

PEKING REVIEW

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Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Visit To Pakistan

Support for American People's Struggle
Against U.S. War in Vietnam

*Protests Against Indonesian Rightists'
Anti-Chinese Outrages*

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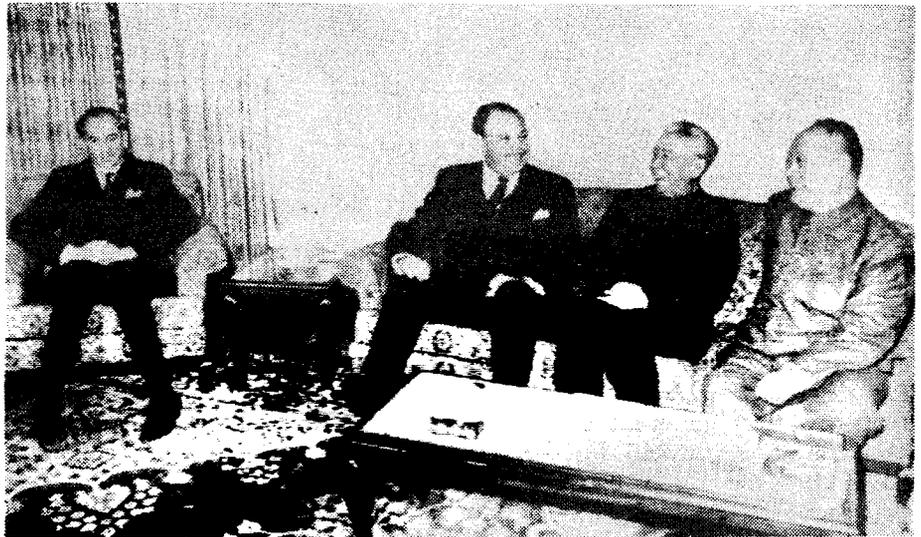
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Chairman Liu Shao-chi Visits Pakistan

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi and his wife Wang Kuang-mei, accompanied by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and his wife Chang Chien, arrived in Rawalpindi, interim capital of Pakistan, on March 26 on a friendship visit at the invitation of President Ayub Khan. They received a tremendous welcome. Almost the entire population of Rawalpindi—400,000 strong—turned out to greet their Chinese guests.

Symbolic of the growing friendship between China and Pakistan, the welcome was, as the *Pakistan Times* said, "a spontaneous and heartfelt demonstration of the popular sentiment here for a great and friendly neighbour." A Pakistan Press Association reporter wrote: "Old residents of Rawalpindi never witnessed such a grand and fabulous reception for a visiting head of state as was received by Liu Shao-chi." It was, he added, "a people's welcome to a visiting dignitary from a neighbouring country with which Pakistan not only has age-old ties but which stood by Pakistan through thick and thin."

Based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, Sino-Pakistan relations have greatly developed over the last few years. During the recent Indian aggression against Pakistan, the Chinese Government and people stood firmly on the side of justice and this, as President of the West Pakistan Muslim League Malik Khuda Bakhsh said, "won deep and indelible affection and high regard which will never fade, come what may." The Urdu daily *Anjam* wrote: "At the time of the Indian attack, China boldly stood by Pakistan and unequivocally supported the just cause of the Kashmiris. This will be remem-



Chinese and Pakistan leaders meet. From left to right: Foreign Minister Z.A. Bhutto, President Ayub Khan, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Vice-Premier Chen Yi

bered by all posterity in our country." It is on the basis of this mutual help and understanding and a common desire to work for world peace that China and Pakistan have forged a deep friendship. "No intrigue, threat or pressure," said the paper *Ta'Meer* editorially, "can stand in the way of the ever-increasing mutual friendship and co-operation" between Pakistan and China.

Welcome to Rawalpindi

The special plane carrying Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his party landed in Rawalpindi at 10 a.m. When he alighted from the plane and walked on to the red carpet rolled out for him, President Ayub Khan stepped forward to greet him. A 21-gun salute boomed out and the band played the national anthems of China and Pakistan. After reviewing the guard of honour, Chairman Liu was introduced to the government officials, members of the National Assembly and other prominent people. Some presented Chairman Liu with garlands woven with gold and silver

thread, others presented white scarves embroidered with the Chinese characters "Long Live Pakistan-China Friendship." Shouts of friendship burst from the huge welcoming crowd as Chairman Liu, accompanied by President Ayub Khan, drove to the city.

The morning drizzle, which at times became a torrent, could not dampen the enthusiasm of the throngs who had waited for hours to welcome the Chinese visitors.

Gradually, the sky turned bright and the sun shone on the gaily decorated streets. Red and green bunting and the national flags of the two countries fluttered all along the route to the Guest House. Strung across the streets were big streamers bearing slogans in Urdu and Chinese: "Welcome to Chairman Liu Shao-chi!" and "Long Live Afro-Asian Solidarity!"

As the motorcade drove past, the people on both sides greeted Chairman Liu and his party with stormy cheers. Many rushed forward to

shake hands with the Chinese guests in the cars and young women showered them with flower petals. Dancers and musicians performed, and the sound of hand-drums and pipes were intermingled with thunderous shouts of "*Pak Chini Dosti Zindabad*" (Long Live Pakistan-China Friendship). While great crowds lined the streets, thousands more watched from windows or roofs and trees, waving flags and cheering Chairman Liu. It was, as the Pakistan press reported, "a mass welcome in its real sense" and an "unprecedented reception."

State Banquet

In the evening President Ayub Khan gave a banquet in Islamabad, capital of Pakistan, in honour of Chairman Liu and his party. In his speech of welcome, the Pakistan President pointed out that Chairman Liu's visit was an event of historic significance and would further enhance the friendship between the two countries. He said: "The people of Pakistan remember with deep gratitude the support they received from the Government and people of China in that hour of trial. The ties of friendship between our two countries have been further reinforced as a result of the just stand that your great country has taken on the question of the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination and in upholding the struggle of our people to safeguard their political independence and territorial integrity." Stressing that Sino-Pakistan friendship was not based on expediency, the President added: "I must reiterate on this occasion the firm belief of my Government and the people of Pakistan that in order to reduce world tensions and attain durable peace in the world, the People's Republic of China must be accorded its rightful place in the comity of nations. It is inconceivable that 650 million people should be prevented from pursuing a beneficial intercourse with the rest of mankind, and the world denied of the indispensable contribution that they can make to the cause of peace and just solutions to the great problems which confront mankind."

Chairman Liu in his speech thanked the President and the Pakistan people for their warm welcome and magnificent reception. He reiterated China's firm support for Pakistan's defence of its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for the Kashmir people's struggle for the right to self-determination. (For speech see p. 5.)

Talks Between Leaders

Shortly after his arrival, Chairman Liu Shao-chi called on President Ayub Khan for talks at the Presidential House. The talks were continued the next day. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi had talks with Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on March 27.

At Islamabad on the evening of March 27, Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi gave a banquet in honour of President and Madame Ayub Khan. Proposing a toast, Chairman Liu once again expressed his thanks to the President and to the Pakistan Government and people for their hearty reception. He said: "We have held talks with His Excellency President Ayub Khan. The talks have been harmonious and successful. The friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries have been satisfactory. There is every favourable condition for the further development of these relations. On the one hand, in the fields of national construction and foreign policy, we require of each other nothing particular other than unity against aggression; on the other hand, we have no intention whatsoever to do you harm, nor do you, we believe, have any intention to do us harm. The basic policy of both sides is a policy of equality, mutual benefit, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Therefore, there is no reason why our friendly



A dance performance to welcome Chairman Liu

relations cannot continue to develop. I have full confidence in the further strengthening of the friendly relations between our two countries."

Meeting Kashmir Public Leaders. While in Rawalpindi, Chairman Liu met four Kashmir leaders on March 27 and had a friendly conversation with them. The leaders were: Sardar Abdul Qayum, Ali Muhammad Kanwal, Raja Mohammad Aslam Khan and Maqbool Shah.

Chairman Liu's visit to Pakistan was warmly greeted by Kashmir public leaders. In a message broadcast by Azad Kashmir Radio, Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir, hailed China's leaders who, he said, had given unstinted and open-hearted support to the Kashmir people in their struggle for freedom.

Banquets for Japanese and Vietnamese Comrades

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held a banquet on March 27 in honour of the

(Continued on p. 15.)

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Speech

— At Pakistan State Banquet Given by President Ayub Khan —

Your Excellency Respected President Mohammad

Ayub Khan,

Dear Friends,

This is my first visit to your country. Upon our arrival in Rawalpindi, we were accorded a rousing welcome by you and by thousands upon thousands of people. And this evening His Excellency the President is holding this grand banquet for us. We are overwhelmed by your magnificent reception and enthusiastic welcome. I would like to take this opportunity to express hearty thanks to His Excellency the President and to convey the cordial greetings and high respects of the Chinese people to the fraternal Pakistan people.

We are very glad to see that in recent years the friendly relations between our two countries have made great progress. We have smoothly settled the boundary question left over by history and steadily strengthened our friendly co-operation in all fields. We have given each other sympathy and support in the struggle against imperialism and expansionism and in defence of national independence and world peace. Last year, when Pakistan was subject to India's armed attacks, its Government, people and army put up a heroic resistance and dealt a heavy blow at the aggressors. The Chinese Government and people firmly supported Pakistan in its righteous fight against aggression. Recently when the imperialists and their collaborators were vilifying China without scruple and attempting to form a ring of encirclement against China, the Pakistan Government sternly refuted the nonsense about China's threat to the subcontinent, thus expressing the firm will of the Pakistan people to maintain friendship with the Chinese people. Facts show that despite the different political and social systems of our two countries, it is entirely possible for us to develop our friendly relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. These relations are in the fundamental interests of our two peoples. We firmly oppose aggressors. We support all peoples who fight against aggression. We are determined to support and assist their struggle to the best of our capability. The Pakistan people can rest assured that, when Pakistan resolutely fights against foreign aggression in defence of its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the 650 million Chinese people will stand unswervingly on their side and give them resolute support and assistance.

We have always held that the Kashmir dispute should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmir people. Any attempt to deprive the Kashmir people of their right of self-determination or to bury the Kashmir question will neither be countenanced by the Kashmir people nor by the Pakistan people. President Ayub Khan has of late repeatedly stated that the Pakistan Government will not change its position on the Kashmir question and will continue to support the Kashmir people in their struggle for freedom. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the righteous stand of the Pakistan Government and the just struggle of the Kashmir people for their right of self-determination.

The present international situation presents a very complicated picture. Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are engaged in sabotage and trouble-making everywhere. They have incessantly carried on subversive activities and engineered reactionary coups d'etat in Afro-Asian countries. They thought that by following this reckless course they could frustrate the Afro-Asian peoples in their united revolutionary struggles against imperialism. However, what they have been doing are acts of desperation, which show their weakness. A most eloquent case in point is the U.S. aggression against Vietnam. In this war of aggression and resistance to aggression, the truly powerful are the Vietnamese people who adhere to their just stand, and not the U.S. aggressors who only look strong. It is a foregone conclusion that U.S. imperialism is bound to fail and Vietnam is bound to win. The struggle against imperialism and colonialism constitutes the main stream in contemporary world politics. No matter how complicated the situation may be, the main stream and its direction are clear. The wheel of history will only move forward and cannot be turned back. The frantic counter-attacks by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will inevitably meet with speedier, more disastrous defeats in the face of the awakened and united Afro-Asian peoples. We are convinced that the Afro-Asian peoples will surely win final victory in their struggles in defence of national independence against aggression.

Your Excellency Respected President! As a friendly neighbour, we are glad to see that Pakistan, under your leadership, has pursued an independent policy and enabled constant progress in the friendly relations between our two countries. Last spring, we had the pleasure of receiving Your Excellency when you paid

a visit to China. I hope that our present visit, like your visit to China, will contribute to the further strengthening of the friendly relations between our two countries.

I propose a toast

to the prosperity of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the well-being of its people,

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RENMIN RIBAO

Unite to Combat Imperialism and Defend Peace

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi, at the invitation of the heads of state of Pakistan, Afghanistan and other countries, has left for Pakistan, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, and has thus begun his friendship visits to China's Asian neighbours. With boundless joy, the Chinese people warmly hail Chairman Liu Shao-chi's tour abroad and wish him every success.

China has friendly relations with Pakistan, Afghanistan and other neighbours. History has not only recorded China's traditional relations of friendship with its many neighbours in the past, but has written very vivid and rich new chapters of friendship since the 1950's. China has steadily developed its relations of friendship and co-operation with many of its neighbours on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. In a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, China has smoothly settled with Pakistan, Afghanistan, Burma and Nepal boundary questions left over from history, thus establishing, one after another, international boundary lines marking peace and friendship on the Asian continent. There has been an unending flow to each other's country of government and non-government representatives from China and many of its neighbours. China's economic and cultural exchanges with them are becoming more and more frequent. These relations of friendship and co-operation between China and other Asian countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan included, have set a shining example for the new type of relations of equality and friendship between nations.

A Principle of China's Socialist Foreign Policy

Ever since its founding, the People's Republic of China has steadfastly pursued a socialist foreign policy of peace and a policy of amity with its neighbours. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, clearly announced: "The People's Re-

to the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples,

to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,

to the health of His Excellency President Mohamad Ayub Khan and Madame Ayub, and

to the health of all our friends present here!

public of China consistently seeks to establish and develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and carries out a good-neighbourly policy towards all our neighbouring countries." The Chinese Government and people have always remained steadfast to this principle of their socialist foreign policy.

China and the other Asian-African countries have common interests, namely, to oppose aggression and intervention by imperialism and by all alien forces, develop their national economies and engage in peaceful construction. They have every reason to support and assist each other in their common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Naturally, all other Asian and African countries which favour peace and follow an independent policy have established relations of equality and friendship with China. It is very natural, too, that the peoples of Asia and Africa seek friendship with China. The friendship between the Chinese and other peoples of Asia and Africa can never be disrupted by imperialism, nor by any reactionary force.

At present, imperialism headed by the United States is launching frantic attacks on the Afro-Asian peoples. The imperialists have engineered a series of reactionary military coups d'etat in Africa and launched counter-attacks against the independent African countries and the African people in an attempt to reduce the independent African countries to colonies again. In Asia, U.S. imperialism has sent more than 200,000 troops to prosecute an inhuman war of aggression against the south Vietnamese people and used a large number of pirate aircraft to wantonly bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. U.S. imperialism is still actively expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam. It is making efforts to turn Laos into a secondary battlefield of its aggressive war against Vietnam. Through its Thai and south Viet-

name puppet troops, it has repeatedly conducted provocations against and intrusions into Cambodia. Not long ago, it aided and abetted the Indian expansionists to launch armed aggression against Pakistan and thus disrupted peace on the sub-continent. In addition, U.S. imperialism has been ceaselessly plotting subversive conspiracies against Asian countries in order to dominate them again. It is the most brutal aggressor in the world today and the most ferocious enemy of the people of Asia and the world.

In the face of the attacks by the imperialists headed by the United States, it is necessary for the Asian and African countries to strengthen their cause of unity against imperialism and increase mutual support and co-operation in order to defeat every imperialist onslaught, advance the Afro-Asian peoples' anti-imperialist struggle and defend their independence and sovereignty. Thanks to their geographical proximity, the Asian countries share a higher degree of common weal and woe and there is all the more reason for them to unite to face the enemy in countering the intervention, subversion and aggression by imperialism and its lackeys.

China Firmly Supports All Just Struggles

The anti-imperialist struggles waged by the peoples of the world form an inseparable whole, as do the anti-imperialist struggles of the Asian peoples. The Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country is in itself a support and assistance to the other peoples of the world, and above all to the other Asian peoples. It can be said that the independence and sovereignty of other Asian nations would face a graver menace from U.S. imperialism were it not for the heroic resistance of the south Vietnamese people to the U.S. aggression. The brilliant victories won by the Vietnamese people in their struggle are also victories for the other peoples in Asia and throughout the world. Likewise, the Kashmir

people's struggle for self-determination, the Pakistan people's struggle against aggression, and the Cambodian and Laotian peoples' struggles against aggression and intervention all contribute positively to peace in Asia and the world.

The resistance to aggression is inseparably connected with the defence of peace. To safeguard peace in Asia and the world, it is imperative to resolutely oppose and check aggression. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has stated explicitly that "the Chinese people regard the victory of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the anti-imperialist struggle as their own victory and give warm sympathy and support to all their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles." This just stand of China will be immovable under any circumstances. It is from this principled stand that the Chinese Government and people firmly support the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country, the Laotian and Cambodian peoples' struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention, the Kashmir people's struggle for self-determination, the Pakistan people's resistance to the Indian aggressors and all just struggles waged by other Asian peoples to uphold their independence and sovereignty.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi is now bringing the 650 million Chinese people's most cordial and sincerest feelings of friendship to the people of Pakistan, Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries. We are confident that Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit will further strengthen the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and its neighbours and enhance the friendship existing between the Chinese people and other Asian peoples. It will certainly make a new major contribution to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism and to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

("Renmin Ribao's" editorial, March 27.)

Rousing Welcome for Japanese Communist Party Delegation

THE growing solidarity between the Communist Parties of China and Japan and the militant friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples were further demonstrated at the mass rally held in Peking on March 26 in honour of the visiting Japanese Communist Party delegation headed by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Party.

Among those present were Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, and Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the

Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

Paying tribute to the Japanese Communist Party, the Japanese working class and the Japanese people in the name of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the entire Chinese people, Peng Chen in his speech hailed the Japanese Communist Party as a glorious Marxist-Leninist Party, as the defender of the interests of the Japanese working class and the Japanese people. He said:

"Holding aloft the banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism and striving for national independence,

holding aloft the banner of revolution, the great and heroic Communist Party of Japan stands in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. Uniting all the democratic forces of Japan opposed to U.S. imperialism and monopoly capital, it has fought unswervingly for the fulfilment of the great historic mission of building an independent, democratic, peaceful and prosperous new Japan."

"The Japanese Communist Party," Peng Chen continued, "is worthy of the name of a firm and highly militant vanguard of the proletariat, a battalion of proletarian internationalists and revolutionary patriots."

Referring to the struggle against modern revisionism, Peng Chen declared:

"Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Japanese Communist Party has carried on protracted struggle against Khrushchov revisionism, the main danger in the international communist movement. It has exposed and condemned the Khrushchov revisionists' criminal activities to subvert the Japanese Communist Party and sabotage and split the Japanese democratic movement. It has firmly expelled the traitors Shojiro Kasuga, Tomochika Naito, Yoshio Shiga and Shigeo Kamiyama, agents of the Khrushchov revisionists in Japan."

Attempt to Build a Cordon Round China

Peng Chen denounced the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union for hastening to fall in with the U.S. imperialists' strategic plans and to collude with the Japanese reactionaries, in the vain attempt to build a cordon round socialist China.

"These criminal activities which are against communism, against China, against the people, against the revolution and against Marxism-Leninism, will certainly go completely bankrupt," he said.

Peng Chen described the Japanese nation as a great nation which will by no means allow the U.S. imperialists to ride on its back for long.

"We are convinced," Peng Chen stressed, "that the Japanese people are able to drive U.S. imperialism out of their country. An independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous new Japan will certainly arise."

Hailing the growing strength and influence of the Japanese Communist Party, Peng Chen added:

"The Communist Party of Japan has grown enormously in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and modern revisionism. It has consolidated and expanded its ranks and strengthened its unity. Both at home and abroad, the prestige and influence of the Party are growing with each passing day."

"The great successes of the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese people in their revolutionary

struggles," Peng Chen pointed out, "are a tremendous inspiration and a valuable support for the Chinese people, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary people in the world as a whole."

A Pointed Warning

Peng Chen said that the brilliant victories of the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country once again provided eloquent proof that the chieftain of imperialism, U.S. imperialism, with all the latest types of weapons, could be defeated, and that the revolutionary people who persisted in people's war and opposed the imperialists' aggression were unconquerable. He warned:

"If the U.S. imperialists are adamant in carrying on their war of aggression in Vietnam, if they insist on 'escalating' the war and on imposing war on the Chinese people, well, let them just come and try. It can be stated with certainty that this will only expedite the destruction of U.S. imperialism."

On the question of the unity of the Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties, Peng Chen emphasized that this unity "is built on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism." He explained: "Our two Parties resolutely oppose modern revisionism, the main danger in the international communist movement. At the same time we also oppose modern dogmatism. Our two Parties and the peoples of our two countries always support and encourage each other. The Chinese and Japanese peoples have built up a profound and militant friendship, through prolonged struggle against their common enemies. In the years to come, the Chinese people will continue unswervingly to support the great revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people."

Kenji Miyamoto in his speech pointed up the fact that the Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties had a traditional friendship which had been tempered in the flames of prolonged struggle.

He expressed thanks to the Communist Party and people of China for their constant and profound friendship and their ardent support for the Japanese people under the semi-occupation of U.S. imperialism, in their struggle for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and a better life.

The Japanese Communist Party and the politically conscious democratic forces of Japan, Kenji Miyamoto added, are firmly opposed to the U.S. imperialist policy of "containing" China through the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

"We have consistently opposed the plot to create 'two Chinas' and resolutely supported the just demand of the Chinese people for the liberation of Taiwan. We strenuously accuse Japan's ruling class, allied to and under the thumb of U.S. imperialism, of complicity in the U.S. imperialist policy of 'containing' China."

Dealing with the current situation in Japan, Kenji Miyamoto stated: "Today, Japan is vigorously unfolding

a struggle between the two roads which Japan can take. One road is for the Japanese people to strive for the country's independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and a better life. The Japanese Communist Party and Japan's politically conscious democratic forces stand together at the forefront of the struggle.

"The other road is to submit to the United States and to revive militarism. This is the road being advocated by U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

"The first road means uniting the Japanese workers, peasants and people of various strata and, taking unity of the broad democratic forces as the basis, to establish a democratic coalition government under a national democratic united front against two major enemies, U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. To march forward victoriously along this road will mean dealing a serious blow at U.S. imperialism's scheme to use Japan as its main base for aggression against Asia, drawing Japan into its aggressive war and making Asians fight Asians. This is the road turning Japan away from being a U.S. imperialist aggressive base into becoming a stronghold for friendship and unity with the people of China and other nations in Asia. It is the road to building Japan into an independent, democratic, peaceful and prosperous country, the road to victory for the new people's democratic revolution against imperialism and monopoly capital.

"We are firmly convinced that the struggle between the two roads will bring final victory to the Japanese people. We will continue to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, consolidate our Party's ranks and staunchly carry through the struggle to the end."

The People Are United

Peking Rally Greet's American People's Struggle Against U.S. Aggression In Vietnam

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

LAST Sunday afternoon's mass rally at Peking's Workers' Gymnasium will long be remembered. With 16,000 Peking citizens and friends from five continents present, and hundreds of thousands throughout China listening to the live radio broadcast, it was an impressive demonstration that in the struggle against U.S. imperialism the hearts of the peoples beat as one.

April 1, 1966

Kenji Miyamoto lashed out at U.S. imperialism for its dirty war of aggression against Vietnam and paid high tribute to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. He added:

"This struggle is writing a brilliant page in the history of great revolutionary struggles in the 20th century. The Communist Party of Japan will, as always, firmly support the four-point proposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation."

Kenji Miyamoto expressed profound respect for the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people for their all-out support to the Vietnamese people. He condemned the modern revisionists who apologized for U.S. imperialism's war of aggression in Vietnam. He said: "To ensure victory in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression, it is essential to oppose modern revisionism, the main danger in the present international communist movement, while guarding against dogmatism and sectarianism.

"On this question, the Japanese and Chinese Communist Parties have rich experience. We ourselves, in particular, launched many struggles theoretically and ideologically after we were flagrantly attacked and interfered with by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Khrushchov, and we began an all-out counter-attack.

"In the course of the brutal aggressive war carried out by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, the fundamental error of the modern revisionists in prettifying U.S. imperialism has been exposed to the people of the world. More and more people are firmly joining the ranks of the struggle against U.S. imperialism."

Speaker after speaker — Chinese, American, Vietnamese, Japanese, Laotian, Somali, Colombian, British and Australian — rose to acclaim the mounting revolutionary struggles in America and throughout the world. They also proclaimed the truth that in their just war the Vietnamese people are bound to win and U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated.



A view of the packed Workers' Gymnasium during the rally

Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee, in his speech affirmed the Chinese people's backing for the American people in their fight against imperialism in their own country. Their present struggle, he said, demonstrated that on the Vietnam question the American people stood on the side of the Vietnamese people and not on the side of the U.S. Government. This was a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism and a powerful support and an encouragement to the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle of the Vietnamese and other peoples of the world.

Liao Cheng-chih said that U.S. imperialism was deliberately trying to spread the flames of war to all Indo-China and directing its main spearhead against China. In preparing a war of aggression against China, U.S. imperialism was doing its utmost to whip up anti-China hysteria. "We would like to ask: As between China and the United States, who is indeed threatening whom, and who is the victim? China has never sent a single soldier into U.S. territory, while U.S. imperialism is today still occupying China's territory of Taiwan and continuously encroaching on China's territorial waters and air space. Recently, U.S. imperialism has gradually shifted the focus of its global strategy from Europe to Asia and, by enlisting the services of the modern revisionists, the Indian reactionaries and the Sato government of Japan, has sought by every means to organize a ring of military encirclement round China. The reason why U.S. imperialism harbours such an inveterate hatred for the Chinese people is simply that China is the major obstacle to its policy of aggression and war."

Liao Cheng-chih said: "U.S. imperialism is attempting to intimidate us by containment, isolation and military threats. But it has misjudged its opponent."

"Whatever underhand means U.S. imperialism may use, the 650 million Chinese people will never retreat

a single step from their just stand of firmly supporting the people of the world in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people are resolved to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Chinese people know how — in different circumstances and by different means — to teach the U.S. aggressors a lesson and give the fraternal Vietnamese people the most effective support and help," he declared.

Liao Cheng-chih said that Johnson, who had stained his hands with the blood of the Vietnamese people, could not deceive the Vietnamese, American and other peoples with his fraudulent "peace talks." "There is only one way to settle the Vietnam question," he went on, "that is, U.S. imperialism must accept the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, withdraw all the U.S. and satellite armed forces from south Vietnam, cease all its acts of aggression against the whole of Vietnam, recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people and leave it to the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs."

Noting that U.S. imperialism had never been so isolated and burdened with so many troubles at home and abroad, Liao Cheng-chih concluded: "At present, a worldwide new revolutionary storm against U.S. imperialism is rising. The international united front against U.S. imperialism is daily developing and becoming strengthened. The American people's struggle against the imperialism of their own country is an important part of this international united front." "We are firmly convinced that the great American people will eventually become masters of their own country.

This is the irreversible trend of history, not to be arrested by any force on earth."

Nancy Milton, an American living in China, declared that in their current anti-war movement, the American people were directing their attack upon the main cause of war in the world today — U.S. imperialism.

She said: "The American people are beginning to understand the real nature of the system which is the enemy of all the people of the world, including the American people themselves. It is the same murderer who has on his hands the blood of the Vietnamese people and the American soldiers sent there to kill them. It is for this reason that the struggle to end the war in Vietnam has taken root among the American people."

She pointed out that in both depth and magnitude, such a struggle was unprecedented in the history of the United States. "The Vietnam war," she said, "is a war which serves the global political ambitions and economic interests of a handful of Americans; for the rest it can only mean death, higher taxes and the anger of the whole world. The American people are not willing to pay this price to ensure greater profits for a few monopolies."

Nancy Milton pointed out that the present anti-war movement in her country "is the key which is beginning to open the way to a clearer analysis of all of the basic problems which plague America — not only war, but poverty, unemployment, inflation, oppression of the Negro people, denial of intellectual freedom and the total commercialization of human life. This is why, in spite of all opposition and repression, in spite of all attempts to undermine and dilute it, the struggle will continue to develop in both size and clarity."

She denounced the Johnson Administration's scheme to extend the war of aggression in Vietnam to other parts of Indo-China and to ring China with military bases. She said: "There has been a long history of friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. Today, there are growing numbers of Americans who support the revolutionary progress of China. They will never agree to a counter-revolutionary crusade against China."

Nancy Milton pointed out: "The U.S. imperialists find that they are not strong enough to carry out their counter-revolutionary campaigns alone. They need all the help they can get, and they have found the modern revisionists to be reliable allies."

"Within the anti-war movements in various countries, including the United States," she went on, "revisionists attempt to divert the clear demands of the people for the U.S. to get out of Vietnam to the same

so-called discussions which Johnson himself is trying to put over. But they, like the Soviet Union, try to sound as if they are giving complete support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people while at the same time they attempt to sell it out."

Le Tung Son, Acting Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in China, hailed the surging struggle throughout the United States against the Johnson Administration's war of aggression as "a brilliant manifestation of the militant unity between the Vietnamese and American peoples."

"We will never confuse the peace- and justice-loving American people with the bellicose American ruling clique in power," he said.

"We, the south Vietnamese people, are well aware of the international duty we shoulder. We are determined to carry the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the liberation of south Vietnam through to the very end and to give active support to the liberation movements of oppressed nations everywhere in the world. We are resolved to defeat the U.S. imperialists, who have provoked the aggressive war in south Vietnam, and to contribute to the defence of peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and throughout the world."

Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to China, paid warm tribute to the American people for their resolute struggle against the dirty war in south Vietnam and the bombing and strafing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

He told the rally that the American people had fought for their liberation from the shackles of British colonial rule, for the emancipation of the slaves and against racial discrimination, shed their blood for democracy, freedom and justice, and written the first page for May 1 as International Labour Day. Such a people would certainly not stand with folded arms and let themselves be dragged off by a handful of war maniacs to serve as cannon-fodder in a country thousands of miles away.

The Ambassador declared: "The Vietnamese people are determined to fight to the end so as to completely defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, to defend the north and liberate the south and to reunify the fatherland, and to contribute to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world."

Other speakers who addressed the rally were: **Ichiryo Sunama, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan; Phayboune Pholsena, President of the Laotian Women's Federation; Mohamed Ali Dad of Somalia; Ricardo Samper of Colombia; Rose Smith of Britain; and Flo Russel of Australia.**

Salute to the American People

THE American people on March 25 and 26 turned a new page in the annals of their struggle against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. On these two days, wide sections of the American people went into the streets, and by concrete actions and unmistakable political slogans made clear their attitude towards the U.S. Government which persists in its aggression against Vietnam: They oppose this dirty colonial war.

This noble action is a heavy blow to the Johnson Administration and its policies of war and aggression. It is also a powerful support for the Vietnamese people who are holding high the banner of struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The American people's redoubled and persistent struggle within the reactionary bulwark of U.S. imperialism has won the admiration and acclamation of all countries and people who cherish peace, oppose aggression and uphold justice.

The raging flames of the American people's campaign against Washington's war of aggression in Vietnam were lit in February last year. For more than a year, this nationwide campaign has been forging ahead with greater momentum and it has now taken on new characteristics.

U.S. Imperialism As the Target

First, the struggle is directed explicitly against U.S. imperialism.

Anti-war movements have taken place in American history on many occasions. Since the circumstances of each war differed, the nature and scope of the anti-war movement varied; mostly, it took place before the outbreak of a war. During the U.S. war of aggression against Korea, there were anti-war actions, but they were opposed to war in general. Now, as the U.S. dirty war in Vietnam goes on, the campaign against it is becoming wider and deeper with each passing day. Although the sponsors of the campaign represent different organizations, and their political stand is not completely the same, the spearhead of the struggle has begun to be directed against the Johnson Administration's policy of aggression abroad and against the U.S. imperialist system. Such slogans as "Defeat the Whole System of U.S. Economic and Political Exploitation, Upon Which the War in Vietnam Is Founded" have appeared. This is something new on the American horizon and indicates that the American people are awakening.

A Broad Mass Character

Second, the struggle has a broad mass character; it is growing more intense and is taking on a variety of forms.

In the past year and more, an increasing number of organizations and people have taken part in the struggle, which has spread over ever larger areas. The forms it has taken are: demonstrations, rallies, protests, distributing propaganda leaflets, refusing to be drafted, hunger strikes and Americans burning themselves to death. Thus, the struggle has developed into a momentous campaign. The participants also have made known the stand of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to the American people and launched a propaganda campaign among American soldiers in Vietnam by calling on them to refuse to take part in this war of aggression. This all the more underlines an important development in the American people's movement against the Vietnam war.

There is a profound reason why an increasing number of Americans are taking part in the movement against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. U.S. aggression in Vietnam is also a challenge to them. Every time the Johnson Administration takes a big step forward in the escalation of war, this involves further sacrifices for the American people. As Johnson put it, they will have to shed "more blood, sweat and tears" on the "long and hard road" in Vietnam. The American people are clearly aware that while launching aggressive war abroad, U.S. imperialism is bound to exploit and plunder the people at home more ruthlessly. Therefore, their struggle will gradually become more widespread as the war of aggression in Vietnam is escalated.

Merging With the Negro People's Struggle

Third, the Negro people's struggle begins to be merged with the movement against the aggressive war in Vietnam.

Slogans against the aggressive war in Vietnam have appeared in the Negro people's struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights. Likewise, American Negroes have become an important force in the ranks of the movement against the war in Vietnam. The gradual merger of the mounting anti-war movement with the developing Negro people's struggle is an important indicator that the American people are growing in strength. The Negroes are on the bottom rung of the ladder in American society: enslaved, oppressed and discriminated against. An important revolutionary force in the United States, they have become increasingly aware that the ringleaders who send troops to launch aggression against Vietnam and who encroach on the interests of the great majority of the American people are at the same time their oppressors. Their slogans are: "Vietnam and Watts — It's the Same Struggle!" "We Won't Go" to Vietnam! There is no doubt that the awakening of the

American Negroes, the steady advance of their struggle and the closer association of this struggle with the campaign against the war in Vietnam will push the American people's revolutionary movement to a new phase.

The vigorous growth of this campaign is a manifestation of the daily sharpening of the class struggle and the national struggle within the United States. Those in the United States who benefit from the aggressive war are the U.S. ruling class. On this score, the interests of the masses of the American people and of the ruling group are diametrically opposed. Therefore, so long as the Johnson Administration persists in its war of aggression against Vietnam, these contradictions will be further aggravated. These ever sharpening contradictions resemble a volcano whose lava is churning beneath the surface daily, and today U.S. imperialism is sitting on such a volcano.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that U.S. imperialism has done many bad things to the whole world, and that only the U.S. ruling group is bad, while the people of the United States are very good. The people of the United States are a great people with a militant

tradition and revolutionary spirit. The rise of the movement against the Vietnam war in the United States today proves once again that the American people can distinguish between right and wrong, differentiate friend from foe, and dare to struggle. In the last analysis, those who are really powerful in the United States are not the U.S. ruling group which controls the state machine but the American people who are increasingly awakened, united and persisting in struggle. The future of the United States certainly belongs to the American people.

The Chinese people always regard the American people as their friends. U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of both peoples. The Chinese people give their militant salute to the American people who oppose the war of aggression against Vietnam. They firmly believe that by uniting with the heroic Vietnamese people and with all other people of the world who oppose aggression and cherish peace, the American people will frustrate the Johnson Administration's adventurous scheme for further aggression against Vietnam and for a wider war.

("Renmin Ribao's" editorial, March 27.)

Old Tune, New Plot

by OBSERVER

RECENTLY, Johnson and some U.S. government officials under him suddenly struck up the old tune of "improving" relations with China. The United States, so they say, "stands ready to take up a more flexible position" with regard to China; it does not wish to "isolate [China] from the rest of the international community"; "the United States is holding the door open for peaceful relations with China"; it is "very anxious to try to have more contact with her and more exchange with her"; and "must take every opportunity to show our friendship for the Chinese people"; and so on and so forth. In a word, it sounds as if the U.S. ruling circles are really thinking of making a fresh start in their policy towards China and living amicably with the Chinese people. These blasts of "goodwill," set off by Washington at a time when U.S. imperialism is working more energetically than ever to direct the spearhead of its aggression at China, are quite absurd and ridiculous.

Washington's Words and Deeds — Poles Apart

For 16 years, U.S. imperialism has consistently followed a policy of hostility towards China, and throughout these years it has never stopped its aggression and threats against this country. It has been occupying China's territory, Taiwan Province, by force and has used the Chiang Kai-shek gang to usurp

China's seat in the United Nations. It has imposed an embargo against this country and built a string of military bases around it. It has unceasingly sent secret agents to carry out subversive activities and sabotage against China. Its warships have violated China's territorial waters and its aircraft have intruded into China's air space on countless occasions for military provocations. What U.S. imperialism has done clearly shows that it is the sworn enemy of the Chinese people. The policy of the U.S. Government towards China has remained the same from Truman and Eisenhower down to Kennedy and Johnson. The present Johnson Administration has not, in the least, changed the U.S. policy of hostility, aggression and "containment" in relation to China. In fact, it pursues this policy in a more brazen and truculent manner. It publicly declares that China is the "principal enemy" of the United States. It has switched the emphasis of its global strategy to Asia, speeded up its military dispositions to encircle China and is feverishly planning to carry the war of aggression from Vietnam to China. Top U.S. military and civilian officials even openly talk about a trial of strength with China. What the Johnson Administration is earnestly doing and what it is now prattling are poles apart.

U.S. Secretary of State Rusk kept a straight face when he stated that the United States is going to

follow a "flexible policy" with regard to China. If, by this, he means that the U.S. Government is now resolved to redeem its past wrongs, that would be a different matter. But it may be recalled that, a little over two years ago, the then Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Hilsman also spoke volubly of the "flexibility" of United States China policy and indicated that the United States would "open the door" to China. However, events in the past two years have proved that the basic U.S. policy of hostility towards China remained unchanged. Hilsman's "flexibility" was no more than a smokescreen. Now Rusk is harping on the same old theme, but it is of no earthly use.

True Meaning of "Flexible Policy"

As a matter of fact, Rusk himself added an enlightening footnote to his "flexible policy." He said: One. The United States is "not prepared to surrender" Taiwan. Two. The United States will not change its attitude towards the restoration to China of its legitimate seat in the United Nations. This means that the United States will go on occupying China's territory and that it will cling to its position of hostility towards China. In short, the United States will not depart a whit from its fundamental China policy. The "flexible policy" is only for the purpose of making the Chinese people abandon their just stand in face of the U.S. policy of aggression and "containment." Rusk stated explicitly that peaceful relations can be established only if China changes its attitude. This lets the cat out of the bag and shows what the U.S. "flexible policy" really means.

But, according to U.S. Vice-President Humphrey and others, Washington's China policy is nevertheless about to undergo a major change and this change is said to be one from "containment through isolation" in the past to "containment without isolation." Listen, Chinese people! The American gentlemen have kindly decided not to "isolate" us any longer. Should not this move us to tears of gratitude?

Why the Present Din?

The United States has been "isolating" China for 16 years. U.S. ruling circles have never veered from their belief that China must and can only be "contained through isolation." According to Johnson and company, China has become the principal enemy of the United States. Does it not then follow that there is all the more need for the United States to "isolate" China? Again, according to Johnson and company, China now suffers "set-backs" everywhere and is plagued by misfortune. Does it not then follow that there is still greater possibility for the United States to "isolate" China? But why should Washington choose this particular moment to din into people's ears that it does not intend to "isolate" China any longer? The China experts testifying in the U.S. Senate have given the answer. They have grudgingly admitted that "the 17-year-old American policy of 'containment

plus isolation' has not worked." So an effort is made to gloss over the failure of their policy of "isolating China."

Are the U.S. ruling circles really abandoning their policy of "containment plus isolation," after all? It is common knowledge that, in addition to whipping up a campaign against China in all parts of the world, the United States is redoubling its efforts to form an anti-China front in Asia with the Soviet revisionists, Japanese militarists and Indian reactionaries as its core. This indicates that U.S. imperialism intends to carry on its policy of "containment plus isolation" with still greater vigour, something which Johnson and company cannot cover up with all their talk about "flexibility."

To demonstrate their "sincere desire" to "improve" Sino-American relations, the U.S. Government has, not long ago, kicked up a rumpus over the interflow of people between the two countries. It has proposed more than once that Chinese and American correspondents visit each other's country. In addition, departing from its customary practice, it has indicated that it would permit some American physicians, scientists and other scholars to visit China. The American propaganda machine pitched in and played this up as if the United States honestly wanted to "ease" its relations with China.

The Source of Sino-American Tension

Everybody knows that the cause of the continued strained relations between China and the United States has nothing to do with the fact that no American doctors have come to China to study its medical and health conditions, nor with the fact that no Chinese correspondents have gone to the United States to report on the American way of life. The source of all the tension springs from the extremely hostile policy that the U.S. Government persistently pursues towards China, and primarily because the United States is forcefully occupying China's province of Taiwan. So long as the U.S. Government does not change its hostile policy towards China and refuses to pull its armed forces out of Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits, the normalization of Sino-American relations is entirely out of the question and so is the solution of such concrete questions as exchange of visits between people of the two countries. But what is the attitude of the Johnson Administration to this? Dean Rusk stated bluntly not long ago that the answer to the demand for U.S. evacuation of Taiwan is "No, we are not prepared to do so." This reveals that the steps the U.S. Government proposes for an "improvement" of Sino-American relations are just so many petty actions announced with much fanfare to fool the public.

Feigning Retreat for Another Onslaught

It must be pointed out that, in feigning eagerness to "improve" Sino-American relations the U.S. ruling circles are merely manoeuvring a "retreat" for another onslaught. Determined to widen the war in Vietnam,

the Johnson Administration is rushing up the path of "escalation" and preparing to expand its aggressive war to all parts of Indo-China, and even to China. This adventurous policy has caused grave anxiety and widespread censure at home and abroad. Johnson and his like have therefore come out with this new gesture to ease public opinion at home and abroad, and lay the blame of what they call "Sino-American confrontation" at the door of the Chinese people. They fondly hope that, in this way, they will be able to distract public attention from the stepped-up U.S. deployments for aggression against China. Surely nobody will allow himself to be fooled by such dual counter-revolutionary tactics used by the Johnson Administration. Could it be that the eastward shift of the focus of the U.S. global strategy and the U.S. military build-up around China are not for aggression against China, but for the "improvement" of Sino-American relations? Could it be that while working feverishly to escalate its aggressive war in Vietnam one step after another, the United States is not preparing for a trial of strength with the Chinese people, but for the "improvement" of its relations with China? Could it be that the United States recently concluded the so-called "agreement on military status in China" with the Chiang Kai-shek gang not for the purpose of taking further steps to turn China's Taiwan Province into its colony and military base, but for the "improvement" of its relations with China? Judging their words by their deeds, one can easily see that in the mouths of Johnson and his kind, all such expressions as "a flexible policy," "without isolation" and "more contact" are only pretences for intensifying the U.S. "containment" of China.

Far-Reaching Aims

This is not all. The Washington authorities have far-reaching aims behind their pose of "relaxation." They do not even bother to conceal the fact that they are still dreaming of an eventual "peaceful evolution" in China and that they are still placing their hopes on its "younger generation." They are vainly hoping to bring about such "evolution" through certain measures of "relaxation" and "flexibility." Their mouthpiece, the *New York Times*, has clearly revealed this design when it said in an editorial: "The day when that group

comes to power might very well be hastened by an American policy that offers an 'open door' to contact and accommodation." The U.S. imperialists think that by making some "contact" and "visits," they can weaken the revolutionary will of the great Chinese people and shake their firm stand of combating U.S. imperialism and supporting the revolutionary struggle of all peoples. This is sheer day-dreaming. The American rulers have spent so many dollars to gather intelligence about China, but their knowledge about China is nil. What a pity!

The Chinese people have seen through clearly the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. It will never lay down its butcher's knife and will never become a Buddha. Nor is it ever possible for U.S. imperialism to abandon its policy of hostility towards the Chinese people particularly today when it regards the Chinese people, who hold aloft the revolutionary banner of opposing U.S. imperialism, as the main obstacle to its counter-revolutionary global strategy for the domination of the world. The Chinese people are sober-minded. They will never be frightened by U.S. imperialism's threats, nor will they believe in its "fine words." The Johnson Administration had better keep all its tricks to itself!

The Chinese people have always drawn a distinction between U.S. imperialism and the American people. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "The Chinese people know that United States imperialism has done many bad things to China and to the whole world as well; they understand that only the United States ruling group is bad, while the people of the United States are very good." There is a profound friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. We Chinese people understand full well the American people's desire for resuming contact with us. But, we will not, and we cannot, allow the U.S. ruling group to exploit this justified desire of the American people for its own sinister ends. We are convinced that some day the Chinese and American peoples will smash the schemes of the U.S. reactionaries, sweep away all obstacles and truly establish close contact so as to bring about a tremendous growth of the friendship between our two peoples.

(*"Renmin Ribao," March 29.*)

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

Japanese Communist Party delegation headed by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Party. The delegation had returned to Peking on March 21 after a visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., and other leaders attended the banquet.

On March 22, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. gave a banquet for the delegation of the Vietnam Workers' Party led by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and other leaders were present. The Vietnam Workers' Party delegation visited China on March 22-25. During the visit, a C.P.C. delegation headed by Chou En-lai had talks with the Vietnamese comrades which were marked by fraternal friendship.

U.S. Unmanned Spy Plane Downed

A unit of the Chinese Air Force shot down a pilotless high-altitude U.S. imperialist spy plane over southwest China on March 23. This was the ninth such plane downed since November 1964.

Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, issued an order on the same day commending the unit for its victory.

U.S. Chemical Warfare in South Vietnam Condemned

The March 24 statement of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs strongly condemns the monstrous crimes of U.S. imperialism in massacring the people of south Vietnam with toxic chemicals and poison gas.

U.S. imperialism, the statement points out, is day-dreaming to think that it will be able to intimidate the Vietnamese people and save itself from defeat by using these inhuman means. The more barbarous and savage it grows, the firmer will be the Vietnamese people's determination to fight, the more active will be the people of the world in supporting their just struggle, and the quicker will be the thorough defeat of U.S. imperialism.

IN its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is growing more and more rabid in using various kinds of toxic chemicals and poison gas to inhumanly massacre the people in southern Vietnam. On March 13 and 22 the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam respectively issued statements, in which they cited many facts, strongly denounced this crime of U.S. imperialism before the whole world and called on the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world to stay the murderous hands of the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The Chinese Government and people firmly support this just stand of the Vietnamese people and condemn with extreme indignation the monstrous crimes committed by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people.

Over the past few years U.S. imperialism has all along been using toxic chemicals and poison gas as a means of war in its aggression against southern Vietnam. It has become more and more brutal in massacring the Vietnamese people as it meets with increasingly disastrous defeats on the south Vietnamese battlefield and accelerates the expansion of the war. Particularly of late, in the large-scale "mopping-up" operations launched in southern Vietnam it has been using toxic chemicals and poison gas more and more frequently and on an increasingly extensive scale. What is more, the Johnson government has openly announced that poison gas is regarded as a "basic standard weapon" of U.S. units in their "mopping-up" operations and will continue to be used in large quantities. This fully shows that U.S. imperialism has grown insensately barbarous in its war of aggression against Vietnam.

The crimes committed by U.S. imperialism in southern Vietnam have once again unmasked the

Johnson government. Since the Honolulu conference, the Johnson government has continued to pretend by all means that it has a "sincere desire" for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question and has even fitted itself out as a philanthropist by declaring itself for a "social revolution" and an "attack on hunger and disease" in south Vietnam. But at the very same time U.S. imperialism has increased the barbarity of its war of aggression in south Vietnam by spreading many kinds of highly concentrated toxic war chemicals and poison gas, massacring large numbers of peaceful inhabitants, poisoning countless draught animals and destroying over hundreds of thousands of hectares of crops. These facts demonstrate that all the hypocritical words and peace tunes of the Johnson government are only an accompaniment to its vicious massacre and barbarous war. People can see clearly from numerous sanguinary facts that one absolutely must not entertain any illusions about the U.S. imperialists, who are bloodthirsty gangsters, but must carry on the fight against them resolutely to the end.

History shows that, in the face of their approaching doom, all decadent reactionary forces invariably resort to the most ruthless and despicable means in putting up a last-ditch struggle. The frenzied use of toxic chemicals and poison gas in southern Vietnam by U.S. imperialism in disregard of world condemnation is also an indication of its extreme weakness. U.S. imperialism thinks that it will be able to intimidate the Vietnamese people and save itself from defeat by using these inhuman means. This is a sheer day-dream. Facts will run counter to the wishes of U.S. imperialism. The more barbarous and savage it grows, the firmer will be the Vietnamese people's determination to fight, the more active will be the people of the world in supporting their just struggle, and the quicker will be the thorough defeat of U.S. imperialism.

Protest Against U.S. Bombing of Chinese Mission in Laos

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in its March 25 statement, strongly protested against U.S. aircraft bombing of the premises of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Khang Khay. It pointed out that the U.S. imperialists and their followers must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from this barbarous crime.

ON the morning of March 24, four U.S. jet planes once again wantonly bombed the city of Khang Khay and the premises of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Laos. Buildings of the Chinese mission were destroyed and heavy losses were suffered in property. This is an act of provocation committed by U.S. imperialism in collusion with the Laotian reactionaries. The Chinese people express extreme indignation at this grave provocation.

In the course of expanding the war in Indo-China, U.S. imperialism has time and again made Chinese

diplomatic missions in Laos targets of its attack. The Chinese Government has served repeated warnings over this. But the U.S. imperialists and their followers, far from paying any heed, have become still more rabid in bombing Chinese diplomatic missions in Laos. This constitutes a deliberate provocation to the Chinese people. It is an account which must be settled. The Chinese Government strongly protests against this barbarous crime of the U.S. imperialists and their followers and solemnly points out that they must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.

Foreign Ministry Note

Protest to Indonesian Government Against Anti-Chinese Outrage

- **Armed hooligans organized by the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces on March 24 raided the residence of the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta and kidnapped its personnel.**
- **The Indonesian Government bears the unshirkable responsibility for this barbarous anti-Chinese outrage.**

In the early hours of March 27 Hsu Ching-wu, Deputy Director of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summoned Djawoto, Indonesian Ambassador to China, and handed him a note (dated March 26) which reads in part as follows. — Ed.

AT 01:00 hours on the morning of March 24, 1966, more than 20 armed hooligans organized by the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces, including four fully armed soldiers with parachute and double wing badges and blue military caps with double rifle insignia, attacked and searched the residence of the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta in Kramap VIII. Carrying rifles, pistols, iron bars and clubs, the hooligans smashed up the doors and windows of the

residence of the Consulate-General, broke into the house and ransacked the rooms. They assembled and detained in one room Wu Peng-teh and Li Huan-chuan, staff members of the Chinese Consulate-General, and their dependants, 12 persons in all, who lived in the residence, forcibly searched their person and carried away their identity papers and notebooks and the keys to the residence rooms.

In order to cover up their crime and evade responsibility after the wanton raid and search, the hooligans produced a document prepared beforehand, which they tried to force Wu Peng-teh and Li Huan-chuan to sign and which would recognize that they "have neither hurt anybody nor taken away anything." They threatened to shoot Wu and Li if they refused to sign, and declared that they would occupy the house no matter

whether the latter signed the document or not. Wu Peng-teh and Li Huan-chuan categorically rejected the unreasonable demands of the hooligans and strongly protested against their outrages. One hooligan pointed a pistol at Wu Peng-teh and menaced, "Sign, or I will shoot you." Wu Peng-teh sternly replied, "Shoot if you dare." Another hooligan seized Li Huan-chuan by the coat-breast, saying, "You rascal are as bad as Radio Peking." "Take care, we'll kill you if Radio Peking broadcasts that we have taken away your things." "These two rascals are very bad, they know how to resist," and "Drag them to a secluded place and shoot them." But the threats of the hooligans did not have any effect and finally they could not but say that "if you do not sign, we won't be able to face our superiors."

At 03:40 hours the hooligans forcibly took Wu Peng-teh and Li Huan-chuan to the Army Command Headquarters of the Fifth Military Area. At about 04:00 hours a 2nd lieutenant and two soldiers of the Indonesian army escorted them to a guard house. At 09:00 hours they were escorted back to the Command Headquarters of the Fifth Military Area for illegal interrogation. It was not until about 12:00 hours, after repeated challenges and protests by Wu Peng-teh and Li Huan-chuan, that the Command Headquarters of the Fifth Military Area dispatched a 2nd lieutenant to escort them to the gate of the Chinese Embassy, where they were released.

After Wu Peng-teh and Li Huan-chuan were kidnapped, the hooligans occupied the residence of the Consulate-General. They covered the walls of each room with vicious anti-Chinese slogans, many of which were flagrant abuses against the beloved leaders of the Chinese people, and put up a plate of the "Indonesian Youth and Students United Action Command" (KAPPI) at the gate. The dependants of the personnel of the Consulate-General were forcibly shut up in the house and forbidden to come out.

Upon receiving a report at 10:00 hours on the same day, the Chinese Embassy sent people to make serious representations with the Indonesian Ministry of

Foreign Affairs and police authorities. But both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the police authorities tried to evade responsibility. It was not until the afternoon that the hooligans evacuated the residence of the Consulate-General after the Chinese Embassy had sent people to protest and make representations with the Command Headquarters of the Fifth Military Area.

This is another grave encroachment on a Chinese mission by the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces.

Since last October there has been a string of incidents in which the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces rabidly attacked the Chinese missions in Indonesia and savagely beat up Chinese diplomatic and consular personnel with increasing ferocity. This time, the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces flagrantly made the raid on the residence of the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta during the curfew hours declared by the Djakarta Dwikora Administrator, and with the participation of armed soldiers. The Army Command Headquarters of the Fifth Military Area illegally detained personnel of the Consulate-General for as long as eight hours. This shows how brazen the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces have become in their outrages of encroaching upon the privileges of Chinese missions, trampling on the principles of international law and undermining the relations between China and Indonesia. The Indonesian Government bears the unshirkable responsibility for this barbarous anti-Chinese outrage. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against it.

The Chinese Government sternly demands that the Indonesian Government immediately make a public apology for this incident, punish the culprits and their instigators, see to it that the seized papers and other articles are returned, compensate for all the losses, guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents and effectively ensure the safety of the Chinese missions and their personnel. The Chinese Government demands a speedy reply from the Indonesian Government.

Chinese Embassy Note

Protest Against Restrictions on Chinese Consulates in Indonesia

The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, in its note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry dated March 26, pointed out that the Chinese Consulates in Bandjarmasin, Makasar and Medan have been repeatedly raided and damaged by Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces and the functioning of the Consulates has been unreasonably restricted. As a result, they cannot carry on their normal work, and since March 26 have temporarily suspended

their work which is now temporarily under the charge of the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta. The note reads in part as follows.— Ed.

SINCE February 1966 the Chinese Consulates in Bandjarmasin, Makasar and Medan have successively received notifications from the local Dwikora administrators to limit the functioning of the Consulates. The

Consulates were then immediately subjected to many restrictions, including the following: The Chinese Consuls must get permission and passes from the military authorities in order to leave the city confines or to go to other places on official mission. The military authorities in Sumatra lay down the rule that the Chinese Consul must notify the Commander of the Second Military Area when he leaves the Consulate. The Bandjarmasin military authorities even require that the Chinese Consul and the consulate personnel must report to the military security authorities every time they go out, not excluding visits to government authorities on official business or to the market for shopping. The Chinese Consul could not leave for the airport to see his wife off before he reported to the military authorities and got a pass. In his notification to the Chinese Consul in Medan, the Sumatra Defence Zone Commander has brazenly stated that "an officer will be posted in the residence and office of the Consulate to keep watch on and register every visitor." The local authorities of Bandjarmasin have dispatched troops and police to set up a checkpost in the vicinity of the Chinese Consulate, where they question every Chinese national going to the Consulate on business, register his name and even search his person.

It should be pointed out in all seriousness that the Indonesian Government and the local authorities concerned have the unshirkable responsibility for protecting the Chinese Consulates and their personnel. But in no circumstances should they adopt various unreasonable restrictive measures in the name of "protection." The above restrictions on the three Chinese Consulates constitute a gross encroachment on the privileges of the consular missions, a serious interference with their nor-

mal functioning and a flagrant violation of international law and practice. They are seldom seen in international relations and have placed an extraordinary obstacle to the relations between China and Indonesia. The Chinese Embassy hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indonesian Government against them.

In view of the fact that the Chinese Consulates in Bandjarmasin, Makasar and Medan have been repeatedly raided and damaged by the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces, that the safety of the Chinese Consuls and consulate personnel has been seriously threatened, and that the normal functioning of the Consulates has been unreasonably restricted and the consular privileges wantonly encroached upon, so that the above three Consulates cannot carry on their normal work, the Chinese Embassy is authorized to state that the Chinese Consulates in Bandjarmasin, Makasar and Medan will temporarily suspend their work as from today, that the Consuls and the consulate personnel have been ordered to withdraw to Djakarta and that the consular work in the above three consular districts will temporarily be under the charge of the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta. The Embassy demands that the Indonesian Government adopt measures to repeal all the unreasonable restrictions placed on the above three Consulates and ensure the safety of the Consulates and their personnel so as to enable them to go back and carry on their work. During the temporary absence of the personnel from the three Consulates, the consulate premises and property will be looked after by our appointed personnel. The Embassy requests the Indonesian Government to ask the local authorities concerned to give them protection.

Protests Against the "Temporary Closure" of The Hsinhua Office in Djakarta

Foreign Ministry Note

Early on the morning of March 28, Hsu Ching-wu, Deputy Director of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, summoned Djawoto, Indonesian Ambassador to China, and handed him a note of the Ministry dated March 27, protesting against the "temporary closure" by the Indonesian Government of the Djakarta Office of the Hsinhua News Agency. The note reads in part as follows:

ON March 25, 1966, the Indonesian Government brazenly announced the "temporary closure" of the Djakarta office of the Hsinhua News Agency, the revocation of the press cards of its correspondents, an end to all its activities in news reporting and the stoppage of the publication of its news release. **This is**

another grave step deliberately taken by the Indonesian Government to undermine the relations between the two countries. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a serious protest with the Indonesian Government against it.

Since the drastic change in the Indonesian political situation last October, the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces have incessantly attacked and persecuted the Djakarta office of the Hsinhua News Agency and frenziedly clamoured for "smashing the Hsinhua office." This has been an important part of their wild campaign opposing China and discriminating against the Chinese nationals. On March 9 this year, they even employed barbarous fascist means and organized a raid on the Hsinhua office by a large number of hooligans, who smashed up and set fire to the office and beat up and

injured Chinese correspondents and functionaries. The Chinese Government lodged the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against that raid, but the latter has so far failed to give a reply. Now, the Indonesian Government has gone to the length of closing down the Hsinhua office. This indicates that it has taken another most serious step in deliberately undermining the relations between the two countries.

The Indonesian Government has made various groundless charges against the Hsinhua office, describing its reports as "unfriendly propaganda campaign" and "interference in Indonesia's internal affairs." These charges are wholly tunes sung by the reactionary Right-wing forces; they are solely vicious slanders worthy of no refutation.

The Hsinhua News Agency has always upheld truth and respected facts in its reporting. Since October last, a drastic change has taken place in the Indonesian political situation and the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces have stirred up large-scale waves opposing China and discriminating against the Chinese nationals. This has been extensively covered and commented on by the news agencies of all countries. It is perfectly proper and unimpeachable for the Hsinhua News Agency to make objective reports based on the facts.

The Indonesian Government has created some pretexts for closing down the Hsinhua office. It asserts that this is a "safety measure" taken in view of the resentment of the Indonesian "masses" against the Hsinhua office, and that it is done to "prevent the further worsening of the amicable relations between the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China." These pretexts are most ridiculous. To put it bluntly, what the Indonesian Government refers to as "masses" is merely the handful of Right-wing reactionaries in Indonesia. What it refers to as a "safety measure" for the Hsinhua office is to expel it. And by "preventing the further worsening of the amicable relations between the two countries" it means accelerating the sabotage of the relations between the two countries. All these falsehoods can deceive no one and only reflect the hollowness of your position. Your closure of the Hsinhua office is an utterly unpopular step.

The Chinese Government has to warn the Indonesian Government: Your unwarranted action of closing down the Hsinhua office further damages the relations between the two countries and will have serious consequences. For this the Indonesian Government must bear full responsibility.

Hsinhua Statement

The Hsinhua News Agency issued a statement on March 25, protesting against the Indonesian Government's arbitrary announcement of the "temporary closure" of the Hsinhua Branch in Djakarta. The statement reads in full as follows:

ON March 25, 1966, the Foreign Ministry of the Indonesian Government, in its notification to Chang Hai-tao, Head of the Djakarta Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency, arbitrarily announced the "temporary closure" of the Djakarta Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency, the revocation of the press cards of its correspondents in Djakarta, an end to all their news reporting activities and the stoppage of the publication of the news release in Indonesia by the Djakarta Office. The Hsinhua News Agency hereby lodges a strong protest against this serious step deliberately taken by the Indonesian Government to disrupt relations between the two countries.

The Djakarta Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency was founded in 1954. In the past 12 years, it truthfully, accurately and fully reported the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle to combat colonialism and neo-colonialism, safeguard their national independence and win democracy and progress, and the strengthening and

development of the militant friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. Through Hsinhua news release in Djakarta and Hsinhua news photos, this Branch acquainted the Indonesian people with China's reconstruction and development and the surging anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles in the world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular, as well as the sympathy and support expressed by other peoples of the world for their revolutionary struggle. Hsinhua news reports had been widely used by the Indonesian press, and Indonesian people of all walks of life had warmly praised and expressed deep appreciation for the work of the Hsinhua Branch, regarding it as one of the powerful links in strengthening the bond of friendship between the people of both countries.

By unwarrantedly and forcibly closing the Hsinhua Branch, the Indonesian Government has now cut off this link of friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples, thereby seriously undermining relations between the two countries. This act, which runs counter to the aspirations of the broad masses of the Indonesian people, will only help imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular.

Actually, since the drastic change in the political situation in Indonesia in October, 1965, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have whipped up a rabid campaign against China and Chinese nationals in Indonesia, and against the Communists and the people. They

have unceasingly attacked and persecuted the Hsinhua Branch, and shrieked that they would "smash" it.

Since last October, the Hsinhua Branch's tele-communication contacts with its home office had been cut several times and its news release had been held up. On October 30, 1965, a detachment of the Indonesian Army, with loaded guns, suddenly encircled the Hsinhua Branch. They climbed over the wall and got into the compound, harassing personnel and making trouble for 90 minutes. Later, the Indonesian Army posted armed personnel and plain-clothes men to keep the Hsinhua Branch under constant watch. On March 9, 1966, the Indonesian reactionary forces went so far as to organize hundreds of hooligans to make a savage raid on the Hsinhua Branch. These hoodlums shouted such wild slogans as "Smash the People's Republic of China" and "Kill you all," beat and wounded three Hsinhua correspondents (including Chang Hai-tao) and two other staff members, set fire to the Branch's office and wantonly smashed and took away office property. This outrage, rarely seen in the history of international relations, shows that the Right-wing reactionary forces of Indonesia have become extremely truculent in their anti-China activities. **All this proves to the hilt that the vilification, persecution and the eventual closing down of the Hsinhua Branch is a component part of the anti-China scheme of the Right-wing reactionary forces of Indonesia. They must be held fully responsible for all these outrages against the Hsinhua Branch.**

In order to close down the Hsinhua Branch, the Indonesian Government invented various pretexts, describing Hsinhua reports as "instigations," "hostile propaganda," "tending to interfere in the internal affairs of Indonesia" and what not. All these are outright vilifications.

Since October last year, the Hsinhua News Agency has given objective coverage to the Indonesian situation; each and every item of its reports has its source and is based on hard facts. In reporting the extremely serious incidents of opposing China and persecuting

Chinese nationals that have taken place in Indonesia, we, as a matter of course, should have published the relevant notes of the Chinese Government, and we are absolutely justified in doing so. Organs of progressive public opinion in the world have every right to report the true state of affairs and comment on the outrageous actions of the Right-wing reactionary forces of Indonesia. It is most ridiculous for the Indonesian Government to describe such reports as "instigations" of dissension, "hostile propaganda" and "interference in internal affairs." When announcing the closure of the Hsinhua Branch, the Indonesian Government brazenly alleged that it was "preventing the further worsening of the amicable relations between Indonesia and People's China." This is a sheer deception. Everybody knows that it is the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces, supported by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, that have disrupted the friendly relations between the peoples of China and Indonesia. These Right-wing reactionary forces shouted "Long live the United States" while they fiercely attacked communism and China. They have committed numerous crimes against China and the Chinese nationals in Indonesia. **It was precisely for the purpose of upholding the two peoples' unity against imperialism and their militant friendship that the Hsinhua News Agency has exposed their rabid anti-China activities and their schemes to undermine the friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples.**

It is our firm belief that in spite of the closure of the Hsinhua Branch, no force on earth can undermine the long-standing, great friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. To uphold truth and justice is our unshakable stand. As in the past, we will continue to support the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the safeguarding of national independence and for the winning of democracy and progress. The voice of truth cannot be shut off. A just cause is bound to win!

The Voice of Truth Can Never Be "Shut Down"!

THE Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces, while engaging in frantic anti-China activities, have in recent months launched a wild campaign against China's news agency and radio broadcasting station. The Right-wing papers have long been shouting for the expulsion of the Hsinhua correspondents. The Indonesian Journalists' Association, controlled by the Rightists, has also issued a statement asking the government to "expel" the Chinese correspondents. And sure enough, on March 25, the Indonesian Government obeyed the orders of the Right-wing reactionary forces and announced the "temporary closure" of the Djakarta

branch of the Hsinhua News Agency. The Chinese people express their great indignation at this action.

The Djakarta branch of the Hsinhua News Agency, ever since its establishment, has consistently engaged in truthful and accurate reporting, with a view to helping the Indonesian people's struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and in defence of national independence, and to strengthening the militant friendship between the two peoples. The Hsinhua branch has consistently maintained this stand for 12 years. Its service has been highly appraised by Indonesian people in all walks of life. However, the Indo-

nesian Right-wing forces in recent months have persistently attacked and persecuted the Hsinhua branch in Djakarta. Now the Indonesian Government has flagrantly closed it down. For what reason? It is simply because our correspondents have reported the many atrocities against the Communists, against the people, against China, and against the Chinese nationals perpetrated by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces after the September 30 incident. It is alleged that such reporting by the Chinese correspondents is "slander" against the Indonesian Republic, constitutes "instigation" of dissension, "hostile propaganda," and "interference in internal affairs," is "undermining" the friendly relations between China and Indonesia and "damaging the international prestige of Indonesia." This is sheer nonsense, an absolute reversal of right and wrong.

Everybody can see that a violent anti-communist, anti-people storm has swept Indonesia in the wake of the September 30 incident. The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces launched an unprecedentedly massive campaign of persecution and suppression against the Indonesian Communist Party and other progressive forces. They have massacred scores of thousands of people, arrested hundreds of thousands more, and stirred up everywhere anti-communist hysteria. All these facts are known to the whole world; they have been reported by the news agencies of many countries. Why are the Chinese correspondents alone forbidden to report them? Is it conceivable that these anti-communist, anti-people sanguinary atrocities, rarely seen in Indonesian history, which the Right-wing reactionary forces are committing, are good deeds, while the factual reports by Chinese correspondents are "slanders"?

It is also common knowledge that **while committing atrocities against the Communists and against the people, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces whipped up an evil storm against China and against Chinese nationals.** The Right-wing forces have turned on their propaganda machine full blast to grind out an anti-China hullabaloo and instigate racist sentiments. They have organized anti-China demonstrations in various parts of the country. They have rounded up hooligans to attack and ransack overseas Chinese associations, wreck overseas Chinese schools and shops, loot the property of overseas Chinese and burn their houses. They have even beaten up, abducted and murdered Chinese nationals. They have openly sent armed troops and directed thugs to raid the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, the Commercial Counsellor's Office, the various consulates, and the Hsinhua Djakarta branch; they have damaged buildings of Chinese diplomatic missions in Indonesia and wounded Chinese diplomats and newsmen. With the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces so wildly attacking China and persecuting overseas Chinese, why shouldn't the Chinese correspondents, it may be asked, report these events truthfully? Is it conceivable that all these monstrous anti-China atrocities by the Indonesian

Right-wing are "justified," while the Chinese correspondents' coverage of them is "hostile propaganda" and is considered criminal?

The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces' atrocities against China and against Chinese nationals are a flagrant outrage against international law; they are fascist acts pure and simple. **In the face of the bloody reality of the frantic anti-China campaign and persecution of overseas Chinese in Indonesia, any honest correspondent with a sense of justice cannot shut his eyes and remain silent, least of all China's own correspondents.** The Chinese correspondents have every right and every obligation to report to the whole world the racist line pursued by the Indonesian Right-wing forces. This is perfectly justified and completely natural.

If there is anyone who has "vilified" the Republic of Indonesia, "undermined" Sino-Indonesian friendly relations and "damaged" Indonesia's international prestige, it is obviously the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces and nobody else. We have not interfered in Indonesia's internal affairs, but on the contrary, the Indonesian Government has interfered in the internal affairs of the Chinese press in an attempt to deprive it of its right to report the true facts.

Frankly speaking, the reports by Chinese correspondents of the atrocities that have occurred in Indonesia against the Communists, against the people, against China, and against the Chinese nationals are far from adequate when compared with the magnitude of these atrocities. We have sent out not too many but too few reports. Up till today, the Chinese press has not even published a single commentary on the change in the situation in Indonesia in the recent months. The Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces rabidly attacked the Chinese news agency and its correspondents and, acting on orders, the Indonesian Government closed down the Hsinhua branch office—all for the purpose of gagging others while the Right-wing forces commit their towering crimes. However, it will be absolutely futile for anyone to try, by any means whatsoever, to deprive the Chinese newsmen of their right to report the true facts. **The Indonesian Government can shut down the Hsinhua branch office as it wishes, but it can never "shut down" the voice of truth.**

In ordering the closing down of the Hsinhua branch office in the heat of the savage anti-China campaign launched by the Right-wing reactionary forces, the Indonesian Government obviously wants to deliberately worsen the state relations between China and Indonesia. **We want to say to the Indonesian Government that you have gone far enough in this direction. If you continue to slide down this road of worsening the relations between our two countries, then you must be held completely responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.**

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, March 30.)

Peking Review, No. 14

The Great Lessons of the Paris Commune

—In Commemoration of Its 95th Anniversary—

by CHENG CHIH-SZU

This is the 95th anniversary of the great uprising of the Paris Commune. In this issue [No. 4, 1966] we publish a commemorative article entitled "The Great Lessons of the Paris Commune."

The most fundamental principle of the Paris Commune is the use of revolutionary violence to seize power, smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie and practise the dictatorship of the proletariat. Upholding or betrayal of this principle has always been the fundamental difference between Marxists on the one hand, and opportunists and revisionists on the other.

The principle of the Paris Commune, advanced by Marx and Engels on the basis of the experience and lessons of the Commune, constitutes the basic theory of proletarian revolution. Bernstein, Kautsky and other revisionists of their day turned against this principle and degenerated into lackeys of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Lenin waged an uncompromising struggle against the old-time revisionists, defended the principle of the Commune and led the Russian people to the great victory of the October Revolution. The path of the October Revolution is the continuation and development of the revolutionary path pioneered by the Paris Commune. Holding aloft the banner of Leninism, Stalin opposed every kind of enemy of Leninism and thus upheld the principle of the Paris Commune and safeguarded the gains of the October Revolution.

After the death of Stalin, the Khrushchov revisionist clique usurped the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Following the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U., they thoroughly betrayed the principle of the Commune and the path of the October Revolution, and adopted a whole body of out-and-out revisionist lines against proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a result, the Soviet Union has been led astray to the path of restoring capitalism and the leadership of the C.P.S.U. has become the international centre of modern revisionism.

This is an extremely important experience of a negative character in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat since the Paris Commune. It teaches us that it is out of the question for the leaders of any proletarian party not in power to lead a revolution, if they turn their backs on the principle of the Commune. What is more, such leaders will become renegades and stool-pigeons. If such leaders discard the principle of the Commune after they have assumed power, there exists the danger of the people's revolution losing its fruits and these leaders themselves will likewise become outright renegades and stool-pigeons, and flunkys and accomplices of the imperialists.

Why are the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its followers so rabid in opposing China? The basic reason is that the great Chinese revolution, victorious under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, has inherited and further developed the experience of the Paris Commune and the experience of the October Revolution. The Chinese Communist Party today is a great standard-bearer of Marxism-

Leninism and is struggling resolutely against all renegades who have turned their backs on the principle of the Commune. Thus, it has incurred the hatred and opposition of all these freaks and monsters. This is nothing strange and we are rather proud of it.

Today, in waging to the end the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism and carrying forward the world revolutionary movement, it is of vital and practical significance to go over again the experience and lessons of the Paris Commune.

— "Hongqi" Editor's Note

NINETY-FIVE years have passed since the heroic uprising of the Paris Commune.

These years have seen earth-shaking changes in the world. The cause for which the Paris Commune fought, and which was drowned in blood by the Versailles brigands, triumphed 46 years later in the Great October Revolution led by Lenin. The victory of the Chinese revolution was also a victory for the principles of the Paris Commune and for the road of the October Revolution.

The Paris Commune was a great, epoch-making revolution. It was the proletariat's first rehearsal in taking up arms to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to overthrow the capitalist system and establish the socialist system. The heroes of the Commune bequeathed us invaluable lessons and experience gained at the cost of their blood.

At the present time, when the Khrushchov revisionists pay lip service to the Paris Commune while actually betraying its principles, it is of great importance to develop the revolutionary tradition of the Paris Commune and learn from its experience and lessons.

The Proletariat Can Win the Right to Emancipate Itself Only by Taking Up Arms. The First Tenet of a Proletarian Who Refuses to Be a Slave Is to Keep a Firm Grip on His Rifle

In the 19th century, France was one of the countries which stood in the very forefront of the revolutionary movement in Europe. It was in succession the centre of the bourgeois revolution and then of the proletarian revolution. From 1789 to 1871, the workers of France took up arms many times and laid them down again or were disarmed. They fought, failed, fought again, failed again, and for more than 80 years suffered a heavy loss in blood. In this way, the proletariat gradually realized that if they cherished the illusion that they could win liberation under conditions in which the bourgeoisie was not overthrown but held the leadership, then the guns in their hands only served to help their own enemy seize political power. When the revolution triumphed, the ruling group, whether the Right-wing or the Left-wing of the bourgeoisie, would "repay" the proletariat by disarming the workers. And the proletariat, once disarmed, would lose all its rights.

The proletariat should take up arms and win the right to emancipate itself on the battlefield. The workers of France finally moved step by step closer to this revolutionary truth. Both the June uprising in Paris in 1848 and the uprising of the Paris Commune in 1871 showed in varying degrees that they were translating this revolutionary truth into revolutionary action. During these two uprisings, the proletariat took up arms and directly engaged its own enemy in a struggle to seize political power for itself.

The uprising of the Paris Commune marked the climax of the struggle of the proletariat of that period both in France and in other parts of the world to emancipate itself. Compared to previous uprisings of the French workers, the Paris Commune showed great creative initiative in the matter of the proletariat using revolutionary arms to win the right to emancipate itself:

(1) Preparations to form workers' armed units were made six months before the uprising. By force of arms, the workers set up their own special political organizations (the Central Committee of 20 *arrondissements* and Committees of Vigilance for the various *arrondissements*) and special military organizations (the Workers' Battalions of National Guards and the Central Committee of the National Guards).

(2) They resolutely stood their ground in the face of threats and blandishments from the government of the bourgeoisie and refused to hand over their weapons. The first demand of the First Congress of the National Guards was to call on everyone to hold tight to his rifle. Varlin said: "We will not allow ourselves to be disarmed without a fight . . . the struggle will continue until we are victorious."¹

(3) When the government of the bourgeoisie tried to disarm the workers by force, they dared to answer counter-revolutionary force with revolutionary force. Confronted both by the reactionary government's bloody suppression at home and a strong enemy's threat from abroad, they dared to stage an uprising, turn a predatory war between the exploiting classes into a revolutionary civil war and smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie.

(4) When the uprising triumphed, the workers did not lay down their arms nor did they hand over power. Marx said: "The new feature [of this revolution] is that the people, after the first rise, have not disarmed themselves and surrendered their power into the hands of the Republican mountebanks of the ruling classes."²

(5) After gaining victory in the uprising, the workers laid the groundwork for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, relying on the revolutionary armed forces of the proletariat. Marx said: "... By the constitution of the Commune, they have taken the actual management of their revolution into their own hands and found at the same time, in the case of success, the means to hold it in the hands of the people itself, displacing the state machinery, the governmental machinery of the ruling classes by a governmental machinery of their own."³

(6) Even when the uprising was on the verge of defeat, the workers still persisted in their heroic struggle. They preferred to die a glorious death, with rifle in hand, rather than lay down their arms and live in humiliation. They demonstrated the revolutionary proletariat's dauntless spirit of preferring death to surrender.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "It is very difficult for the labouring people, who have been deceived and intimidated by the reactionary ruling classes for thousands of years, to awaken to the importance of having guns in their own hands."⁴ The heroes of the Paris Commune foiled the deceits and threats of the reactionary ruling classes, resolutely took up arms and smashed the state machine of the bourgeoisie. This was a great development in the cause of liberation of the proletariat; it wrote a new chapter in history worthy of the highest praise.

The exploiting classes always consider that they have the right to use every kind of weapon to suppress the exploited but that it is a crime for the exploited to have any weapons at all. In their eyes, an armed uprising staged by the exploited is a towering crime. Catering to this reactionary view, the revisionists always spread within the ranks of the proletariat the slave philosophy of "never resorting to arms." They therefore tamper with the history of the proletarian revolution and try to change it into a history of "peaceful transition." They have done just this in the case of the uprising of the Paris Commune. Whenever he touched on the Paris Commune, Kautsky immediately sang the praises of the March 28 election, and described the Commune as a product of a ballot by the whole people and of "pure democracy." Whenever the Khrushchov revisionists talk about the Paris Commune, they like to "count" the number of people who died on the day of March 18 in an attempt to prove that the Commune "took power into its hands without bloodshed."

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism knows that every revolutionary movement is a process of development. In order to understand that revolution, one should look at it as a whole and not substitute a single day or a certain phenomenon for the whole nor put some specific event in place of the general picture. The whole course of development of the Paris Commune, from the eve of the uprising to the last week of blood-bath, was a life-and-death struggle between the revolution and the counter-rev-

olution. The blood shed by the heroes of the Commune when they staged the armed uprising and when they tried to defend the fruits of the successful uprising can never be disposed of by the lies spread by the revisionists.

The Proletariat Must Adopt Revolutionary Methods to Seize State Power, Smash the Bourgeois Military-Bureaucratic Machine, and Establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Prior to the uprising of the Paris Commune, the political scene in France much resembled a merry-go-round in which various forms of bourgeois state power were rapidly rotated in the course of fierce class struggles. The proletariat learnt from its own experience that this rotation simply meant the rulers transferring power from one hand to the other and from one group to the other. However the rotation went, the situation remained the same: the proletariat was ruled and exploited by the bourgeoisie. The proletariat also learnt from its own experience that every change in the process of this rotation led to the further expansion and perfection of the state machine and the more ruthless enslavement of the workers and other working people.

With its more than 80 years of experience (1789-1871), the French proletariat step by step became aware that "the political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation,"⁵ that to emancipate itself the proletariat must smash the bourgeois state machine, and that it was the machine itself and not this or that form which it took that had to be fought against. This was the line of action taken by the insurgents of the Commune. Marx said: "This was, therefore, a revolution not against this or that, legitimate, constitutional, republican or imperialist form of state power. It was a revolution against the state itself, of this supernaturalist abortion of society, a resumption by the people for the people of its own social life. It was not a revolution to transfer it from one fraction of the ruling classes to the other, but a revolution to break down this horrid machinery of class domination itself."⁶

After the Second Empire collapsed, a struggle for state power gradually unfolded between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. In early September, 1870, the various groups of the bourgeoisie, in order to preserve the existing state machine and prevent state power from falling into the hands of the people, lost no time in reaching agreement and forming a new government with a gilt-edged label—the "Government of National Defence." Because the proletariat was not sufficiently prepared ideologically and organizationally, they could not yet form a government of their own at once. But they already set out to establish their own political and military organizations which were becoming the actual organs of power in the workers' areas of Paris and a force which set itself against the "Government of Defence."

At that time, relying on the workers' armed forces and the masses of the people, the Central Committee

of 20 *arrondissements* and the Committees of Vigilance in various *arrondissements* took under their surveillance the activities of the "Government of Defence" and of the governments of the *arrondissements* in Paris. The Vigilance Committees in the workers' areas controlled the mayors or exercised power on their behalf. Arago, who once served as a mayor, said that in the *arrondissements*, the committees "directed matters concerning the arming and equipping [of military forces], and public assistance," and were "hot beds of revolutionary activity."⁷ In Count Daru's report, the work of the Vigilance Committees is described as follows: "They took upon themselves the right to put pressure on the decisions of the mayors, took over their functions, gave orders, inspected houses, made arrests and searches, particularly on the pretext of espionage."⁸

At that time, put under surveillance by the Workers' Battalions of National Guards and the revolu-

tionary masses, "the prefecture was completely helpless; the police commissioners sat quiet, only apprehensive that they might be seized."⁹ Trochu, head of the "Government of Defence," moaned: "The streets were in the hands of the mob; the courts did not function; all institutions charged with the preservation of social order, morals, and public health, were practically paralysed."¹⁰ In the short span of a few months, the reactionary authorities successively dismissed and replaced several police chiefs in an attempt to restore police rule, but all these attempts were defeated.

It is clear that from the time of the downfall of the Second Empire to the uprising of the Paris Commune, two governments actually existed in Paris. This was similar to the situation in which two governments existed side by side in Petrograd [now Leningrad] after Russia's February 1917 Revolution.

(To be continued.)

Survey of a Commune (V)

At Home With Yangtan Members

The fifth of a series of six articles on the Yangtan People's Commune, Shansi Province, by a team of Peking Review correspondents.

OUR visits to Yangtan Commune gave us ample opportunity to get to know its members, visit them and see the general adequacy of the arrangements which the commune makes for their livelihood.

There is no poverty among Yangtan Commune members. This scourge of the masses has been wiped out. There is also no opulence but a general air of well-being at a modest level with a certainty of much better days to come. Members work hard and lead a frugal life in sturdy, tidy dwellings, simply furnished. They dress neatly, with warm clothing for the winter, and eat their fill every day even if, to a city man's palate, it is not very sophisticated cooking. But on festivals, along with their usual steamed bread, there is well-cooked pork or chicken, savoury pancakes, meat-filled dumplings and such-like holiday fare.

We were out one day with Chai Yen-jung, the Yangtan Brigade leader. He is a local man, 31 years old and a cadre for more than ten years. He has an extraordinarily good memory. There are more than 750 families in the brigade, 4,000 people, but he seemed to know them all. He told us that he had had four years' primary schooling but had learnt most of what he knew "on the job."

As we walked along the road running northeast from the commune headquarters, we met an oldish

looking man of about 70. His eyes, deep-set over high cheek-bones, gleamed kindly in a long, wrinkled face. Comrade Chai introduced us: "Chang Kao-sheng!" The old man greeted us warmly and invited us to his home.

Average Family

"I live right here," he said, indicating a house behind a big, old roofed gateway. "You must come in!"

We found ourselves in a large courtyard with rooms on three sides. There are eight in the family: Chang himself, his wife and daughter living in the larger group of three rooms facing north; and his son, daughter-in-law and three children in two rooms of a smaller building opposite with a small kitchen next to it. On another side there were two store-rooms. The buildings, roofed with tiles, were solid old structures of brick that had seen many years. The windows were of traditional pattern but covered with glass and not paper, so that the rooms were bright within. *Kang* (brick beds) for sleeping on, sturdy old tables and chairs and boxes for storing clothes and quilts, were those of a typical north China peasant family. It was hot, and we sat in the shade in the courtyard.

We were made welcome by everyone at home. Chang Kao-sheng's wife gave us cups of green tea and offered

cigarettes of the popular Tientsin *Haiho* brand. We got to talking about the old man's game leg. "It's a trouble," he said sadly. "Before liberation we were poor, very poor. We didn't have enough to eat properly and we dressed in rags. I worked for a rich peasant who had started an oil press. I drove a cart for him in all weathers. Cold, hot, rain or shine. That's how I got this rheumatism. And we still couldn't make ends meet. We couldn't even afford wheat flour. Just rough grain or husks and vegetables. We made do with one suit of clothes each. In the spring we took out the layer of cotton wadding from our jackets and trousers. In the summer, we took out the lining. When they were no longer wearable, because of patching and repatching, we passed them down to the children."

As he spoke and thought about the past, Chang grew more distressed. We had no wish to disturb him so we changed the subject.

"How are things now?"

Chang's expression changed in a thrice and he chuckled: "Like eating sugar-cane at the sweet root end! You can see for yourselves. We have enough to eat. We have a good house and enough to wear. Both our son and daughter are good, strong workers. Our daughter-in-law helps look after the three children at home, but she also does some field work. My wife does the housekeeping and I can also do some light work. So we have enough to spare for food and clothes. Each year we can put something by and buy something for the family. In 1961 we bought a bicycle for 165 yuan. It's a *Flying Dove*. When the children came we didn't want our daughter-in-law to overwork herself so we bought her a sewing machine. That cost 140 yuan. In 1964 we spent 70 yuan to buy a small hand cart. And we spent 100 yuan in 1965 to repair our house. The commune members call us a 'five-wheeled family'."

"How come?" we asked, for it was a new expression to us.

Comrade Chai explained: "Two wheels on the bicycle, two wheels on the cart and one on the sewing machine! That's five!"

Together we worked out their 1964 family accounts. They spent 616 yuan out of the total income, 918 yuan, thus putting aside a handsome saving of 302 yuan.

CHANG FAMILY'S EXPENDITURE FOR 1964

Item	Amount Consumed (jin)	Value (yuan)
Grain	3,200	352.00
Cotton (ginned)	16	13.60
Edible oil	32	22.40
Cotton stalks for fuel	4,500	4.30
Small hand cart		70.00
Other expenditure (including pocket money)		153.70
Total		616.00

April 1, 1966



Li Hu and his family

Comrade Chai and our host explained some extra points: The expenditures did not include any tax because their production brigade paid the agricultural tax for all its members together direct to the state. So far as food grain was concerned they got enough from the brigade so that for many years now they had ceased to worry about food. On an average, each member of the family received 400 jin of grain from the brigade every year. This was adequate for the adults and, of course, ample for the children, so the Changs were able to put aside a good reserve of grain for the whole family. The 3,200 jin was set against the work points earned by the family.

Our host agreed that their income was not large compared to those earned in the cities, but pointed out that living expenses in the village were very low in comparison. They paid no rent, nothing for water or transport. They spent only 4.30 yuan for fuel a year. They grew their own vegetables, raised 2 pigs, and hens for eggs which they ate themselves or sold. Their yearly savings made quite a nest-egg in the credit co-op.

These facts have to be understood on the background of the past which, as we had seen, was still painfully alive in the memories of Chang Kao-sheng and his wife. Not to have to worry about their daily food, to be warmly clad in winter, with a whole roof over their heads, with many of the little comforts of life for their enjoyment and recreation, and savings in the bank—that was indeed an extraordinary transformation! Yangtan, in the old days, was a land of perpetual misery for the vast mass of peasants. In the exhibition arranged by the Yangtan Brigade in one of the old landlord houses we saw something of the incredible conditions of landlord exploitation under which the peasants had lived.

When we remarked on this, our host gravely agreed. Comrade Chai pointed out that the Changs were in fact still only an average family as regards

living standards in the brigade, which is rather better off than the others in the commune. Some members were better off, some slightly below their standard. But the tendency is one of steady improvement. Production in the Yangtan Brigade has been rising steadily each year and standards of living are levelling up in all the 14 teams of the brigade.

Either out of his prodigious memory or his little notebook, Comrade Chai gave us other facts which characterized the general well-being of the brigade members: Over 70 per cent of the families have savings in the credit co-op; over 60 per cent of them have repaired their old houses or built themselves new homes to live in. Before liberation the territory of the brigade boasted only four bicycles and all of them were owned by landlord families. Now the brigade's people have 400 cycles and more, an average of one for every two families.

We soon noticed the popularity of cycles in Yangtan. Farmers use them to go to meetings, visit relatives and friends and for making shopping expeditions. Many use them for getting to work. Bridegrooms organize cavalcades of cyclists to bring their brides home. Few buy women's cycles. The girls all wear slacks and they find the women's cycle without the crossbar not strong enough. The popular makes are those that several factories have designed with strengthened front wheel supports specially for heavy country duty.

Sewing machines are also being bought in increasing numbers. Before liberation most of the people thereabouts had never even seen or heard of a sewing machine. Now the brigade's families have 120, or about one for every six households. The farmers' wives use them for making the family clothes. The brigade is getting more and more "five-wheeled families." With small hand carts (400 of them), cycles and sewing machines, a great deal of the toilsome carrying and hand work of the past has been eliminated.

Commune Clinics

We had passed by the commune-run clinic. Flowers were blooming in the flower beds in the middle of its courtyard glimpsed through the gateway. A nurse in hospital whites carried an aluminium instrument sterilizer into one of the dozen rooms where an operation was being performed. Before 1958 the Yangtan area had no clinic though several doctors of traditional medicine practised on their own. Now the commune clinic has a 13-man staff including older doctors of traditional medicine, young doctors of Western medicine, graduates of medical colleges and locally trained nurses. Equipped with a four-bed ward, an operation room, dispensary and lab, it is able to treat most patients on the spot and the brigades and teams send their most difficult cases to it.

Since the commune clinic is nearby, the Yangtan Brigade has no separate clinic of its own, but each of

the other nine brigades has one staffed with mixed traditional and Western medical personnel. Some of the clinic staff are paid as government employees but commune members working as medical staff draw a certain number of work points from their brigades for their services there and do part-time farm work along with other commune members. This helps reduce the cost of upkeep of the clinics. Diagnosing and prescribing are free, but medicines have to be paid for.

Farmer-Sportsman

Later on that day we met a sturdy, bright faced, good looking young man in blue shorts coming up from east of Yangtan village. Comrade Chai introduced him as Li Hu. He was in his early twenties. His short-sleeved, white sports shirt was breezily unbuttoned and disclosed a large insignia "Yangtan 13" in red on his light blue vest beneath. The scuffed pair of gym shoes he wore clearly defined him as a sportsman.

Li Hu too hospitably invited us into his courtyard. This was larger than that of the Changs and it was a larger family; nine in all: Li Hu himself, his mother, his two young sisters, his wife and four children. The owner was clearly a man with busy green fingers. Apple trees grew in the centre of the courtyard. Li Hu said one had been grafted by a technician of the brigade's forestry group and bore Guoguang apples, a well-known variety in north China. By the south wall were peach and other fruit trees, more than ten in all, all well tended. Raising fruit is Li Hu's hobby and recreation. He grows enough for the whole family and gives much away as presents to relatives and friends. In the western corner of the courtyard was a pig-sty, in the northwest part were chicken coops and a run. "We raise seven hens and a cock," said this young commune member. "We keep a sow and she gives two litters a year. We sold one litter in March. Six piglets for 36 yuan. And before the end of the year we'll have another litter."

In the sty a huge, sleepy porker was nosing about in a trough. He looked at us with the lazy, glassy stare of a gourmand who had eaten not only well but far too much. Li Hu said: "We're fattening him up. In another three months he'll be ready for market. The government purchasing agent will give us 50 or 60 yuan for him. The lot of them provide quite a large amount of good fertilizer every year. We sell that to the team and it helps us raise better crops."

Turning to the topic of private plots which are really plots of farmland collectively owned by the teams or brigades but assigned for private use, Li Hu said: "We have a private plot of slightly more than a *mu*. We plant sweet potato, tobacco, peas and vegetables. Whatever the brigade doesn't provide us with or not enough of and we need, we plant or raise ourselves. We eat a lot of our own vegetables and smoke our own tobacco. In winter we can enjoy a pot of pea porridge or steamed sweet potatoes."

When we praised our host's diligence, in the modest style of a good commune member, he stressed that prosperous family side-lines grew alongside a strong collective economy. "Without a good collective backing them up, it's no good talking about such things." The supplementary nature of family side-occupations is borne out by the fact that only a small proportion of his family's income in 1964 came from these sources while the bulk derived from the collective.

"That's what we call 'small liberty within the big collective,'" explained Comrade Chai. "Our first care must be the collective economy — the collective fields and enterprises, the work of the teams and brigades, but members can go in for side-lines in their spare time. As a matter of fact, to get manure, among other things, our brigade gives quite a lot of help to members who want to raise pigs."

"That is right!" Li Hu interjected, warming to one of his favourite subjects. "We got our start by buying the piglets from the brigade. If you don't have the ready cash to buy, the brigade will let you have porkers on credit. When the pigs grow up and are sold, you pay back the brigade. Our sow is mated by the stud boar of the brigade and the brigade vet looks after it. If it needs any injections, it gets them free. And of course the brigade will buy as much manure as you can sell. All that gives solid backing to our pig-raising."

In Yangtan Commune each family has a private plot of land. In Yangtan Brigade the total area of such private plots is around 5 per cent of its cultivated land. What a member raises on his plot is his own affair. But, of course, he should not devote too much time to it to the detriment of work on the collective fields. Certain proceeds of the plot may be sold to the state or on the market.

Each to His Liking

"All of us have their special interests," Li Hu said. "My younger sister Hsiu-lan studies agricultural technique at the brigade's night school and likes soldiering. She has been elected platoon leader of the militia. Little younger sister likes to sing. [And in fact she sang beautifully for us, the song about the film heroine Li Shuang-shuang.] She has joined the amateur singing group. My mother likes to listen to the county broadcasts over the loudspeaker system, especially south Shansi opera. And we all like the films and theatre."

Tickets to a film show put on by the county's mobile projection team and opera performances by touring professional troupes cost 0.1 or 0.2 yuan respectively, we learnt. Amateur shows are free.



A corner of Yangtan village

Sketch by Jack Chen

"What do you do with your leisure time?"

"Apart from studying Chairman Mao's works in our study group, I like to play basket-ball."

So that was the meaning of the "Yangtan 13" on his vest.

Comrade Chai added: "Li Hu is the backbone of our basket-ball team. He is a famous attack player. He has played in several commune basket-ball competitions and also in the county competition for peasant basket-ball teams."

Talking about basket-ball, Li Hu's face beamed.

"Now we have electricity here, the brigade is going to build a basket-ball court with electric lighting for night playing."

"In the last few years," added Comrade Chai, "we have organized 14 basket-ball teams, one for each production team, and several teams have table tennis groups as well. We'll use the lighted court for several purposes, not only basket-ball. The people's militia can use it for drilling. The choirs and amateur theatre groups can rehearse on it and it will be useful for general meetings of members when the weather is fine."

We left the Li family just as the sun was setting. People were returning home for the evening meal. Some were talking about the show that will be staged a few days later. Comrade Chai told us on our way back to the commune headquarters: "The South Shansi Opera Troupe of Hsiangfen County will present two operas. One is a new opera called *Red Heart*, a modern theme opera about an outstanding commune member who looks after his brigade's draught animals, and the other is a play about trapping Kuomintang agents called *On the Sea Front*. There are a good number of theatre and movie fans in our brigade."

Later we learnt that Comrade Chai himself is one of them. He enjoys a film about once a month and won't miss an opera performance in Yangtan.

ROUND THE WORLD

Anti-War Movement Surges Forward in U.S.

*Come you masters of war
You that build all the guns
You that build the death planes
You that build the big bombs
You that hide behind walls
You that hide behind desks
I just want you to know
I can see through your masks . . .*

From *Masters of War* by
American folk singer Bob Dylan

This is the mood of the angry American people and they made the imperialists in their own country — the masters of war — realize the words of the song were true by staging the largest demonstration of its kind in American history. The time was March 26, just two weeks before Easter, and the place was the largest city in the country, New York, where a traditional Easter parade takes place. But this time it was a people's parade 100,000 strong. As paraders thronged the streets, marching down Fifth Avenue to Central Park where a mass rally was held, the demonstration climaxed a 2-day nationwide protest movement against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam.

The American people responded to the call of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which organized the campaign, because it is they who are suffering from the war and because they know who is responsible for it. Johnson and his ilk may talk about "defending" freedom in south Vietnam but the American people now see ever more clearly that a nation that oppresses others cannot be free and that the struggle against American aggression in Vietnam is indivisibly linked with the struggle in the United States for democratic freedoms, for an end to racial discrimination and oppression. As war costs have escalated to \$35 million a day, taxation has gone up to an average of \$960 per head. While the Vietnamese people are being murdered with American napalm and poison gas, more and more American people, not big businessmen and their sons, but mostly the oppressed such as the Negro people, are being killed daily in the paddy fields of south Vietnam. The total American casualties in the first two months of this year alone amounted to more than 16,000. The war in Vietnam, observed the *Wall Street Journal*, is

rapidly "sifting down to grassroots America in all sorts of ways." And so is the struggle against it.

Everywhere in the country people have sprung into action. On March 8, the Trade Unionists for Peace Group in New York City called for participation in the parade. Similar calls were made by trade unionists in Detroit and Chicago. Again, in New York City, university students went on a 56-hour hunger strike on the eve of the parade; three young men burnt their draft cards although two of them had already served prison terms for refusing to enlist. They were followed by a young Bostonian named David Benson, who tore up his card. On March 19, a group of veterans and reservists picketed Vice-President Humphrey's Maryland suburban home, calling on him to return for them their service discharge papers, medals and campaign ribbons to Johnson. A group of medical college students in New York formed a special committee to demand an inquiry into the heinous U.S. crime of chemical warfare in Vietnam. Anti-war organizations in California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona have issued appeals to the people not to pay taxes that are being used to finance the war. . . .

Thus, it was a truly mass campaign with, as UPI reported, "violent out-breaks and sit-downs from Massachusetts to California."

In California, the most impressive action of the first day of the protest movement occurred in Berkeley, as more than 1,000 men and women marched on to the university campus to denounce the Johnsonian policy of aggression and war. Arthur Goldberg, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., who had flown in especially to speak in defence of the administration, was greeted with verbal brickbats; some 500 students and faculty members walked out when the university authorities conferred on Goldberg an honorary doctor of laws degree. At the end of the meeting, 90 per cent of the students present stood in opposition when asked to show their support or opposition to the U.S. Vietnam policy.

Similar protest actions were held in Washington, San Francisco, Hono-



Some of the 100,000 New Yorkers who demonstrated on Fifth Avenue

lulu, Detroit, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, Miami, Nashville and scores of other cities in the north, the midwest and the south. Ignoring the late snow-fall and freezing temperatures in some midwest cities, marchers slogged through the slushy streets in protest. In Dayton, Ohio, 200 marched to a post office to mail protest letters to their congressmen.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung said some 30 years ago that the nature of a war determines the relationship between a government and a people. This law of history applies at all times and everywhere in the world. The Bob Dylan song *Masters of War* ends in a mood that now well describes the relationship between the U.S. Government and the people:

*And I hope that you die
And your death'll come soon
I will follow your casket
On a pale afternoon
And I'll watch while you're lowered
Down to your death bed
And I'll stand o'er your grave
Till I'm sure that you're dead.*

International Days of Protest

Thus, this great struggle of the American people against imperialism in their own country has proved to be a powerful support and inspiration to the Vietnamese people and the people of all lands. From the four corners of the world has come a mighty cry of solidarity with the American people and angry denunciation of the U.S. colonial war in south Vietnam.

Italy: A 100,000 Rally. Some 100,000 people from all parts of this Mediterranean country gathered in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome, braving rain to cry: "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Long live Vietnamese partisans!" Stormy applause greeted Carl Oglesby, President of the American Students for a Democratic Society Association, when he denounced at the rally the U.S. Government's aggression against Vietnam and refuted Johnson's slanders against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and China.

France: 120 Cities Demonstrate. "Johnson Assassin!" echoed in the air over Place de la Concorde where Parisians demonstrated in front of

the American Embassy. Demonstrations took place in 120 cities between March 25 and 27, including Lyons, where over 1,500 people delivered a petition to a U.S. consular official, and Nancy, where local inhabitants sent a protest note to the U.S. army depot in the suburbs.

England: Torchlight Demonstration. Following a torchlight march in Downing Street on March 26, the British public in Hull demonstrated before the City Hall where Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart was making an election speech. They embarrassed him with a barrage of questions. The British people protested against the Labour policy of toeing the U.S. line with a placard: "Wilson supports bombing, L.B.J. supports the pound."

West Germany: Not a Pfennig for the Vietnam War. In West Germany, mass demonstrations took place in Cologne and other cities. The people warned Erhard: No aid for Nguyen Cao Ky and not a pfennig, not a man for the war.

Northern Europe: U.S. Get Out of Vietnam. Parades took place in Stockholm, Oslo and Helsinki. The Finnish people handed the Americans at their Embassy a letter of protest saying that the Vietnam question can be settled only when the Americans quit that country.

In the Pacific: No Soldiers for Vietnam. Australians and New Zealanders on March 27 and Filipinos on March 25 protested with one voice against sending their people to south Vietnam to fight for U.S. im-

perialism. In Singapore, Lee Siew Choh, Chairman of the Socialist Front, at a rally of 2,000 people criticized the Singapore and "Malaysian" governments for providing rest camps on their soil for U.S. aggressor troops from south Vietnam.

Latin American Protest. Demonstrations too were staged in Argentina, Puerto Rico, Panama, Peru and Costa Rica by students and workers supporting the Vietnamese struggle against Yankee imperialism. In Uruguay, young students on March 21 raised the Vietnamese flag on a building opposite the U.S. Consulate-General; on the same day in Buenos Aires, the Argentines, while protesting against the U.S. plot to have Argentinean soldiers sent to south Vietnam, actually hoisted the flag of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation on the U.S. Embassy building.

Canada: Oppose the Dirty U.S. War. About 4,000 Canadians from over ten major cities gathered in Ottawa to hold the largest demonstration in the city's history before the Supreme Court building. One hundred and twenty-six well-known people, including professors, clergymen, and M.P.s issued a statement which said in part: "We are morally involved because our Government supports U.S. policy in Vietnam. We are involved because our raw materials and our armaments are being used by the U.S. in the war. We are involved because no man can ignore the mass killing of men, women and children."

THE PASSING SHOW

The More, the More

General Westmoreland, U.S. Commander in south Vietnam, reports *Newsweek* (March 21), has found an ingenious way of "reducing" American casualties there: the U.S. could cut its casualties by one-third if it doubled its present force of over 200,000 men; by tripling that force, casualties could be cut in half — If the number of casualties didn't go up in proportion. That kind of logic is what might be expected of a Pentagon computer. An ordinary man would suggest another way — and it would cut U.S. losses to nil. People all over the world know it — Get U.S. troops out of Vietnam!



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Daily English Language Transmissions

EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA			AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	42, 41, 30, 25	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 22:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	42, 41, 30, 25	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
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04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	50, 43, 31	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
			10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
SOUTHEAST ASIA			NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
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SOUTH ASIA					
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands			
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	42, 41, 30			