and the law of value. Showing their true colours again in 1962, they came up with their sinister wares such as *san zi yi bao* (i.e., the extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of farm output quotas for individual households with each on its own) and "putting profits in command," in a vain attempt to restore bourgeois right which had already been abolished with regard to the system of ownership. It was only after repeated trials of strength culminating in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that their criminal schemes were smashed to pieces.

As representatives of the old and new bourgeoisie, Lin Piao and his gang, however, jumped out in frenzied opposition to the revolutionary measures taken by our Party to restrict bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They maliciously attacked a host of socialist new things which are pounding away at bourgeois right, slandering revolutionary cadres taking the May 7th road as "unemployment in a disguised form" and smearing educated young people settling in the countryside as "reform through forced labour in a

disguised form," and so on. From *Outline of Project "571,"* which was their programme for a counter-revolutionary coup, it can be clearly seen that in doing their utmost to preserve and extend bourgeois right, they vainly tried to use the soil it provided to foster a bunch of new bourgeois elements as their "basic force" to carry out counter-revolutionary restorationist activities. Though the Lin Piao anti-Party clique had met its doom, its social basis has not yet completely disappeared. Representatives of new bourgeois elements like Lin Piao still will arise. This requires us Communist Party members and revolutionary cadres, and leading cadres at all levels in particular, to follow Chairman Mao's teachings to "do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works" and conscientiously study and have a good grasp of the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so as to give a scientific interpretation and theoretical explanation of the economic, political, cultural and other problems in socialist society. Only in this way can we, in accordance with the Party's line and policies, guard against and overcome all kinds of erroneous tendencies and carry the great struggle to restrict bourgeois right and rake out the soil engendering the bourgeoisie through to the end.

(Translation of an article in "Hongqi,"
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For Your Reference

What Is Commodity Production?

by Nan Ching

ALL products of labour made for exchange are called commodities. Lenin said: "A commodity is, in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing." A commodity has two properties: use-value and value. To become a commodity, a thing should first of all possess use-value. For instance, clothes are used for warmth and a machine tool is used in production. The fact that two different commodities can be exchanged is because there is something in common between them. Every commodity item is created by human labour and is the crystallization of human labour without any distinction. A certain amount of human labour is embodied in every kind of commodity. The value of a commodity is the human labour in general congealed in it. Therefore, what is common to all commodities is value. The magnitude of the value in a commodity is determined by the amount of labour-time socially necessary for producing it. In exchanging commodities according to value, people actually exchange their own labour. This is why Marx stressed that a commodity is not just a material thing, but a

definite social relation between people concealed beneath a material wrapping.

Production for exchange in the market is commodity production. At the beginning of commodity exchange, people bartered one product for another. Later in the long process of the development of commodity exchange, a particular commodity — money — was separated from other commodities spontaneously.

Commodity production exists within a certain historical span. It is bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production. There was no commodity production in the initial stage of primitive society. In the wake of the development of social productive forces, there emerged social division of labour and conditions for commodity exchange; only then did private ownership and commodity production make their appearance. In the future communist society, the commodity system will perish. Historically, there are three forms of commodity production: simple commodity production, the capitalist mode of commodity production and the socialist type of commodity production.

Simple commodity production was based on individual private ownership of the means of production and on individual labour, such as individual handicrafts and farming. This was the historical forerunner of capitalist production. Production conditions for each simple commodity producer differed and individual labour-time spent in producing the same kind of com-

modity also differed. But the same kind of commodity could be sold only at the same price in the market. This gave rise to polarization, i.e., a small number of people could possess a large quantity of commodities and money which were turned into capital, while a great number of people went bankrupt and had to sell their labour power. This polarization of the simple commodity producers at the end of feudal society provided the conditions for the emergence of capitalist relations of production.

The capitalist mode of commodity production is based on the capitalists possessing the means of production and exploiting wage labour to get surplus-value. Capitalist production is the highest stage of the development of commodity production. Under it, not only do the general products of labour take the form of commodities, even labour power becomes a commodity. This kind of commodity production reveals the economic relations between the exploiters who are the capitalists and the exploited who are the workers. Its development makes it possible for the capitalists to grab and amass great riches while the working class becomes poorer day by day.

Commodity production and commodity exchange still exist in socialist society, and a commodity system is still practised. This is mainly because two kinds of socialist ownership, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, exist side by side. No unpaid allocation of products between different ownerships of the public economy can be practised. Their economic relations can only be commodity exchange, and hence commodity production. State distribution of consumer goods among workers and staff also utilizes the form of commodity exchange through money. However, the socialist type of commodity production differs from the capitalist type. This is manifested chiefly by the fact that there no longer is the economic relation of exploitation of workers by the capitalists, anarchism in production has been eliminated and the scope of commodity exchange has been reduced. Yet it must be noted that bourgeois right unavoidably exists in distribution and exchange in socialist society. The principle of exchange of equal values is still carried out in commodity exchange. If bourgeois right in distribution and exchange is developed and extended at will, capitalist ideas of amassing fortunes and craving for profits will spread unchecked; such phenomena as turning public property into private property, graft and corruption, theft and bribery, and speculation will arise, and there will be a change in the nature of the system of ownership in certain departments and units which follow the revisionist line. The inevitable result will be polarization, i.e., a small number of people will acquire an increasing quantity of commodities and money and convert them into capital. These people will turn out to be new bourgeois elements. The labouring people, on the other hand, once again will become oppressed

and exploited wage-slaves. Therefore, bourgeois right as regards distribution and exchange has to be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat and conditions for finally eliminating the commodity system must gradually be created.

What Is Exchange Through Money?

by Po Ching

MONEY is a particular commodity which has been fixed as the universal equivalent of other commodities. This means money can be exchanged for all kinds of commodities. Like other commodities, it was not born with the existence of human society. It came about spontaneously in the wake of the development of commodity production and commodity exchange. Commodity exchange emerged towards the end of primitive society. People at that time did not produce for exchange, but did exchange surplus products for other things. This individual, incidental exchange of commodities took the form of exchanging goods for goods.

Following the development of commodity production and commodity exchange, exchanging goods for goods became more and more difficult. For instance, someone who had sheep wanted to exchange them for grain, but someone with grain wanted to exchange it for cloth and someone with cloth needed an axe. . . . To resolve this contradiction, there had to be a particular commodity which could and would be readily accepted in exchange by other people, and then this particular commodity could be exchanged for the commodity each one wanted. Gradually a particular commodity was separated from commodities to serve as the universal equivalent. This commodity was money.

Historically speaking, cattle, shells, grain, cloth, etc. all served as money materials. As the commodity economy developed further, because precious metals had the characteristics of being big in value and small in bulk, easily divisible and convenient for carrying and could be stored for a long time, they were most suitable to serve as universal equivalents. Thus precious metals like gold and silver gradually were fixed as the universal equivalent. As a medium of exchange and a means of circulation, money can be replaced by symbols of value. Paper money represents metal money, and is issued as the symbol of value and forced into circulation on the market by the state.

It is only because money is also a commodity and human labour in general is congealed in it that money becomes the universal equivalent. Money has five functions: measure of value, means of circulation, store of value, means of payment and serving as world money.

Money is the embodiment of a certain relation of production. In a society in which the exploiting classes rule, money is concentrated in the hands of the exploiting classes which turn it into a tool of exploitation. For instance, under the feudal system, feudal rulers took advantage of money by issuing it to fleece the people and amass wealth and to exploit the peasants ruthlessly through usury. Under the capitalist system, labour power becomes a commodity and money becomes capital. Under that system, the capitalists cruelly exploit the proletariat and other labouring people. Imperialist and social-imperialist countries issue paper money unchecked to create inflation and financially support their policies of expansion and aggression abroad to exploit the people at home and the people of other countries.

In capitalist society, money can buy and control everything. Because of this, those with more money are richer and have more power. In the eyes of the capitalists, money is all powerful and the goal of living is to make more money; in chasing after money, they can commit all kinds of criminal acts.

Because commodity production and commodity exchange still exist under the socialist system, exchange

through money inevitably remains. But since the system of ownership has been changed and the issuance and management of money are in the hands of the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, money has become a powerful tool in socialist revolution and construction.

It should be noted, however, that there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle under the socialist system. Bourgeois right still exists as regards distribution and exchange, and ideology reflecting the commodity-money relation still exists; the idea of private ownership as reflected in the pursuit of profits and putting money in command still rots and poisons people's minds. Money continues to be the universal equivalent and its functions are still operative. In the course of circulation, a small number of people will acquire increasing amounts of money through certain legal channels and numerous illegal ones and money can still be turned into capital and into a means of exploiting others. Therefore, bourgeois right which inevitably still exists in distribution and exchange under the socialist system must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only thus can we gradually dig out the soil that breeds the bourgeoisie and capitalism.

Chinese Mountaineering Expedition Again Ascends World's Highest Peak

AT a time when the Chinese people are engaged in enthusiastic study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, heartening news was flashed in from China's southwestern frontiers: At 14:30 hours (Peking time) on May 27, nine members (one woman and eight men) on the Chinese mountaineering expedition successfully ascended to the top of the Qomolangma Feng (Mount Jolmo Lungma)—the highest peak in the world—from its north slope.

The woman climber who reached the summit of the Qomolangma Feng is Phanthog of Tibetan nationality, deputy leader of the Chinese mountaineering expedition. The eight male members who got to the top are: Sodnam Norbu (Tibetan), Lotse (Tibetan), Hou Sheng-fu (Han), Samdrub (Tibetan), Darphuntso (Tibetan), Kunga Pasang (Tibetan), Tsering Tobgyal (Tibetan) and Ngapo Khyen (Tibetan). Their sterling performance was yet another success following the feat of three other Chinese mountaineers—Wang Fu-chou, Konbu of Tibetan nationality and Chu Yin-hua—who

reached the summit, the highest point on earth, from the north face in 1960 for the first time ever.

This tremendous victory in China's mountaineering was the result of the kind attention of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the warm support from the people throughout the country, and the climbers' efforts to surmount every difficulty by giving full scope to their collective wisdom and strength. It shows the new development and new level of mountaineering following the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that a Chinese woman climber successfully scaled the peak from the north side for the first time in the world. This demonstrates the indomitable revolutionary spirit of Chinese women who are determined to scale all heights after repudiating the reactionary fallacy that "man is superior to woman" preached by Lin Piao and Confucius.

Setting out from the final assault camp at 8,680 metres above sea level on the morning of May 27, the nine Chinese climbers reached the summit after a strenuous six-and-a-half-hour march. Filled with immense pride and joy, they radioed to the base camp at 14:30 hours (Peking time) this message: All of us nine comrades have successfully reached the summit of the Qomolangma Feng—the world's highest peak. They unfurled a five-star red flag, erected a three-metre-high red metal surveying pole inscribed with the Chinese characters meaning "The Mountaineering Expedition of the People's Republic of China," took photographs and shot films of the peak, measured the thickness of the snow there, collected samples of ice and snow and rock specimens and carried out radio remote-controlled cardiogram tests. All this created highly important conditions and provided invaluable data for determining the exact height of the Qomolangma Feng and carrying out relevant scientific research.

Activities of this expedition started in mid-March this year. The mountaineering expedition set up its base camp at Rongbuk Monastery 5,000 metres above sea level and, in the course of four acclimatization marches, set up five altitude camps at 5,500 metres, 6,000 metres, 6,500 metres, 7,007 metres and 7,600 metres above sea level respectively. Then during the fifth march beginning from May 17, the mountaineers pitched the sixth camp and the final assault camp at 8,200 and 8,680 metres above sea level respectively. During their acclimatization marches and the final assault on the peak, the Chinese climbers, with lofty aspirations to win honours for the great socialist motherland and fearing neither hardship nor death, surmounted all difficulties and pressed forward valiantly. Defying rarefied mountain air, the severe cold under 30° C below zero and the altitude winds of whole gale and greater force, and overcoming countless difficulties on their march, they triumphantly fulfilled this glorious and arduous task with the indomitable heroic spirit of daring to struggle and win.

This expedition received unstinted support and aid from the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Tibetan people, many provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in other parts of the country and the People's Liberation Army. Under the leadership of the expedition's Party committee, members of the assault party and personnel in charge of meteorological work, scientific survey and study, transport and telecommunications and other work co-ordinated their efforts in close unity to win this splendid victory.

"Renmin Ribao" Commentary

Greeting the Chinese mountaineering expedition's resounding victory, *Renmin Ribao* on May 28 published a commentary entitled "Dare to Scale Heights." It reads as follows:

Guided by Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, one female and eight male members of the Chinese mountaineering expedition successfully ascended the Qomolangma Feng, the world's highest peak, from the north side, thereby performing another splendid feat in mankind's conquest of nature. This is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and a new success of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "I am for the slogan 'fear neither hardship nor death.'" The Qomolangma Feng is surrounded by innumerable perpendicular precipices crisscrossed by glaciers and the weather there is capricious. To all this were added many unexpected difficulties during the expedition. Every step forward was a test of hardship and each new height scaled meant a risk of life. But the Chinese mountaineers, with the lofty revolutionary goal in their minds, feared neither hardship nor death. They were well aware of the risks involved, but the greater the danger the more determined they were to press ahead. Their heroic spirit that knows "no unscalable heights" will surely inspire physical culture workers and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country to continue marching forward courageously on the road of revolution.

Ever since the time of Marx, we Communists have never claimed credit for achievements or hard work, nor have we cared for personal fame or fortune, gain or loss. During the years of revolutionary wars, thousands upon thousands of revolutionary martyrs laid down their precious lives for the communist cause, seeking neither fame nor gain. Today, in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism, it is all the more necessary for us to criticize the bourgeois ideas and style of work, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, work hard and strive to carry our revolutionary work through to the end.

Marx said: "There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits." At present, the Chinese people are deepening the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like mountaineering, to really understand and grasp this theory on the plane of integrating theory with practice and attain the aim of combating and preventing revisionism require firm determination and big efforts over a fairly long period of time. We should never rest content with a smattering of knowledge and stop studying in depth. Let us strive to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat well, bring into play our revolutionary spirit and seize new victories on all fronts!

Carry the Revolution Through to Victory

— Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma
on the deaths of Party Chairman Thakin Zin and Secretary Thakin Chit

Comrades, friends and all the people!

On March 15, 1975, our Party Chairman Thakin Zin, Secretary Thakin Chit and others shed their last drop of blood, dying martyrs' deaths in fighting valiantly with proletarian heroism against the enemy.

Chairman Thakin Zin and Secretary Thakin Chit, without any thought of self, waged a courageous struggle against the enemy in the interests of the Party, the revolution and the masses of the people, and thus demonstrated by concrete deeds the loftiest spirit of revolutionary heroism. Chairman Thakin Zin, Secretary Thakin Chit and other martyrs indomitably held aloft the banner of the proletarian Party and revolution in the face of the enemy. We will for ever cherish them in memory and hold them in heartfelt respect.

The deaths of Chairman Thakin Zin and Secretary Thakin Chit are a great loss to our Party and revolution. They were leading comrades with long records of work in the history of armed revolution in Burma, and it is only natural for the people of all nationalities to feel regret and deep sorrow over their deaths. Though Chairman Thakin Zin and Secretary Thakin Chit have died, their proletarian revolutionary spirit and revolutionary heroism will live for ever in the hearts of all our Party members and will always glow in the minds of all the people. All our Party members and fighters of the People's Army should turn their grief into strength, learn in earnest from the proletarian revolutionary spirit and revolutionary heroism of Chairman Thakin Zin and Secretary Thakin Chit, hold aloft the revolutionary banner which had been held high by them and other comrades who laid down their lives in the Pegu Mountain area and other parts of the country, and continue to march ahead wave upon wave along the path crimson with their blood.

The Ne Win-San Yu military regime is dancing with joy over its temporary and partial success, namely, the deaths of Chairman Thakin Zin and Secretary Thakin Chit and the re-occupation of some places in the Pegu Mountain area. It is resorting to more cunning counter-revolutionary dual tactics in an attempt to disintegrate the revolutionary force and the unity of the masses of the people by deceptive and fraudulent methods while suppressing our revolution by armed force. Of late it has been loudly blustering to create the false impression that neither the Communist Party of Burma nor the Party Central Committee exists any longer and that the People's Army has been wiped out.

The deceitful propaganda of the enemy is totally at variance with the facts. The purpose is to cover up

the difficulties and crises confronting them and to give them a way out.

The current situation at home and abroad is very favourable to the development of the revolution. The situation in Southeast Asia is also excellent. Not long ago, the people's armed forces completely liberated Cambodia and south Viet Nam. These are important victories of historic world significance for the masses of the people.

Although the Ne Win-San Yu military junta has constantly boasted it is building socialism, in fact it is gripped by serious political, economic, military and social crises, which are daily sharpening and will be further aggravated in the future. Today, under the rule of the military regime, the people of various classes and strata in the country are suffering from intolerable difficulties in their daily life and are completely deprived of democratic rights. Therefore, they cherish bitter hatred for the military regime and rise in concert to oppose it whenever the opportunity arises. The best proof of this was provided by the nationwide workers' movement which broke out in May 1974 and the campaign by students and the urban population in December that year. At the same time, the armed struggle led by our Party and the existence and development of the bases where red political power has been set up have also further deepened the overall crises of the military regime.

The difficulties and crises facing the Ne Win-San Yu military regime are difficulties and crises which the reactionaries inevitably meet in the course of degeneration and decline. These difficulties and crises originate in class contradictions that are fundamental and insoluble and in the vicious social economic system of exploitation by imperialism, feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalism. The Ne Win-San Yu military regime is the superstructure on this economic base. So long as this economic base and its superstructure — the reactionary government — exist, the difficulties, crises and class contradictions arising therefrom will not end or disappear. Therefore, although the enemy resort to armed force, deception and other counter-revolutionary dual tactics as a way out, and although they may have found certain temporary outlets, they are bound to become more and more divorced from the masses and finally meet their doom because they are facing fundamental and insoluble contradictions.

The difficulties we face at present, including the difficulties in our bases in the Pegu Mountain area, are entirely different in nature from those besetting the enemy. They do not stem from insoluble, fundamental

class contradictions, but are temporary difficulties which revolutionaries constantly encounter in the course of their advance. Therefore, these difficulties can be surmounted, and, because we represent the interests of the masses of the people and truth is on our side, our Party and the people will certainly win final victory no matter how tortuous the path ahead of us.

The Communist Party of Burma is the glorious vanguard of the proletariat of Burma. Our Party has taken invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding our thinking. It has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the Burmese revolution.

Our Party is established on the basis of collective leadership. It is entirely different from a political party of the exploiting classes, the landlord and capitalist classes. It is not created and led by one outstanding personage.

According to the law of development of class struggle, it is inevitable for our Party to suffer losses in the arduous, tortuous and protracted armed struggle. Our Party has all along led and waged the struggle in the spirit of taking up the position of the fallen and rising to fight one after another. After the death of Chairman Thakin Than Tun, the chairmanship of the Party was assumed by Thakin Zin. After the death of Thakin Zin, Vice-Chairman Thakin Ba Thein Tin was elected Party Chairman and the whole Party will be led by the Party Central Committee he heads. Therefore, no matter how frenziedly the reactionary rulers of Burma tried in the past to wipe out our Party and no matter how cunningly the present Ne Win-San Yu military regime is trying to destroy our Party by various means, the Communist Party of Burma will never collapse. On the contrary, it is only they, the past and present reactionary rulers, who have collapsed or will collapse. This is beyond any shadow of doubt. The Communist Party of Burma will continue to exist until the victorious realization of communism.

During the protracted armed struggle, our Party has founded a people's army under its absolute leadership. This army is an army which puts proletarian politics in command and wholeheartedly serves the people of various nationalities in Burma. Therefore, it has been unanimously supported by the people of various nationalities and has won one victory after another. Since there is such an army, the enemy can never subdue our Party and the people. On the contrary, the enemy will be eliminated by the people's armed forces and the masses.

In its history of more than 35 years, our Party, working for the proletariat and the oppressed working people of all nationalities and holding high the red flag of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, has unswervingly led the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, gloriously carried out hard and bitter armed struggles for more than 20 years, and resolutely fought against British imperialism, Japanese fascism and reactionary governments at home. In the long course

of revolution, our Party has experienced hardships and difficulties, undergone untold sufferings and made sacrifices that were unheard of; it has been tested and tempered in revolutionary practice with unparalleled proletarian revolutionary heroism and incredible perseverance and thus accumulated rich experience. Our Party wholeheartedly serves the people, is identified with the masses, enjoys high prestige among them and is widely supported and respected by them. To concentrate attacks on the enemy of the people—the Ne Win-San Yu military regime, our Party has been able to unite with the people of all nationalities and all forces that can be united with. It will continue its efforts to consolidate and develop the National and Democratic Front of Unity founded in 1959, and build a broad united front with the armed forces of all nationalities opposing the Ne Win-San Yu military regime.

In the international communist movement, our Party, loyal to and resolutely practising Marxism-Leninism, is a genuine political party of the proletariat which has won the sympathy and support of the proletariat of all countries and the revolutionary people in the world. No enemy, therefore, can destroy such a party. On the contrary, those who are trying to eliminate it will themselves be destroyed.

Comrades!

The main task of every member of our Party today is to stand firm as a rock, united politically, ideologically and organizationally on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the correct line and policies. The whole Party should rally around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Thakin Ba Thein Tin. Unity is strength. Unity means victory.

We are sure to overcome all difficulties in our forward march and win victory in the revolutionary war so long as the whole Party membership, under the present circumstances, persists in the correct line and policies, struggles mainly against revisionism in the political field while combating "Left" dogmatism, opposes and overcomes subjectivism in ways of thinking, adheres to the principle of democratic centralism organizationally so as to unite the whole Party closely, carries on the armed struggle as the main form of struggle with a hard-fighting spirit and correctly combines it with other forms of struggle, correctly solves the problem of the peasantry, consolidates and strengthens the People's Army under the absolute leadership of our Party, unites and wins over the masses of all nationalities and all the forces that can be united with to form a broad united front.

The whole Party, unite, carry on the revolution calmly and resolutely till victory is won!

The Ne Win-San Yu military regime is doomed to fail!

Long live the Communist Party of Burma!

The people's democratic revolution is sure to triumph!

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Burma

May 16, 1975

Continue to Hold Aloft Banner of Revolution And Strive to Realize National Liberation

The Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia issues statement to mark the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Party

THE Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia issued on May 23 a statement entitled "Continue to Hold Aloft the Banner of Revolution for National Liberation and Democracy" to mark the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

The statement says, "We commemorate the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia at a time when the world situation is excellent. 'Countries want independence, nations want liberation and peoples want revolution' has become an irresistible historic trend. The fraternal peoples of Indochina, Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos have achieved very great victories in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and their puppets. Through protracted and bloody struggle, the Cambodian and Vietnamese people have now achieved great and historical victories in liberating their countries. There is no doubt that these glorious victories have far-reaching influence on the development of the world situation and are especially an inspiration and encouragement to the revolutions for liberation in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia."

The statement says, "The Communist Party of Indonesia is a revolutionary proletarian party, the party of the Indonesian oppressed and exploited people. Since its foundation, the Communist Party of Indonesia has firmly and unflinchingly held aloft the banner of struggle against colonialism and imperialism and for full national liberation, democracy and socialism."

The statement says, "The experience in the history of its struggle during 55 years has proved that the Communist Party of Indonesia is one with the fate of the Indonesian people. The Communist Party of Indonesia is the most loyal defender of the cause of the Indonesian people's liberation. Leading the liberation struggle is the noble mission laid down by history on the shoulders of the Communist Party of Indonesia."

"To realize its historical mission the Communist Party of Indonesia must truly master the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, continuously sum up the experience of its revolutionary struggle so that in implementing the line and in taking the road of the revolution pointed out by the Political Bureau

of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, it can further develop the correct policy and tactic in leading the tortuous and protracted revolutionary struggle to victory."

The statement says: "The *Self-Criticism* of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (September 1966) and The *New Programme* of the Communist Party of Indonesia (November 1967), by summing up experiences in the past, especially the experience of the struggle under the wrong line in the 1951-1965 period, have further deepened its Marxist-Leninist analysis of Indonesian society and the main problems of the Indonesian revolution. Based on this analysis, the Political Bureau has pointed out the correct line for the Communist Party of Indonesia to lead the Indonesian revolution and has decided the tasks to carry out the Indonesian Communist Party's new three banners." "Under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia, which is capable of integrating the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, the revolutionary force will grow, be tempered, become big and strong and finally defeat the counter-revolutionary force."

The statement says: "Since the Indonesian revolution is a national-democratic one, its character at the present stage is not a socialist revolution but a bourgeois-democratic revolution. But it is not a bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old-type led by the bourgeoisie. The Indonesian revolution is a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution or a people's democratic revolution, i.e., a revolution of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat against imperialism and feudalism. It is a part of the world socialist proletarian revolution, which is firmly against imperialism, i.e., international capitalism. Therefore victories achieved by this revolution will create the conditions for the transition to socialism. The perspective of the Indonesian revolution is socialism and not capitalism." "The Indonesian working class is the main motive force of the Indonesian revolution, it is the class which has the task of leading the Indonesian revolution. To win victory, the working class must establish a revolutionary united front by uniting all revolutionary classes and strata which can be united. The working class

must be good at carrying out all forms of struggle. In front of a furious and completely armed enemy, the main road of struggle cannot be other than by revolutionary armed struggle of the masses of the people, which in essence is an armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.

The statement says, "Since the enemy's force is strong and that of the revolutionaries is still small and weak, the struggle will be protracted, full of twists and turns and sacrifices. During the period of nearly ten years of white terror, the revolutionary force led by the Communist Party of Indonesia has resurged step by step, steeling and organizing itself in the struggle against the enemy's attempts to suppress this force. **'Make trouble, fail, make trouble' again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. 'Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic.'** This is a Marxist law which is surely valid in Indonesia too."

The statement says, taking root within the principal masses, the Indonesian Communists work persistently and perseveringly, especially in the countryside, to re-

build the Party organization as the leading core of the people's struggle.

The statement says, "In rebuilding the Communist Party of Indonesia the Indonesian Communists put the ideological building first by raising the theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism of the whole Party, especially that of the leading cadres of the Party." "In particular at this time, when the Soviet modern revisionists are everywhere selling their poisonous revisionist theory, which distorts Marxism, it is all the more necessary to raise the theoretical level of the mastery of Marxism-Leninism." "In face of the sabotage of the revisionists, the Indonesian Communists will remain consistent in firmly holding the line of the *Self-Criticism* of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, armed with Marxism-Leninism and by practice of the revolutionary struggle, expose and destroy revisionist poisons and the splittist activities of the Soviet social-imperialists."

The statement says, "By having full confidence in the people, relying on the people, working and fighting without fear of fatigue, the Indonesian Communists will definitely achieve still greater results in rebuilding the Communist Party of Indonesia which is able to lead the Indonesian people in surmounting every kind of obstacle and advance along the road of revolution."

"Big Drama on a Small Stage"

— How a city develops industry at high speed (I)

by Our Correspondent Hsiang Jung

SET forth by Chairman Mao, the principle of self-reliance is basic for carrying out revolution and construction in China, including the development of industry. In the case of a city, application of this principle to industrial endeavours is embodied in mobilizing the masses to make the best of available conditions and tap potential instead of relying on state investment alone to set up new factories.

A typical example is southern Kiangsu's Changchow, one of the country's 40 medium-sized cities, which has developed industry at high speed through self-reliance and with only little state investment. In the eight years between 1966 when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began and 1973, Changchow's industry moved ahead at an average rate of 15 per cent per year in terms of total output value. The aggregate funds Changchow's industrial departments turned over to the state in this period equalled 12.7 times the total investment in the city's industry for the same period. Its 1974 total industrial output value was 24 times the figure of 1949, the year of liberation.

Such rapid industrial development has been graphically described by the local people as acting out a "big drama on a small stage." There is every reason for this apt expression.

Background

A Changchow farm machinery accessories factory wanted to set up a tractor plant in 1963. According to the earliest plan which called for a huge state investment of 17 million yuan, the use of several dozen hectares of farmland and the addition of 1,000 workers, the proposed project would have been a large "up-to-date" comprehensive factory capable of making heavy-duty tractors from the production of spare parts and accessories to general assembly. Since the plan did not fit in with the spirit of self-reliance, it was not approved by the state. Another proposal was made later for a similar plant with a smaller amount of investment, but it was also turned down.

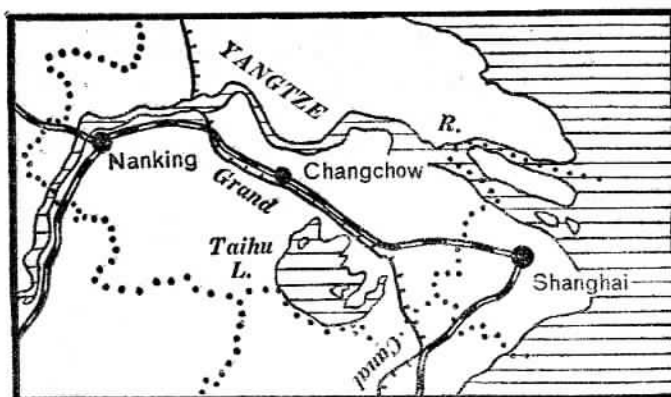
The factory leadership then set the workers in motion to discuss what was to be done. They studied

Chairman Mao's teachings on the way of industrialization in China over and over. As early as 1957, Chairman Mao had pointed out: "We must build up a number of large-scale modern enterprises step by step to form the mainstay of our industry, without which we shall not be able to turn our country into a strong modern industrial power within the coming decades. But the majority of our enterprises should not be built on such a scale; we should set up more small and medium enterprises and make full use of the industrial base left over from the old society, so as to effect the greatest economy and do more with less money." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.) After discussions, the workers came to realize that although the state annually invested in building a number of large enterprises, its limited funds could only be spent on key projects in view of the fact that large numbers of construction items were urgently needed all over the country. For a city like Changchow, it was all the more necessary to put industrial development on a self-reliant basis by making full use of available equipment and technical force.

This principle having been made clear, the leadership and the workers decided to go ahead with their plan for making tractors, but not building a big all-embracing factory. After a fact-finding tour of nearby villages, they found that a light and handy type of walking tractor was most needed in regions south of the Yangtze River where the farmland consists of small plots with narrow paths in between. As they saw it, the way to turn out such tractors lay in co-ordinating the efforts of more than 20 factories specializing in forging or making springs, rubber and diesel engines under the unified leadership of the city's industrial departments. The spare parts and accessories were to be provided by these factories while they themselves would produce the key parts and do the assembly work by expanding their factory. Since all this could be accomplished with little state investment, their plan was soon approved.

When the decision was made, however, some people did not think it was workable. They sneered: "For a small factory to make tractors with outdated equipment is like turning a small table into a stage on which no big dramas can be enacted!" But facts have proved just the opposite. Ten years of herculean efforts have resulted in putting on more and more spectacular "dramas" on "small stages." Changchow has now become one of China's leading producers of such walking tractors, with an output of 11,000 in 1974. Their quality was rated as top-grade and some were exported.

Apart from the production of tractors, many other plants in Changchow, now a comprehensive industrial city with 381 factories, have also turned in "big dramas" on "small stages." Ninety-five per cent of these fac-



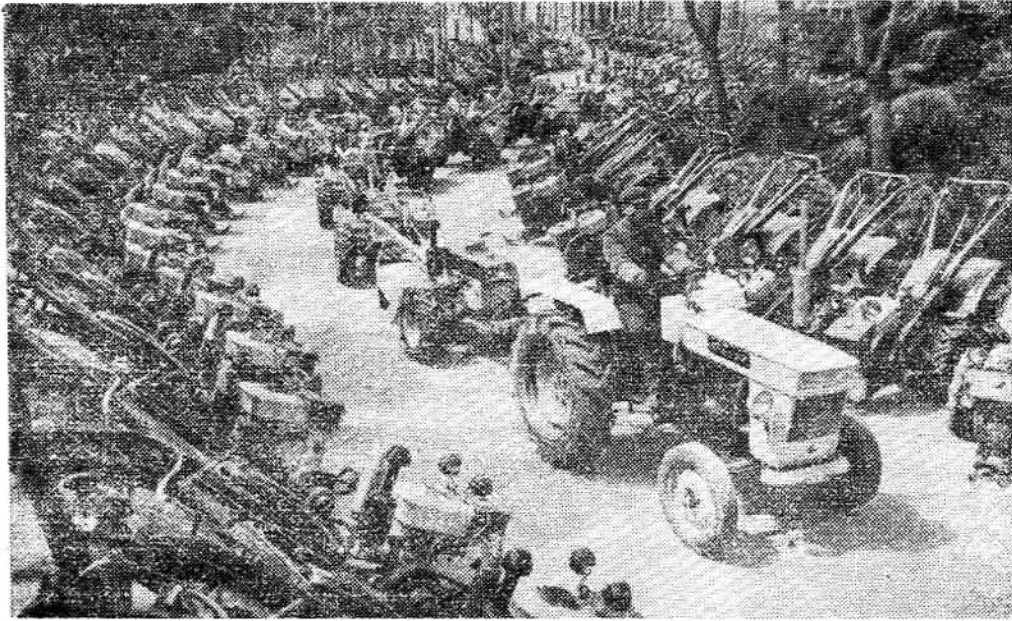
ories were built and gradually expanded with the city's own financial resources instead of state investment.

Changes

Built in 547 B.C., Changchow is an ancient city. Its economy moved at a snail's pace and stagnated as a result of oppression and plunder by imperialism and misrule by the reactionary governments over the last 100 years or so before liberation. Its low tumble-down houses, bumpy and narrow slate-covered streets and the ancient canal with its malodorous water gave it a gloomy look. What could be called "industry" was nothing more than a few smithies, rice mills and workshops operated by sheer muscle. Wielding a 20-kilogramme sledge-hammer, oil-pressing workers had to toil every day for more than 12 hours at a stretch. Child labourers and women workers in textile mills were forced to work from daybreak to midnight. Such scenes were quite common in Changchow on the eve of liberation 25 years ago.

A "modern" cotton textile industry got started in 1905, but manually-operated wooden looms made up most of the equipment by the time of liberation in 1949. The textile mills were mostly very small, some employing only three to five workers. Heavy industry consisted of just a locomotive and rolling-stock repair factory and a small machinery plant employing less than 100 workers. Apart from these, there were only smithies doing repairs for the textile mills. The Changchow of yore was merely famous for its boxwood combs.

It is a different story today. The old factories have changed beyond recognition. The locomotive and rolling-stock repair factory owned by Kuomintang bureaucrat-capital was nationalized after liberation. Today it turns out 4,000 waggons and repairs and makes more than 300 locomotives a year. Recently it has succeeded in manufacturing high-speed and high-power internal-combustion engines. Factories that were in the



Changchow-made walking-tractors.

hands of the national bourgeoisie, mainly small textile mills and printing and dyeing mills, all became state-owned enterprises after the socialist transformation.

The Tungfeng Printing and Dyeing Mill is a case in point. Having developed from a small one at the time of liberation, it is now a big enterprise capable of dyeing 120 million metres of cotton cloth a year. In 1973, a continuous production process for printing and dyeing 40,000 metres of synthetic fabrics daily was set up. Today its printed cotton cloth and polyester fabrics are sold on both the domestic and international markets. Another example is the city's oldest machinery plant founded in 1913 with manually-operated machine-tools. It has now become a large enterprise which produced 33,000 top-quality diesel engines for farm use in 1974.

More impressive is the emergence of new factories in great numbers. The once barren outskirts, with burial grounds and reed marshes here and there, are now studded with new factories: a power plant built by the state power department, a building materials factory specializing in making the raw material for glass fibre reinforced plastics and a small coal mine set up by the Kiangsu provincial authorities, to mention only a few. Most of the new factories have been built by the city authorities using local resources. They have been expanded step by step to include the machine building, chemical, electronic, textile and other industries. The machine-building industry can now make electric locomotives for industrial and mining purposes, motor vehicles, transfer machines, internal-combustion engines, transformers, walking-tractors,

diesel engines, D.C. electric motors and double-housing planers. Among the chemical products are sulphuric acid, caustic soda, insecticides, dye-stuffs, alcohol and plastic wares. Built on the basis of several radio repair shops and small handicraft workshops before the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the electronic industry now embraces 34 factories which have successfully turned out sophisticated new products like precision capacitance bridges, laser telemeters, electronic com-

puters capable of doing 120,000 calculations per second and integrated circuits the size of a finger-nail made up of from 100 to 1,000 components.

In addition, a number of small factories have been set up at the city's district or neighbourhood level under the unified planning and leadership of Changchow's industrial departments. For instance there is the spring factory which first came into being to enable housewives to take part in social productive labour. With women still accounting for over 70 per cent of the 130 workers and staff members, it now makes all kinds of springs ranging from those as small as a grain of rice to those weighing 15 kilogrammes. The products of this factory now can basically meet the local needs for industry and daily use.

Thanks to the growth of production, the once dreary ancient city of Changchow has taken on a thriving look. Statistics show that factory workers and staff number over 120,000 and personnel in government organs, cultural and educational departments and shops more than 50,000, making up 62 per cent of the 270,000 people in the city proper. Whereas there were only 30,000 workers at the time of liberation, today only old people who have lost their ability to work, students and children do not work.

The Way

How did a "big drama" get on a "small stage"?

Changchow has developed industry by relying on its own efforts instead of waiting for investments from the state. But which key links should be given priority and what branches of industry should be built first?

The answer is given by the Changchow people who vividly describe it as: "Give priority to agriculture

and keep snowballing." "Taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" is the general principle for developing the national economy in China. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "As China is a large agricultural country, with over 80 per cent of her population in the rural areas, industry must develop together with agriculture, for only thus can industry secure raw materials and a market, and only thus is it possible to accumulate fairly large funds for building a powerful heavy industry. Everyone knows that light industry is closely related to agriculture. Without agriculture there can be no light industry. . . . As agriculture and light industry develop, heavy industry, assured of its market and funds, will grow faster. Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization will actually not be so slow, and indeed may even be faster." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.*) It is in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings that our national economic development plan is worked out in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. This is the case with the nation as a whole and with a city taken singly. While going in for industry, we must pay full attention to those industrial branches geared to support agriculture. This is the way of development for Changchow.

Since Changchow's original industrial base was mainly the light and textile industries, the masses have been mobilized to develop those industrial branches serving agriculture by making use of the existing equipment and technical force. For instance, the machine-building industry has given priority to increasing production

of diesel engines and walking-tractors because they are much needed in the rural areas. In the course of increasing the output and improving the quality of these two products, other factories working in co-ordination to make gears and springs and do the casting and forging have naturally moved ahead at the same time. Thus conditions have been created for the production of other machinery products.

The chemical industry has developed similarly. Until 1958 there was only one poorly-equipped chemical plant manned by some 40 workers making insecticides. The development of insecticide production inevitably has promoted the production of such basic chemical raw materials as caustic soda, sulphuric acid and hydrochloric acid which in turn has helped speed the development of other chemical units making dye-stuffs, drugs and synthetic fibres. And a big rural demand for sheet plastics used in breeding rice seedlings has spurred the growth of the plastics industry. The city now turns out more than 100 different chemical products.

While making big efforts to boost the industrial branches serving agriculture, Changchow also attaches great importance to the light and textile industries whose expansion has not only provided large quantities of consumer goods for a brisk market but also accumulated funds for the heavy industry. The city now boasts 39 modern textile and printing and dyeing mills producing cotton, woollen, silk and chemical fibre fabrics, with an annual output of 150 million metres of cotton cloth and polyester fabrics. In the eight years since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, the funds accumulated by the textile industry accounted for more than half the city's total industrial accumulation. With increased revenue through greater accumulation, more funds can be allocated to the expanded reproduction of local industry, including heavy industry. Changchow's heavy industrial output value now accounts for 46 per cent of its total industrial output value.

Meanwhile, the development of heavy industry has provided light industry with equipment and new kinds of raw and other materials. All the necessary equipment for making polyester fabrics, bicycles, cameras and other products are basically manufactured locally.

Thus, by starting with those industrial branches supporting agriculture and at the same time paying attention to the development of light industry, the "snowball" increases in size as it rolls on.

(To be continued.)



Workers, cadres and technicians of the diesel engine factory studying ways to introduce technical innovations.

ROUND THE WORLD

LAOS

Ultra-Rightists Ousted

A handful of ultra-Rightists who plotted reactionary coups and sabotaged the Vientiane agreement have now reaped the fruits of their actions.

While the patriotic armed forces launched counter-attacks and the Vientiane troops staged uprisings, the people of all strata in the Vientiane-held areas also started gigantic mass campaigns, demanding the expelling of ultra-Rightists and cessation of U.S. imperialist interference in Laos.

Ten thousand people of Luang Prabang in Upper Laos held a mass rally and demonstration on May 14. They occupied the offices of the Luang Prabang provincial government and the Luang Prabang radio and announced the expulsion of the governor and a number of reactionary officers. They then stormed the office of the U.S. Agency for International Development and confiscated its confidential documents.

Students and workers in Savannakhet Province in Lower Laos also occupied the offices of the provincial government and of the U.S. Agency for International Development in Savannakhet. When the ultra-Rightists directed their troops to suppress the demonstrators in cold blood, the Lao People's Liberation Army sent four battalions to enter Savannakhet where they were warmly welcomed by a crowd of nearly 100,000. Earlier, the Lao People's Liberation Army victoriously entered Pakse.

In Middle Laos, 10,000 workers, peasants, students and armymen took Thakhek in Khammouane Province. They announced the ousting from the province of the governor and a number of other ultra-Rightist military officers and civilian officials so that a progressive who will implement the Vientiane agreement will take over the governor's post.

In Vientiane, workers and students demonstrated, demanding the expulsion of the U.S. Agency for In-

ternational Development which they strongly condemned for conducting espionage and sabotage activities in Laos and instigating the ultra-Rightists to start war and suppress the people.

In such circumstances, the U.S. Government was forced to close all offices of the agency in Laos.

A rally in Vientiane on May 23 hailed the victory of the mass campaign. Phoumi Vongvichit, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao Provisional National Union Government, addressed the rally. He said: In Laos, the struggle for independence and justice is developing steadily. The ultra-Rightists—foreign lackeys—have suffered another defeat. He pointed out: The Union Government will continue to implement the Vientiane agreement and establish national concord. With regard to foreign policy, Laos will march along the road of peace and neutrality and live in friendship with all countries, neighbours in particular.

FRANCE

People's Friendship Stressed

During Vice-Premier Teng Hsiaping's visit to France, the importance of developing the friendship between China and France was emphasized at rallies and in statements by the France-China Friendship Society, *l'Humanite Rouge*, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France and the Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of France. They all expressed their welcome for the visit.

The France-China Friendship Society held a welcome meeting in Paris on the evening of May 15 which was attended by about 2,000 people of all circles. It was presided over by Irene de Lipkowski, Member of the Presidium of the Society. In their addresses, Regis Bergeron, Deputy Executive Chairman of the Presidium, and Helene Marchisio, Member of the National Bureau of the Society, spoke highly of the succes-

ses achieved by the Chinese people in socialist construction and foreign affairs. They praised the Chinese people for their support to the French people's struggle for safeguarding national independence, and expressed the wish that the friendship between the French and Chinese peoples will grow steadily. Present at the meeting were Maurice Baumont, Honorary Chairman, Charles Bettelheim, Executive Chairman, and other leading members, of the Society. *l'Humanite Rouge* organized a mass rally in Paris on May 11 which was attended by more than 1,000 working people. Speaking at the rally, Jacques Jurquet, Political Director of *l'Humanite Rouge*, said that "the improvement and development of the relations between France and China can effectively contribute to the consolidation of our country's national independence." He emphasized: "While denouncing the two superpowers as the principal enemy of the people of the world, we in Western Europe regard Russian social-imperialism as the principal danger at the present time." "We should unite all the forces that can be united to face the hegemonic and military undertakings of the two superpowers."

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France issued a statement on May 11 saying that "France and Western Europe belong to a world subjected to control and threat in all fields by the two superpowers, particularly by Russian social-imperialism in the most immediate period." The statement continued: "The meeting and the talks between France and China took place at a time when the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are daily stepping up preparations for a third world war with Europe as the stake." "In strengthening their relations with the great People's Republic of China and the entire third world in all fields, Europe and France in particular can considerably improve the conditions of their defence and their resistance to aggression in whatever form."

Front Rouge published on May 8 a statement of the Political Bureau

of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of France. The statement said: "The place taken by the People's Republic of China in the third world, the role she plays in the formation of the third world into a political force against imperialism, social-imperialism and hegemonism, and the firm and consistent support she renders to the peoples in the fight against imperialism are the contributions of China to the development of the world revolution." The statement went on to say: "Today People's China is arousing greater and greater interest and enthusiasm for socialism among the masses of our country. In the face of the tragedy of the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, show that it is possible for them to oppose victoriously revisionism and the restoration to capitalism and that the strength and enthusiasm of the masses can push forward socialist construction and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat."

VIENNA TALKS

No Concrete Agreement

U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met for talks in Vienna on May 19 and 20 on "further limitation of strategic offensive arms," the European security conference and the Middle East question. But no concrete agreement was reached.

An AP report said that Kissinger warned Gromyko at the very beginning of the talks that "the Soviet Union should not try to exploit what it might consider American weaknesses in the wake of the fall of the Saigon regime in south Viet Nam."

U.S. government leaders have in recent speeches repeatedly warned the Soviet Union not to be "tempted to test our readiness or our resolve."

Delivering a foreign policy speech before a joint session of the Congress on April 10, U.S. President Gerald Ford said: "We cannot expect the Soviet Union to show restraint in the face of the United States

weakness or irresolution" and "there should be no illusions about how to deal with it." "As long as I am President," he declared, "we will not permit detente to become a license to fish in troubled waters."

In his May 12 speech to the St. Louis World Affairs Council, Kissinger said: "The expansion of Soviet military power and its extension around the world is a serious concern to us." Attacking the Soviet Union, he said that "if detente turns into a formula for more selective exploitation of opportunities, the new trends in U.S.-Soviet relations will be in jeopardy." The United States is "determined to resist pressures on the exploitation of local conflict," he declared.

At a meeting in Moscow on May 14 to "commemorate" the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, Gromyko charged Kissinger by name with "defending an inflated military budget and the line of further inflating it." He said that it is inconsistent for Kissinger "to support both detente and a bigger military budget."

A UPI dispatch quoted Western diplomats as saying that the criticism "is all the more significant coming five days before the two are scheduled to meet in Vienna."

A *New York Times* May 19 article commenting on the Vienna talks noted that Soviet-American relations are "now viewed by both countries as under new strains."

EGYPT

Soviet Union Again Condemned For Pressure to Pay Debts

In a recent interview with the Kuwait TV Station, President Sadat again has condemned the Soviet Union for failure to supply Egypt with arms and for refusing to ease its demand for the payment of debts by Egypt.

President Sadat said: "For about 14 months, from October 22, 1973 after the ceasefire to last January, the Soviet Union failed to supply us with anything. This resulted in Egypt's decision to get arms from other sources. That is to say

we do not rely on one source—the Soviet Union alone. We did sign arms contracts with countries other than the Soviet Union in 1974. Some of the arms have actually reached Egypt."

Referring to the debts, he said, "What we request from the Soviet Union is merely a period of grace, which is universally recognized. The request was made due to our economic situation, especially during the seven years of resistance struggle which cost us a lot because we have shed our blood."

"Thus," he said, "in view of rising prices in the world, I request a period of grace from the Soviet Union."

"All that I ask for," he added, "is that we acknowledge the debts and are ready to pay for them, but we request a period of grace. The Soviet Union has granted it to another Arab country. What does it mean by not giving equal treatment to all the Arab countries?"

The *Egyptian Mail* on May 17 had an editorial entitled "What Does Moscow Want?"

"Is the Soviet Union acting towards Egypt today merely out of pique because Cairo demanded the withdrawal of Soviet military experts from her territory in 1972? Or is the matter to be attributed to something deeper, rather more sinister than prima donna histrionics? Was the Soviet support for the infliction of Israel on the area not merely the 'mistake' of a 'freedom force' with little experience in the Middle East, but the deliberate policy of the Soviet Union acting as a national state, and an imperialist one at that, seeking influence beyond its borders?" it noted.

The editorial asked: "Were the Soviet military experts, whose departure President Sadat requested, here solely to help the country against Israeli aggression, or did they have some other purpose?"

The editorial further asked: "Is Egypt fighting for her independence only against Israel and its Western supporters? Or is Egypt's freedom threatened by others? Does Moscow's attitude really tally with its long and loudly avowed policy of helping the worldwide freedom movement? What does Moscow really want?"

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(Bimonthly in English)

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