

CABLE ADDRESS:
"UNISERCEN"

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(5 LINES)

Peking Review, 11/12/65 - Reports on Indonesia

"Rabid Anti-Communist, Anti-Popular Activities
of Indonesian Right-Wing Forces"

Report from Radio Djakarta, Oct. 20 broadcast - on 10/21 Sukarno at restricted meeting of the Supreme Operational Command: "I do not consider the September 30 incident right. That is to say, I consider the incident a sort of illness." Sukarno urged member of the Pantja Tunggal to help bring atmosphere of calm: "People tell me that they obey Bung Karno, obey the President... But recently, I find that these are mere words... they merely talk about obedience. I find that what they do is utter rubbish. They do not carry out my orders." (RD, he then talked of nasakom as still existing with some other CP & other nationalists than any single party & other religious groups, etc. On 10.23 however, Sukarno, instead of mentioning Nasakom" laid stress on RESOPIM (Indonesian abbreviation for rev-soc-nat. leadership, then Review continues): "He pointed out that there was no personal consideration when he put forward the slogan RESOPIM. This nat. leadership, he said may be Sukarno or Subandrio or Subarto or Idham Chailid (Chmn. Indonesia Muslim Scholars' Assoc) or Aminah Hidajat (Gen. Chmn. of Association of Indonesian Ind. Supporters).... After the conf. the Rightwing forces violently assailed Subandrio. The paper Angkatan Bersendjata demanded that the Deputy P.M. produce evidence that the US Central Intelligence Agency subsidized several newspapers in Djakarta. The paper Harian Ani said that if evidence could not be produced, the ques. ~~stand~~ would be settled according to law. On Oct. 26 Subandrio said: "I did not say that there is a newspaper receiving aid or being used by the CIA. I only called to mind that in an atmosphere of slander such as the one prevailing now, we must be careful lest we be used by the CIA.".. (rd: Then report continues with Nasution presenting 5 points to Sukarno demanding 'justice', reorg. of army, reorg. intelligence & take actions against pol. parties involved in Sept. 30"

Nov. 5/65 "Indonesian Rightists' Anti-Communist Outrages Condemned" quotes Albanian and New Zealand CPs ("acist") Afhatalo/17: "In the course of the drastic dev. in the domestic & external situation in the last few yrs. the Indonesian CP has organized & led the peasants in the struggle for agrarian reform, which has a profound influence in the countryside. It has initiated a movement to confiscate Am. & Br. enterprises & ban Am. films. It has also become a motivating force behind the struggle against US aggression in Viet Nam & to smash 'Malaysia', the product of US & Br. imp. "Steeled against all forms of provocation & attacks & having grown into the biggest Party in the non-socialist world, the Indonesian CP will weather all storms & lead the Indonesian rev. forward... whatever the situation, it will not take the Indonesian CP by surprise. They have never fallen victim to the illusions spread by the revisionists that the transition to soc. can be accomplished peacefully.", said an Oct. 6 commentary by the People's Voice weekly, organ of the New Zealand CP."

The 11/5 issue also has an article "How to Appraise the His. of Asia?" by Liu Ta-Nien, deputy dir. of the Inst. of Mod. His. under the Ch. Acad. of Sciences, which takes up US Dept. of State pub. "US Relations with China", 1949, & is as vehement against Hayes & Moon's "Modern His." 1927 all as "Wes. historians"

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American Consulate General, Hong Kong No.491,10/4/65

Selections from China Mainland Magazines

"Sum Up Practical Experiences, Enforce Well the 'Three Fixings, One Replacement' Labor System by the Pol.Dep/+ of the 6th Engineering Bureau of the Bldg.Construction dept.of the CCP (Chien-chu (Bldg.Construction)#12,6/28/65

The cadres of our bureau have been regularly taking part in coll. productive labor for several years.....In the 2nd half of '64, the successive directives of the Party center & Chmn Mao on cadres' participation in coll. productive labor was examined. After repeated discussions, a decision was made on 2/26/64 concerning the practice of '3 fixings, 1 replacement' in respect to cadres' participation in collective productive labor. The decision was then transmitted from level to level in the downward direction, & put into force. The bureau was also called a conf. of all its cadres to carry out mobilization. The '3 fixings, one replacement' labor system was then enforced throughout the bureau. Our principal practices were as follows:

(1) Firm & swift action, education by deeds and words.

1st the leadership took the lead & set examples.....Like the workers, they did whatever they were told to do....The principal results we have obtained are as follows:

(1) The cadres' thought has been better remolded, the ties bet. the cadres & the masses have been further strengthened & prod. has been advanced.....

At the same time, because the cadres set examples, with their own actions & took the lead in laboring the vigor of the masses of the workers was stimulated, & prod. was advanced. When oil drums had to be sanded in Work Area No.2 of the installation corp., some wkr. at 1st did not want to do the job. The cadres then took the lead in doing it. Seeing this, the wkr. also began to do the job.....

(3) Cadres' participation in collective productive labor has become more regular & become more of a system. In the past, concerning cadres' participation in collective productive labor, specific regulations were lacking as to labor time & labor posts. The cadres were free to arrive late & leave early. Some wkr. said, "This time, the cadres labor differently. There is a fixed slot for everything. Labor time & labor posts are fixed. Whoever he may be, he has to submit to job assignment by the team or group leader when he is on duty...."

(c) Laboring together with wkr. While doing their normal work, foremen & regulation personnel, who are in charge of many wk. points & long lines & whose duties are scattered, may take part together with wkr., attending to weak links & key links of prod. & bearing

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specific problems specific problems in their minds.

...(a) Laboring at fixed times. The bureau is to make a general rule, designating one full day or 2 1/2 days a week as labor days for leadership cadres at the bureau & the office levels. In this way, labor time can be guaranteed, & association of labor with work can be facilitated.

Of all these forms of labor, the putting of individuals into separate groups as a means of enforcing the '3 fixings, one replacement' system is the principal one. The rest are subsidiary forms. In this way, it can be insured that every cadre will regularly take part in labor for a long time, & at the same time the characteristics of the work of some cadres can be looked after.

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4/51
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American Consulate General Hong Kong No.774 Oct.15,1965

Current Background
National Day Celebration, 10/1/65

Text of Peng Chen's Speech at China's Nat. Day Celebration in Peking
NCNA, English, Peking, (10/1/65)

"In 1966 our country will begin its 3rd 5 yr plan for ^{the} dev. of nat. eco. We will continue to hold high the banner of the Party's general line for socialist construction, bring all positive factors into full play & propel the further dev. of our soc. rev. & soc. construction. We will further unfold the socialist education movement. We will insist on putting politics in command, adhere to the "Four 1sts" and carry forward the nation wide mass campaign of learning from the peasants of Tachai, the oil workers of Taching and the People's Liberation Army." "The 11 1sts": 1st place to ~~man~~ in the correct handling of the rel. bet. man & weapons, 1st place to pol. work in the correct handling of the rel. bet. pol. & other work, 1st place to ideological work in the correct handling of the rel. bet. ideological & cutting tasks in pol. work; and 1st place to living ideas in the correct handling of the rel. bet. ideas in bks. & living ideas in ideological work.

Jen-Min Jih-pao Editorial "Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung Thinking & Courageously Forge Ahead."

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PEKING REVIEW #2, 1/5/67 "The Great Thought of Mao--Source of Mighty Material
SERVE THE PEOPLE MAO TSE TUNG, Sep. 8, 1944
"Cultural R. v. Spurs New All-Round Leap in China's Eco."

Picture of "Chairman
Mao Tse-tung, Our great, teacher, great leader, great supreme commander & great

Poem by Chairman Mao Tse-tung--Facsimile reproduced 1965

ALL CHINA STUDIES QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG

Constantly Read Articles--Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune, The
Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains, all by Mao

Persist in Doing What is Right & Correct What is Wrong

"THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHT OF MAO"

"Mail to Chmn Mao Leading Us From Victory to Victory"

"The Soviet revisionist leading group has now degenerated into the ARCH ACCOMPLICE
OF US IMP. & THE ARCH RENEGADE ESCAB OF THE INT. WORKS MOVEMENT."

Jan. 13, 1967 TAKE FIRM HOLD OF THE REV., PROMOTE PROD. & UTTERLY SMASH THE NEW
COUNTER-ATTACK LAUNCHED BY THE BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY LINE
Hold the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Still Higher.

Again frontpiece picture of Mao with same hyperboles
Study "Problems of Strategy in China's R. v. War" turns out to be a 1936 piece
against Left. "War IS THE HIGHEST FORM OF STRUGGLE FOR RESOLVING CONTRADICTIONS
when they have developed to a certain stage..."

4, 1/20/67--Oppose Economism & Smash the Latest Counter-Attack by the Bourgeois
Reactionary Line--again picture in frontpiece, again hyperboles

As Chairman Mao reminds us: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't
hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping
the floor; as a rule where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of
itself." "the economic CONSPIRACY of using the 'sugar-coated bullets' of
eco. benefits to lure a part of the masses. The reactionary elements
freely squander the wealth of the state, arbitrarily increase wages & benefits....."

Some SN
conflict
with
other
Vietnam
conflict

In State of Union message LBJ actually stiffened conditions, on day of
attack on Embassy in Saigon, softened.
NEW REPUBLIC 2/3/68

- Sequence of events:
- 1) Within HR1 of sending Sov. Premier Kosygin a secret message, presumably peaceful, Mr. Johnson had to dash off new message requesting Sov. intercession with No. Korea
 - 2) Pueblo incident happens same WA that 4 H bombs landed in Greenland bay in a crashed US bomber that had been flying an alert.
 - 3) To cap the irony, Am. & Rus had just agreed, at long last, on the draft of a treaty to prevent the further spread of atomic weapons... IT'S LATER THAN MOST OF US THOUGHT.
 - 4) Not 1st time Am. ships entered No. Vietnam waters
Tonkin Gulf-1964 -Cal/18/67 An. troops went into Cambodia
U-2 spy plane in Russia 1960

The Navy ship was packed with electronic spying devices with which it was collecting information about Rus. rada, & probably also about Rus. submarines, information that would be worth its weight in plutonium to the Pentagon if that were a war with Rus/ The radar the No. Kohave is Sov. equipment; the Sea of Jap. is so thick with US & Rus. ship in the past 2 yrs. there have been 2 acknowledged collisions bet. them.

Russians do as much snooping. In the MEDITERRANEAN, the Russians hang on the flanks of the 6th fleet. (

- 2) 40,000 So. Koreans are fighting on the side of Saigon & US
If No. Korean attack was a diversion, they surely succeeded as world's largest warships with 100 jets aboard was diverted from Vietnam to the Sea of Jap.
- 3) No. Korean "infiltration" incl. attempt 1/21/68 to assassinate So. Korean pres. -- 1st SUCH INCIDENT SINCE WAR ENDED in '53 -- US 8th Army command still has 50,000 men in No. Korea -- ACTIONS MAY BE COORDINATED OR THEY MAY BE PLAYING SEPARATE HANDS

Pres. Johnson called up 14,000 Reservists.

NEW STATESMAN 1/26/68 by Paul Johnson

Of course there is ANOTHER aspect to the Pueblo business which must be causing the White House concern. Taken in conjunction with the No. Korean commando raid on Seoul earlier in the week, it does point to a hotting up of the cold war in No. East Asia. For all the shouting in Congress and Hawke reaction LBJ cannot be anxious to get involved in fresh hostilities in Korea. BUT SUPPOSING THIS IS JUST WHAT THE COMMUNISTS WANT

1/27/68 by David Willis -- LBJ called up 14,600 Air Force & Navy reservists
"Russia would't help on Pueblo incident" MOSCOW PENETRATED M.E. "supplying Hanoi with sophisticated weaponry, GROWLING about Berlin, & TRYING TO SOLIDIFY RANKS WITH No. Korea." Also Cambodia & India/ "In the forefront of its actions is the desire to TRIP UP CHINESE analysts report. Chinese are shown as cautious militarily as well as chaotic internally." of relations with Jap., an uncomfortably close neighbor of Korea.

1/27/68 by David Willis. Kim Il-sung, following TRICONTINENTAL CONF. in Havana said wars of nat. liberation should be scattered around the globe.
US harassment, claims Willis, was NOT uppermost in Kim's mind. So. Korea was -- since '66 he has given up on thinking that No. Korea would fall in NATO's lap.

10/67 "imposed AGREEMENT WITH MOSCOW FOR supplies to industrial complexes; "OBVIOUSLY ONLY SOV., NOT CH., WILL INSPECT PUEBLO by John... from London" "Are Soviets Testing US Resolve?" re Wilson returned from Russia with SEALED LIPS; supposed to come to Wash. Feb. 8/9. A WIDER OFFENSIVE AGAINST US HAS OPENED. -- testing pub. opinion on So. Korea. ALSO M.E. WHERE RUSSIA IS & INTENDS TO STAY. "Moscow opposes the concept of a strong united Europe WITHIN Atlantic alliance. To this extent it opposes current Br. European policy as well as Am.

Bayon by Beverly Doepa (Saigon)

12758 "THE BOUNDARY LINES IN SOEAST ASIAN COUNTRY ARE INCREASINGLY NON-EXISTENT" re Cambodia & Laos where both US & No. Vietnam do the violating. & 17th parallel. "Officials here have long feared the introd. No. Vietnamese based offensive surface-to-surface missiles aimed EITHER at Am-Vietnamese bases OR at cities in the So." "1st CAPABILITY of setting up

ground-to-ground missiles in War Zone C with the range of BLASTING SAIGON
"and when a Soviet-made missile sank an Israeli ship in the NE last yr.
the US 7th Fleet off No. Vietnam shuddered at the prospects of a repeat
performance in Asia." re weapons escalation being a big mistake for Hanoi
"if they throw a few missiles at Da nang, the US will hit Haiphong."

In 60 Vietcong lived on captured US weapons.
In '54 patten changed
by 166 arsenal in so. began incl. the lethal 12mm fin-stabilized rocket
launcher then the 140mm rocket launcher, "ALL MOBILE & DESTRUCTIVE ENOUGH"
to inflame the Am-protected Da nang air base several times.
"167" long range 152mm howitzers were used across demilitarized zone to
paste in positions at "on hien," to "inh" "he san."

TIME 2/2/68 -- So. Korean Premier Chung II Kwon called for massive response
"a lukewarm US response would encourage the Communists to
engage in another war."

US Ambassador to Poland John G. Gousski reported that he was discussing matter
with Pol. govt.

Wh. House PLANNING COMMITTEE
Besides 14-787 Air Force Navy Reservosts, 372 inactive aircraft
Enterprise, others are there

Russian trawlers had to pay fat fine for straying
into territorial waters of Alaska last Mar.

"Hiackade of Wonsan discussed"

"We're not
going to shoot ~~missile~~ ship" LBJ is supposed to have said.
gathering intelligence
on the doorstep of Russia's Pacific fleet hdqts at Vladivostok.
Pueblo began its month long "tour" 2 weeks ago
Commander in Chief Pacific Command in Honolulu (CINCPAC) -- Admiral US Grant Sharp
was in Danang with Gen. Westmoreland
"USS Liberty was the ship shot up by Israeli
1961 Berlin confrontation
1962 Cuba missile crisis
So K Pres. Chung Hee Park 14 yr. sterile discussions at Joint Military Armistice Comm
at Panmunjom



*How press talks a great deal about Do Korean
corruption, of which there is more than enough,
but what about
DCEX (Intelligence, Coordination & Exploitation)
MACORD (Mil. & Civil Operations)
Res (sic) Des Support*

12759

LeMonde - July 9, 1969

GERMANY REMAINS FOCAL POINT

"..Since Prague, there is no longer any talk of a French withdrawal from Nato. It looks as if the world will have to accustom itself to a permanent double partition: vertically between the allies of the United States and the followers of the Soviet Union, and horizontally between the have and the have-nots around the globe."

".. these officials are even prepared to allow the West Germans to acquire nuclear arms. After all, they argue, there is no international treaty to stop them. They have only pledges not to manufacture them on their soil."

" Even more curious is the fact that the Soviets have recently toned down their campaign to force a West German signature. Moscow has long regarded the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.."

".. Believing that war may some day break out between the Soviet Union and China, the Kremlin leaders are anxious to protect themselves from attacks from other directions. Their handling of the Czechoslovakian liberalization movement is one illustration of this."

" These sources suggest that Poland has moderated its attitude towards the West German government precisely out of fear that it would be forced to pay the price of such an arrangement."

ah!

"..New prospects must be opened in the West for the Germans if they are to be kept from seeking a solution elsewhere."

" Will the trend towards the vertical separation of the economies of the Common Market countries not facilitate their eventual satellization by the United States? Would it not be desirable to agree on a common position regarding the European security conference proposed by the Soviet Union, and at the same time take advantage of the Kremlin's current openness to explore the possibilities for an Eastern European settlement? Finally, is it not TIME TO MAKE A CONCERTED EFFORT TO improve relations between the advanced nations and the underdeveloped countries of the world?"

".. With the situation as it is today, it might be wiser for the French government to try to convince the Germans to sign the treaty, even if it were obliged to do so itself. Such a signature at any rate would have no practical effect on the French nuclear deterrent."

1960 Celebrated victory over Revisionists
The split within Socialist camp
Russia was excluded with a
virtually new speed of dev. in
MORDCIK

from Tueses

" The key feature of the "world" congress of 75 CPs in Moscow in June, as of the Maoist Congress in Peking in April, was this: All talk against USA as "Enemy No. 1" was pure ritual. What really dominated both congresses was that China and Russia consider each other Enemy No. 1."

"...The new Constitution names Russia as the enemy on par with U.S. imperialism, but closer at hand *in the unequal but more distant*"

The only way to destroy aspirants for world power is (1) never to forget the class nature of state rulers; (2) never to forget that the first revolutionary challenge by the Hungarian proletariat and its Workers' Councils against totalitarianism was, with Khrushchevite-Maoist malice aforethought, labelled "revisionist" when, in truth, it was Marxist-Humanist; (3) always to remember that U.S. imperialism joins these rules in that crucial sphere of philosophy by considering Marxist-Humanism the real enemy of all existing state powers."

New York Times, July 27, 1969

" During the Cultural Revolution young revolutionary Red Guards rose to rebel against the counterrevolutionary revisionist line and to smash the old educational system. This was good indeed. But because of the influence of anarchism another ideological trend emerged, that is, some students refused to listen to the teachers at all."

" At that school a "class enemy" who stirred up anarchism among students" was uncovered through criticism sessions and held up as a negative example to recalcitrant students. Eventually, discipline was restored."

New Statesman, June 27, 1969

"...When the Soviet leaders called the conference, they had a precise purpose: they wanted to get world communists to swallow their pill, and in this they succeeded - though on conditional terms. In the future, they will be able to invoke 'scientific Marxism' to justify their repressive internal measures and their anti-Chinese crusade. After all, nobody at the conference queried their credentials as communists. Nobody protested when they talked about the struggle against imperialism while acting as watchdogs of the status quo throughout the world."

" And then there's that maddening Chinese problem. Mr. Brezhnev described the Chinese CP as a bunch of hooligans threatening Soviet frontiers. Poor stuff as an explanation of a complex phenomenon - a society claiming to be a new model of communism and attracting the interest of a whole generation, even in Europe and in the US."

"New Model of Communism" attracting a whole generation - an ominous new horizon for the world at large

LeMonde July 9, 1969

MAO REGIME STARTS ANEW Correspondent Alain Bouc

"... For the time being there exists an auxiliary or a substitute in the shape of the army, that 'solid pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat', and 'main constituent element of the state,' as the Defence Minister describes it."

"... Despite its police functions, the army, even more than the party, is an elite, for which many apply but few are chosen. The army will predominate until the party recovers its strength, which may take months or not years."

"... a new quotation from Chairman Mao: 'The final victory of a socialist country requires not only the efforts of its own proletariat, it also depends on ~~the~~ revolution'. Consequently, it is wrong and anti-Leninist to speak lightly of the final victory of our revolution. And what is more, it is unrealistic."

"... The age that is just beginning, that will last about fifty or a hundred years, will be a great one. It will bring a radical change in the social system of the whole world. It will be an age of great upheavals, an age ~~not~~ without parallel in history, says Chairman Mao."

"... We must be ready to undertake great struggles, which will take very different forms from those of the past. China must consider itself at war. We are threatened and encircled by the two greatest powers in the world and we must be prepared for them to launch a large-scale war on us, either conventional or nuclear."

"... was unable to announce the date and venue of the Congress in advance, or invite foreign delegations to it. It has also found necessary to name Mao's successor."

RUMANIA AFTER MOSCOW CONFERENCE Correspondent Michel Tatu

"Most striking of all, Bucharest has lost no opportunity to take up the cudgels in behalf of the Chinese in the campaign currently being conducted against them. This has not been entirely unsuccessful. 'It is thanks to us and us alone,' said a spokesman, 'that a resolution condemning China in the name of the Warsaw Pact countries was not adopted at Budapest.' The fundamental reason why Mr. Ceausescu decided not to walk out of the Moscow conference was almost certainly because he did not want to see China excommunicated - as the East Pakistani delegate officially requested."

"The optimists make great play of the fact that delegates were able to air contradictory viewpoints; they emphasize that the major parties had the opportunity to refuse to sign the document submitted to them. These observers point out that the final version of the conference document incorporated numerous corrections demanded by the Bulgarian delegation and its supporters."

50
100
1000

Be...

As against Rumania
The new force / RW in Rumania
As against the dissenting
+ does so now rd
the court

12762

It is a mistake to judge China -- where the AVPER CAPITA INCOME DOES NOT EXCEED \$120 -- by the standards of the industrialized societies of the West. But are people living at that level more inclined to accept ADVANCED COLLECTIVIST FORMS OF SOCIAL ORG.?"

Chinese children in the centre of Canton do still often go barefoot, but they never beg!"

PRaises CHOU YANG WHO THEN WAS DIR. OF DEP. OF PROP. & CULTURE

is not ashamed also to quote "In the places where the thought of Pres. Mao is correctly applied, the rice harvest has greatly increased."

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

NYT MAGAZINE JULY 27, 1969

WILL THERE BE WAR BET. RUSSIA & CHINA by Harrison E. Salisbury

Describes visit to Mongolia, starting with ridiculous nonsense of "the uncontrollable & uncontrollable" forces of nature in "Asia heartland", but soon enough gets down not only to Ulan Bator, capital, but also remote regions where preparations for war are so advanced on both Rus. & Ch. sides that question of war is not remote, "war whose nuclear winds would poison the Gobi Desert, Manchurian plain & Siberian alike, turning a SUPERcontinent if not the world into a hostile environment in which even primitive life might no longer be supported." even into "nuclear fallout in US". Compares with trip to Mongolia in 1959 when you hardly saw Rus. military. EVIDENTLY THIS WAR-PREPARATIONS BEGAN IN 1/60 when Mongolia signed treaty, new military agree where Mongolia approved large-scale introd. of Sov. defense forces "if needed."

"The N.E. China command is in the hands of CHEN Hsie-lien, a man who has held the post for the last 10 yrs. & whose reliability was reaffirmed by his ELEVATION, at the 9th CPC in April, TO FULL MEMBERSHIP IN THE POLITBURO. (This of course includes area where Nuclear Sight of Lop Nor is situated.)"

Claims 1,500,000 troops are now deployed on both sides.

Beijing

THE PEKING PROP. FILM "THE ANTI-CH. CRIMES OF THE NEW TSARS". "The film gives the rationale for the conflict in terms no 6-yr. old can miss." "new Cossacks" helicopters hovering over "Ch. territory." Not only learned about 1689 treaty of Nerchinsk when Rus. recognized China's sovereignty, but also that Karl Marx in 1858 attack on Russia's theft of Ch. territory east of Lake Baikal & Lenin in 1920 cancelled "unequal treaty" but Ch. was powerless to regain what was rightfully hers.

Russia's prop. is equally chauvinistic., and Yevgeny Yvtushenko's fire-eating lines outdo Kipling.

Q Peking that struggle against Russia will not be halted "NOT FOR A DAY NOT FOR A MO., NOT FOR a yr., NOT FOR 100 yrs., not for 1,000 yrs. not for 10,000 yrs."

Mao's liason with WANG MING, long resident in Moscow, originally as Moscow's now chief Moscow voice against Mao. Latest Soviet prop. claims Mao as having secretly brokn with Rus. in '56, openly split in '58 when it charges the Ch. deliberately provoked the Quemoy & Matsui crisis with the US violating the direct obligations under S-S alliance of 1950 for prior consultation with Russians. "Ditto '59 attack on India."

NR, 5/10/69, MAO & THE NEW MANDATE by Edgar Snow

"Evidently Mao had concluded that his rendezvous with God ('65 interview, rd) had to be postponed until he had completed his more/battle -- in many ways THE MOST AUDACIOUS & ASTONISHING OF HIS LIFE."

"At the 9th CCPC, held in Peking, 1,512 NEWLY MINTED DELEGATES have unanimously nullified the old Party Const. & adopted the reputedly drafted by Mao himself."

Though it is overwhelmingly military in composition & appointed ("newly minted) delegates Snow nevertheless talks of Consti. as guaranteeing "UNINTERRUPTED REV."

"However bizarre the anomalies of the Cult of Mao may seem from afar, I believe Mao is personally revered by most of the peasant of Ch. & has gone far toward winning the younger people to his banner.... It would be prudent to assume that Mao still holds 'the mandate from heaven'."

12763

"STRUGGLE CRITICISM TRANSFORMATION

(Handwritten initials)

Chiang Ching, Mrs. Mao.
TIME magazine 1/13/67

MAO:
"ONE LEARNS HOW TO MAKE A REV. BY MAKING IT
just as one learns to swim by swimming."

Czechoslovak news agency reported that some 500,000

were poured into city of Nanking. For 5 days the 2 factions fought furiously in
More than 60,000 prisoners taken & TORTURED

Japan's Kyodenew services reported 54 killed, 900 wounded
& 6,000 arrested & city's rails & tel. services cut

David Oancia (Toronto Globe & Mail, only W. report in Chi
reported one night gunfire showers for 5 minutes.

Tao Chu, new prop. chief who only 5 mos. ago was raised up
No. 5 in hierarchy but last week was declared a "bourgeois reactionary" by
Chiang Ching

Li Hsuah-feng
Liu Shao-Chi & Teng Sincaping / Peng Chen
Chen Yi was also attacked. 110 mln youths above age of 9 excused from school
since last June.

One poster proclaimed that Mao was forced to give up presidency in 1958 &
exile himself for 8 mos. 1965-66 to Shanghai because Liu & "wedge" in Peking
opposed his plans for Cultural Rev.: "They treated me as
if I were their dead parent at a funeral."

New Year's Day editorial published simultaneous in People's Daily
industry's freedom from Red Guards ended. Red flag
spoke of "persons in authority" opposed Red Guards...clamped down on different
views, PRACTICED WH. TERROR"

(RD..Everyone from MR to Time speaks of "romantic
nostalgia of an aging revolutionary" only MR doesn't use and
of phrase "who wants to turn back the clock.")

"Mao thus hoped to fire with rev. fervor the very generation that he felt Russia
had lost to revisionism."

The Militant, "The Upheaval in Ch.--An Analysis of the Contending Forces" 1/23/67
by Geo. Novack & Jose, Hansen

mainly concerned with "correcting" Monthly Review editors, who do not quite
see Schurman & Deutscher's views that it is only due to anticipated invasion of
Ch.

Re 16 points adopted at 11th pl. of CC 8/8, Peking Review 8/12. Defend
Wu Han, noted Historian & deputy mayor of Peking

Teng To former ed. of foremost mkt C-ist newspapers "anti-party 3 villages
Q Sweezy & Huberman "It is in this connexion that the attempt to
INSTITUTIONALIZE

the cultural rev. on the lines of the Paris Commune takes on
special significance."

Emphasize instead special privileges gives to youth to take a trip at
govt. expense, to Peking, transportation, free lodging, free meals--

30 mln. copies of Mao's thoughts--300 pages branded like holy writ.

12764

Militant, cont'd/

Dramatic level reached in Oct, when Liu Shao-chi & Teng supposedly confessed but were nevertheless condemned at rally on 12/27/60

***** While capitalists have not been singled out as targets "If anything, reassurance has been addressed to them."

MR switched sides in Sino-Soviet dispute in May 1963. Evidently then IS criticized for not seeing "increasingly privileged & powerful social stratum in command of society's pol-eco. apparatus" (MR's words for Liu now)

3rd 5 Year plan evidently launched in 1966 without fanfare. (refer to fact that Transitional Program was evidently updated by them after Hungarian Rev.)

PEKING REVIEW--5/6/66 CHINA CELEBRATES MAY DAY Remain Ribao's May Day Edit "Persist in Putting Politics 1st & Promote a New Upsurge in Ind. Prod. & Construction"

again edit. on April 14th "Putting Politics 1st is Fundamental to All Work"

where section entitled "The Most Serious Lesson in the 'Int. C-ist Movement' which stresses need to know types of contradictions & fails to carry the socialist rev. on the pol. & ecological fronts thru to the end. If on the ques. of bldg. socialism, one considers that "TECHNIQUES DECIDE EVERYTHING" or "technique decides everything" then in practice the tendency will arise to get immersed in wk. & pay no attention to politics. The style of work such as commandism will dev. which alienates one from the masses; ...and... bourgeois elements who have not been remoulded & ~~REGENERATES~~ will worm their way into various branches of work in the guise of 'specialists' & 'scholars' & seize leadership in some organizations."

Concl. "A big debate on the rel. bet. politics & work is now taking place across the land... To preserve in putting politics 1st we must place Mao Tse-tung thinking in command. In running military affairs, agrl., ind., finance & trade, culture & education, science & tech. & all other work we must learn to proceed from politics."

of cultural Rev. check as far work as possible to get the right

1965
Sequence--Oct. 1--Indonesia coup

--Mao goes away --Nov. '65 Peking Rev. 6/4/65 re May 23rd rally of 45th

1966 -1/66 TriContinental Congress anniversary of founding CPI

N&L 5/66 Are US&Ch heading toward war--re possibility of negotiations on Vietnam whereas in 6/63 Sino-Soviet attacks were on ideological level. Chen Yi on 9/29/63 for different global aims, eve of coup where Ch. not Rus hoped to create world axis possible coordinate of Sov. actions in no. of China with aggressive war of the US against Ch Peoples Rep. 11/11/Mao's China declared "We must be prepared to ward off a combined attack from US imp., moder revisionism & the reactionaries of various countries."

N&L May 1966
In 3/66 it bases its refusal to attend 23rd RCP congress "Despite the tricks you have been playing US-Sov. collaboration & Russia in turn accuse them of wanting a lengthy Vietnam war to maintain int. tensions & itself as besieged fortress so they can "sit on the mt. & watch the fight of the tigers."

"China in Mid-1966" 'Cultural Rev.' or Struggle for Power? by Ellis Jaffe

Peking Rev. 7/25/66 Raise High the Great Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought & Carry the Great Procl. Cultural Rev. Through to the End!

(also cf. chronological survey by Ch. News Agency, Peking Review #25, 6/17/66)

Cultural rev., according to CCF CC, originated Sept. 1965. Actually just as soon as recuperation from Great Leap Forward CC in Sep. '62 began talking of "class struggle,"--10th Pl. "socialist education"--'60-'62 fairly liberal atmosphere esp. in arts which Mao criticized in '63 (quoted in Raise High.). Ditto in '64 also " " " " " Mao "If serious steps were not taken to re-educate them they were bound at some future date to become groups like the HUNGARIAN PETCOFI CLUB". So Rectification campaign start Sep. '65.

EN NB NB NB Mao's lengthy absence from public view 11/65-5/66 is no. AFTER INDONESIA COUP.....

That would explain going after propagandists like Lu Ting-yi & Chou Yang, but how explain P'eng Chen, P. bureau member & mayor of Peking, etc. et. Ruled Peking Party org. since '49. Also puzzling removal of Lo Jui-ch'ing as army's chief of staff since he was appointed in '59 precisely to uproot those opinions of Peng who was removed, etc. etc.

"PUT POLITICS ON COMMAND" may have been too zealous. (p.129)

CF. PEKING REVIEW NO. 28, 7/8/66

"The Fall of Chou Yang" by Merle Goldman Chou Yang main guardian of literary policy for 20 yrs. Branded in posters as "the big red umbrella covering all mofters"

Errors attributed to him follow actual line, but since shifted, thus: 1) In '36 dissolution of Party's front org. League of Left-wing writers, replaced by United Ass. ciation of Ch. Writers which "sought to unite writers of different pol. persuasions on a nation-wide scale"

Handwritten notes: 1) In '36... 2) In '58... 3) In '66...

Regime similarly has rewritten Mao's Talks on Art & Lit. In '66 it claimed these talks were given as rebuke to Chou Yang's on united front. But talks, originally given in May '42, & in '58 reprinted with as much fanfare as in '66 only FOR

OPPOSITE PURPOSES. When they were used to overthrow Chou Yang's enemies. Moreover in '66 Mao declared 100 flowers policy was introduced to OPPOSE liberalisation, not to encourage it. (p.137 for Chou En-lai's & Mao's speeches then)

FROM SUMMER OF '61 TO Sep. '62 there were faint echoes of 100 flowers campaign & this is what they were after when cultural rev. 1st started. For Minister Ch'en Yi pointed out in (8/61) that maj. of CC came NOT FROM WORKER OR PEASANT FAMILIES BUT FROM LANDLORD & MIDDLECLASS BACKGROUNDS. In '66 however

the aggressive nationalism that had been produced is exactly what Mao began attacking altho he had encouraged it. Chou Yang was condemned because in '66 he only used 70 tons of pp. for Mao's works while 7,500 tons were used to reprint ancient Ch. classics.

Handwritten notes: Jan 16/68 meeting... 100 flowers... 7,500 tons... 12766

CHOU YANG WAS CONDEMNED FOR VIEWS MAO HIMSELF HELD IN HIS YENAN TALES ABOUT CRITICAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE CH. LITERARY TRADITION. MAO, NOT CHOU, MADE THIS ACTUAL DOGMA. Suddenly in '66 all culture of past labelled feudal & so on. Even more determined to eliminate USSR INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY RUSSIAN since Mao Chen Yang, had, after all, not only read these classic but translated Tolstoy, Chekhovskii.

As early as '60 Lin began moving also into cultural realm & founded Arts Institute in the PIA which graduated its 1st class in '65.
OF Peking Review, 8/19/66
NEW GROUP HAVE NO CONTACT WITH WORLD BEYOND CHINA.

"Victims of the Great Procl. Cultural Rev." by Donald W. Fleiss

P'eng Chen--elected to CC & Polbureau in '45. (Lin Piao did not advance to Politburo membership till '55)
Described as Mao's "close comrades-in-arms" & in May & June '65 was his last visit abroad to INDONESIA.

Liberation Army Daily, 5/4/66: "Every counter-rev. restoration starts in the realm of mind, incl. ideology, the superstructure, theoretical & academic wk., lit. & art, as well as over public opin. In this way the 3000 revisionists under the leadership of the Soviet CP--A no. of revisionist bourgeois writers, artists & intellectuals org'd the STROFI CLUB as the shock forces in opening the way for the Hungarian counter-rev. riots in 1956."

"Facts have elegantly proved that Mao Tse-tung's thought becomes a moral atom bomb of colossal power once it takes hold of the masses."

June listed on p.214

Prominent purge victims in

Handwritten notes:
S. P. ...
...

Handwritten notes:
People's Daily 6/1/66 cited for the work "Procl. Cultural Rev."
...

Handwritten notes:
Jan 68
...

DISSENT, Mar-Apr. 1967: Mao's 3rd Rev? by Henry Pachter

2/10/67: "Most professional China watchers...confirmed 3 aspects we singled as strategic in the present conflict: (1)experts ...have resisted the prospect of a supreme leader who desperately tries to continue the Rev.dynamism(sic) of their oic per.

"Rev.dynamism"

(2)power-holders...spokesmen of vested interests (sic)ictably were who resist demands for more sacrifice, more initiative(sic). (3)leader...had to call upon new cadres which might be ready to continue the rev... :these new cadres were the

REV?COUNTER?

mobs.."

"If I am not mistaken we must take the cultural rev.seriously .. a new principle of org was attack on the old

SLUGISHNESS?!
!!!!!!!
Loroy

"It is an effort to do away with Ch.sluggishness inefficiency ..to fight the individualistic peasant spirit of ancient Ch.&to generate a new ind.spirit of coop.,spontaneity initiative. If it were not called Maoism, we might name it Ch.soc.

WARLORD!!!

"...military absolutism modelled on Cromwell or Napoleon,or borrowed from Spengler's ideas on 'Prussian' socialism!...then naturally slide back into its OLD EVILS OF REGIONALISM,WARLORDISM, BUR..ISM,INEFFICIENCY&POWERLESS(Once more: it is worth the effort to reread Max Weber on Ch.bur..or.to study Ch.his.for precedents of the current crisis

"CH.CIV.&BUR." p.35-6:"There is no need to speak of Wes.sinology. Fully occupied with philological hair-splitting,sinologists never found the interest or the time to investigate such frivolous things as the eco-foundations &the social structure of a great society." (47(12/25) speech On the Present Situation" coined monstrous term 'comprador-feudal state-mon.-bur.cap'.p.54:"But if s-c is admitted as forming an integral &imp.part of the phenomenon we call cap.,then it appears to us in China as a hoary old man who has left to his sturdy &reckless great grandson a stock of highly valuable experience.

"And just because we live in the epoch s-c both in the old capitalist countries in the W &in the new 'Peoples Dem'of the East,the matter is one of great relevance to us today."-Journal of Eco.&Social His.of the Orient 3(1960) Lecture delivered in Universities of Oxford &Cambridge) p.15"unchanging character of Ch.social structure...an undeniably enduring nature...cannot conjure away the sheer length of time the Ch.Empire lasted,founded in 221 B.C." &Hegel.)

From 2/21/67 19/11/67

SATRAPIES: eco. adm. educational &other's own little power machine BACK TO HP,Dissent p.152: a decidedly underdeveloped communications system, bandits, warlords. ?????????? "There is no technological reason why the CCP should not have produced the same kind of provincialism which the Kuomintang had produced before it. With this difference,however; then wwarlordism was largely regional,today is may also be functional."

p153"3In fact, it has not been possible to publish a plan which has/linkelihood of being fulfilled &THIS ALONE(sic)may have been sufficient signal for Mao to unless the new way3e of rev.(sic)

"Most bewildering of all,none of this seems to fit into any org'd scheme of ideological order."

CONFIDENTIAL

NEW STATESMAN

"Mao's 2nd Rev." by K.S. Karol

(Stupidly compares it to RR rather than 1949)

Says events have not supported theory of Westerners that this is a fight for leadership: "The Party hierarchy has not been notably altered & no top leader has been attacked by name or singled out as target for Red Guards. There is no evidence that the present events are the effect of a fratricidal struggle at the summit of the Party.

"However, the lower levels of the Party have been seriously shaken & a member of the CC in charge of cultural sector has been dismissed & violently attacked as 'revisionist and implacable enemy of the thought of Chen Mao.' This leader who wanted to 're-est. cap. in China' is CHOU TANG. On the one hand they preached a quasi-evangelical egalitarianism & ideological incentives' to dev. their eco. On the other hand, they were in a certain sense 'gradualists' in that they partly maintained the privileges of 'national capitalists', to whom they paid considerable incomes after nationalising their factories & preserved an education system (particularly in the universities) in which until recently 50% of the students of non-prol. origin."

Q Granma, Cuban central newspaper of CP invited Ch.coms., if they were in the mood, to listen to the advice that they stop making themselves ridiculous.

China, ever & above Vietnam, remains the main target of Am. aggression, by virtue of this fact alone, she is the vanguard of the resistance to the Pax Americana."

NEW STATESMAN

"Mao Calls in the Army" by Roderick Macfarquhar

"In the last analysis it was the failure of the propaganda apparatus of the party to maintain rev. ardour among a flagging population that led to the wholesale sacking of its leading officials. For some 4 yrs. Mao had watched their efforts with increasing irritation. Finally he selected a prospective new propaganda chief, T'ao Chu from among Lin Piao's old cronies & with his own confidant, Chen Po-ta making a 4th, set about stalking, denouncing & dismissing most HITHERTO OF HONOR INTERPRETS OF MAOISM...."

"His (Lin's) has been engineered at the price of the destruction of the Yenan comradeship... Now Lin may have to ensure obedience by 'org. methods', i.e., more purges... it will inevitably involve the whole role of the army within Ch. society. Already under Mao, the army is the tutor of the national cadres have been seconded to farms & factories to put over the Maoist way. The rise of the new rev. youth org. -- Red Guards -- may indicate army assistance in its foundation. Even the new acting Minister of Culture is a recently translated soldier. At last wk's cultural rev. rally, relatively junior army officers were given precedence over vice-chmn. of the national legislature, & Mao himself appeared in military uniform to symbolise his approval of the army's new dominance in nat. affairs...."

"Initially & in intention this might not be 'Bonapartist' -- after all, Lin Piao is supposedly the Reddest of all. But in the long run a peacetime army is not a suitable vehicle for running the rev. Ultimately the influx of the army cadres into all the top ranks of the party, which Lin Piao's victory makes likely, may signal THE END OF PARTY LEADERSHIP in the true sense -- precisely the opposite of what Mao intends."

"Red Guard's Role" by Roderick Macfarquhar, (NEW STATESMAN, 9/2/66)

"Ever since the Opium War 125 yrs. ago the core problem for rev. Ch. has been the extirpation of evil FOREIGN influence... the sudden birth of the Red Guards, fully organized, is understandable... What is surprising is that it was thought necessary to create a BRAND NEW YOUTH ORG. WHEN THERE ALREADY WAS A YOL"

12770

... can be cast on one side, can the party itself escape a thoroughgoing

By same author, "Mao's Grand Design" in NS of 8/12/36.

This wk. CC-Data CC decision on guida lines for future actions: "Groups set up in universities & elsewhere to the cultural rev. are to be org. on a long-term basis into a system of teams, com. & cover congresses with elected deputies, presumably to assist in a permanent process of rejuvenation of the party & the rev. ... PROCESSES PURGING THE OLD ELEMENTS WITHIN THE PARTY WHO FOLLOW THE BOURGEOIS LINE"

3 chiefs of staff & 2 chief pol. commissars disgraced in past 8 yrs. "The professionalism of the officer corps that was built up during the early '50s is still proving a barrier to the total politicalisation of the army."

"Mao considers the armed forces to be a great school of rev... Mao wants the whole country to become a rev. school..."
"... CAN OVERCOME ALL OBSTACLES SIMPLY BY VIRTUE OF WILLPOWER, ORG. & CORRECT POL. ATTITUDE"

"The crux of Ch's present convulsion is not steel prod or even power struggle... As this week's CC decision states in its 1st sentence the crucial issue concerns the souls of the people... PEOPLE'S DAILY... THE prol. struggle is aimed not only at demolishing all the old ideology & culture and the old customs & habits, which, fostered by the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for ths. of yrs., but also at creating a fostering among the masses an entirely new ideology & culture & entirely new customs & habits."

Handwritten notes: "AP ps 8/13/ Reuters", "Send H.P. hearts - 3/28/41", "3 weeks", "tell them", "proc. ed.", "11 to New", "great prog. cultural, rev. prog. + choice", "and imp. by M-L", "Unprecedented in history", "dare to brave paths unexplored by people before"

Handwritten note in a circle: "Review for Foreign Convention"

Handwritten note in a circle: "Here on a new era / world rev."

Handwritten note in a circle: "dare to brave paths unexplored by people before"

TIME --CHILE --the Bloody End of a Marxist Dream 9/4/73

Chomsky
el-Qadafi

Nixon-Kissinger
Dim. Finkel
Secord

"The coup was carefully planned & meticulously executed," reported TIME Corp. Chas. Eisenhardt who watched the action from a window overlooking the palace. "to restore institutional normality"
GENERALS IN BLOODY COUP: Even Time capsules murdered victim: "Democracy died as well."

2 pages
John

Admiral Merino, General Pinochet, Leigh & Mendoza, Israel Ambassador, veteran of 6 Day War, said that he had NEVER SEEN PRECISION BOMBING & STRAFING TO MATCH THE CHILEAN AIR FORCE RAID ON LA MONEDA.

90,000 soldiers, sailors, airmen & carabinieri add up to an unusually large military contingent for a population of 10 mln. In 1956 Pinochet served as military attaché in Wash.. Roberto Thieme, leader of fascist "Fatherland & Liberty":

Ousting of Brazil's Goulart, Guatemala's Jacobo Arbenz

MEXICO'S THERMIDOR

F.A. July 1970, THE SPOILS OF MEXICAN REV., by Prof. of His. (Harvard) & author of "Zapata & Mex. Rev" John Womack, Jr.

1968 staging of Olympics & putting down of student & civic revolt proof of "Mexico's Reign of Virtue inevitably cooling into MEXICO'S THERMIDOR." Since 1940 businessmen reign From 1935-40 with Lazaro Cardenas, last reforms--nationalized oil, entitled landless (a mln.) families to farm nationalized prop. "Actually he consolidated Rev. state's control over the wkg class, urban & rural, a control which later entrepreneurs would use to their advantage." WW II GNP expanded 70% while pop. grew only 27%--but quite hierarchically. PROFITS & RENTS share was 46% while wages averaged 24%.

Nixon
Kissinger
Memo
Secord

AM? INVESTMENT EXPANDED SO RAPIDLY that now it is no less than 12% of total investment in Mexico, or \$1.5 bln.

1/2 of nat. income goes into 1/10th of nation's families-- virtual barons--Manuel Espinosa, Miguel Aleman, Bruno Pagliai, Carlos Trouyet, Ruiz Galindo, probably 50 others

2

ALL THIS WHILE 75% of Mexican families live on \$120 a mo. OR LESS Americans do 65% of country's foreign business! still further rightist Partido Accion Nacional.

Womack
Secord

Conrad
Secord
Womack
Womack
Womack

Missouri, not in
50
executive of Clausewitz's
confirmation of policy of other means
as he claims to be of
Matthew
Brown
12772

There are no monuments to Babo Yoru
LE MONDE . 12/30/70
"Political Crime & Punishment: Burgos and Leningrad"

Anti-Semitism in the SU--the wrong spectre at the wrong time

On 12/28 TASS distributed article by its pol. commentator, Yuri Kornilov, which "answered" world protests over death sentences for attempted hijacking claimed by Moscow to have occurred Aeroflot at Smolny airport near Leningrad (last 6/15) allegedly fly to Sweden, with ultimate destination Israel. Even France officially protested through its ambassador Roger Seydoub.

Moscow = "From our correspondents"

"What was until last week the "Leningrad affair" is becoming a critical trial of Sov. anti-Semitism."

"Nor can the Kremlin be unaware of the stands taken by several foreign CPs, particularly in Spain, Britain, Fr. & Italy." Moreover, cannot be considered outside of what happened in Cze. & what will happen when 24th RCP congress convenes Mar.

"What are the 'facts established' when the trial took place behind closed doors?... The intell. dishonesty of the Sov. position is all too evident in claim that an int. agreement intended to prevent airplane hijackings justified death sentences handed down in Leningrad... What is even more remarkable (rd in face of world protests) setting new trials Jan. 6th later at Riga & Kishinev..."

"MOST NON-JEWISH SOVIET CITIZENS ARE NOT AT ALL INCLINED TO PUT UP WITH ANYTHING RESEMBLING ANTISEMITISM EVEN IN COVERT FORM."

NEWWEEK, 1/4/71--

Poland: New Leaders & Old Problems

300 or more people have died. Fall of Gomulka & rise of Edward Gierk & General M. Moczar + elevation of Defense Minister, Gen. W. Jaruzelski to status of alternate Polbureau member & economics expert Piotr Jaroszewicz appointed Prime Minister.

Poland's economy "LOW PROD" POOR QUAL. & "BAD PLANNING" + "UNFAVORABLE TRADE DEALS WITH THE S.U., PAYING HIGH PRICES FOR RUS. IRON ORE & RECEIVING LOW PRICES FOR POL. COAL & SHIPS." Much of Pol's ind. equipment is old & decrepit, 75% of cotton spinning machines made bet. 1890 & 1920. & Poland has suffered for past 2 yrs. from bad weather sharply reducing grain prod. Gomulka having w'd out new 5-yr. Plan, that was on basis of "productivity" so that inefficient factories got cut + price rise to cut food consumption.

Gierk announced he would freeze food prices & would set up fund to help pensioners & large families == BUT NOT IN GDANSK

E. Ger. refused in late '69 to give any assistance to Poland

MONTHS BEFORE POLAND FRUSTRATED, intellectuals were engaged in intense public debate over FAILINGS of their system, incl. Book by "Poland's leading sociologist" director of Inst. of Phil. & Sociology at Pol. Academy of Sciences, JAN SZCZEPANSKI who said when it comes to ideas, the Pol. leadership is like a dried-up lemon. "Communism changed Pol. society far less than is generally assumed... Poland's ind. force has, since WWII, increased from 830,000 whrs to 9 mln... But the results of this vast migration is not so much that new city dwellers have been urbanized as that CITIES HAVE BEEN "RURALIZED."

Newsweek also mentions as upcoming rival in Stanislaw KOCIOLEK. In 1967 WHEN MOCZAR WAS MINISTER OF INTERIOR he challenged Gomulka.

"Later, using unsuccessful bid to unseat Gomulka in 1968, Moczar made another bid for mass popularity in traditionally ANTISEMITIC POLAND BY UNLEASHING A VIRULENT CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE COUNTRY'S JEWISH INTELLECTUALS & BUREAUCRATS."

12774

NY NB NB James Feron who wrote for La Morte, 12/23 has for
From Warsaw 1/7 re coming 90-member CCC mtg. being "discussed" publicly.
12 member Polburo announced agenda
5 yr. ~~plan~~ plan, 1971-75--

v. 1.2: "IS NOW BEING ACCUSED OF IDEOLOGICAL
as well as eco. mistakes." + "communications gap" bet.
wkclass & party, hence departure from "L-ist principles of party life."
/ "FOR AT LEAST SEVERAL YRS."

3 Pol. paper "development of a dialogue bet. party & nonmembers" NEEDED.

"There was a tendency to develop prod. for prod.'s sake & to lose sight of the
most imp. thing in an avalanche of statistics & indexes, namely when & how to raise
living standards."

*UPI quoted Stockholm newspaper AFTONBLAT which reported
3,000 SHIPBUILDERS who came to work but didn't work in protest of 200 wks.
who had been arrested. Report signed by correspondent, Thomas Walden/

wks. demanded Gierk come down to see them as well as release 200
"NOBODY LISTENS TO US IN WARSAW."

NEW TENSIONS.

NYT. 1/3/71 report Italian CP paper, L'unita, printed its Moscow correspondent
Andriano Guerra "the problems affects a min.--some 10% of the...
3 mln. Jews living in the SU, but it does exist."
said they didn't criticize "anti-Semitism under Stalin. Reports disappear remnants of
Jews & "certain articles" in Molodaya Guardia & Sovietskaya Rossiya.

Court Jew, Aron Vergelis admitted 1,000 Soviet Jews permitted to migrate.

SOVIET OFFICER LIET. VULF I. ZAIMANSON got 10 yrs/

by S-K. Oberbeck

~~Newsweek~~ Newsweek, 1/4/71 Review of BABI YAR by A. Anatoli (Kuznetsov) tr by David Floyd

It originally appeared in Rus. in (1966). Author, 41 yr. old Anatoli Kuznetsov recounted
Ukrainian boyhood during WW II when Nazis slaughtered 100's of the of Jews in a ravine near
Kiev, with narrative hinting the depths of human brutality there was achieved with
COOP. OF RUSSIANS to this genocide of Jews.

Now ('69) having himself escaped to England, he
publishes the UNCENSORED version.

NEWSWEEK, 1/11/71

each fighting to the 5th. The fact that the USA is challenged
with in the real division still remains

12775

also p.5
THE TIMES, London, 1/6/71 (re/France & its 3 main issues: decentralization, LABOR REITS, cultural dev. - local elections)
As for M.E. Mr. Riad UAR For Minister spoke of participation in proposed SUMED PIPELINE FROM GULF OF SUEZ TO MED. & COMPENSATION FOR BR. PROP. NATIONALIZED
"New Polish leader visits Moscow" by David Bonavia, Moscow, 1.5/

State Planned Economy

The Polish visitors met by Brezhnev, Kosygin, AND Nikolai Balbaev, chmn of State Planning Commission, which emphasizes fault talks will dwell on eco.aspects as eco. problems are at the root of Poland's troubles."
SU too is in final stages of drafting its 9th 5 yr plan for per. '71-'75
LAST SEP. Rus. & Pol. signed protocol on "coordination of eco.dev. plans" or closer integration with Warsaw Pact nations. "EVEN THE AMTS. OF MAIN CATEGORIES OF GDS. TO BE TRADED WERE LAID DOWN FOR 5 yrs. ahead". In '69 Pol. received 1,300,000 t of Rus. grain. Pol. is Rus's 2nd biggest trading partner surpassed only by E. Ger.

"A GAME OF BLUFF & BLACKMAIL" The Great Power Triangle, Part III by Michel Lator Deputy For/Ed. of LE MONDE, series of extracts from ATLANTIC PAPER No. 3/70, pub. by Atlantic Inct., 12 Grenville Pl., London, SW 7 (10 sh)

Behind the Iron Curtain

At 1st it appeared pure gain for USA as C-ist monolith had split, & Rus. too, loss. "The Ch., it is true, are in the same predicament, but it is one they have CHOSEN TRIUMPHANTLY PROCLAIMED & IT HAS INCREASED THEIR LIBERTY OF ACTION."

"There is no such thing in practice as struggle on 2 fronts, conducted with equal means against 2 adversaries who are also hostile to each other."

Sep. '69 Kosygin-Chou En-lai talks, followed by ex. of ambassadors, IN ORDER TO REDEPLOY ITS ENERGIES WESTWARD, RSP. TOWARDS M.E. & EUROPE. ...SU decided in '70 MILITARY COMMITMENT TO UAN WHICH IS ALMOST WITHOUT PRECEDENT IN THE HIS. OF SOVIET REGIME."

Instead of th. Moscow's overtures to W. reflecting desire to safeguard because of threat from Ch. "It would be more to the point to suggest that the leaders decided at the end of '69 to safeguard their rear in the east by rejoining tension with Ch. SO AS TO PURSUE A MORE ACTIVE POLICY IN THE W." perhaps Indonesia

Only in India & Pakistan do US & Rus. interests coincide re maintaining equilibrium hence speed of Tashkent agreement.

and more ...

LE MONDE, 12/23/70
"The Revolt of the Hungry" (Power Changes Hands in Poland) by Bernard Feron

5 days of wkrs. protests, 12/15-20. That eve/ Gomulka resigned. Shift of power brought to main power not only Gierak as Gomulka's successor but raised MOCZAR TO POLBURO MEMBERSHIP, "known for his dislike of liberals, intellectuals & JEWS"

Not like optimism of '1956 Poznan revolution which brought Gomulka to power from prison to which he had been sent by Stalin when he supported, or wavered on Tito

*2nd Am. ...
Wm needed ...
Autry ...*

THEN "in the euphoria of their triumph all those who banded together to topple the tyrants were UNABLE TO GRASP FULL IMPORT OF THEIR OWN IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES" THEN "what united them all was the desire to have done with Soviet domination." NOW, or '68, Gomulka "had to align himself with the very people whom he once fought & defeated" BOTH STALINISTS & MOCZR.

"Spring" Is Out of Season--The Undoing of a Reformer--
As against '56, when Prague Spring of '68 he not only approved invasion of Czech but allowed "SHAMEFUL ANTI SEMITIC CAMPAIGN TO SPRED THRU POLAND IN GUISE OF ANTI ZIONISM"

12776 towns taken from Ger. in '45
Pol. way hse. Now, 1970, 25% price rise--GDANSK, SOPOT & SZCZECIN --all 3
Agric. is still essentially pvt. enterprise.

(10/12)

"Nor was his of bourgeois Pol. bet 2 Ws any less turbulent than that of self-styled socialist Pol." "In no other country in Europe, with the exception of Fr., is NATIONAL PASSION SO KEEN. It has been partitioned 4 times, has suffered unbelievable massacres, & yet HAS ALWAYS MANAGED IN THE END TO REASSERT ITS IDENTITY."*****

"until just recently (EE) have every appearance of stability."

53 uprising didn't shake Ulbricht, '56 didn't Novotny, '68 it appeared Gomulka's trouble had ended... UNCONTAINED UNREST.

TIME, 12/28/70 "The Polish Eruption: A Nation in Flames"

12/75

Baltic seaport of GDANSK, when food rises announced wk. before Christmas, at LENIN SHIPYARD WORKERS SPONTANEOUS PROTESTED THE HIKE BY REFUSING TO WORK.

Then they decide to march from yds. to CP hdqts., 2 miles away. "Thus began a wk. of rioting & death that surpassed anything E.E. has experienced in yrs."

Soon wkrs. swelled by hundreds of HSW WIVES, students. By time marchers reached hdqts., they were 20,000 strong.

They hurled HOME MADE FIRE BOMBS AT HDQTS. BLDG. & rrd. station.

Police opened fire whereupon crowd cried "Gestapo! Gestapo!" Tanks called in, curfew imposed, but rioting could not be stopped.

the contrary—it spread to GDYNIA & Sopot, then to cities all across Poland, incl. Warsaw itself. BIGGEST in Poland's biggest seaport, SZCZECIN

A Radio Sweden Reporter, Anders Thunberg, telephoned Stockholm: "TANKS HAVE MADE REPEATED ATTACKS ON THE CROWD. The people had to give way in order not to be run over. BUT A MOTHER & HER ENG DAUGHTER DID NOT MANAGE TO GET AWAY. A TANK AT HIGH SPEED CRUSHED BOTH OF THEM. A young soldier was seen crying & watching."

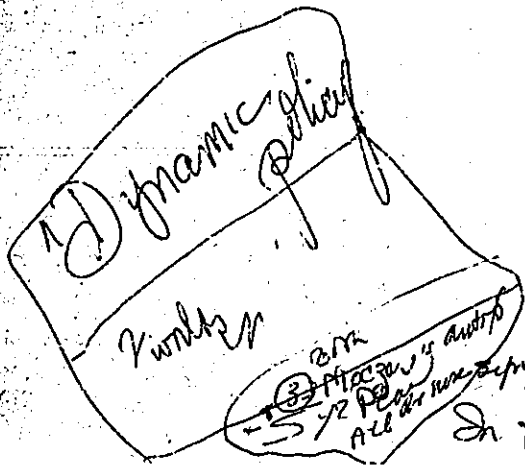
More violent than 1968 "riots" They were closer in spirit to the celebrated "bread & freedom" demonstrations in Poznan in 1956

Food prices drastically increased 20% Beef up 19%, assuming one could find it, flour 16% & salted herring 19%. B-salts doubled. SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT WAGES FROZEN. Prices posted 11 days before Christmas

3 divisions of Russian soldiers maintained in Poland remained in their barracks.

The 9 walls in each country

Last day of P.A. Puz. signed coordinated Plans
Just as in 9/69 Krugger Chow En-lan met to Zedillo esp West Europe
30. in 1/70 Puz. Puz. out previous thru one per N.E. USA



Now best hope by pointing also to "del. logical" mistakes as if = CP error
+ would escape further when
In fact however = ① get rid of - ② no. 11/11/70
Sub 2-52

IP. STONE TOWARD A THIRD INDOCHINA WAR" NYRB #7224 3/8/73

New budget for fiscal 1974 allocates \$1 bln. for supports of US forces remaining in SE Asia & almost \$2 bln more for military assistance for So Vietnam & Laos. (+new Marcos dictatorship in Philippines may add another \$2 bln. & bring total up to \$5 bln. Nor is this all for East Asia US protectates as new military budget \$85 bln. is asked for obligational authority in fiscal 1974. Of this amt. strategic deterrent on which actual defense of US rests takes only \$7.4 bln.--general purpose forces around world will consume \$26.4 bln., by far largest slice of new military authority.

Cambodia invaded in 1970 Laos in 1971 & begun heavy bombing & mining of the North last spring. (NO NO NO, NOT quite--"THIEU'S SURVIVAL IS NIXON'S NO. Lpriority" NOT WHEN IT COMES TO GLOBAL VIEWS)

Disagrees with HK's "skillfully conducted & diplomatically opaque" stated that Vietnam took on "a different perspective when recognized as only an appendage to the land mass of Asia" (rd but HK, not IPS is rt. here)

Nixon inherited Vietnam from Democrats but he has always been to right ever since the fall of 1953 (when he flew over there) in an effort to rally the French against negotiating with the Viet Minh.

Ever since Geneva conf. of '54 US has consistently aimed to maintain 17th Parallel as containment line & "to keep So.V as a US dependency."

Phew phew phew! "The peace movement has no more important task than to focus attention on the Church-Cast & Bingham bills" to tie Nixon's hands against renewed intervention.

"A Bill Requiring Congressional Authorization for the Reinvolveent of Am. Forces in Further Hostilities in Indoch."

"feared a situation in which the Saignoise tail could, so to speak, wag the Am. dog & force the US into war."

CORRECT RD: "In 1954, as now--so close is the parallel the SU was ready to curb Vietnamese military action in return for a European Security Conf." (ftn See Donald Lancaster's "Power & the Geneva Conf. in VIETNAM: HIS., DOCUMENTS & OPINIONS

12779

...with bag of carrots this time but IFS forgets that
...this (2/28/72) Nixon-Chou En-lai communique that US would
...progressively reduce its forces & military installations on Taiwan
...the tension in the area (Indochina) diminishes) WAS SCUTTLED
...BY MAO CHOU for ANTI S-U, though communique had stated that it
...was the crucial ques. obstructing the normalization of relations
...bet. Ch & the US."

WRONG WRONG WRONG what Nixon & K want above all
in return is that Moscow & Peking cut back on arms supplies to NV & the
Vietcong.

Wrong again: "The So.V. rebels have been hurt badly in
the last few yrs. but STILL ARE NOT AS HELPLESS AS THEY WERE IN '54"
"We're back to '54, & the tragedy begins its replay like something
out of a Hindu legend about eternal recurrence."

12781

RE. Bks. on CH.

NYRB. 1/14/73

Harrison B. Salisbury's review of 100 Day War (Cultural Rev. at Tsinghua Unive)

by Wm. Hinton; also by WH, "T.P. in Chi. & Daily Life in Rev. Ch. by Maria Antonietta Macciocci +

also Jonathan Spence reviews stupid bks. on sports, actors, etc

The Long Rev. by Edgar Snow

BUT THE MORNING DELUGE & MAO'S WAY (by Ed. Rice) reviewed by Ross Terrill

Salisbury claims it to be a real (his emphasis) rev., every bit as real as Mao Tse-tung's C-stps in 1949; perhaps, in fact, more real.

As great as [theorist] in his analysis of feudal Ch; As great re as VIL & Stal

"Students impaled each other on spears & hurtled to death from assault ladders. Many died from torture & neglect of wounds; And all of this was done in name of Chmn. Mao... Not until 8/68 was war at Tsingua halted, as Hinton describes when 30,000 Peking wks., unarmed & chanting "Use reason, not violence" managed to move the hysterical student out of their barricades. 5 wks killed & more than 700 wounded by fanatic Red Guards."

"No wonder Han Suyin coins a new word, "action-man" as she weaves the story of the man with that of Ch's modern transformation."

61 yrs. from birth in 1893 in Shaoshan --

(SHE CONSISTENTLY FINDS WARM THINGS TO SAY OF US) ONLY criticism he has of her is denigrations of CP leaders in personal terms

+Han Suyin's sources "are invisible."

The Great Game CH. & RUS by O. Edmund Club

MAO & CH. From Rev. to Rev. by Stanley Karnow

THE SHANGHAI DOCK STRIKE, the 1st overt labor protest to occur in Ch. since the C-ists took power had a contagious effect. p.265: Similar disturbances spread to no. Ch. ports. "Dec. '66

Part V--The Pendulum Swings RED FLAG, 1/5/70 vs. coms. "who tried to put themselves above the party in an attempt to challenge its leadership. This is an expression of reactionary anarchism."

Ch. 18 Dialectics in Action

April 14, 1969 CCP's 9th Congress. Mao on 11/30/67 had said

"Some people say there is no civil war in Ch. But I think this is a civil war. It is not a foreign war. It is a violent struggle."

QQQQ. p.419 SHENG WU-lien accuse Mao of "abstract predictions"

Mao's "dial. thesis": "THE SITUATION WILL IMPROVE WHEN DISORDER HAS REACHED ITS EXTREME."

Ch. 19 The Storm before calm--late 1967 when aid to Vietnam is stopped. Ch. 20--The Road to Recovery

Army takes charge. vs. "mountain-stronghold mentality & anarchism"

SEP. 12, 1971--Stanley Karnow's report of Lin's downfall, etc. in WASH. POST, LL?L) *11/10-27, 1971

Ch. 21--Rejoining the World On July 15, 1971 Nixon announced he

accepted invitation to go to Peking. Publicists had portrayed Nixon till that day as "ugly imperialist chieftain." Mao made it clear even in letters to CC ROP in July 1965 rgr "he would do nothing to deter the US escalation in Vietnam so long as Ch. was not directly threatened." (p. 480 ALSO HE BARRED NO. W/ Aircraft from using Ch. bases for operational purposes lest US invoke act of "hot pursuit." Lin's Long Live the Victory of People's War

"was really an announcement that Ch. had no plans to intercede militarily in Vietnam. *Rev. or people's war in any country is the business of the masses in that country *should be carried out primarily by their own efforts."

Ch's "GREATEST ENEMY." 1st satellite launched in Peking April 1972

Handwritten note: 1/14/73

Handwritten notes: How? (circled), ST P, P, P, P

Handwritten notes: (circled) Mao's dial. thesis, etc.

Handwritten notes: V, H, etc.

Handwritten notes: (circled) Mao's dial. thesis

12782

N.R. 3/15/73

Franklin
edit. - [unclear]

has "Brooklyn Ch. Wall"

has "know" - death my come any

Whatever
alleged assassin - attempted flight
emphasis on "hidden treason" shows awareness of

Sino-Am defense is INSTITUTIONALIZED some
low manner, 1 - are design accident

150 mln sale Boeing aircraft to
transcend values

attempted attack on 9th
at H-H to "each" - offered

dominance in Pacific area

1973
C. News
coming
S. [unclear]

read

173 Commentary

Editorial

FP, 2/19/73 (from London, TIMES, by David Bonavia; Wkend (2/17-18) bet MAO & HK
official announcement, "They had a frank & wide-ranging conversation in an
New Ch. News Agency: UNCONSTRAINED ATMOSPHERE." ADDED that MAO asked
HK to convey his regards to Pres. Nixon. "This aside
was as significant as mtg. itself." FOR IT SET STAGE FOR FURTHER DEV. IN
SINO-AM.

rd RT. IN MIDST OF CULTURAL REV. IT NEVER WAS SEPARATED FROM "PREPARED
NESS AGAINST WAR"--meaning SU. It is only in WE when suddenly Czech invasion
was played up as "reason" for Ch's fear of Sov. encirclement.)

Sulzberger: Now that Sino-Am relationship have also
appreciably improved, PEKING PLAINLY SUPPORTS NATO & IS PLEASED BY POSITIONS
CONTINUE in SU backyard.

Over since New year edit in all 3 main organs: PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG, &
the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY described (1972) as a yr in which CP endured "an
acute & complex class struggle & contention bet. 2 lines... (as well as in
"superstructure") Lin Piao killed Sep. 1971 & Army was singled out now to reform
ITSELF) for "Swindlers of Liu Shao-chi breed" (refers actually to Lin)

WANTED TO CAPITULATE TO SOVIET REVISIONIST SOCIAL IMP. IN AN ANTI CH., ANTI
COUNTER REV. MANNER." They have been constructing VAST EXPENSIVE AIR RAID
SHELTERS IN ALL PRINCIPAL CITIES & IN COUNTRYSIDE AS WELL. Bad harvest in '72

Tricontinental 1966
No. 1

TRICONTINENTAL Jan. '66

PEKING REVIEW, April 29, 1966 Report of Liu Shao-chi's visit to Pakistan. Armed Forces Daily Edit April 18, 1966 (PEKING REVIEW 4/29/66)

Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's
called upon people Thinking; Actively Participate in the Great Socialist
Classes & Class Cultural Rev." (claims this "rev." is 6 yrs. old
struggle. Refers to Sept. 1962, 10th Plenary Session of 8th Central
Comm. Party. Also: "Since Com. Lin Biao took charge of the affairs of the Military
Commission of the CC CCP, he has paid great attention to military
art wk. & given us many imp. instructions. The Res. on Strengthening Pol. & Ideol. of
Armed Forces passed at the enlarged mtg. of the Military Comm. 1960"

"Then there are other wks. concerned only with love & romance, pandering to low
tastes, claiming that 'love' and 'death' are eternal themes. All such bourgeois
revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed!"

DIPLOMAT, Sep. 1966 SPECIAL ISSUE ON CHINA

"China's Power Structure" By Franz Schurmann

"Ch. is today ruled by a trinity of
power: party, govt. and army." "...Ch. C-ists have used
various various means to make certain that none can become an ind. force just
against the others." "Peking has been making intensive efforts in recent yrs. to
build up a new unity within the army. It may now feel confident that this unity
is secure so secure that it has
allowed the army to take the leadership in the current campaign against 'anti-
socialist' elements within the party itself."

like dev.' during the Great Leap Forward wreaked havoc with the financial system.
*****Mao Tse-tung has always been fearful of concentrated but. power. At the
*****present purge may be said to conform to his general approach to politics.

"It is not even out of the ques. that, as a result of the purge, China may move
from a rigid approach to foreign policy to a more flexible approach, based
less on visionary ideology."

"Old Myths & New Realities" by Harold R. Isaacs
"Chiang Kai-shek's maps, as well as Mao's, show a China not as it was under
pressure of foreign power, but as it was in the days of great empire... China, what
its govt., would be an uncomfortable neighbor."

"Marxism and the Middle Kingdom" by Jos. R. Levenson
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"Mao's failure, last yr., to coop. in a
Sov. plan to send a limited no. of Russian troops into to No. Vietnam & to station 50
fighter planes in so. Ch. airfields, provides a striking ex. of Peking's unwillingness
to accept realistic alternatives in a situation of deep concern to the int. C-ist

(Instead Mao evidently asked for opening a "2nd front" by Russia in Europe,
preferably Berlin)

"Sino-Am. Relations" by C. Edmund Clubb

ROLL NO.

...of the New Year edits were: "We must maintain vigilance & sabotage by
handing our class enemies & strike them down."

Everyone from Reston to John R. Fairbank kept saying the greatest fear of
Ch. was Jap. militarism BUT EVER SINCE IT CLASPED HANDS, & FAST WITH UKPAN,
it is clear that actually what Ch. is promulgating now is "nothing more
than a preventive war waged by the SU."

*****JOS. Also reported that
Chou even spoke grimly of Russians "SEEKING TO ORG. SUPPORT" for just such
an attack among other Wes. C-ist countries." *****

NYT --The Wk In Review--2/25/73 had 4 pictures of Mao & N & HK & Br, etc.
"LIAISON" for US & Ch. HK said 1st tangible "peace dividends of cease-fire
is relations with Ch. Last Thurs. (2/22/73) following several days of talk w/
Mao & other Ch. officials, the dividend was declared. IT WAS MUCH BIGGER
THAN HK HAD SUGGESTED WHEN HE SPOKE OF NORMALIZATION---EST'G LIAISON
OFFICES IN PEKING & WASH. --a yr. to the day-- since Nixon's journey to Peking.
The Paris Vietnam conf. is in session --Rogers will
meet with Ch. For. Minister CHI PENG-fei--to settle outstanding claims
by Am. citizens on property seized by Communist govt & resolve
probl. of blocked Ch. assets in US but former is a great deal more than latter

JOS. ALSOP IN NYT MAGAZIN# 3/11/73--1st pf 2 part article on GO VS. NO-GO TH
Also recognizes that only reason for invitation to him was because he
was about only one writing regularly on enormously costly Sov.
military buildup on Ch's national frontier.

3 hr. conversation with Chou
day after arrival, "when the vice-dir. of the For. Ministry's Info. Dept.,
the charming & intelligent MA YU-chen --we talked of nothing but SU--
The same thing wastrue long luncheon with editors of PEOPLE'S DAILY &
HSIN HUA NEWS AGENCY. & again memorable evening with
brilliant VICE MINISTER OF FOR. AFFAIRS, Chiao Kuan-hua--finally climatic
talk with Chou & against same subj. SU. "ALL CONVERSATIONS ABOVE DESCRIBED
WERE UNQUESTIONABLY PLANNED AS A UNITARY PROCESS... designed to expound Ch.
viewpoint about the Soviet threat with exceptional fullness & freedom"
NOT ON RECORD FOR THAT VERY REASON. It was also all but EXCLUSIVE subj.
with Br. & Italian Foreign secretaries--Sir Alec Douglas-Home & Giuseppe Medici
when these too visited Peking.

TIME 3/2/73--HK spent 3 days (19 hrs. of mtgs.) in Hanoi,
(2 1/2 hrs. of mtgs.) in Peking & only 1 day
(2 1/2 hrs. of mtgs.) in Jap. "those marvelous phil. evenings mulling over the
conditions & future of civ. which HK found so warming in Peking" (Hugh Sidney)
WH HSE IN A SECRECY SYNDROME.

Newswk. 3/5/73--
Said one US diplomat "they have arrived at an understanding with Nixon. And
they want to give that some PERMANENCE so that no succeeding Am. can
reverse course." "THE ACCORDS SIGNIFY CH.'s acceptance of Am.'s basic
Asian policy --THE NIXON DOCTRINE-- & Peking's apparent decision to throw its
considerable weight behind the goal of an era of peace in Asia."

Newsweek's For. Ed., Edw. Klein in same issue.

Newswk. 3/12/73 Senior Ed. Arnaud de Borchgraeve

Handwritten notes:
accepts
Nixon
Doctrine
only in Asia
over the line

12783

Tricontinental 66
Jan

TRICONTINENTAL Jan. '66

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preferably Berlin)

Sino-Am. Relations" by C. Edmund Clubb

NYT, 12.5/71 partition, 1947--over since both India & Pakistan consider
1965 war. whole of Kashmir "integral"

Gen. Yahya Khan Remember the promise of God: if you remain steadfast, God will give
Rawalpindi, you glorious victory. God is with us." *Rec'd by [unclear]*

Wash. US says Indians bear main blame, though they admit "the beginning of
the crisis can fairly be said to be the use of force by Pakistan."

NY: UN meets on US's motion--plus vetoes.

Calcutta: India's aim to est. insurgent BANGLA DESH (Bengal Nation)

"My aim is to make the Pakistan armed forces surrender." Lieut. Gen. Ajit Singh
Aurora, Chief of Eastern Command, "to get Bangla Desh to have their own type of govt."

B. M. G. of border tension, JESSORE, strategic target, *1* of largest E. Pakistan's military
5/25 cantonments.

bugan when W. Pakistan troops tried to crush Awami League's victory made Khan CANCEL ELECTION RESOLUTION
Bengali autonomous movements WHICH WON NAT. MAJ. (12/70) *Major Jahan*
New Delhi PM Indira Gandhi's statement to parliament; *Barclay Forces*

10 mln. refugees in India, then speaks of W. Pakistan
"barbarously trampled upon freedom & basic human rights, committed
heinous crimes, unnoted for their vindictive ferocity .2

by James Reston: "What is not understood is the decision of the Indian govt. to use
the brutality of the Pakistanis against their own insurgents as an
excuse for dismembering the Pakistani nation."

re GPCR
Edgar Snow in NY (5/20/63) "most audacious & outstanding of his his life" turning against
Party & doing so sans peasantry except to extent they are in
Army.

CI 6th congress 1/28 "colonies & semi-colonies... represent the world agric. district
& the ind. countries which rep. world city."

ZHDANO / --- Sept. 1947 to set up Cominform & FOR "NE" DIAL."

1959 Fall NR 12/4/71 "Ch: Struggle for Power" by Allen S. Whiting
of P'eng Teh-huiao 1966 Fallsen Liu Shao-ch'i: P'ang Chen, Teng Hsiao-p'ing

Fallen in (1971) with Lin Piao, Huang Yung-sha, chief of staff
Hu Fa-h'sien, Air Force commander
Li Tso-peng, 1st pol. commissar of Navy.
before them, Ch'en Po-ta, alleged spearhead of ultra-left
Long overdue Nat. People's Congress..

Now Chou En-lai + Yeh Chien-ying spokesman for professional PLA, with Kissinger.

ATLAS, 10/71 China-US: Who's Betraying Whom
IL MANIFESTO by Rossana Rossanda & Lucio Magri: "China policy today marks the end of the
illusions of those who believed in the permanent rev., those who believed that the C
opened the phase for the rapid expansion & generalization of the rev. thrust in the
world.... An entire generation of revolutionaries must take a fresh look at things
in the face of the longer, more torturous route which history has taken."
LORDY! LORDY! If these hopes must be abandoned for now it is not because the pol. line
was incorrect; it is not the fault of the Chinese. It is because the rev. forces
in the West are still extremely fragile, because the rev. forces of the 3rd world
was early trampled & because there exist no anti-revisionists forces in the USSR...
Their (Chinese) formula "everyone must rely on his own forces" is not a manifestation
of their tactical disengagement, but strategic choice."

12786

LOOK 10/3/67 "Tension on the China-Sov. Border" by A. Doak Barnett

Territory w. of Sinkiang absorbed in Russia.

World lat learned of border issues early in 1963. Khr. on 12/12/62 asked why did not Ch. do anything about Macao & Hongkong, to which People's Daily on 3/8/63 editorialized about 9 "unequal treaties". Since revealed they had raised territorial issues in 1954 & again in 1957 that in 1963 a serious incident occurred in Sinkiang in July 1962. Turkic people-Muslims from 1944 to 1949 Rus. backed a separatist movement in the Ili region of Sinkiang province. Special "rights" Stalin had in Manchuria & in Por Arthur & Darian not relinquished until 1955. "But by 1963 as a result of the Sino-Sov. dispute the Ch. decided deliberately to revive the past." On 7/10/64, in interview with Jap. Socialists, Mao raised legitimacy of ENTIRE SOVIET FAR EAST --100's of th. of sq. miles of Soviet territory.

RECENT maps have shown a 700 kilometer section of the Sinkiang-Sov. border as underlined & Ch. maps cont. so is the entire no. Manchurian border east to the junction of the Amur & Ussuri rivers "undemarcated". While Ch. relinquished claims with Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan & even Outer Mongolia, S. U. ALONE the territorial claims are pressed.

MR Sept. 1967 reprints April 1967 (Introd. to the Norwegian translation to China: The Outer Communism by K.S. Karol "The Cultural Rev. will last a 100 yrs.", proclaim the Chinese..... claims gone "no longer talks of civil war" among West since 2nd 1/2 of 1966 rev. Sinologists & pro-Soviet interpretations "completely disproved by the dev. of Ch. situation."

"to inculcate in all citizens the altruist & collectivist mentality deriving from the new morality formulated by Mao." Q with approval the (Fr.) sinologist Leon Vandermeersch: "The economy of the Ch. civ. was thus built on an ideological centralization as extreme as the decentralization of the state. The 400 mln. subjects of the Emperor Tsing in the 19th c. were governed less by the intervention of some tens of ths. of mere functionaries than by the EMPIRE OF IDEAS..." Exprit, 3'67

chik (at one stage of his life he had even been seriously rebuffed by the bur. of The Cominter & by his own Party)....." "Mao Tse-tung, never an apparat-

A reading of Maoist proclamations in the Cultural Rev. even gives the impression that Mao would like to institutionalize disobedience of superior authorities, thus erecting a permanent barrier against the men in power. "If the 'thought of Chairman Mao' cannot be criticized, the legitimacy of the Ch. Rev. & the socialist perspective that it has opened before the country cannot be questioned either."

!!!!!! Experience has shown that for a Chinese, & above all, for a Communist Chinese it is morally impossible to show 'Down with Mao Tse-tung' just as it would be impossible for a priest to shout 'Down with God'!!!!!! "THE SLOGAN OF THIS REMARKABLE REV."

Mao to CC CPSU "The ques. of who is right & who is wrong cannot be decided by a maj. of voted when what is at stake is the basic principles of M-L."

+++++++ ***** ++++++

ATLAS, Sept. 1967 "Red Russia-Red China: The Bristling Border" by Hugo Portisch chief ed. of Vienna Kurier

Also "Nuclear Triumph: How China Did It" by David Rousset Sinkiang pop., 4 mln., mostly by minorities resisting Sinicization. "anti-cities" strategy vs. "anti-forces" strategy.

12787

C.P. came in Mar., as witness JCP conf. with Liu Shao-ch'i, Peng Chen, Teng Hsia-
JCP all C-ist nations should close ranks in support of Vietnam; they agreed, but
Mao was opposed. Almost immediately after this mtg. the cultural rev. erupted
Peng purged in June, Liu in July.

To make his nationalism prevail over
Liu's internationalism, Mao once again assumed direct leadership of the
country. with cultural rev. Plan seems to have been discarded; same pattern
followed in Great Leap

Plan had been based on domestic peacetime conditions
expectations, but now fear of ~~external~~ war is in air...