

PEKING REVIEW

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**Hold High the Great Red Banner of
Mao Tse-tung's Thinking; Actively
Participate in the Great Socialist
Cultural Revolution**

*Afro-Asian Journalists' Association
Secretariat Meeting in Peking*

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Albanian Party and Government Delegation Welcomed

THE Albanian Party and Government Delegation, which is making a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Kunming, Yunnan Province, on April 26.

The delegation is led by Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania. Members of the delegation include Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, Abdyl Kellezi, Member of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Albania-China Friendship Association, and Nesti Nase, Alternate Member of the Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

More than 100,000 Kunming citizens from various nationalities and all walks of life gave a grand and enthusiastic welcome to the envoys of the heroic Albanian people who stand in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

Greeting the distinguished guests at the airport were Yen Hung-yen, First Secretary of the Yunnan Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Chou Hsing, Governor of Yunnan Province, and other Party, government and military leaders of Yunnan Province.

When Comrades Shehu and Kapo walked towards the welcoming crowd, colourful national dances were performed and lively national music was played. Girls presented bouquets to the guests. The welcomers shouted the slogan saluting the Albanian Party of Labour

and the Albanian people who firmly defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, who refuse to bow to tyranny, and who show a high degree of principled stand and revolutionary spirit in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism!

Along the road from the airport to the Guest House, the Albanian guests were heartily cheered by the people. Many buildings were hung with bunting inscribed with the slogans: "Long live the militant friendship of the great peoples of China and Albania!" "Resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, No. 1 enemy of the people of the world!" "Firmly and thoroughly oppose modern revisionism!" "Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!"

The same evening, Yen Hung-yen and Chou Hsing gave a banquet in honour of the Albanian guests.

Speaking at the banquet, Comrade Shehu stressed that the Albanian and Chinese peoples had formed an unbreakable militant friendship which was built on the basis of immortal Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This friendship had been built up by the two fraternal Parties in their resolute struggle for socialism, in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against their common enemy — the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism and its lackey, modern revisionism. This friendship, he said, was the friendship between the peoples. It was flourishing and growing and would remain ever-green for all generations to come.

Comrade Shehu said that the Chinese people had become the great model for the people of all countries in winning freedom, national independence and social progress, and opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. By

inspiring and supporting the struggles of the people of all countries, they had become an insurmountable obstacle standing in the way of the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism and its drive for hegemony. He added that the glorious Communist Party of China held high the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism, stood at the front of the struggle against modern revisionism, and with its heroic and principled struggle, inspired all Marxist-Leninist Parties and all Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.

Comrade Shehu expressed the belief that the visit of his delegation would help further strengthen the fraternal friendship, steel-like unity and all-round co-operation between the two Parties, Governments and peoples. This visit, he said, would be a new contribution to the common struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Yen Hung-yen in his speech paid tribute to the hard-working and courageous Albanian people who, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, had consistently held aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, carried out heroic and persistent struggles and achieved one glorious victory after another in their socialist revolution and construction. Yen Hung-yen said that the whole series of important revolutionary measures of a mass character the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Government had adopted recently on a nationwide scale would not only push ahead Albania's socialist revolution and construction but had great international significance.

Yen Hung-yen said: "The Albanian Party of Labour is a glorious, great and correct Marxist-Leninist Party,

the People's Republic of Albania is a great revolutionary, militant, socialist country, and the people of Albania are a heroic people who have the courage to struggle for victory." The Chinese people, he added, would for ever stand together with the Albanian people, with the revolutionary people of the world and carry the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries through to the end.

Tanzania's National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message on April 25 to President Julius K. Nyerere congratulating him on Tanzania's National Day.

In Peking, Tanzanian Ambassador Waziri Juma gave a reception on April 26 to celebrate the occasion. Among the guests present were Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Tan Chen-lin, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Lin Feng and other leading members of government departments, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and people's organizations.

Ambassador Waziri Juma in his speech that evening condemned the colonialists and imperialists who were opposed to the progress of Africa. He pointed out that "the dying horse of colonialism is being exposed to an unprecedented degree in many places in Africa" and that Tanzania will "continue to give assistance to the nationalists in the various colonies who are struggling against foreign domination and colonialist oppression." He stressed that Tanzania had realized that the growth of the economy must depend upon the efforts of the people themselves and that the people of Tanzania were determined to become the master of their own house.

In his speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that the African people had won great victories in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle which is developing in greater depth. But, as facts have further shown, "imperialism will not quit unless it is driven out and that it will not fall unless it is struck down."

China Commemorates Lenin's 96th Birthday Anniversary

PEKING, Shanghai and more than 20 other Chinese cities commemorated the 96th anniversary of Lenin's birthday (April 22) with various forms of activities. Display windows along streets showed photographs and pictures of Lenin's life under the title "Lenin, the Great Teacher of Revolution," Peking newspapers published photographs and information on Lenin's life, and radio and television presented musical pageants in his honour.

On the evening of April 22 the national and Peking municipal Sino-Soviet Friendship Associations marked the occasion with a showing of the film *Lenin in October*.

Renmin Ribao that day devoted nearly half a page to photographs on Lenin's life. It pointed out that his

life was one of a great proletarian revolutionary. He had spent it waging vigorous struggles against imperialism, and against all kinds of reactionaries and opportunists.

"Russia is the native land of Leninism. After Stalin's death, the C.P.S.U. leaders headed by Khrushchov had taken the path of betraying Lenin and Leninism and have turned the leadership of the C.P.S.U. into the centre of modern revisionism. However, over 90 per cent of the people of the world are for revolution, and over 90 per cent of the Communists will march along the path of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking will triumph and the imperialists, revisionists and all reactionaries will be defeated," *Renmin Ribao* declared.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi stressed: "The African people are against imperialism; they are for revolution and complete liberation. This is the main current in the development of the present situation in Africa. By its evil practices, imperialism may stir up a counter-revolutionary adverse current for a time, but it can never block the advance of the African people's anti-imperialist revolutionary cause. It will only further enhance the political consciousness of the African people and enable them to unite still more closely in waging struggles. Despite difficulties of one kind or another that may crop up on their road of advance, the daily awakening African people will certainly be able to carry through to the end their cause of solidarity against imperialism, drive all forces of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism out of Africa, and win the thorough liberation of the African continent."

"The Chinese people have always stood by the African people who are persevering in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. We firmly support the African peoples in their just struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism

headed by the United States and to win and safeguard their national independence, until they win final victory," Vice-Premier Chen Yi said.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien Visits Cambodia

At the invitation of the Royal Cambodian Government, Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, accompanied by Wang Tao-han, Vice-Minister of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, arrived in Phnom Penh by special plane on April 24 for a friendly visit. He was warmly welcomed by Vice-Premier and Co-ordination-Minister of Economic Affairs, Finance and Planning Son Sann and other leading Cambodian officials. The Chinese visitors after being presented with flowers by Cambodian girls reviewed a guard of honour and then walked past ranks of cheering Royal Khmer Socialist Youth members.

Vice-Premier Li left Peking on April 21. He was seen off at the airport by Vice-Premiers Po I-po and Hsieh Fu-chih and leading officials of government departments.

Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking; Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution

Following is a translation of a "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) editorial of April 18. — Ed.

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung has taught us that classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society. Chairman Mao has said that in China "the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." The struggle to uphold the proletarian ideology and to eradicate the bourgeois ideology on the cultural front is an important aspect of the class struggle between two classes (the proletariat and the bourgeoisie), between two roads (the socialist road and the capitalist road) and between two ideologies (the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois ideology). The proletariat seeks to change the world according to its world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. Socialist culture should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, should serve proletarian politics, should serve the consolidation and development of the socialist system and its gradual transition to communism. Bourgeois and revisionist culture serves the bourgeoisie, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, to prepare the way for the return of capitalism. If the proletariat does not occupy the cultural position, it is bound to be occupied by the bourgeoisie. This is a sharp class struggle. Since the remnant forces of the bourgeoisie in our country still remain a factor to be reckoned with, since we still have a fairly large number of bourgeois intellectuals, and since the influence of bourgeois ideology is still fairly strong and their methods of fighting us have become increasingly insidious, indirect and underhand, we shall find it difficult to see the struggle that is going on and may fall victim to the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie or we may even lose our position, if we slacken our vigilance or relax in the least. In this respect, the issue of which will win, socialism or capitalism, is not yet settled. The struggle is inevitable. Failure to handle it properly may give rise to revisionism.

Our People's Liberation Army, the people's armed forces created and led by the Chinese Communist Party

and Chairman Mao, is the most loyal tool of the Party and the people, and the mainstay of our proletarian dictatorship. It has always played an important role in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, and it should continue to do so in this great socialist cultural revolution. We must acquire a deeper understanding of the class struggle in the ideological field. We must together with all the people of our country raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and unswervingly carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end and make the literary and art work of our armed forces play a great role in putting politics first and in promoting the revolutionization of the people.

There Exists Sharp Class Struggle on the Cultural Front

The past 16 years have witnessed a sharp class struggle on the cultural front.

In both stages of our revolution, the new democratic stage and the socialist stage, there has existed a struggle between two classes and two lines on the cultural front, i.e., the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party, the struggles against "Left" and Right opportunism also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front.

Wang Ming's line was a bourgeois trend which once played havoc within our Party. In the rectification movement which started in 1942, Chairman Mao first gave a thorough theoretical refutation of Wang Ming's political, military and organizational lines, immediately following this up with a thorough theoretical refutation of the cultural line represented by Wang Ming. Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy* and *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front; they carry on and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art.

After our revolution entered the socialist stage, a series of important struggles on the cultural front was waged under the direct leadership of the Central Com-

mittee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, struggles such as the criticism of the film *Life of Wu Hsun*, the criticism of the book *Studies on the "Dream of the Red Chamber,"* the struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, the struggle against the Rightists, as well as the great socialist cultural revolution of the last three years. Chairman Mao's two works *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for revolutionary ideology and literature and art in China and other countries; they represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art.

These four brilliant works form an important part of the great thinking of Mao Tse-tung; they represent the highest peak of today's Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art; they are the supreme guide for our work of literature and art, enough to serve our proletariat for a long time.

In the 16 years since the founding of our People's Republic, there exists in our literary and art circles an anti-Party, anti-socialist black line running counter to Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This black line is a conglomeration of bourgeois and modern revisionist ideas on literature and art, and of what is called the literature and art of the 1930s. These views are represented by such theories as those of "truthful writing," "the wide path of realism," "the deepening of realism," "middle characters," "compounding the spirit of the age," and of opposition to "subject matter as the decisive factor" and opposition to "what smells of gunpowder." Most of these ideas have been repudiated in Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. In the field of films there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy," in other words discarding the "classics" of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking and rebelling against the "orthodoxy" of the people's revolutionary war. This reactionary bourgeois and modern revisionist trend has influenced or controlled much of our literature and art so that when we look at post-liberation works about the people's war, the people's armed forces and other military subjects, we find only a small number of good or basically sound works truly praising our revolutionary heroes, serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and serving socialism; many works are somewhere in the middle; while some are anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds. Some works distort the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous lines instead of the correct lines; some describe heroic characters who violate discipline, or create heroes only to make them die in an artificially tragic ending. Some works do not present heroic characters but only "middle" characters who are actually backward, vilifying the image of the workers, peasants and soldiers; in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose the class nature of the enemy as exploiter and oppressor of the people, and

even go so far as to prettify him. Then there are other works concerned only with love and romance, pandering to low tastes, claiming that "love" and "death" are eternal themes. All such bourgeois, revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

The struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front in the society is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, for these do not exist in a vacuum and cannot be an exception to the rule. Our armed forces are the chief instrument of the proletarian dictatorship. Without the people's armed forces led by the Party our revolution could not have triumphed, there could be no proletarian dictatorship or socialism, and the people would have gained nothing. Inevitably, then, the enemy would try by every means to sabotage us from all sides; and inevitably they would use art and literature as a weapon to corrupt us. We must be very much on our guard against this. However, not everybody shares this view. Some claim that the problem of the direction of literature and art in our armed forces is already solved, that what remains is mainly the problem of raising our artistic level. This mistaken view is most pernicious and is not based on concrete analysis. In fact, some of the literature and art of our armed forces are taking the right direction and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some are taking the right direction but the artistic level is low; some have serious defects or mistakes in both the political orientation and artistic form; and some are simply anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds. During the great upheavals in the class struggles on the literary and art front since liberation, some literary and art workers in the army have failed to pass the test, committing minor or serious mistakes. This shows that the literary and art work in the armed forces has also been influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line. We must in accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, take an active part in the great socialist revolution on the cultural front, thoroughly eradicate this black line and completely liquidate its influence on the armed forces. After we are rid of this black line others may appear, and the struggle must go on. This is an arduous, complex, long-term struggle which will take dozens of years, perhaps centuries. It is vital for the revolutionizing of our armed forces, for the future of our revolution and for the future of the world revolution that we unswervingly carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end.

A New Phase in the Great Cultural Revolution

Since September 1962, when Chairman Mao at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party called upon the whole Party and the entire Chinese people never to forget classes and class struggle, the struggle to uphold the proletarian ideology and eradicate the bourgeois ideology on the cultural front has further developed.

The last three years have seen a new phase in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding

example of this is the emergence of Peking operas on revolutionary, contemporary themes. Those working to reform Peking opera, led by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of feudal class, bourgeoisie and modern revisionism. This attack has radically revolutionized Peking opera, formerly the most stubborn stronghold, both in ideological content and artistic form, and this has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking operas with revolutionary, contemporary themes like *The Red Signal Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Capturing the Tiger Mountain* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the sculptures *Compound Where Rent Was Collected* have all won favour with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and enthusiastically acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. This unprecedented achievement will have a profound, far-reaching impact on our socialist cultural revolution. It effectively proves that even the most stubborn stronghold, Peking opera, can be taken by storm and revolutionized, that foreign classical art forms like the ballet, symphonic music and sculpture can also be remoulded to serve our purpose; and this should give us even more confidence in revolutionizing other forms of art. At the same time these successes deal a powerful blow at various conservatives and at such views as the "box-office value" theory, the "foreign currency value" theory and the theory that "revolutionary works cannot go abroad."

Another outstanding feature of the great socialist cultural revolution in the past three years is the widespread mass activities of workers, peasants and soldiers on the ideological, literary and art fronts. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now writing many fine philosophical articles which express Mao Tse-tung's thinking in a practical way; they are also producing many fine works of literature and art to praise the great victory in our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on various fronts of our socialist construction, our new heroic characters, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader Chairman Mao. The flood of poems by workers, peasants and soldiers which appears on wall-newspapers and blackboard news, is especially noteworthy as both in content and form these poems represent an entirely new age.

During these few years there have been very healthy developments in the cultural work of our armed forces too. Since Comrade Lin Piao took charge of the affairs of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, he has paid great attention to literary and art work and given us many important instructions. The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces passed at the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission in 1960, clearly specifies that literary and art work in the armed forces "must be closely linked with the tasks and ideological situation

of the armed forces, to serve the cause of upholding proletarian ideology and eradicating bourgeois ideology, consolidating and improving the fighting strength." Most of our literary and art workers in the armed forces have put politics first, have creatively studied and applied the works of Chairman Mao, lived with the basic armed units or in the countryside and factories, taken an active part in the socialist education movement, linked themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, further steeled themselves and remoulded their ideology, and raised their level of proletarian consciousness. As a result they have produced some good plays like *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights*, excellent novels like *Song of Ouyang Hai*, and some fairly good reportage, soldiers' songs, music, dances and works of fine art. A number of promising writers have emerged.

Of course, these are merely the first fruits of our socialist cultural revolution, the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. In order to safeguard and improve on this achievement, to carry the socialist cultural revolution on to the end, we must go all out for a long period of time. The literary and art workers of our armed forces must do their best to make a worthy contribution.

Uphold What Is New — Socialism, Establish What Is Distinctive — The Proletariat, Produce Good Models

To create a new socialist literature and art, we must produce good models, and leading comrades must see to this themselves. Only when we have good models and successful experience in producing them will our arguments prove convincing, and will we be able to consolidate the position we have occupied.

We should have the courage to blaze new trails, to uphold what is new — socialism, and to establish what is distinctive — the proletariat. The basic task of socialist literature and art is to strive to create heroic characters of workers, peasants and soldiers armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other." So the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the literary and art front centres on which class to eulogize, which class to portray heroes from, and men of which class to place in the ruling position in works of literature and art. Here lies the demarcation line between the literature and art of different classes.

The fine qualities of the heroic characters who have appeared among the workers, peasants and soldiers nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thinking are the epitome of the proletarian class character. We should go all out to create heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create types and not restrict ourselves to real persons and real events. Chairman Mao has said: "Life as reflected in works of literature and

art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." This means that our writers must concentrate and sum up material from life accumulated over a long period to create various kinds of typical characters.

To create heroic characters successfully, we must adopt the method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, not the critical realism and romanticism of the bourgeoisie.

Writers in the armed forces should make it their glorious task to depict revolutionary wars, propagate Chairman Mao's idea of the people's war, and create heroic characters in revolutionary wars. When we write about revolutionary wars, we must first be clear about the nature of the war—ours is the just side, the enemy's is the unjust side. Our works must show our arduous struggle and heroic sacrifice, but must also display revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we should not elaborate on the horrors of war. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we should not elaborate on its sufferings. The cruelty of a revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism are the unity of opposites, but we must be clear which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we put the emphasis wrongly, the trend of bourgeois pacifism may arise. While depicting the people's revolutionary war, whether it is primarily guerrilla warfare supplemented by mobile warfare, or whether it is primarily mobile warfare, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerrillas and the people's militia, the relationship between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

It is no easy matter to produce good models of proletarian literature and art. Strategically we must despise this task, but tactically we must take it seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous process, and the comrades in charge of this work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual attitude towards it but must work hard, sharing the satisfactions and hardships of the writers. They must as far as possible get their material first hand. They must not be afraid of failure or of mistakes. They should allow for failure and mistakes and let people correct their mistakes. They must rely on the masses, get the opinions of the masses and refer back to the masses, undergoing repeated practice over a long period to make the work better and better, and striving to integrate a revolutionary political content with the best possible artistic form. In the course of practice they must sum up their experience in good time, gradually grasping the laws of various forms of art. Otherwise they will fail to produce good models.

There are many important revolutionary historical themes and contemporary themes which urgently require us to organize their portrayal in a planned,

systematic way, and by so doing to train a backbone force of truly proletarian writers and artists.

Emancipate the Mind, Overcome Superstition

The socialist cultural revolution must overthrow certain things and establish others; for if certain things are not thoroughly overthrown, others cannot be truly established. To carry out the socialist cultural revolution and create a new socialist literature and art, we must emancipate our minds and overcome superstition.

We must overcome our superstitious reverence for what is called the literature and art of the 30s. At that time the Left-wing literary and art movement followed in politics Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line; organizationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its theory of literature and art was virtually that of such Russian bourgeois literary critics as Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, bourgeois democrats of tsarist Russia who had bourgeois, not Marxist, ideas. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is one in which one exploiting class opposes another. Only the socialist revolution of the proletariat is the revolution that finally destroys all exploiting classes. So we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as our guiding principle in our proletarian ideological or literary and art movements. There was good literature and art in the 30s too, that was the militant Left-wing literary and art movement led by Lu Hsun. But towards the end of the 30s some Left-wing leaders, influenced by Wang Ming's Rightist capitulationist line, abandoned the class standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and put forward the slogan of "national defence literature." That was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan, "Popular literature of the national revolutionary war." Some Left-wing writers and artists, notably Lu Hsun, also advocated that art and literature should serve the workers and peasants and that workers and peasants should create their own literature and art. However, no systematic solution was found for the basic problem of how to integrate literature and art with the workers, peasants and soldiers; because the great majority of these men were followers of bourgeois nationalism and democracy, some of whom failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, while others have not given a good account of themselves in the test of socialism.

We must overcome blind reverence for Chinese and foreign classical literature. The classical art and literature of China and those of Europe (including Russia) have exercised a considerable influence on literary and art circles in our country, and some people looked on them as models and accepted them in their entirety. But Chairman Mao has taught us that "Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art." Things belonging to the ancients and to foreigners should be studied too, and refusal to do this would be wrong; but we must do so critically, making the old serve the present and foreign things serve China.

As for the relatively good Soviet revolutionary literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution, that too must be analysed and not blindly worshipped or, still less, blindly imitated. Blind imitation can never become art. Literature and art can only come from life which is their sole source. This is proved by the whole history of ancient and modern art and literature, both Chinese and foreign.

Practise Democratic Centralism, Take the Mass Line

All leading personnel of literary and art work as well as artists and writers must practise democratic centralism, support the practice of "letting all people have their say" and oppose the practice of "what I say counts." We must take the mass line and keep putting politics first. In the past, writers sometimes produced a piece of work and, turning a deaf ear to the opinions of the masses, forced the leadership to nod in approval. This way of doing things is very bad. The cadres in charge of literature and art should always bear in mind these two points in dealing with creative work in literature and art: first, they must be good at listening to the opinions of the masses; secondly, they must be good at analysing these opinions, accepting those which are right and rejecting those which are wrong. There are no perfect works of art and literature, but if one is fundamentally good we should point out its shortcomings and errors so that they can be corrected. Bad works should not be hidden away, but brought out for the appraisal of the masses. We must not be afraid of the masses but should have firm faith in them, for they can give us much valuable advice. And they will help those whose ideas are confused to improve their powers of discrimination.

Advocate Revolutionary, Militant, Mass Criticism of Literature and Art

We must advocate revolutionary, militant, mass criticism of literature and art, break the monopoly of literary and art criticism by a few "critics" (those going in a wrong direction and whose arguments are weak). We must place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, integrating professional critics and critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant, combating unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, readable articles, transform our literary and art criticism into daggers and hand-grenades and learn to handle them effectively in 200-metre close combat. Of course we must at the same time write some longer, systematic articles of greater theoretical depth. We must present the facts and reason things out, not use jargon to frighten people. This is the only way to disarm those so-called "literary and art critics." Critics must give warm support to works which are good or fundamentally sound, while pointing out their shortcomings in a helpful manner. And principled criticism must be made of bad

works. In the theoretical field, mistaken views on literature and art which are fairly typical must be thoroughly and systematically criticized. We must not mind being blamed for "brandishing the stick." When some people accuse us of roughness and crudity we must make our own analysis. Some criticisms we make are basically correct but are not convincing enough because their analysis is inadequate and they produce too little evidence. This should be corrected. Some people who start by accusing us of being rough and crude drop the charge when they gain a better understanding. But when the enemy condemns our correct criticisms as rough and crude, we must stand firm. We must have regular art and literary criticism, because this is an important method of waging the struggle in the literary and art field and an important way for the Party to lead literature and art. Without correct literary and art criticism we cannot maintain a correct line in literature and art, or produce a greater variety of good work.

Use Mao Tse-tung's Thinking to Re-Educate Cadres And Reorganize the Ranks of Writers and Artists

To carry out a thoroughgoing socialist cultural revolution we must re-educate the cadres in charge of literature and art and reorganize the ranks of writers and artists. As far back as during the struggle on the Ching-kang Mountains, under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and the brilliant guidance of the resolutions of the Kutien Conference, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army set up a red contingent of writers and artists. During the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, as our Party and army gained in political and military strength, our contingent of writers and artists made great headway too. In the base areas and in the armed forces, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary literary and art workers. Especially after the publication of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, they held to the correct line, integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. But after the liberation of the whole mainland, when we entered large cities, some people were unable to resist the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideas, with the result that they dropped behind our advance. And the literary and art workers who joined the army at this time brought with them the influence of various bourgeois views on literature and art. A small number of them were never remoulded at all, but clung stubbornly to the bourgeois stand.

Our art and literature are a proletarian art and literature, an art and literature of the Party. What distinguishes us above all from other classes is the principle of the proletarian Party spirit. We should realize that the spokesmen of other classes also have their principle of Party spirit, and a very strong one too. In our guiding principles governing creative writing, just as in our organizational line and in our style of work, we must abide firmly by the principle of the proletarian Party spirit and combat corruption by bourgeois ideas. We

must clearly draw a line between us and bourgeois ideas; we must never tolerate any peaceful coexistence with them.

The literary and art workers in our armed forces have various problems, but for the majority of them, the question is to acquire a deeper understanding and to receive more education and to attain a higher level. We must regard Chairman Mao's writings as our highest instructions, seriously study and grasp his teachings on art and literature, and pay special attention to putting them into practice and creatively applying what we learn to our thinking and actions, so that we really master Chairman Mao's thinking. We must carry out Chairman Mao's instruction and "for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source," to integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, remould our thinking, raise the level of our political consciousness and wholeheartedly serve the people of all China and the whole world, with no thought of fame or profit, unafraid of hardships or death. We must make it our life-time endeavour to study Chairman Mao's works, work for the revolution and remould our thinking. Only so can we carry out Comrade Lin Piao's instructions and be ready to pass any stiff test with flying colours in our

thinking, our life and our professional skills. Only so can our literary and art work better serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve socialism, and help to consolidate and raise the fighting strength of our armed forces.

A new upsurge of the great socialist cultural revolution has taken shape and is now assuming the form of a mass movement. This great revolutionary tide will wash away the filth of all the old bourgeois ideas on literature and art, ushering in a new epoch of socialist, proletarian art and literature. Confronted with this excellent revolutionary situation, we should be proud to be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. Our socialist revolution is a revolution to eliminate exploiting classes and all systems of exploitation once and for all, to root out all the ideas of the exploiting classes which are injurious to the people. We must have the confidence and courage to do things never previously attempted. We must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, take an active part in the socialist cultural revolution, unswervingly carrying it through to the end, striving to create a new socialist literature and art worthy of our great country, our great Party, our great people and our great army.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

A Major Victory for China's Foreign Policy of Peace

— Welcome Chairman Liu Home From His Visits Abroad —

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, has returned to Kunming after his successful visits to Pakistan, Afghanistan and Burma. With great enthusiasm, the Chinese people warmly congratulate Chairman Liu on the great achievements of his recent visits and wholeheartedly welcome him home from his successful tour.

Far-Reaching Influence

Pakistan, Afghanistan and Burma are China's close neighbours. Profound traditional friendship has long existed between the peoples of the three countries and the Chinese people. Chairman Liu's just concluded tour has further cemented China's relations of friendship and co-operation with its close neighbours and enhanced the friendship existing between the Chinese people and other Asian peoples. It will exert a far-reaching influence on reinforcing and developing the

cause of Asian solidarity against imperialism and preserving peace in Asia and the world.

The great achievements of Chairman Liu's tour represent yet another major victory for China's foreign policy of peace.

It goes without saying that China's social system is different from that of the nationalist countries of Asia and Africa. But this difference cannot negate the fact that we share the same experiences and have common aspirations and demands. That is why with the exception of only a few countries in which reactionary nationalists are in power, China can unite and co-operate with the Asian and African countries and live with them on friendly terms. Our relations with Pakistan, Afghanistan and Burma are noteworthy examples.

Since the very day of its birth, the People's Republic of China has steadfastly pursued the socialist

foreign policy of peace. This policy is clearly defined in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. In 1954, the Chinese Government initiated the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In 1955, on the basis of the Five Principles, China and the Afro-Asian countries represented at the Bandung Conference jointly worked out the Ten Principles. In 1963, China formulated the five principles guiding its relations with the African and Arab countries. In 1964, it set forth its eight principles in extending aid to foreign countries. Our relations with Asian and African countries have always been guided by the principles mentioned above.

Support Is Always Mutual

China stands firm for the equality of all nations, big and small. It opposes the oppression of the smaller nations by the bigger. It opposes the manipulation of international affairs by a few big powers. It opposes big-nation chauvinism in all its manifestations. China has never intervened in the internal affairs of other countries. Under no circumstances will it impose its views upon others, for it believes that the affairs of any country should be and can only be decided by its own people. China maintains that in their struggles against imperialist aggression and for upholding national independence and sovereignty and defending peace in Asia and Africa and the whole world, the people of different countries always support each other. In supporting the just struggles of other peoples, China is only fulfilling its internationalist obligation and will never ask for any reward from others. On the other hand, we regard the just struggles of other peoples as an important support for China, a support which cannot be calculated by weights and measures. In the economic field, China also does everything in its power to extend aid to Afro-Asian countries. We never regard such aid as a kind of unilateral alms, because it is reciprocal and beneficial to both parties. These principles guiding China's relations with the Afro-Asian and other countries have won the approval and welcome of all peoples.

During Chairman Liu's tour, the governments, peoples and public opinion of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Burma have highly appraised China's foreign policy of peace. The warm welcome accorded him in these three friendly neighbouring countries forcefully proves that the friendship between the Chinese and Afro-Asian peoples has a solid foundation.

For a long time, the imperialists headed by the United States and the reactionaries of all countries have tried hard to disrupt the friendly relations between China and the Afro-Asian countries and undermine the profound friendship between the Chinese and Afro-Asian peoples. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that their attempts cannot possibly succeed.

U.S. imperialism and its followers vilify China as being "bellicose." They do so in order to distort the image of China, which follows a foreign policy of peace, in the minds of the people of the world. The only "ground" they can find to support their charge is that the Chinese people resolutely support the just struggles

of various peoples. Let us tell them frankly: whoever they are—the U.S. imperialists or any other imperialists, the Indian expansionists or the reactionaries of any other country—so long as they commit aggression or engage in any other criminal activities against the people, the Chinese people will unhesitatingly stand on the side of those countries who are victims of aggression and on the side of those peoples fighting for a just cause, and firmly support them. Whatever the risks and pressures, China will under no circumstances change this stand.

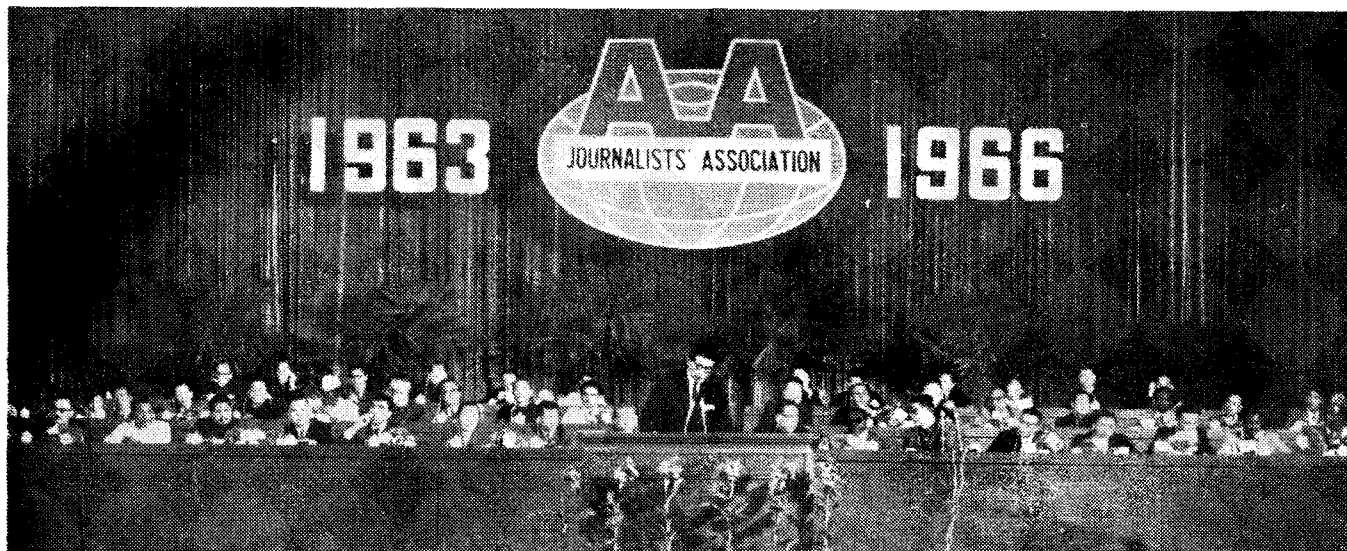
U.S. imperialism and its followers also spare no effort in sowing discord between the Afro-Asian countries and China in an attempt to "isolate" China. This, too, is a vain attempt. The broad masses of the people in Afro-Asian countries want to preserve their independence and sovereignty, to continue to eradicate the remnant imperialist forces and to develop their national economies and culture. This universal demand of the Afro-Asian peoples reflects the inevitable trend of historical development which cannot be checked by any force. The people of the independent Asian and African countries will never agree that their homeland again be reduced to a colony or a semi-colony. China's foreign policy of peace is fully in keeping with this trend of historical development and accords with the fundamental interests of the Afro-Asian countries and peoples. Since the Chinese people have cast their lot with the Asian and African peoples, how can U.S. imperialism "isolate" China? As a matter of fact, it is U.S. imperialism, not China, which is being isolated in Asia and Africa.

"Cordon" Around China — A Paper Wall

For well over 10 years, U.S. imperialism has been building a "crescent cordon" around China. Actually, this "cordon" is no more than a paper wall. Politically, it cannot contain the tremendous influence of China's foreign policy of peace, nor can it play any significant role militarily. This "cordon" is, in fact, a noose that U.S. imperialism has put around its own neck.

The grand and warm welcome which Chairman Liu Shao-chi received in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Burma is another testimony to China's foreign policy of peace. It proves that China's foreign policy is fully correct. The adverse anti-China current which the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries recently have gone all out to stir up has not hurt China a whit. The fact remains that China has friends all over the world. The friendship between the Chinese people and the Afro-Asian and all other peoples of the world will be consolidated and developed further. The Chinese people will, as they did in the past, unite with the Afro-Asian and all other peoples of the world, and resolutely carry through to the end the struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and for peace in Asia and Africa and the whole world.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 21.)



Secretary-General Djawoto addresses the Peking rally celebrating the successful conclusion of the A.A.J.A. meeting and Afro-Asian Journalists' Day

Militant Unity of Journalists

A.A.J.A. Secretariat Meets in Peking

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE 4th Plenary Meeting (Enlarged) of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association which met in Peking concluded on a high note of common struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and accomplices. During the five-day meeting, delegates from 19 Afro-Asian countries and regions heard a general report and a report on the A.A.J.A. Secretariat's temporary withdrawal from Djakarta, both made by Secretary-General Djawoto (for communique and general report, see pages 13 and 16). The meeting accepted the membership applications of journalists' organizations from Laos, the U.A.R., the Congo (L), Palestine, Mozambique and overseas Koreans in Japan, thus increasing the total of its member organizations from 47 to 53.

A series of political resolutions adopted expressed unequivocal support for the just struggles waged by the peoples of the Afro-Asian countries against U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Resolution on Vietnam Question

The resolution on the Vietnam question strongly denounced U.S. imperialism's war of aggression in Vietnam and its "peace talks" fraud. It declared: "The struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation constitutes a brilliant example, a source of confidence and powerful encouragement to the Afro-Asian peoples and other peoples of the world who are opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United

States, in order to regain or defend their national independence and sovereignty."

The resolution expressed full sympathy and complete support for the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation which, it declared, was the only genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people.

It called on members of the A.A.J.A. and progressive and democratic journalists to make full use of all media of information to expose the brutal crimes of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and make known to the world the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

Resolution on Indonesia

The resolution on Indonesia strongly condemned the crime perpetrated by the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime. It voiced the strongest protest against the massacre of more than 300,000 and the imprisonment of more than 150,000 Indonesian patriots and democrats, including over 300 Indonesian newspapermen.

Recent developments in Indonesia, the resolution pointed out, indicated that "scared by the mounting opposition of the Indonesian people against their anti-people's and subversive activities and the ever growing united strength of the revolutionary forces, the reactionary generals have sold themselves to their U.S.

Communique of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat Meeting

THE Secretariat of the A.A.J.A. held its Fourth Plenary Meeting (Enlarged) in Peking from April 20 to 24, 1966. Attending the meeting were the delegations from 19 countries and areas, namely: Algeria, Azania (South Africa), Cambodia, Ceylon, China, the Congo (Leopoldville), Guinea, Indonesia, Japan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mali, Mozambique, Palestine, Syria, Tanzania, the United Arab Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, south Vietnam, (F.N.L.) and Zimbabwe. The delegations of Pakistan and Zambia, which could not come, sent telegrams supporting the meeting.

The secretariat received a letter in support of the meeting from Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, expressing his understanding of the withdrawal of the secretariat from Djakarta and his sympathy for the present meeting, and messages of greetings from the journalists' organizations and national-liberation movements of many countries. Mr. Wan Li, Vice-Mayor of Peking, attended the opening ceremony and addressed the meeting. On behalf of the host country, he made a speech expressing his warm welcome to the delegates and his greetings to the meeting.

The meeting heard a report by Mr. Djawoto, the Secretary-General. This was followed by thorough and warm discussions.

The meeting adopted a series of political resolutions expressing unequivocal and firm support for the just struggles being waged by the people of Vietnam, the Congo (L), Palestine and other Afro-Asian countries

against U.S.-led imperialism and old and new colonialism. The meeting also strongly denounced the persecution of progressive journalists by the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries.

After hearing the Secretary-General's report on the A.A.J.A. Secretariat's temporary withdrawal from Djakarta, the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the decision on the temporary withdrawal from Djakarta, made in December 1965 by the secretariat's permanent secretaries, and expressed its thanks to the permanent secretaries for their outstanding efforts in continuing their work in accordance with the guiding principles of the Djakarta Declaration and the A.A.J.A. Constitution.

The meeting unanimously decided that the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference should be held in Algiers within one year.

The meeting unanimously decided that the working place of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat should be in Peking until the convocation of the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference.

The meeting accepted the applications of the journalists' organizations of the Congo (L), overseas Koreans in Japan, Laos, Mozambique, Palestine and the U.A.R. for membership. Their delegates have accepted the Djakarta Declaration adopted at the first A.A.J.C. in 1963.

An atmosphere of friendship and co-operation, which fully demonstrated the militant unity of Afro-Asian journalists, prevailed at the meeting from beginning to end.

masters. They aimed their attacks at destroying the revolutionary, progressive forces, and at overthrowing the anti-imperialist Government of Indonesia led by President Sukarno. Now they have established a reactionary regime in Indonesia which is following readily in the wake of the U.S. imperialist policy. The event of 30 September, 1965 was used as a mere pretext to realize these vicious aims. . . . All this has established the indisputable fact that a cunningly and well-prepared slow-but-surely-going coup d'etat of an extremely reactionary and criminal nature has been staged by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys."

Expressing confidence that the Indonesian people's movement of resistance would grow in momentum and become a mighty force capable of changing the present situation, the resolution declared: "We demand the immediate release of all democrats, including the journalists, and restoration of democratic rights. We appeal to all journalists in Asia and Africa to add their voice to this demand."

Another document adopted by the meeting condemned the persecution, murder and imprisonment of progressive and revolutionary journalists by U.S.-led imperialists and the fascist, military and racist regimes in Indonesia, Ghana, south Vietnam, south Korea, Zimbabwe, Aden and elsewhere in Asia and Africa. It appealed to all journalists to raise their voices against these crimes and mobilize the mass media to expose the reactionary nature of these regimes.

Other resolutions adopted included those in support of the Palestinian people's struggle against Israel, the Congolese (L) people's struggle, the Malayan people's struggle to crush "Malaysia," the struggle of the people and patriotic forces of Laos, the Kashmir people's struggle for their right to self-determination, the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese reactionaries, Cambodia's struggle to safeguard national independence and territorial integrity, in support of the Ceylonese Journalists' Association, in support of the struggle waged by the Korean people and

journalists against U.S. imperialism and the "ROK-Japan Treaty," of the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people, Cambodia's policy of self-reliance in national construction by doing without so-called American "aid," the North Kalimantan people's struggle for national independence and against British neo-colonialist "Malaysia," the Azanian (South African) people's resolve to use revolutionary violence to meet reactionary violence, resolutions concerning the U.S.-Anglo-Iranian plot in the Arabian Gulf Area, condemning the Islamic Pact, in support of the freedom fighters of Bahrein, condemning the persecution of journalists and freedom fighters in Arab countries, supporting the struggle of the people of Aden, on the struggle waged by the people of Mozambique, Angola and "Portuguese" Guinea against Portuguese colonialists, on the American people's struggle against the U.S. Government's war policy, in support of the struggle of the Philippine people against sending Philippine troops to south Vietnam, condemning British suppression of the peoples of the so-called High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, on solidarity with the Latin American peoples, on the Yemeni question, condemning the military coups d'etat staged by U.S.-led imperialists in Africa, and on the complete liquidation of foreign military bases.

All these resolutions and the appeal were adopted unanimously after a full exchange of views. At the general sessions and commission meetings, delegates expressed agreement with the Secretary-General's report and the decision to withdraw the A.A.J.A. Secretariat from Djakarta. They also told about their own struggles.

Huynh Van Ly (south Vietnam) gave an account of the victories won by the south Vietnamese army men and civilians in their heroic struggle and condemned the U.S. scorched-earth policy. He said that the smoke of Johnson's "peace" shells could never obscure the countless U.S. crimes committed in south Vietnam. He declared that when the enemy was still in south Vietnam, when it continued to massacre the south Vietnamese people with bombs and bullets, nobody could make his people stop half way in their resistance. "There can be no peace for those being enslaved."

Luu Quy Ky (D.R.V.) declared that the Vietnamese people were determined to fight on until final victory, no matter how long this took — 5, 10 or 20 years. He told the meeting about the victories won against U.S. air pirates.

Mazin el Bandak (Palestine Liberation Organization) declared that the national-liberation movements had no choice but to fight. "Either fight or surrender, we choose to fight," he said. The Middle East, he pointed out, now faced a new revolutionary struggle. He described the Palestine problem as one caused by Zionist-imperialist aggression backed by U.S. might.

Ramazani Sebastien (National Council for the Liberation of the Congo (L)) exposed U.S. imperialist ambitions to dominate his country and the mass murder of defenceless Congolese inhabitants. He called on

the Afro-Asian peoples to render moral and material help to his people's armed struggle.

Ros Chet Thor (Cambodia) denounced U.S. imperialism and its Thai and south Vietnamese underlings for their subversion, pressure, plots, threats and acts of aggression against Cambodia since it had declared its adherence to the principles of Bandung. He cited Cambodia's example to show that the Afro-Asian countries could get on very well without American "aid" or ties with the United States.

Tikiri Banda Peramunetilleke (Ceylon) told the meeting that only through armed struggle could the imperialists be defeated. He condemned U.S. aggressive crimes in Vietnam and called on journalists to expose the "double-faced, double-tongued hypocrite revolutionaries who are trying to deceive the people with their so-called policy of 'peaceful coexistence.'"

Belazoug (Algeria) stated that the Algerian people would spare no effort to support the Vietnamese, Palestinian, Congolese (L) and other peoples fighting imperialism.

Mei Yi (China) declared that in order to isolate and deal blows at U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to the greatest possible extent, the people of the world must further broaden and strengthen the international united front against U.S. imperialism. This front should be based on the solidarity of the revolutionary people of the world, but it should definitely not include the lackeys, accomplices and collaborators of U.S. imperialism.

Discussing the current world situation, Mei Yi said: "The various political forces are going through a violent process of division and reorganization. While some people have been thrown off the train of the revolution, more and more people are joining the revolutionary ranks. The whole world is undergoing a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization.

"In face of such drastic changes in the international situation, the mouthpieces of imperialism, while alarmed at the 'chaos' in the world today, shout loudly that 'the East wind does not seem to prevail over the West wind.' The propaganda machines of the modern revisionists who fear and oppose revolutions and who capitulate to imperialism yell about the 'deteriorating' situation, fearing that the revolutionary storm raised by the people of the world will shatter their fond dream of collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

"We progressive journalists, however, hold that the current great upheaval, great division and great reorganization is a reflection of the deepening of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the world's people. In essence and from the viewpoint of development, the situation is fine, not terrible. It is favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries."

Mei Yi said that the national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa was entering a new stage. On the one hand, the Afro-Asian peoples urgently demanded

the thorough liquidation of the forces of imperialism and its lackeys. On the other hand, the imperialists headed by the United States were trying their utmost to stage a come-back in Asia and Africa. More than at any time in the past, the people of Asia and Africa urgently needed to carry forward the fight against imperialism, old and new colonialism and their lackeys.

"However, the propaganda machines of the modern revisionists, with the C.P.S.U. leaders as their centre, continue to babble about and spread the old tune of so-called 'peaceful coexistence.' They say that 'colonialism has disappeared' and that 'a tiny spark can start a world war' and so on. Their purpose is simply to cover up the acute contradiction between imperialism, new and old colonialism headed by the United States on the one hand and the oppressed nations on the other, paralyse the revolutionary will of the Afro-Asian peoples, and persuade the oppressed nations to abandon their revolutionary struggle for liberation and for ever suffer oppression and enslavement by imperialism and its lackeys."

Supeno (Indonesia) reported on the political situation in his country since October 1965. He denounced the fascist military dictatorship of **Generals Suharto and Nasution** which had massacred hundreds of thousands of Indonesian patriots.

He said: "In Indonesia today many families are in mourning, wives have lost their husbands, children are separated from their parents, and in concentration camps are heard the groans of patriots who are subjected to cruel torture. And far away beyond the ocean, the imperialists are laughing their heads off. They lavishly heap praises and laud the Council of Generals for having faithfully executed their directives. They promptly sent money and materiel to bolster the position of the Council of Generals."

Strongly condemning the Indonesian Right-wing forces' intervention in the A.A.J.A., Supeno said: "They have completely forgotten that the A.A.J.A. is not a national organization but an international one." He solemnly concluded that the Indonesian people could never be subjugated. "Hundreds of thousands have fallen, but millions will stand up to take their place and fight on," he said.

Yuichi Kobayashi (Japan) condemned the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, noting that they were tightening their control of mass media in Japan as they tried to embroil the Japanese people in a new world war. He assailed the Soviet revisionists for their disruptive activities among Japanese journalists.

Jean Baptiste Deen (Guinea) declared the Asian and African journalists should ceaselessly denounce the imperialists' schemes. Condemning the recent coups in Ghana and other African countries, he said: "We should counter imperialist violence with revolutionary violence."

Kang Sang Wooi (Korea) denounced U.S. imperialism for having turned south Korea into its colony, into a military base for the occupation of the whole of Korea,

and into a bridgehead for aggression in the Far East and Asia.

Bakary Traore (Mali) exposed imperialist schemes to subvert the progressive governments in Africa, including Mali. "We have long realized," he said, "that it was a question between imperialism and us, a question of life and death. We prefer to run the risk of confronting our enemies face to face rather than begging to them and taking some timid steps backwards." Experience had proved that those who retreated most often fell, he concluded.

Valentim Sithole (Mozambique) declared that his people had come to realize that the only way to liberate their country from Portuguese colonial rule was to take up arms and meet reactionary violence with revolutionary violence.

Peter Kagisa (Tanzania) pointed out that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was engaging in subversive activities in all parts of the world. In Africa, it was trying to overthrow progressive governments, sabotage the Organization of African Unity and undermine influential progressive leaders.

A.R. Aboukoss (Syria) lashed out at U.S. imperialism for its aggression and intervention against the peoples of the Arab countries. The Arab revolution, he said, had entered the arena of worldwide people's revolution and had begun to make its own contributions to smashing U.S.-led imperialism.

Ibrahim Said Baathy (United Arab Republic) denounced imperialist aggression in the Arab countries and other parts of the world. He supported the struggle of the Vietnamese people and condemned U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Don Kwaedza Muvuti (Zimbabwe) declared that his people rejected the path of appeasement and capitulation and was "determined to conduct armed struggle against the imperialist enemy relentlessly, until victory is won."

L.E. Morrison (Azania, i.e., South Africa) said that his people had decided to take up arms against Verwoerd and his henchmen, tools of the imperialists and colonialists headed by the United States. He added: "We have learnt through bitter lessons that the policy of 'peaceful coexistence,' of co-operation with the enemy, is a bankrupt and dangerous policy, which should be completely exposed and opposed."

* * *

The success of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat meeting was warmly greeted by the Chinese public and press. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Vice-Premier Chen Yi on different occasions received the delegates and Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, gave a banquet in their honour. The All-China Journalists' Association also organized a reception for them. On April 24, over 1,500 journalists from China and other Afro-Asian countries attended a rally to celebrate both the A.A.J.A. meet-

(Continued on p. 24.)

General Report by Djawoto

In his general report, Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, dealt extensively with the current international political situation. He also reported on the activities of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat since its last meeting over a year ago, as well as on its future work. Following is an account of the report. — Ed.

AS a firm, anti-imperialist international journalists' organization, the A.A.J.A. would, together with the fighting people of the world, carry forward the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism resolutely, until they had been wiped completely off the face of the earth, declared Djawoto.

"We are firm upholders of the Bandung elan. We will not compromise with any of the forces who are anti-people.

"We will with candour, without fear and with no holds barred, continuously expose all those who have fallen prey to reactionary pragmatism, who have capitulated."

On the international situation, Djawoto strongly condemned U.S. imperialism's aggression against Vietnam and its policies of aggression and war in the rest of Asia, Africa and throughout the world.

He denounced the hypocrite revolutionaries for the treacherous and sinister role they were playing, in aiding and abetting U.S. imperialism in its schemes of aggression.

Djawoto said that the present world situation was excellent for the peoples of the world. The struggle waged by the peoples of Africa, Asia and of the whole world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism was today advancing to an unprecedented peak. The line of demarcation between the forces of aggression and subversion and the peoples who were for liberation and peace had become as clear as crystal, he said.

"On the one hand stand the forces of imperialism, headed by the United States, their lackeys and those who have capitulated to them, while on the other are arrayed the mighty, resolute anti-imperialist forces who hold that there can be no compromise between them and the imperialists, between the oppressor and the oppressed," he said.

The focus of U.S. aggression had moved from Europe to the storm centres of the anti-imperialist struggle in the world. Africa, Asia and Latin America bore the brunt of imperialist aggression today, he said.

"And it is here and nowhere else, in these areas, where the peoples' resistance has been the most telling, dealing hammer-like death blows at the imperialists and their lackeys."

In Vietnam, which had become the focal point of the aggressive designs of the imperialists, the heroic Vietnamese people were demonstrating to the world that "it is not weapons, but the courage, determination and consciousness of a people who dare to make battle against aggression and overcome reaction that decide their future, that can bring them genuine independence and freedom. The whole people of Vietnam are engaged in the struggle against aggression, thus giving the fullest play to the strength of people's war. The victories scored by the Vietnamese people have fully proved the fact that people's war is the best method of dealing with U.S. imperialist aggression," Djawoto said.

Dangling before the world their fraudulent "peace" proposals, U.S. aggressors had exposed their desperate position, aiming to fool the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms, he continued. It was also here, in Vietnam, where the apologists of imperialism were making frantic efforts to mislead the Vietnamese people into accepting the "peaceful" overtures of the imperialists, that the suicidal nature of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism was being thoroughly laid bare.

For all genuine revolutionaries there was only one line to take on the Vietnamese question, and that was to unequivocally support the 4-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 5-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, he said.

Djawoto condemned the Indonesian military fascist dictatorship of Generals Nasution and Suharto for cruelly murdering hundreds of thousands of patriots and jailing hundreds of thousands more. In Indonesia where "all elementary democratic rights have been denied by the military fascist dictatorship clique, one sees already the stirring of the people's resistance, that will sooner or later encompass the whole of Indonesia, returning this country to the anti-imperialist fold. The prospect of this struggle is bright and the final victory is sure to come."

Djawoto also spoke of the anti-U.S. imperialist struggles waged by other Asian peoples.

Djawoto said that the African people were carrying on a firm struggle to stop the return of the imperialists and colonialists to their homelands.

The Congolese (L) people had resolutely chosen the path of armed struggle. In "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola, the colonialists were meeting defeat after defeat at the hands of the national-liberation movements in these territories. "The correctness of armed struggle is aptly illustrated in these regions in Africa," Djawoto said.

He said: "The reactionaries of Ghana seem to have gained the upper hand, but it is only temporary. The people of Ghana, steeled in the struggle against colonialism, will not look on passively. After the reactionary imperialist military coup in Ghana, a new upsurge of the struggle of the African people against imperialist subversion, intervention, aggression and oppression has come to the fore."

He also spoke of the anti-imperialist struggles of other African peoples.

The whole Latin American continent was seething with discontent against the U.S. imperialists, the greedy control of their national economies by the U.S. monopoly capitalists, and the continued gross interference by U.S. imperialism in the internal affairs of all Latin American countries, he added. In many of them, the people had resorted to armed struggle.

"The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples has reached unparalleled heights, while imperialism headed by the United States is at the end of its rope. Such is the main current in Asia, Africa and Latin America today."

Djawoto said: "The most pressing task facing the people of the storm centres is to enhance their militant solidarity, further consolidate and broaden the international united front against imperialism headed by the United States to the widest possible extent and isolate U.S. imperialism as much as they can. There is no doubt that if we want to consolidate and expand the anti-imperialist front we must expose and oppose those hypocrite revolutionaries who co-operate and collaborate with U.S. imperialism and have become the enemy of the Afro-Asian people."

Djawoto condemned the attempt of the imperialist forces headed by the United States to isolate China.

He said that the Asian and African peoples were not deceived. To them China was a brother and no amount of slander or attempts at isolation could separate the people of China from the rest of the storm centres.

He pointed out that some people had been scared by the apparent strength of imperialism. Afraid of this tottering "giant" with feet of clay, they had come to terms with him, capitulated and, together with the reactionaries, sabotaged the struggle against imperialism. Proclaiming aloud that they were anti-imperialists, they had, with monotonous regularity, churned out apologies and excuses for imperialism. Together with the imperialists, they supported the reactionary cliques of various countries. They pretended to be the

"intimate friends" of the Afro-Asian peoples, hypocritically playing with the term "solidarity," so that they could sow discord and carry out splitting activities among the Afro-Asian peoples, thus attempting to undermine their solidarity against imperialism. They were splitting the liberation movements.

It was these "friends" who had armed the reactionary forces of India, who refused to condemn them when they attacked another socialist country, China, and when they committed aggression against Pakistan. It was these "friends," who while shouting aloud from the rooftops about self-determination, refused to condemn India for suppressing the struggle for self-determination of the Kashmir people.

It was the wrong advice given to that patriot of Africa, Patrice Lumumba, by such "friends" who brought the U.S.-controlled U.N. forces into the Congo that resulted in his brutal murder and the plundering of the wealth of that country by the U.S. imperialists. It was these "friends" who were supporting the moribund and reactionary groups within the national-liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They had thus been keeping themselves out of the people's anti-imperialist front, and setting themselves in opposition to the people.

Djawoto said that the imperialists, afraid of the rising tide of the anti-imperialist forces, had to counter-attack, they had to plan subversion, they had to resort to all kinds of cunning and sinister schemes, directly or using their local lackeys.

"The imperialists are acting in this way in sheer desperation. We should not be afraid of these developments, nor should we attempt to turn away and try to compromise with imperialism.

"On the contrary, it has been proved by the history of mankind that a frenzied counter-attack of the dying reactionaries always anticipates the approaching of the still greater victories of the new forces. This is a great victory which will swallow up all the imperialist and colonialist systems."

Djawoto said that the great upheaval showed the increase in the tempo of the pulse of the era. In this forward march, the people might meet with difficulties or suffer setbacks here and there. But this would only help them to draw lessons from defeats and to sharpen their swords in order to deal the enemy still deadlier blows.

"In this last year or so the political consciousness of the Afro-Asian journalists and their complete identity with the anti-imperialist struggle can be judged by the high revolutionary standard of journalism that is evident, as well as the greater participation of the Afro-Asian journalists in the everyday struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples," Djawoto said.

He condemned the imperialists for exerting every effort to establish not only military bases in Africa and Asia, but also "bases" of mass communication

media, with the help of the reactionaries and their agents. They financed, overtly or covertly, these "bases" for various kinds of activities for subverting the progressive movement in Asia and Africa. The imperialists and their lackeys knew that journalism was a powerful weapon, and, therefore, they tried to control or to influence the press, radio and television in Asia and Africa by various means. Here and there in Africa and Asia, the press lords from the West still controlled various firms of mass media. Resolute action had to be taken against their lies, their slanders, their distortion of the life and struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa. "We must expose them, and engage them in a tit-for-tat struggle," Djawoto declared.

He said: "Our progressive and militant colleagues have, in many instances, been the butt of persecution of the imperialists and their lackeys."

"In Indonesia, hundreds of progressive journalists, who have been in the forefront of the anti-imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist struggle, are now suffering in jail. Many have been brutally murdered. Many have been subjected to the most inhuman tortures and indignities. Their progressive papers have all been banned.

"In Ghana, the first target, as was evidenced in Indonesia, of the CIA sponsored Right-wing military coup leaders was the progressive journalists. Various progressive papers have been clamped down. Numerous of our colleagues have been arrested and imprisoned."

He also referred to the persecution of journalists in south Korea, south Vietnam and many other countries. He said: "We strongly condemn the persecution of these journalists, brothers of ours, and express our firm support for and solidarity with them."

He said that in Indonesia, military fascist dictatorship, afraid of the truths being told by the Hsinhua News Agency, had closed down its office in Djakarta.

"This fear that the imperialists and their lackeys have for our press," he said, "is a sign of our strength; it is a sign of the fear that the imperialists and their lackeys have for the truth that we disseminate."

Djawoto said: "Our activities are based on and guided by the common struggle against imperialism, rallying all progressive journalists by promoting revolutionary solidarity and co-operation through journalism. On the contrary, the International Press Institute, International Federation of Journalists and Asian Press Organization, backed by the imperialists and their agents, are carrying out activities among journalists to hamper the progressive movements everywhere and to spread reactionary and counter-revolutionary ideas and concepts of journalism."

He condemned those persons who claimed that they were anti-imperialist, but who actually connived with imperialism. They preached a journalism "free from politics," and meandered and waddled in technical expertise in journalism as the only criterion for true

journalism. They attacked imperialism only on trifles, making a big fanfare about these "expositions" and "attacks" of theirs, but stayed clear from opposing imperialism on major and fundamental issues. Through these double standards of theirs, they tried to deceive the peoples, and in that way achieve their purpose of serving and helping imperialism.

Referring to the activities of the A.A.J.A. in the past year or more since the last plenary meeting, Djawoto said that it had spared no efforts to fulfil its duty as an anti-imperialist and progressive organization of journalists. In the light of important international events at various times, the A.A.J.A. had issued statements, condemning the crimes of aggression committed by imperialism and colonialism headed by the United States against the peoples of the world and especially the peoples of Asia and Africa, and supporting the people's struggles.

The organ of the A.A.J.A. consistently and systematically upheld and propagated the principle of the Djakarta Declaration.

One of the most important tasks the A.A.J.A. accomplished, was the holding of its first course for journalists.

The A.A.J.A. had participated in nine international or regional conferences, and through the participation in these conferences and friendly visits, the A.A.J.A. had closely linked itself with the progressive movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular and the whole world in general. It had sent four friendship delegations to visit many countries in Africa and Asia.

As to the future work of the A.A.J.A., he said, "The A.A.J.A., as a progressive and militant anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist organization, is duty bound to firmly stand with the Afro-Asian peoples, thoroughly exposing the crimes committed by U.S. imperialism and supporting the just struggles of the peoples the world over."

He stressed, "The anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist banner should be raised high and active support be given to the people all over the world in general, and the people in Asia and Africa in particular, in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for their national liberation." "The secretariat regards its support for the Vietnamese people's struggle as one of its most important tasks," he said.

He also dealt with some other concrete tasks such as: the secretariat should try to make closer contact with its member countries, to improve the association's publication and propaganda work, to continue to conduct the Afro-Asian journalist courses, and to organize some professional activities such as seminars of correspondents, editors, commentators, etc.

In conclusion, Djawoto declared, the secretariat would work for the convening of the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference as soon as possible.

The Five-Starred Red Flag Is Inviolable

CHAO Hsiao-shou and some other members of the Chinese embassy staff in Indonesia have returned to Peking to a hero's welcome from people all over China. While in Djakarta, they and other comrades heroically defended China's national flag against attacks by Indonesian fascist thugs who raided the Chinese Embassy on April 15.

In the face of fascist violence, the members of the Chinese Embassy displayed the dauntless spirit of defying death and daring to struggle, symbolic of the unshakable heroism of the great Chinese people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. China is not to be bullied!

On the morning of April 15, in Banteng Square in Djakarta, where Indonesian hooligans staged an anti-China meeting, pandemonium reigned. The meeting



The five-starred red flag of the People's Republic of China flies proudly at the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia

was organized by the Indonesian Right-wing military regime.

At 10:50 hours (local time), fully armed members of the Indonesian armed forces, ganging up with hooligans and secret agents of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, drove to the Chinese Embassy in down-town Djakarta in dozens of trucks.

Scores of hooligans and armed soldiers climbed over the wall into the embassy compound. The first target of the screaming thugs was the flagstaff on the lawn of the Embassy. They tried to haul down China's national flag by force.

At this point, eight members of the embassy staff, including First Secretary Lu Tzu-po and Deputy Military Attache Shih Hsin-jen, rushed to the defence of the five-starred red flag which is symbolic of the great Chinese people and the honour of China.

Arms locked, they formed a ring round the flagstaff and condemned the club-and-dagger-wielding thugs and kept them at bay for half an hour.

In the meantime, hooligans outside the Embassy stormed the gate with trucks and armoured cars and broke it down. Thugs poured into the compound and attacked the defenders of the flag with clubs, iron bars and rocks.

Chao Hsiao-shou, Hu Chao-pin and three other staff members of the Embassy hurried to the aid of their eight comrades in order to safeguard the national flag. When an Indonesian thug raised an iron bar to attack Hu Chao-pin, 26-year-old Chao Hsiao-shou, a probationary member of the Chinese Communist Party, shielded Hu Chao-pin with outstretched arms. Suddenly, a helmeted Indonesian armyman, hiding among the hooligans, took aim at and opened fire on Chao Hsiao-shou from a distance less than ten metres. Chao Hsiao-shou was hit in the right side of his chest and was seriously wounded. He fell and blood poured from the wound. As another fascist armyman took aim at Hu Chao-pin, Shih Hsin-jen pushed the gun aside and the bullet whistled past Hu Chao-pin.

By then, more than 1,000 hooligans and fascist armymen had swarmed into the embassy compound. The gangsters pulled down the Chinese flag, tore it up and fired at random with submachine-guns. They also smashed the national emblem of China.

Using iron bars and clubs, the thugs smashed the doors, windows and furniture in all the rooms except those at the back. They cut the telephone lines and carried off the telephones. They smashed or burnt up embassy buildings, equipment, motor-cars, documents



Staff members of the Chinese Embassy fearlessly defend China's national flag from being insulted by hooligans wielding daggers, clubs and iron bars

and other things and took away cars and a large amount of valuables, clothing and other things.

The orgy of destruction lasted three hours. When the thugs left, they shamelessly shouted: "Long live the U.S.A.!" and "We've carried out the mission assigned by Uncle Suharto of smashing the Chinese Embassy!"

As the thugs were leaving, Adam Malik, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Indonesian Right-wing military regime, entered the main hall of the Embassy, escorted by a group of armed soldiers and hooligans.

Yao Teng-shan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy, immediately lodged the strongest protest with Malik, who had agitated for an attack on the Chinese Embassy in a message to the anti-China meeting just before the raid.

Other officials of the Embassy on the scene pointed to Comrade Chao Hsiao-shou, who was in a state of shock, and to his blood-stained shirt. They protested to Malik and told him: "We will accuse you before the whole world of a fascist outrage!"

Speechless with embarrassment, Malik hurriedly quit the Embassy. The embassy staff cried out their condemnation of the thugs.

Immediately after the hooligans' departure, a staff member of the Embassy climbed to the top of the flagstaff with a new five-starred red flag and the national flag of China was flying proudly once more.

During this fierce struggle with the Indonesian fascists, all the members of the Chinese Embassy displayed a dauntless proletarian spirit and unswerving loyalty to their motherland, to their people and to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They knew that the more

fiercely the enemy attacked the Chinese people, the clearer the evidence that they had acted correctly. The gangsterism of the Indonesian Right-wing military regime in trampling on elementary standards of international law and accepted diplomatic immunity fully revealed the fascist character of the regime and exposed its weakness and desperation. Our comrades had looked contemptuously at the hooligans and courageously defied the fascist armymen who pointed the muzzles of their guns at them.

The motherland's solicitude gave the embassy staff great encouragement. They said: "We assure our Party's Central Committee, Chairman Mao and the people of our country that we are ready to lay down our lives to defend the honour of our country."

Chao Hsiao-shou's proletarian heroism was an inspiration to all his comrades. After Indonesian hooligans had attacked the Chinese Consulate-General and the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, Chao Hsiao-shou told his comrades: "Wang Chieh had the courage to rise above hardships and death. Like him, we must act as Chairman Mao has told us. We must always keep in mind our people and our motherland. If the Indonesian Right-wing forces dare to attack us, I will stay at my post and fight them, no matter what the cost."

After Chao Hsiao-shou was wounded, his comrades hastened to his side to give him first aid. As he gradually revived, he told his comrades: "Don't bother about me! Carry on the struggle!"

As he was carried to hospital, he continued to murmur: "The thugs . . . get . . . get out!" He did not groan once despite his great pain.

"We must do everything to save Comrade Chao Hsiao-shou," said Yao Teng-shan. Embassy members took turns sitting with Chao Hsiao-shou day and night. Many gave blood transfusions. Yao Teng-shan visited Chao Hsiao-shou in hospital and told him how the people at home were concerned about his condition.

Chao Hsiao-shou said: "I have not quite fulfilled the task assigned me by the people of the motherland. I will continue the struggle." Yao Teng-shan told him: "You have fulfilled your task superbly and defended our national flag and the honour of the motherland with heroism. You are a fine son of the motherland!" Later, Chao Hsiao-shou was informed that he had been admitted into the Chinese Communist Party as a full member.

Chao Hsiao-shou is the son of a poor peasant family. When New China was founded, he was less than ten years old. He joined the People's Liberation Army in 1958 and was cited as an outstanding soldier because he had distinguished himself in studying Chair-

man Mao Tse-tung's works, following his guidance and acting in accordance with his instructions. After being demobilized, he was assigned to work abroad.

In the days after he had been wounded, Chao Hsiao-shou said that he had done no more than a citizen of China ought to do. Although he never uttered a sound despite his pain, when his comrades told him how the Chinese Communist Party and the

motherland were concerned about his condition, he was moved to tears and said: "I thank the Party, Chairman Mao and the people of our country."

Since his return to Peking on April 23, many comrades have visited him and expressed their solicitude. His reply to them was: "The Communist Party and Chairman Mao made me what I am. The people of the motherland have given me boundless strength."

Foreign Ministry Notes

Strongest Protests Against Indonesian Government's Deliberate Anti-China Outrages

Indonesian army men and hoodlums have raided, wrecked and seized the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, the office and living quarters of the Chinese Consulate-General, two separate embassy living quarters as well as the office of its Military Attache.

Following are the main contents of three notes from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Indonesian Embassy in China. — Ed.

April 20 Note

AT 09:15 hours on April 19, 1966, about 300 Indonesian Right-wing hooligans, equipped with knives, pistols and other weapons and led by three police officers, forced the gate of the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta with a truck and broke into its compound. They declared to the employees looking after the Consulate-General: "We have come on the orders of Uncle Amir, Commander of the Fifth Military Area, to take over the Chinese Consulate-General. From now on, this building belongs to us." They put up over the gate a big streamer bearing the name of the Right-wing hooligans' organization, "The Headquarters of the Arif Rachman Hakim Regiment." Then, they broke into the store-room of the Consulate-General, took out provisions and devoured and drank them. They abused China's state leaders and cursed the Chinese nationals. After forcibly confining the two care-taker employees and their dependents to two rooms, they rabidly smashed or burnt up the equipment and facilities of the Consulate-General. They brazenly tore up the national flag of the People's Republic of China and hoisted the triangular yellow flag of "the Indonesian College Students' United Action Command" on the flagstaff.

of the Consulate-General. They wilfully looted the Consulate-General and carried away several truckloads of furniture and other property. The ringleader of the hooligans ordered that all valuables should be taken away, with none of them left behind. Large numbers of hooligans spent that night in the Consulate-General, carousing, rioting, dancing the twist, singing bawdy songs and behaving bestially until day-break. The care-taker employees of the Consulate-General and their dependents were not released by the hooligans until 10:00 hours, the next day.

In the meantime, the Chinese Embassy repeatedly made representations and protests with the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Headquarters of the Fifth Military Area. But the Indonesian Government and Army authorities deliberately procrastinated and evaded handling the matter. Now the Chinese Consulate-General is still occupied by the hooligans. Obviously, this outrage has been purposely engineered by the Indonesian Government. It constitutes another extremely serious step taken by the Indonesian Government to rupture the relations between the two countries, after organizing armed troops and hooligans to raid the Embassy of the People's Republic of China on April 15. Against it, the Government of the People's Republic of China hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government.

It is completely futile for the Indonesian Government to deny its responsibility for the attacks on the

Chinese missions. Not only was there direct participation of Indonesian armed forces in the attack on the Chinese Embassy on April 15, but prior to it Indonesian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Adam Malik flagrantly addressed an anti-Chinese meeting of the bloody-minded hooligans, inciting them to activities against China and the Chinese nationals, and after it he received and highly commended representatives of the criminal hooligans. This time, the Right-wing hooligans have wrecked and seized the Chinese Consulate-General, and the Indonesian Government has all along failed to take any measures to stop the crime of the hooligans despite repeated representations by the Chinese Embassy. All these are facts which you can in no way deny.

While intensifying its sabotage of the relations between the two countries, the Indonesian Government hypocritically claimed that it was "willing to maintain friendly relations with the People's Republic of China" and that it "guarantees the safety of the Chinese Embassy and Chinese nationals in Indonesia." But scarcely had these words issued from the mouth than there occurred the incident in which hooligans led by Indonesian police smashed up the Chinese Consulate-General. This fact alone suffices to demonstrate that the above high-sounding words are utterly false. In the past few months, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have attacked Chinese missions in Indonesia for as many as 17 times, injuring or wounding by gun-fire dozens of Chinese personnel, diplomatic, consular and journalist, and savagely persecuted thousands of innocent Chinese nationals. Since you have already trampled underfoot the rudimentary code of international relations and indulged in wild attack on China and Chinese nationals, how can you speak of "maintenance of friendship" or "guarantee of safety"? Your crimes in attacking China and persecuting Chinese nationals can in no way be covered up.

The Chinese Government sternly demands that the Indonesian Government take immediate measures, expel the hooligans who have forcibly occupied the Chinese Consulate-General, return the Chinese Consulate-General and compensate for all the losses, and that it must from now on effectively ensure the safety of the Chinese missions. The Chinese Government reserves the right to raise further demands after ascertaining the full details of this incident.

April 22 Note

ACCORDING to preliminary reports received by the Chinese Government, about 70 Indonesian Right-wing hooligans, supported by the 323rd Battalion of the Siliwangi Division of the Indonesian Army, sacked and seized the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy at 09:45 hours on April 20, 1966. After forcing their way into the front courtyard in trucks and motor cars, they climbed over the wall and the house, entered the inner courtyard and engaged in

rabid wrecking and looting, smashing up the furniture, equipment as well as doors and windows. They smeared the walls with anti-Chinese slogans and even smashed a bust of the Chinese people's beloved leader Chairman Mao and burnt or carried away the Chinese national flag and national emblem. Having locked up in one room the employees taking care of the building, they opened and ransacked the store-room, kitchen and bedrooms and carried away the seized property in several trucks. They shouted that they had come on orders to take over the building and that it henceforth belonged to them. They also hoisted the flag of the Right-wing organization, "The Union of Islamic Students of Indonesia," on the flagstaff of the Commercial Counsellor's Office. On the morning of April 21, the above-mentioned troops and hooligans repeatedly forced the caretaker employees to move out and threatened: "We have taken over this place. We'll kill you if you don't move out." Then they forcibly escorted these employees out of the Commercial Counsellor's Office.

After the incident, the Chinese Embassy made repeated protests and representations with the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the police authorities concerned, demanding that they take immediate measures to expel the hooligans, stop the looting and protect the employees looking after the building. However, the Indonesian Government refused to handle the matter by procrastination and quibbling. The police authorities concerned even declared: "We cannot expel them without orders from above."

At 13:30 hours on April 21, another group of more than 30 Right-wing hooligans, equipped with pistols, rifles and other weapons and led by armed soldiers, seized the living quarters of the Chinese Consulate-General. They climbed over the wall into the compound, smashed open a door and grabbed the keys from the employee taking care of the house. They then opened all the doors, swarmed into and ransacked all the rooms, seized property and smeared the walls with anti-Chinese slogans. They declared that they had occupied the house and forced the care-taker employee to leave.

At 24:00 hours on April 21, still another group of more than 50 armed soldiers and hooligans, carrying knives and other weapons, broke into the living quarters of the Chinese Embassy at No. 72 Djati Petamburan Street, Djakarta. They declared to the care-taker employee that they had come to take over the house. Then they broke into all the rooms, looted the property and carried away a great deal of furniture and other things in trucks.

Following close on the armed raid of the Chinese Embassy by hooligans organized by the Indonesian Government, there have occurred these successive grave incidents of wrecking and seizure of the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, the office and living quarters of the Chinese Consulate-General and the living quarters of the Embassy. This is obviously a planned action of the Indonesian Government. From continually organizing hooligans to at-

tack and wreck the Chinese diplomatic missions, you have gone still further to take the grave measure of occupying them by force. This shows that the Indonesian Government is fast pushing the relations between the two countries to a complete rupture. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against the above-mentioned grave incidents.

The Chinese Government sternly demands that the Indonesian Government at once expel the hooligans who have forcibly occupied the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, the living quarters of the Embassy and the office and living quarters of the Chinese Consulate-General, compensate for all the losses and truly ensure the safety of the Chinese missions. The Chinese Government reserves the right to raise further demands.

April 24 Note

AT 08:00 hours on April 21, 1966, a group of Indonesian hooligans, equipped with daggers, iron bars and other weapons and supported by personnel of the Siliwangi Division of the Indonesian armed forces, raided and seized the Office of the Military Attache of the Chinese Embassy. They engaged in rabid wrecking and looting and smeared the walls and the gate with anti-Chinese slogans and the words, "Headquarters of the Jani Battalion." They illegally detained Liu Chih, who had been assigned by the Chinese Embassy to take care of the house, and his dependents till April 23, when they took them to the Chinese Embassy.

At 02:00 hours on April 23, about 40 officers and men of the Fifth Military Area of the Indonesian Army, together with a group of armed hooligans, raided and

looted the living quarters of officials of the Chinese Embassy at No. 4, Labu Street, Djakarta. They climbed over the wall and broke into and ransacked the rooms. They made all kinds of threats against Kuo Hao-ho, Chang Neng-chen and Chen Pao-shou, who had been assigned by the Chinese Embassy to take care of the house, and beat them up at will. These Indonesian army-men and hooligans engaged in looting and wrecking in the living quarters of the Chinese Embassy for as long as four hours and carried away a large quantity of furniture and other property.

After organizing armed hooligans to seize the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, the office and living quarters of the Chinese Consulate-General and a living quarters of the Chinese Embassy in close succession, the Indonesian Government has now done the same to the Office of the Military Attache of the Chinese Embassy and raided another living quarters of the Embassy. In the meantime, Mr. Suwito, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, brazenly declared that the hooligans who seized offices and living quarters of the Chinese Embassy and Consulate-General were "revolutionary" and "progressive" youth; he even cried that these buildings would be under the "control" of the Dwikora Administrator. This further shows that the recent successive serious raids and seizure of Chinese missions were wholly of the making of the Indonesian Government. Against these, the Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government.

The Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government immediately remove the army-men and hooligans who are forcibly occupying the Chinese diplomatic missions, compensate for all the losses, guarantee against the occurrence of similar incidents and effectively protect the Chinese missions and their personnel.

Indonesian Government—Organizer of the Anti-China Outrages

FOLLOWING the raid on the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta by Indonesian armed forces acting together with hooligans, successive serious incidents have occurred within just over one week, in which the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, the office and living quarters of the Chinese Consulate-General, the Office of the Military Attache of the Chinese Embassy and the living quarters of the Embassy were seized and wrecked. Obviously this is a pre-meditated action taken by the Indonesian Government in order to bring the diplomatic relations between the two countries to a complete rupture.

The Indonesian Government, however, has vainly attempted to absolve itself of the criminal responsibility of organizing and instigating the hooligans to

perpetrate these shocking anti-China outrages. Foreign Minister Adam Malik and other Indonesian officials denied that they were directed by the Indonesian Government, saying that the Chinese charges were "baseless," and that the Indonesian Government "firmly rejected" them. The Indonesian Right-wing military clique thinks that it can get away with it if it makes an all-out effort to deny it. Frankly, this can never be done.

One can see that in all these anti-China outrages, Indonesian troops and police took the lead or acted in co-ordination. During the raid on the Embassy, not only large numbers of troops and police, but armoured cars were used as support. In wrecking and occupying the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Embassy and the Office of the Military Attache, the hooligans

did so in co-ordination with the armed forces of the Siliwangi Division of the Indonesian Army.

One can see that while staging this sabre-rattling fascist farce, they made no bones about who was behind the scenes. They shouted: "We have carried out the mission assigned by Uncle Suharto of smashing up the Chinese Embassy!" "We have come on the orders of Uncle Amir, Commander of the Fifth Military Area, to take over the Chinese Consulate-General!"

One can also see that at an anti-China rally before the raid on the Embassy, Indonesian Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Malik not only made a speech instigating anti-China sentiments, but received representatives of the criminal hooligans after the incident and lavished praise on them. He openly apologized for these fascist crimes, saying that what had taken place was an expression of "the wrath of the people," and was "quite natural." Indonesian Deputy Foreign Minister Suwito also openly declared that the hooligans who occupied the offices and living quarters of the Embassy and Consulate-General were "revolutionary" and "progressive" youth.

Incontrovertible facts show that the Indonesian Government is the organizer and director of the whole series of anti-China outrages, including the raid on the Chinese Embassy, and is the ringleader of the bloody crimes of injuring or wounding by gun-fire the Chinese diplomats. Even the Radio of Japan Broadcasting Corporation said that the raid on the Embassy was conducted with the support and acquiescence of the Indonesian army and Government. The evidence is all there. How can it be shrugged off?

It is true that among the hooligans who took part in the anti-China outrages there were members of such organizations as the "Indonesian College Students' United Action Command." But they are simply at the beck and call of the Indonesian Right-wing military clique and act as its pawns. The chieftains of the Right-wing generals have incessantly cheered them on and supported them. When Nasution met a group of reactionary hooligans around the time of their recent and successive wrecking raids on Chinese diplomatic agencies, he told them "to stand in unity with the armed forces of the Indonesian Republic in a common struggle." At a rally sponsored by the Right-wing organization, "Indonesian College Students' United Action Command," Suharto urged them to "co-operate especially with the armed forces." Is it not all too clear who has directed these thugs and ordered them to engage in frenzied anti-China activities?

The Indonesian Government is working overtime to manufacture anti-China fascist outrages, and is bent on pushing relations between the two countries to a complete rupture. But it is doing all it can to deny this and does not dare to assume the responsibility for breaking relations. Far from being an indication of the cleverness of its tricks, this only shows that, notwithstanding its outward arrogance, it is very fragile. We would like to tell the Indonesian Government: with all the incontrovertible evidence against you, your denial is completely useless. You must bear the entire responsibility for the anti-China crimes.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* Commentator's article, April 26.)

(Continued from p. 15.)

ing's successful conclusion and Afro-Asian Journalists' Day.

"Renmin Ribao" Editorial

On April 26, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial which congratulated the meeting for holding aloft the militant banner against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, for making a clear distinction between friends and foes, for displaying the spirit of unity and co-operation. The A.A.J.A. meeting showed that more and more Afro-Asian journalists were united in the common struggle to bury imperialism, stated the editorial. This was a powerful rebuff to the imperialists, their lackeys and accomplices who hoped to sabotage the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association. The editorial said that at present when the Afro-Asian peoples had become more politically conscious, when the revolutionary forces were growing and the revolutionary movements were deepening, the Afro-Asian peoples need to strengthen their unity, develop their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and draw a clear line of distinction between themselves and the fake revolutionaries who are accomplices of imperialism. The

A.A.J.A. meeting fully responded to this need and carried the anti-imperialist movement of the Afro-Asian journalists to a new high.

The editorial declared that the general report and the political resolutions on Vietnam and other questions all reflected the revolutionary principles of steadfast opposition to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and refusal to compromise with the anti-popular forces. The resolution on Indonesia reflected the Afro-Asian peoples' deep feelings of militant solidarity with the Indonesian people.

The editorial particularly praised the democratic spirit displayed at the meeting where real unanimity was reached after full discussion. In sharp contrast to meetings conducted by some international organizations, there was no baton, no voting machine.

The editorial concluded with a pledge that the Chinese people and journalists will not fail the trust placed in them by the Afro-Asian journalists in making Peking the temporary working place of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat and will work hard for the convocation of the Second Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference in Algiers.

Right-Wing Reactionaries Plunge Indonesia Into a Bloodbath

“To lift a rock, merely to crush one's own foot' is a Chinese saying to describe the action of fools, the reactionaries of every country are just such fools. Their persecution of the revolutionary people will only end in rousing the people to broader and fiercer revolution. Did not the persecutions of the Russian tsar and Chiang Kai-shek against the revolutionary people serve precisely to stimulate the great Russian and Chinese revolutions?”

— MAO TSE-TUNG

SINCE the beginning of last October, Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have stirred up a violent campaign in all parts of Indonesia against communism and against the people. By the most brutal fascist measures and through mass arrests and wholesale killings, they have plunged Indonesia into a bloodbath, turning that beautiful and fertile country of 3,000 islands into an inferno where white terror reigns. In only a few months, they have slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Indonesian patriots and innocent people — old people, women and children not excepted. Their savage crimes fly in the face of all humanity.

Below are extracts from some reports by Western news agencies, from some relevant articles in Western and Japanese papers, as well as from a Right-wing Indonesian paper. From these extracts readers get some idea — surely not the whole picture — of the fascist mass arrests and massacres committed by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces.

House-to-House, Village-to-Village Arrests And Massacres

The Japanese paper *Asahi Shimbun* on October 8 carried a report from its correspondent in Djakarta which said that every night beginning from October 2, soldiers had conducted a house-to-house search. “In out-of-the-way alleys and the slums (nearly 2 million people live in Djakarta's slums) . . . the search seems to be most rigorous . . . there are reports that people have seen trucks loaded with corpses; others said that their neighbours had disappeared.”

L'Agence France-Presse reported from Djakarta on October 31: “Prisons in this sprawling archipelago . . .

are being filled to capacity with arrested communist coup supporters . . . the army is firmly continuing its mopping-up operations, combing out one *kampong* (village) after another. . . . The army has worked out plans for temporary detention camps of Communists at Onrust Island, off the northwest Javanese coast, near Djakarta, and at Nusakambangan Island, off the Central Javanese south coast near Tjilatjap.”

Another **AFP** dispatch from Djakarta on November 9 said: “The Indonesian army's great purge and manhunt for communist coup supporters was today reported to be continuing unabated.

“At Onrust Island alone, some 5,000 arrested Communists are being kept in detention. it was reliably learnt.

“(This island — which was formerly used by the Dutch as a detention camp — is off the northern coast of West Java, near Djakarta's Tanjung Priok Harbour.)

“Meanwhile the army's mopping-up operations are still in full swing in Central Java and East Java. . . . One village after another is being combed carefully. Communist village heads and other local communist leaders are being rounded up.”

Corpses Rotting Everywhere; Rivers Clogged With Bodies

AFP reported from Singapore on December 29, 1965: “Tens of thousands of people are being slaughtered in Indonesia in a savage wave of reprisals against the Communists. . . .

“One hundred thousand would be a conservative estimate of the total of those who have already died

in mass executions and massacres in Java, Sumatra, Bali and throughout Indonesia. . . .

"The bloodbath intensified four or five weeks ago and extends throughout most of the sprawling island state of Indonesia.

"There have been mass executions of prisoners abandoned to the fury of the populace [counter-revolutionaries]. Outbreaks of spontaneous killing have occurred. . . .

"Military authorities in Bali reportedly admit there have been 15,000 official executions, but observers say the burnt out dwellings, charnel houses, of Bali attest to a death toll at least twice that figure. . . .

"In Sumatra the killings now total more than 60,000 and in Central and Eastern Java . . . it may be even higher."

The report added: "On December 18 President Sukarno complained because bodies lay rotting along the roadside in ditches and rivers and in fields without the benefit of the rites of Islam."

The **Associated Press** said on January 13: "The reported killing of more than 100,000 Communists and sympathizers in Indonesia was a very conservative estimate. . . .

"The figure was more likely in the 150,000 range. . . .

"One thousand Communists and sympathizers were being killed weekly in North Sumatra alone.

"The killings were . . . ferocious in the Medan area. . . .

"Parts of the Medan River were clogged with bodies for a while. . . .

"It was the army which is conducting the greatest purge against . . . Communists and sympathizers."

A Bloody Three-Month Record

The London **Sunday Times** reported on January 2 that "more people had been killed in the Indonesian revolt in the past three months than had died in the Vietnam war in the past five years. . . .

"Deaths in the 'wholesale slaughter of Communists' had been put conservatively at 100,000 by Western diplomats. . . .

"European engineers, businessmen and other foreign travellers returning from up-country . . . speak of rivers filled with floating decapitated corpses."

A London **Times** article on January 8, entitled "Mass Killings of Indonesian Communists Continue," said: "Stories of the continued widespread and ruthless suppression of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) by nationalists — in particular by the Muslim

youth organizations — have continued this month to reach the outside world. . . .

"Estimates of the number of those killed now vary from anything between 10,000 and 300,000. . . .

"In addition to the executions, there have been thousands of arrests — 2,500 in East Java, where there has also been a purge of some 5,700 teachers, and 10,573 in West Java, of whom nearly 10,000 are said to be Communists and the rest government officials."

Villages Deserted After Massacres

The Indonesian paper **Sinar Harapan** on February 3 contained an article describing the situation in East Java. It said: "It is indeed with apprehension that one takes a trip to East Java. This is because one is affected by ghastly rumours. Everywhere the masses [counter-revolutionaries] . . . rounded up and killed Communists en masse. The press did not dare to report these events in detail for fear that they might affect public feelings. . . . Whether in Surabaya or in Pasaruan, Probalinggo, Madiun, Kediri and Malang, we heard of truly dreadful events that had taken place in the course of smashing the September 30 movement. These events we never read about in the newspapers. It is rather embarrassing for one to try to talk about them here now. . . .

"The campaign to smash the September 30 movement was often manipulated by elements giving vent to personal spite, and criminals and exploiters. . . . Dead silence reigned in the countryside, whether in the daytime or at night. It appeared that the villages were deserted. Villagers feared very much that they might be wrongly arrested. The Coleman lamp in the office of the village administration was no longer lighted. Street lights were out. Villagers trembled with fear the moment they heard a car entering the village."

A Carnage Which Finds Few Parallels in the Contemporary World

The French weekly **Le Nouvel Observateur** on March 2 published an article which said that in the past four months Indonesia had a real bloodbath, an unimaginable carnage which had few parallels in the contemporary world. "On January 15, Sukarno, in a speech, spoke of 87,000 killed; insiders, at that time, quoted the figure to be 200,000. Today, estimates considered moderate put it between 300,000 and 350,000. The victims are 'Communists' or people deemed such.

"In East Java, beheaded bodies drifted by the dozens down the rivers daily while the peasants brought the corpses of those executed to the railway embankment for travellers to identify. In Bali, the repression was marked — it is said — by an implacable ruthlessness. In North Sumatra, in the neighbourhood of some plantations, where the victims were numbered

by thousands, the smell from the unburied corpses obliged the authorities to take 'certain hygienic measures.'

"The anti-Communist generals and their advisers have thus utilized the 'September 30 event' to launch what some people call the 'physical elimination' of the Indonesian Communist Party."

The British daily **Guardian** of April 7, in a report by Nicholas Turner from Djakarta, under the heading "Indonesian Political Killings May Exceed 300,000," said: "Estimates of the total number of Indonesians killed in political massacres after the attempted coup on September 30 are being revised as fuller information comes in from outer regions. One Western ambassador considers 300,000 to be a conservative estimate, and other compilations run far higher.

"A traveller who knows the island of Bali well, and speaks the language . . . describes mass executions and the annihilation of village after village in some areas. A consular official in Surabaya accepts a figure of 200,000 for Bali, which has a population of 2 million.

"Estimates of the dead in Sumatra also range around 200,000 and a similar figure for Java is generally regarded as on the low side. When the death tolls for other islands such as Borneo (Kalimantan) and Sulawesi are added, the total may well be upwards of 600,000. Just how many of these are Communists is another question.

"It appears certain that the great majority of the dead were innocent victims of political hysteria. . . . Many others probably died, in settlement of personal feuds and vendettas during the confusion. . . .

"In some areas, Communist suspects were shot or poisoned, but usually the Moslem youth beheaded its victims with the parang. . . . The heads were often impaled on fences and gateposts. . . .

"Rivers in many parts of the country were clogged with corpses for weeks. A European resident of Surabaya describes finding bodies washed up by the river on to his back garden."

Killing Everyone in Sight; Whole Families Slaughtered

The London **Times** of April 13 published a report by its special correspondent who had recently been in Indonesia. Under the heading "Reign of Terror in Java," it said: "The highest figure for the mass killings given to me by an Indonesian general was 150,000; some diplomatists are prepared to believe 500,000. . . .

"A huge number of people were killed, almost without trace in this great and silent country. . . .

"By the time I arrived in Indonesia, eyewitness accounts of the killings were hard to come by first-hand. It was coincidence that a man I met from Central Java was suddenly persuaded 'for the sake of

understanding Indonesia' to recount his part in organized killings. . . .

"He said . . . by the end of October, army units arrived . . . and the hunt for Communists and their families began.

"He went on: 'It was quick death, at night. We surrounded their homes and killed everyone inside . . . with knives . . . though the troops occasionally shot anyone trying to escape. . . . In all we killed about 3,000. We threw their bodies into the river or into the jungle.'"

The report added: "The man smiled and added almost gently: 'We had to make sure we got everyone this time, so there would be no come-back . . . that is why we took the whole family.'

"The man did not boast, nor, I think, did he lie."

The Massacre Has Not Yet Ended

The **New York Times** of April 13 published an article by C.L. Sulzberger datelined Djakarta which said: "One of history's most vicious massacres has not yet ended in Indonesia. More people have been slaughtered here during the past six months than in the entire Vietnam war. It is impossible to give any precise figure on the number slain. One careful diplomatic estimate puts the total at 300,000. Others range higher.

"This tranquil capital . . . calls the significant political revolution [the military coup d'etat staged by the Right-wing generals' clique to seize state power] a 'Javanese courtesy coup.' It politely left President Sukarno with the appearance of power while stripping him of its reality.

"But there is nothing courteous about the mass bloodshed that has raged and still rages in the hinterland. Officials seek to minimize its scope and claim the ghastly episode is closed. Nevertheless, along an immense island arc from Sumatra to Timor, the killing attained a volume impressive even in violent Asia. . . .

"In February public beheadings were still being held outside Ende, capital of Flores Island. Each night soldiers were trucking groups of 20 or more P.K.I. suspects from the prison and out of town to decapitate them with heavy machetes. . . .

"Men have been slain together with their wives and children to reduce chances of later revenge by eliminating complainants. . . .

"Near coastal Surabaya early risers in March were pushing bodies away from the jetties before their houses. Jails near Jogjakarta are said still to be crammed with P.K.I. suspects who are not tried but taken out in nightly batches and killed.

"Unburied bodies recently littered village streets in Central Java. Recently a traveller was told of a bullock cart loaded with human heads."

Firm Support for Dominican People's Patriotic, Anti-U.S. Struggle

A YEAR ago, the patriotic Dominican armymen and people staged an armed uprising in which the traitorous Cabral dictatorship was toppled overnight, thus dealing a heavy blow to U.S. imperialist rule in this Caribbean island country. This popular uprising has met with the suppression and armed intervention of the Johnson Administration. But the heroic Dominican people have not taken things lying down, their struggle against the U.S. invaders over the past year has surged forward.

In Peking, more than 1,500 people from all walks of life held a meeting on April 26 to voice their firm support for the patriotic anti-U.S. struggle of the Dominican people. The rally, part of the Chinese people's activities during the solidarity with the Dominican people week ending April 30, was attended by Vice-Premier Po I-po, Vice-Chairman Liu Ning-I of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and friends from more than 40 countries.

A resolution in support of the struggle was adopted. It condemned Washington's aggression against the Dominican Republic and pledged that the Chinese people would always stand by their Dominican brothers and both would support each other and march forward together.

U.S. imperialism was the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world, the resolution said. The people of the world, including the American people, should form the broadest and most genuine international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and wage an unremitting struggle against them until their complete defeat.

The resolution declared that opposition to U.S. imperialism and its henchmen and support for the revolutionary movements of the peoples demanded the thorough exposure of the capitulationist and splittist activities of the Soviet modern revisionists, whom, as accomplices and collaborators of imperialism, a resolute struggle must also be waged against. "All traitors to the revolutionary cause will be severely punished by history," the resolution said.

Truth Shown by the Dominican Struggle

The rally was addressed by Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and friends from Latin America, Asia and Africa.

In the past year, Liao Cheng-chih recalled, the Dominican people had neither been cowed by the sanguinary suppression by the U.S. aggressor troops nor lulled by the political schemes of the enemy — the

"ceasefire," "negotiations" and the act of "reconciliation," and other tricks. Many patriots, refusing to hand over their weapons to the enemy, were determined to go to the mountains and the countryside to mobilize the masses and prepared for protracted armed struggle. Liao Cheng-chih pointed out that although the United States had used the bulk of the strength of two of the eight combat divisions which were its only available forces at home, it had failed to subdue the Dominican people who number just over 3 million.

What does all this mean? Liao Cheng-chih said that the Dominican people's struggle once again demonstrated the invincibility of an oppressed nation, big or small, once it had awakened, clearly knew who its enemy was and was determined to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against him.

It, Liao Cheng-chih continued, also demonstrated that unless they have guns of their own, the people could not have their say, nor could they advance and win their struggle. "An armed people is like a vast ocean which the enemy is afraid of."

"To deal with and defeat powerful enemies at home and abroad it is necessary to form the broadest patriotic and revolutionary united front against imperialism based on the unity of the revolutionary people." This was another truth which the struggle of the Dominican people had demonstrated, he said.

How to Defeat U.S. Imperialism

Speaking of the excellent situation in the people's struggle against U.S. imperialism throughout the world, Liao Cheng-chih said that he was convinced that it was entirely possible to defeat U.S. imperialism and smash its policies of war and aggression, provided

*the peoples are armed with the idea of people's war in confronting the counter-revolutionary armed forces of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys;

*all the oppressed nations and peoples as well as all the countries subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, control, intervention, subversion or bullying unite to form and develop the broadest possible, and not a narrow, international united front, a truly genuine and not a sham one, against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. In brief, Liao Cheng-chih said that two weapons were needed for the people of the world to defeat U.S. imperialism, namely, people's war and a united front.

Struggle Against Modern Revisionism

There are also the modern revisionists to deal with. Liao Cheng-chih gave a brief account of the disgraceful

role played by the Soviet revisionists on the question of U.S. aggression against the Dominican Republic — the role of a “fire brigade” trying to help U.S. imperialism extinguish the revolutionary flames. At the United Nations Security Council, the Soviet representative time and again agreed to proposals delaying the discussion and the voting on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Dominican Republic, thus giving a free hand to the U.S. aggressors in slaughtering the patriotic Dominican army men and people.

Later, he recalled, together with the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet representative voted for the resolution calling for a “ceasefire” and the dispatch of a so-called U.N. fact-finding mission to the victimized island republic, thus providing a cover for the U.S. aggressors in forcing the Dominican people to lay down their arms.

This record of shameful deeds, said Liao Cheng-chih, showed how low the Soviet leadership had sunk and that it was actually betraying the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. These deeds, too, he said, showed that the United Nations was nothing but a place for the United States and the Soviet Union to make political deals aimed at U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination. They provided yet another evidence of U.S.-Soviet “united action” against the revolutionary people of the world. “The Soviet leaders cannot possibly evade their responsibility for the outrageous U.S. slaughter of the Dominican people.”

Liao Cheng-chih also recalled that at the Tri-Continental People’s Solidarity Conference, the Soviet delegate had hypocritically shouted a few empty words of support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Latin American people. But the Soviet authorities, later in a note to the Uruguayan Government, publicly stated that the activities of the Soviet delegation at the conference in no way represented the views of the Soviet Government! “This is another graphic self-exposure of the Soviet revisionists in their trick of sham opposition to imperialism but real capitulation, sham support but real betrayal and sham unity but real split.”

Pointing to the fact that the present is the eve of a new revolutionary storm of the people of the world, Liao Cheng-chih declared: “The historical tide of the great Latin American people’s revolution cannot be obstructed by either U.S. imperialism or modern revisionism, or by those anti-Chinese heroes who are trying to look imposing and posing as revolutionary leaders.”

Voice of the Latin American People

Ernesto Pimentel, representative of the Dominican June 14th Revolutionary Movement, also took the floor. He too exposed the ugly features of modern revisionism. The insolence and concrete aggression by the Johnson Administration against the sovereignty and self-determination of the people were treated with indifference and timidity by the modern revisionists, he said. With the complicity of the revisionists in the United Nations, the U.N. forces dealt the struggle of the people of

the Congo (Leopoldville) a cruel blow. In Asia, the liberation of the heroic Vietnamese people was to an extent affected by the fact that it was the revisionists who made it possible for U.S. imperialism to move its troops from Europe to Asia to fight against the valiant Vietnamese people, he observed. At the Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana not long ago, the Soviet delegate had refused to condemn U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The revisionists’ complicity served to prolong the sufferings of the oppressed peoples.

The historical current encompassing the contemporary world is, he declared, “not to be called an ‘atomic era,’ but an ‘era of people’s war.’” This was because “neither the shameful traces left over by atomic bombs, nor the revisionist policies of peaceful coexistence, competition and transition can change the world. The world can really be changed only when the peoples of the world have defeated imperialism by people’s war.” Quoting Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers while it is, in the long run, the people who are strong, Ernesto Pimentel affirmed that the people who were educating themselves in proletarian ideology and who were developing their liberation movement, are “our sustenance, the source of our strength to resist, to advance and to achieve and consolidate our victory.” He stated that only through armed struggle would imperialism finally be expelled from his country.

Speaking of the worldwide support for his people’s struggle, Pimentel said that Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s May 12, 1965 statement supporting the Dominican people’s resistance, the Chinese government statement of May 3, 1965 condemning U.S. armed aggression against his country, and the demonstration by the Chinese people were proof of the firm stand of the Chinese Party, Government and people to back the national-liberation movements throughout the world. It was this firm stand that had made them the centre of the world revolution, he said.

Three Basic Revolutionary Factors. Others who spoke were Jorge Pacull of Chile, Nguyen Minh Phuong, Deputy Leader of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to China, and Ramazani Sebastien, representative of the National Council for the Liberation of the Congo (L). Pacull said: There was only one reply to the aggressors: tit-for-tat struggle, and violence for violence. Here, the three basic revolutionary factors must be applied: a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party, an anti-imperialist and revolutionary united front and armed struggle. He also stressed that in defeating U.S. imperialism it was essential to defeat its accomplices — the reconciliators, the compromisers and the modern revisionists.

Both Nguyen Minh Phuong and Ramazani Sebastien accused U.S. imperialism of heinous crimes against their own countries. They both expressed their solidarity with the Dominican people fighting their common enemy — U.S. imperialism.

The People Indomitable

On March 8, a strong earthquake struck Hsingtai in Hopei Province, north China. Two more strong tremors came on March 22, affecting other areas of southern Hopei as well as Hsingtai.

Local Party organizations led the people in immediate action to combat the effects of the earthquakes. Rescue units from the People's Liberation Army rushed to the scene. Men of one detachment ran the last 15 li to a stricken village. Air Force helicopters brought medical workers and supplies. Food, building materials and other goods followed. On behalf of the Communist Party's Central Committee, Chairman Mao and the State Council, central delegations visited the people in the affected areas to convey sympathy and provide support. From Shanghai to Tibet came telegrams and messages. All China was with them.

And how did the people themselves react to the calamity? How do they live today and how do they work? To answer these questions, a Hsinhua correspondent went down to Hsingtai, the epicentre of the March 8 shock. He was there when the March 22 earthquakes occurred. Here is his report. — *Ed.*

* * *

TWO huge slogans painted in whitewash on the slopes of the river dyke jumped to meet my eyes. They declared: "Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the most powerful weapon against earthquakes!" and "Earthquakes don't defeat heroic people!" At a gathering of thousands, I saw a county Communist Party secretary, with clenched fist upraised, lead the people in a mighty shout of "The earth may quake, but not our hearts; our homes may fall, but not our will!" A Party member told me: "Fight back, that's the only thing for earthquakes or any other difficulty!"

I was in Hsingtai when two strong earthquakes occurred in the afternoon of March 22. All of a sudden, the earth rocked and a rumbling noise filled the air. Houses in the village crumbled in clouds of dust. In the fields, muddy water sprouted up from underground.

Fortitude

Among the villagers, however, I saw no signs of panic, only organized action. Rescue work began immediately and was carried out with discipline and efficiency. Farmwork was resumed soon afterwards. Nowhere did I find people who were crushed or heart-broken. Their morale was high and they were working in the spirit of Chairman Mao's call issued long ago to "surmount every difficulty to win victory."

In several of the hardest-hit villages, I heard commune functionaries and peasants say: "Never mind the earthquakes. We'll get on with the work all the same."

I spoke to two peasants, Li Ching-hai and Chai Ho-chun, who had been sinking a well on March 22. They heard the noise and rushed back to the village, which was shrouded in a pall of dust. Finding no one injured, they went straight back to the fields. They were determined to have the well ready before the spring drought set in.

Ho Chuan-sheng, the vice-chairman of a production brigade's poor and lower-middle peasants' association, was knocked unconscious and sustained injuries from a crumbling wall. I interviewed him in his sick bed. His mind was all on his village. "Earthquake or no earthquake," he said, "I've got to go back to my work and help rebuild the houses."

Jen Tseng-shan, a commune Party secretary, told me: "It's true that many of the houses collapsed. The important thing is that the people survived. With people, we have everything."

I was deeply impressed with these words and deeds. I was strongly moved by the spirit displayed by these men. They show the lofty inner world of people in Mao Tse-tung's era. Even earthquakes were impotent before them.

Organization

Many places showed revolutionary fortitude and organizational efficiency which are outstanding features of the socialist system and which are only possible among people of high political consciousness.

In one village with a population of 3,200 which was heavily hit on March 22, hundreds of makeshift huts and tents had already been rigged up by the time I got there. Smoke was curling skyward from temporary stoves. Some of the peasants were repairing farm tools, others were preparing sweet potato shoots for planting or carting timber and bricks to clearings among the debris where house rebuilding would soon get under way. At the threshing ground, a meeting organized by the Party branch to discuss the problems of reconstruction was being held.

I was told that, after the March 8 earthquake, people here had made detailed arrangements against the event of further tremors. They put into practice Chairman Mao's idea of "despising the enemy strategically and taking him seriously tactically." There were many villages like this. Collective strength had

been fully drawn upon to organize against the caprices of nature.

In another production brigade, I interviewed the 62-year-old peasant Li Jen-tang, who looks after the brigade's draught animals. After the March 8 shock, he sought for the quickest way to save the animals should another shock come. He kept a sharp knife handy. When the first strong tremor occurred on March 22, he cut all the tethers quickly and drove the animals to safety before the second and stronger tremor came eight minutes later. The peasants were full of praise for him. They said that his revolutionary alertness was "sharper than his knife."

In those same eight minutes, many others ignored their own safety for the sake of the collective. In a village school room where there were 30 children, teacher Fu Ting-yin propped up a falling beam to allow his pupils to get out. In another village, a platoon of militiamen at great personal risk searched every house and helped all the old people and children to safety.

Self-Reliance

Relief supplies have been pouring in and the people have been greatly moved by the immense material aid as well as sympathetic encouragement they have received.

Yet I heard of many places which preferred to rely on their own resources in order to pass relief supplies on to others. One story led me to a production brigade which had refused to accept a large quantity of *da bing*, a favourite north China food made from flour and water. The brigade forwarded them to another brigade, which in turn passed them on to a third.

One village with only 62 households sent out a resounding call: "Thanks for the help, but we can get up on to our feet ourselves!" All the houses in this brigade came down. But the people weren't downhearted. When I got there, they were drawing up blueprints to build a new and better socialist village. Construction had already started, and even the children were helping to carry bricks and plaster.

Such spirit and energy carried home to me the truth of the words of one commune Party secretary who said: "Material aid is limited; the power of our two hands is unlimited. And our spiritual wealth is even greater. . . ."

Confidence

One peasant told a deputation from the government: "What we lost in the earthquakes, we'll recover



Shortly after the earthquakes, the people were back in the fields. On the blackboard is chalked a quotation from Chairman Mao: "In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage."

from the fields." Cadres and former poor and lower-middle peasants of another commune unanimously decided to turn the "earthquake year" into a "bumper harvest year."

These words were being borne out in action. Throughout the affected areas, a battle has started to wrest high yields from nature this year. Peasants of one county whose several hundred newly built irrigation ditches had suffered varying degrees of damage went to work on them the second day after the tremors. In two more days all were repaired and again in use. One production brigade, after drawing everybody into a discussion on what measures should be taken, confidently raised its planned output of grain by another 100 *jin* per *mu* and that of cotton by another 20 *jin*.

Just before I left, preparations for spring ploughing were in full swing. In the wheat fields, people were busily weeding, watering and spreading fertilizer. In the villages, sawmills sounded their high screeching notes and blacksmith's hammers struck up a chorus. Rows of new, temporary buildings had arisen. Red-scarved children were on their way to school. Shops were looking after their customers.

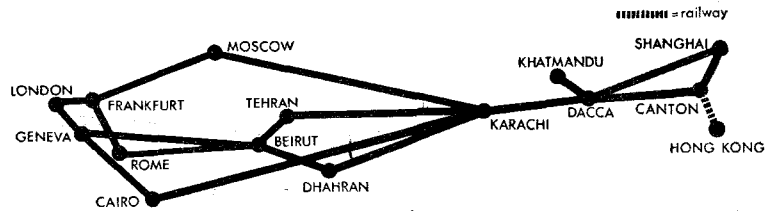
Chairman Mao Tse-tung once wrote: "How has mankind managed to keep alive from time immemorial? Has it not been by men using their hands to provide for themselves?" He has always called upon the Chinese people to display a spirit of self-reliance and enterprise. The idea has gripped the minds of the people and has become a great material force. That this is so is evident today in the earthquake area. It can be confidently expected that people here will soon make their land more prosperous and beautiful than ever before.

— HSINHUA CORRESPONDENT

PIA Boeing 720B Fan-Jets fly in and out of Canton and Shanghai twice weekly

Visit the Chinese Export Commodities Fair Canton, April 15-May 15

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PAKISTAN INTERNATIONAL AIRLINES

WESTBOUND			CHINA—PAKISTAN—MIDDLE EAST—USSR—EUROPE—UK										INTERNATIONAL SCHEDULE BY BOEING 720-B		EFFECTIVE: 1st MARCH, 1966	
HRS FROM GMT	DAYS FLT NO. CLASS		(1) PK701 F/Y	(3) PK703 F/Y	(3) PK751 F/Y	(4) PK705 F/Y	(4) PK707 F/Y	(6) PK709 F/Y	(6) PK753 F/Y	(7) PK711 F/Y	REMARKS					
+ 8	SHANGHAI	DEP			2030				2000		(A) ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TIMES AT CAIRO SHOULD READ ONE HOUR EARLIER UPTO 30/4/1966 (B) ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TIMES AT ROME SHOULD READ ONE HOUR EARLIER UPTO 21/5/1966 * PK707 NO TRAFFIC RIGHTS DHAHRAN—BEIRUT NOTE: TRAFFIC RIGHTS SHA—CAN FOR INTERNATIONAL PASSENGERS ONLY					
+ 8	CANTON CANTON	ARR DEP							2150 2250							
+ 6	DACCA DACCA	ARR DEP			2255		0030		0005	0200						
+ 5	KARACHI KARACHI	ARR DEP	2359 (2)	0730		0255 0630	2100	0730		0425 0730						
- 5	DHAHRAN DHAHRAN	ARR DEP					2320 2359									
- 3½	TEHRAN TEHRAN	ARR DEP	0115 0155	0845 0925						0845 0925						
- 3	CAIRO CAIRO	ARR DEP				0654 1200										
- 2	BEIRUT BEIRUT	ARR DEP	0240 0340	1010 1100			2325 0025			1015 1110						
+ 2	ROME ROME	ARR DEP					(5) 0335B 0415			1420B 1500						
+ 1	GENEVA GENEVA	ARR DEP	0635 0715	1350 1430		1155 1235										
+ 3	MOSCOW MOSCOW	ARR DEP						1140 1240								
+ 1	FRANKFURT FRANKFURT	ARR DEP					0455 0545	1350 1440		1540 1630						
+ 1	LONDON	ARR	0835	1555		1355	0705	1600		1750						

WESTBOUND		PEKING—SHANGHAI—CANTON			
DAYS	FLT NO.	(3) CAO37	(3) CAO51	(6) CAO55	(6) CAO33
PEKING	D	0650	1520	1420	1320
SHANGHAI	A D		1805	1705	
CANTON	A	1220			1740

— ALL TIMES LOCAL —

EASTBOUND			UK—EUROPE—USSR—MIDDLE EAST—PAKISTAN—CHINA										INTERNATIONAL SCHEDULE BY BOEING 720-B		EFFECTIVE: 1st MARCH, 1966	
HRS FROM GMT	DAYS FLT NO. CLASS		(2) PK702 F/Y	(3) PK750 F/Y	(3) FK704 F/Y	(3) PK706 F/Y	(5) PK708 F/Y	(6) PK752 F/Y	(6) PK710 F/Y	(7) PK712 F/Y	REMARKS					
- 1	LONDON	DEP	1230		1845	1600	0945		1845	2100	(A) ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TIMES AT CAIRO SHOULD READ ONE HOUR EARLIER UPTO 30/4/1966 (B) ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE TIMES AT ROME SHOULD READ ONE HOUR EARLIER UPTO 21/5/1966 * PK704 NO TRAFFIC RIGHTS BEIRUT—DHAHRAN NOTE: TRAFFIC RIGHTS CAN—SHA FOR INTERNATIONAL PASSENGERS ONLY					
+ 1	FRANKFURT FRANKFURT	ARR DEP			2005 2055	1720 1800	1105 1210									
+ 3	MOSCOW MOSCOW	ARR DEP				2255 2345										
+ 1	GENEVA GENEVA	ARR DEP	1355 1450					2005 2045	2220 2300							
+ 2	ROME ROME	ARR DEP			2330B 0010 (4)	1445B 1525		(7)	(1)							
+ 2	BEIRUT BEIRUT	ARR DEP			0305 0405		1820 1920	0210 0220	0335 0435							
+ 3	CAIRO CAIRO	ARR DEP	2025A 2125													
+ 3½	TEHRAN TEHRAN	ARR DEP				2255 2335		0555 0635	0810 0850							
+ 5	DHAHRAN DHAHRAN	ARR DEP	(3)		0920 1000	(5)	(6)									
+ 5	KARACHI KARACHI	ARR DEP	0345 0600		1215	0720	0335 0630		1035	1250						
+ 6	DACCA DACCA	ARR DEP	1020		1110		1050	1210								
+ 8	CANTON CANTON	ARR DEP			1625 1715											
+ 8	SHANGHAI	ARR		1900				1825								

EASTBOUND		CANTON—SHANGHAI—PEKING			
DAYS	FLT NO.	(3) CAO38	(3) CAO57	(6) CAO56	(6) CAO36
CANTON	D	1720			
SHANGHAI	A D			2005	1930
PEKING	A	2050	2300		2225

— ALL TIMES LOCAL —

GENERAL SALES AGENTS FOR PAKISTAN INTERNATIONAL AIRLINES

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AVIATION OF CHINA