

PEKING REVIEW

43

October 22, 1965

PROTEST TO INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

Indonesian army unit's raid on Chinese Commercial
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Drastic Changes in Indonesian Political Situation

A round-up report by Hsinhua News Agency

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Foreign Ministry Note to India

Denouncing India's attempt to deny its responsibilities
for aggression

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

October 22, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 43

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October 22, 1965

THE WEEK

Mme. Massamba-Debat and Mme. Aly Sabry in Peking

Mme. Alphonse Massamba-Debat, wife of the President of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), and Mme. Aly Sabry, wife of the Vice-President of the United Arab Republic, arrived in Peking on the same plane on October 17. They have come to visit China at the invitation of Wang Kuang-mei, the wife of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, and Teng Ying-chao, the wife of Premier Chou En-lai.

On the evening of their arrival, Mme. Massamba-Debat and Mme. Aly Sabry were invited to a banquet by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and his wife, Wang Kuang-mei, and Premier Chou En-lai and his wife, Teng Ying-chao. Speaking at the banquet, both hosts and guests toasted the growing friendship between the peoples and women of China, the Congo (B) and the U.A.R.

Wang Kuang-mei extended her warmest welcome to Mme. Massamba-Debat and Mme. Aly Sabry. Paying tribute to the people of the Congo (B) for firmly rebuffing U.S. imperialism's provocations, she said: "The Chinese people resolutely stand on the side of the Congolese people and support them in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys." Praising the United Arab Republic for safeguarding its national independence and developing its national economy, she said: "The Chinese people firmly support the people of the U.A.R. and other Arab countries in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and against Israel — the tool of U.S. imperialist aggression." She expressed admiration for the women of the Congo (B) and of the U.A.R. in taking an active part in the anti-imperialist struggle. She was confident that the distinguished guests' visit would strengthen the friendly

relations between the people and women of China, the Congo (B) and the U.A.R.

Mme. Massamba-Debat said in her speech that her present visit to China "will add a new chapter to the sincere and fraternal friendship which binds the Congo and China. It is a striking demonstration of a co-operation which is being constantly strengthened and which registers greater success with each passing day." She reaffirmed her country's support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and in all other international organizations, from which the representatives of the puppet Chiang Kai-shek should be expelled. "The Congo firmly supports the just struggle of the valiant Chinese people for the liberation of Taiwan, which is now occupied by U.S. imperialism," she declared.

Mme. Aly Sabry said at the banquet that the strong ties and close co-operation between the women of People's China and the U.A.R. were being steadily developed. She noted that the women of both countries were doing their bit to help their respective countries get rid of the backwardness inherited from the past and eliminate all the remnants of colonialism. She wished the Chinese women happiness and progress.

Chairman Mao Receives Mme. Aly Sabry

Chairman Mao Tse-tung received Mme. Aly Sabry on October 19. The same day, the National Women's Federation gave a tea party in her honour. In the evening, U.A.R. Ambassador to China Zakaria El-Adly Iman and his wife held a banquet for Mme. Aly Sabry. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife were among those who attended. Mme. Massamba-Debat, wife

of the President of the Congo (B), was also present.

Central Delegation Concludes Sinkiang Visit

Vice-Premier Ho Lung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and head of the central delegation sent by the Party's Central Committee and the State Council, returned to Peking on October 13 from Urumchi after attending the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

Before their departure from Urumchi, Vice-Premier Ho Lung and his delegation were entertained at a banquet given by the Sinkiang Uighur Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the region's People's Council. In his banquet speech, First Secretary of the Party's regional committee Wang En-mao said: "The People of all the nationalities in Sinkiang are closely linked with our Party. Mao Tse-tung's thinking has taken deep roots in this region. Be it the imperialists, modern revisionists or the reactionaries, no one can undermine the solidarity among the people of all the nationalities in Sinkiang, sabotage the unification of our motherland, or obstruct the Sinkiang people from marching forward on the road of socialist revolution and socialist construction."

Vice-Premier Ho Lung, in his speech, said that what most impressed him and members of his delegation during their tour of the region was the deep love of the people for

Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. He praised them for having successfully transformed a feudal, backward Sinkiang into a prosperous new region under the guidance of the Party's general line for building socialism. He said: "This proves that the people of all the nationalities in Sinkiang are great people—industrious, courageous and with firm determination. They are good sons and daughters of our country." He expressed confidence that, under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, they would defeat all enemies of the hostile classes, overcome every difficulty and advance from victory to victory.

Vice-Premier Ho Lung and members of the central delegation spent eight days in Urumchi after their arrival on September 27. Later, they toured the region in six groups and met oilfield workers in Karamai, college students in Shih Ho Tze, as well as herdsmen, men of the People's Liberation Army and local government functionaries.

Ho Lung and his colleagues went to Ining in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou on October 4 where they visited the Fourth Brigade of the Red Star People's Commune. He congratulated the commune members for their success in bringing in a rich fruit crop. On October 8, they visited a reclamation base of the Sinkiang Production and Construction Corps in the Urumchi area where Vice-Premier Ho Lung met some veteran guerrilla fighters who were under his command in the Red Army during the Second Revolutionary

Civil War (1927-37). The Vice-Premier recalled with them their revolutionary struggle in the past and urged them and the young workers to carry on the glorious tradition of the Red Army, study hard and wholeheartedly serve the people.

Autumn Fair Opens

The 1965 Autumn Export Commodities Fair which opened in Canton on October 15 is the biggest since these twice-a-year fairs (in April and October) began in 1957. Some 2,000 businessmen from abroad were present in this city in subtropical Kwangtung Province to sell their own products and to buy from a wider than ever range of Chinese products.

Contributions from the rural people's communes and industrial enterprises—a reflection of the nation's outstanding gains in socialist construction—make for the greater scope and variety available. A total of 30,000 items, 7,000 of which are new machinery, clothing and handicraft products, are on display. In addition, there are samples of new soya bean strains. Exhibits of grain, oil products and foodstuffs are nearly 50 per cent more than this year's spring fair. Many of the light industrial goods have been selected from the wide variety of products turned out on a nationwide scale.

The fair which is known to businessmen and traders all over the world is sponsored by foreign trade corporations in China and is aimed at promoting trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

For Postponement of African-Asian Conference

The Tanzanian Government on October 18 issued a statement declaring that the Second African-Asian Conference scheduled to be held in Algiers should be postponed indefinitely.

The statement reads: "Tanzania is a member of the Steering Committee

for the proposed Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers. As the Government felt it unable to send a representative to Algiers to attend the current committee meeting, it is necessary to make clear Tanzania's view that the conference should be postponed indefinitely."

Congolese (Brazzaville) President Alphonse Massamba-Debat, replying to questions from correspondents concerning the conference upon his arrival in Bangui on October 17 to attend the conference of the heads of state of the four member countries of the Equatorial Africa Customs Union, said that he had no objection to postponing the Second African-Asian Conference in order to ensure its success.

China Lodges Strong Protest With Indonesian Government

- China demands that the Indonesian Government apologize for the attack on and search of the Chinese Commercial Counsellor's Office in Djakarta, punish the culprits and those who instigated them, and guarantee against similar incidents in the future.
- Since October 1, lies and slanders about China and anti-Chinese outcries have been heard continuously in Indonesia and all kinds of threats and intimidation have been made against Chinese diplomatic missions there. The Indonesian Government has all along condoned these activities. This fully shows that this outrage is by no means accidental. An anti-Chinese wave is starting in Indonesia, and if it is not checked the consequences will be serious.

On October 18, Han Nien-lung, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, summoned Djawoto, Indonesian Ambassador to China, at 11:30 a.m. and handed him a note which strongly protested against the raid on the Commercial Counsellor's Office of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia by Indonesian armed forces and their threats and insults against Chinese diplomatic personnel. Following is the text of the note. — Ed.

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indonesian Embassy in China and has the honour to state the following with regard to the extremely serious incident of Indonesian armed troops attacking and searching the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Indonesia and threatening and insulting Chinese diplomatic personnel:

At 18:15 hours Djakarta time on October 16, 1965, more than 40 Indonesian soldiers armed with loaded rifles suddenly surrounded the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China on Tjilosari Road, Djakarta. They tried to break in by banging on the gate with rifle butts and loudly threatened to set fire to the buildings and to kill all the personnel of the office. The Chinese personnel explained to them over and over that the office was a diplomatic mission of the People's Republic of China and that they had no right to enter. These armed troops claimed that they had the right to search no matter what diplomatic missions, and thereupon opened fire and barged in by force. They threatened the staff of the Office of the Commercial Counsellor with bayonets, forbade them to move, and searched and questioned them one by one. In the office-rooms of the Office of the Commercial Counsellor, they ripped open boxes and cupboards with bayonets, searched for documents and looted valuables. At the same time, they intruded into the residence of the staff of the Office of the Commercial Counsellor, where they ransacked suitcases and wardrobes and did extensive damage. They even pushed and struck Chinese Commercial Attache Li Ching-tang, behaving in a most uncivilized

way. These illegal atrocities lasted till 19:35 hours. The officer commanding the group of armed troops stated that they were dispatched by the Djakarta military area headquarters and were performing duty upon orders of the Government.

The above-mentioned atrocities by the armed troops of Indonesia constitute a brutal encroachment upon diplomatic immunities and the personal safety and dignity of diplomatic personnel, a gross violation of international law and international practice, and an extremely serious provocation against the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. The Chinese people and the Chinese Government express their great indignation at these atrocities. The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indonesian Government.

Since October 1, lies and slanders about China and anti-Chinese clamours have continuously appeared in Indonesia and all kinds of threat and intimidation have been made against the Chinese diplomatic missions in Indonesia. The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia repeatedly requested the Indonesian Government to stop these activities and asked it to take measures to protect the Chinese missions and personnel. But the Indonesian Government has all along been condoning the increasingly unruly anti-Chinese activities. Now there has even occurred this serious incident of Indonesian armed troops attacking and searching a Chinese mission and threatening and insulting Chinese diplomatic personnel. This fully shows that this incident is by no means accidental. An anti-Chinese wave is starting in Indonesia, and if it is not checked the consequences will be serious.

The Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government apologize for this incident, immediately punish the culprits and their instigators, and guarantee against similar incidents in the future. The Chinese Government reserves the right to claim compensation from the Indonesian Government for all the losses incurred.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Hsinhua Statement Concerning Indonesian Army Paper's Anti-China Fabrication

- **The Indonesian Rightists created various incidents to sabotage Sino-Indonesian relations so as to pursue an anti-China, anti-communist and anti-popular policy, to cater for the needs of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.**

THE Hsinhua News Agency has been authorized to make a statement concerning the lies invented by the Indonesian army paper, *The Armed Forces*, in connection with the flying of flag at half mast, to stir up anti-China sentiments. The statement reads:

"The organ of the Indonesian army authorities, *The Armed Forces*, published a story on October 16 which said: 'Radio of the Republic of Indonesia reported yesterday that the Indonesian Government, through its Foreign Ministry spokesman Ganis Harsono, had lodged protests with the Embassies of the People's Republic of China and Cuba against their refusal to fly their flags at half mast to pay tribute to the seven revolutionary heroes who fell in the "September 30 movement." As is well known, it has been decided by the Indonesian Government that, during the period of mourning, flags be flown at half mast for a week to pay tribute to the seven Indonesian revolutionary heroes. The two Embassies mentioned above deliberately paid no heed to the decision of the Indonesian Government, and persisted in their own way to fly their flags full mast. Their behaviour has aroused doubts among the public and indirectly hurt the feelings of the Indonesian nation.'

"Hsinhua News Agency is hereby authorized to state: The report of the paper *The Armed Forces* that the Indonesian Government has lodged a protest with the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia is a sheer fabrication. The Chinese Embassy has never received any such 'protest'; if there had been such an unjustifiable 'protest,' the Chinese Embassy would have categorically rejected and refuted it.

"It was entirely Indonesia's internal affair that the Indonesian authorities decided that flags be flown at half mast in mourning for the seven army officers. **It was entirely a matter within Chinese sovereignty that the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, abiding by a rule of its own Government, did not fly flag at half mast. This is a matter which brooks no interference by anybody.**

"The Chinese Government has laid down a rule regarding the flying of flag at half mast or not at half mast by its Embassy in a foreign country. That is: flag will be flown at half mast when the head of state of the country where the Chinese Embassy is located dies or when the leader of the fraternal Party of a socialist country dies; flag will not be flown at half mast when other leaders or ordinary officials pass away. Chinese Embassies in foreign countries have always fol-

lowed this practice in accordance with this rule. No foreign country has ever raised any objection to this practice by the Chinese diplomatic organizations, nor has it any justification to do so. In the past when some high officials of Indonesia died, the Chinese Embassy there did not fly flag at half mast. Similarly, when some Chinese Party and government leaders died, China never asked the Indonesian and other foreign Embassies in Peking to fly flag at half mast.

"During the period when flags were to fly at half mast throughout Indonesia for the seven army officers under a decision of the Indonesian authorities, foreign Embassies in Indonesia either flew flags at half mast, full mast or not at all. **But the Indonesian Rightists singled the Chinese Embassy out for unbridled attacks for not flying flag at half mast. This is obviously part of their scheme to whip up an anti-Chinese campaign.**

"Since Indonesia's army authorities gained control of Djakarta and other places, hooligans acting on instruction and with others' connivance have incessantly staged anti-China demonstrations, shouted anti-China slogans and distributed anti-China leaflets. Volumes of anti-China lies and slanders have appeared in newspapers which have permission to continue publication. On October 16, a unit of the Indonesian armed forces even openly raided and searched the Commercial Counsellor's Office of the Chinese Embassy. **Obviously, the object of these Rightists was to create various incidents to sabotage the friendly relations between China and Indonesia and between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples so as to pursue an anti-China, anti-communist and anti-popular policy which they have already begun, to cater for the needs of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.**

"The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia has, in face of threats and provocations by the Indonesian Rightists, persisted in acting in accordance with the rules of its own country. This is absolutely proper. Chinese Ambassador Yao Chung-ming has, in connection with the lies spread by the paper *The Armed Forces*, sent a letter to Indonesian Vice-Foreign Minister Harsono demanding public clarification. **If the Indonesian Rightists consider it necessary to take more undisguised and more rabid anti-China actions, it is your 'freedom.'** However, we would like to remind you that the Chinese people are not to be bullied at will by anyone. The great friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples cannot be undermined by a handful of persons like you."

Sudden, Drastic Changes in Indonesian Political Situation

— Hsinhua News Agency Round-Up Report —

October 19, 1965

SUDDEN and drastic political changes have taken place in Indonesia since the night of September 30. At present, in the capital, Djakarta, and some other cities under the military control of the Indonesian army authorities, Communists and other progressives are being arrested. The headquarters of the Indonesian Communist Party and offices of many mass organizations have been burnt down or wrecked, numerous Left-wing or middle-of-the-road newspapers, including *Harian Rakjat*, organ of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, have been banned, many colleges and other institutions have been closed down, and the Indonesian Communist Party and many progressive mass organizations outlawed.

From October 1 to the morning of October 16, this news agency did not receive a single report from its own correspondent in Djakarta, owing to the control of radio and tele-communications by the Indonesian army authorities. At the present time, therefore, we can only give a round-up report on Indonesian political developments in the past two weeks or more on the basis of Indonesian radio and press reports and foreign news agency dispatches:

September 30 Movement Announces It Has Taken Action Against a Subversive Movement Engineered by The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency

According to an announcement of the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia on October 1, a September 30 movement headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, commander of the Tjakrabirawa Battalion of President Sukarno's guards, issued a press communique announcing that on September 30 in Djakarta, with the assistance of other branches of the armed services, the movement had taken action within the army against the generals of the self-styled "Council of Generals."

The press communique said: "The Council of Generals is a subversive movement engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. They have been particularly active of late, especially since President Sukarno fell seriously ill early in August.

They hoped that President Sukarno would die of the illness, but their hopes did not materialize. To attain their ends, they therefore planned to stage a show of force on Armed Forces Day on October 5 of this year, by bringing in troops from east, central and west Java. There was even a plan by the Council of Generals to start a coup d'etat before October 5 through the concentration of a large military force in Djakarta."

The communique went on to say: "Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, commander of the September 30 movement, explained that the movement was purely one within the army and was directed against the Council of Generals which had done things besmirching the reputation of the army and harboured criminal designs against the Republic of Indonesia and President Sukarno."

It said that Lieutenant-Colonel Untung considered that "he is duty-bound to ensure the safety of the President and the Republic of Indonesia; it was, therefore, necessary for him to launch the movement." It announced that a number of generals had been arrested and that President Sukarno was safe and sound.

The September 30 movement also announced the formation of an Indonesian Revolutionary Council. The communique added that the council "will staunchly carry out the 'five amulets' of the revolution (editorial note: the 'five amulets' are, one, NASAKOM: the unity of the nationalists, religious believers and Communists; two, Pantjasila: the five principles upon which the Indonesian state is based, namely, nationalism, internationalism or humanism, the system of consultation or democracy, social prosperity, and belief in God; three, the Political Manifesto—the speech delivered by Sukarno on August 17, 1959 and entitled 'The Rediscovery of Our Revolution'; four, the three valid principles laid down by Sukarno in his speech delivered on August 17, 1964 and entitled 'A Year of Dangerous Living,' namely, political independence, economic self-reliance, and a culture with national identity; five, self-reliance); and will put into effect the decisions taken by the People's Assembly, the Co-operation Parliament and the Supreme Advisory Council. With a view to achieving peace in

October 22, 1965

Southeast Asia and the world, it will not change Indonesia's independent foreign policy of active opposition to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Neither will it change the policy in relation to the Second African-Asian Conference and the Conference of the New Emerging Forces and that of confrontation with 'Malaysia.'

Harian Rakjat, organ of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, printed this communique on October 2. It carried an editorial saying: "Whatever the pretext, the coup d'etat which the 'Council of Generals' tried to bring about, is a counter-revolutionary action and should be condemned." It added: "The issue is one within the army itself. However, we, people with political consciousness who are aware of the tasks of the revolution, are convinced that the action taken by the September 30 movement to save the revolution and the people is correct." The editorial pointed out that the action taken by the September 30 movement was "a patriotic and revolutionary action." The editorial declared: "Without fail, the people will show their sympathy with the September 30 movement and will support it. We appeal to the entire people to heighten their vigilance and be ready to face all eventualities."

According to an Antara News Agency report, President Sukarno issued a communique on October 1 saying: "I am now in good health and have, as before, the leadership of the state and the revolution in my hands. The leadership of the armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia is for the time being directly in the hands of the President and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia. I have temporarily appointed Pranoto Reksosamudro, Major-General of the Indonesian National Army, Minister and Third Assistant to the Army Commander, to take charge of the routine affairs of the army."

Suharto Brings in Large Numbers of Troops to Suppress September 30 Movement

On October 1, Major-General Suharto brought in large numbers of troops and put Djakarta under his control. On the evening of that day, Radio of the Republic of Indonesia broadcast an announcement issued by the Information Bureau of the army which said that "the general situation has been brought back under control and additional security measures are being energetically enforced." The announcement declared that President Sukarno and Minister Co-ordinator of Defence and Security Abdul Haris Nasution were "safe and sound." It added that for the time being Suharto had taken command of the army.

After Suharto's troops had gained control of Djakarta, Radio of the Republic of Indonesia in the early morning of October 3 broadcast a speech delivered by President Sukarno on the previous day. Apart from reaffirming the appointment of Major-General Pranoto

Reksosamudro, the President said: "I have appointed Major-General Suharto, Commander of the Army's Strategic Reserve, to be responsible for restoring security and order in connection with the 'September 30 incident' in compliance with the policy laid down by me." With a view to settling the question of the "September 30 incident" without delay, he added: "I have ordered that an atmosphere of calm and order be created at once, and, for that purpose, it is imperative to preclude all possibilities of armed conflict."

On the night of October 3, Radio of the Republic of Indonesia broadcast another order of President Sukarno. The order pointed out that, owing to the existence of misunderstanding which had led to conflict within the army, and in order to dispel public misgivings, the President announced that it was unjust to charge the air force with being involved in the "September 30 incident," and that he had gone to Halim Air Base near Djakarta on the morning of October 1 of his own free will. He said: "We must continue to maintain vigilance, and not permit any discord to be sown between the air force and the army of Indonesia, so that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and others may not benefit from it." He further ordered the various services of the armed forces to unite.

On the following day (October 4), Suharto spoke over the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia, openly expressing doubt about Sukarno's statement that the air force had not been involved in the September 30 movement. He said that six generals and another officer of the army had been killed by the September 30 movement. "There might be some truth," he said, in President Sukarno's "denial of the air force's involvement in the incident, but it is impossible that some individuals of the air force are not involved." He stressed that, as a member of the army, he hoped the air force would "get rid of those in the air force who are involved in the adventure."

Terror Reigns in Djakarta

Immediately after Suharto's troops gained control of Djakarta, the fifth military district which includes the capital, Djakarta, was put under a state of emergency as of October 1. Helmeted and fully armed soldiers of the army patrolled the city. Tanks, armoured cars and artillery units were stationed at key points. Anti-aircraft guns were trained skywards. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was enforced.

During October 2, the two papers *Harian Rakjat* and *Warta Bhakti* were banned from further publication. Antara News Agency was closed down the next day, and later, on October 11, was placed under military control.

In an announcement on October 3, the commander of the Fifth Military District of Greater Djakarta ordered those who had received arms from the September 30 movement to hand them over within three days. All those who disobeyed "will suffer the penalty of

death." Ibrahim Aji, commander of the Siliwangi division, was quoted by foreign news agencies as saying in a radio speech on October 4 that force of arms would be used against those who refused to hand over their arms. He said that "those who disobey will be shot." Meanwhile, the army authorities began wholesale arrests in Djakarta.

The papers and radio under the control of the army authorities worked up a great agitation over the execution during the September 30 incident of Yani, former army commander, and some other army generals. On October 4 the paper *The Armed Forces* attacked the Indonesian Communist Party saying: "These disgusting devils who always talk about urban and rural devils are real devils themselves." Following on this, public attacks were made on the Indonesian Communist Party by some political parties and organizations in army-controlled Djakarta. They described the Indonesian Communist Party as the "master-mind" behind the "September 30 incident." In statements broadcast over the radio on October 5, the Central Committee of the Indonesian Muslim Scholars' Association and some other organizations called for the speediest dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party, the People's Youth League, the Women's Movement of Indonesia, the Indonesian Public Works Trade Union and some other organizations. They also called for the banning for all time of all papers and other publications which directly or indirectly had supported or assisted the September 30 movement.

The paper *The Armed Forces* on October 5 called for the "liquidation of the 'September 30 movement' and the hanging of its hirelings."

In this atmosphere of terror, a funeral service for the executed generals was held on October 5. Nasution, Minister Co-ordinator of Defence and Security, spoke at the service. He called the September 30 movement "traitorous" and lauded the generals as "heroes." "We, the survivors, have the duty to carry on our struggle," he declared. On and after that day there were reports of anti-communist meetings and demonstrations in Djakarta. Hooligans shouted such anti-communist slogans as "Dissolve the Indonesian Communist Party" and "Hang Aidit."

Chairman Aidit Condemns "Council of Generals" And Calls on the Whole Party to Heighten Vigilance, Strengthen Unity, and Smash the "Five Evils"

On October 6, the Surabaya (east Java) paper *Djalan Rakjat* published a letter from D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, dated October 2, addressed to the Greater East Java Regional Committee of the Party. Chairman Aidit wrote: "The September 30 event is an internal affair of the army, and the Indonesian Communist Party will not intervene." He added: "As is well known, it is the consistent stand of the Indonesian Communist Party to agree

to measures for purification within all revolutionary instruments and guard the safety of President Sukarno and the Republic of Indonesia. As for the Council of Generals, the Indonesian Communist Party disapproves of it and condemns it."

Chairman Aidit instructed "all Indonesian Communist Party members to continue to carry out their urgent tasks, namely, to smash the five evils: that is, the three urban devils (the bureaucrat-capitalists, the speculators, and grafters — Ed.), the seven rural devils (the tyrant-landlords, usurers, those who buy up early crops cheap, evil middle-men, bureaucrat-capitalists, village bandits and corrupt officials. — Ed.), 'Malaysia,' the world devil of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism."

He urged all Party members to "continue to heighten their vigilance and strengthen revolutionary unity with NASAKOM as its heart and soul, so as to put into effect the five amulets of the revolution." He also urged them to "uphold and strengthen the unity of the Party and strictly observe Party and national discipline."

Chairman Aidit pointed out at the end of his letter that these instructions were also applicable to other regional committees and all members and candidate members of the Indonesian Communist Party in all parts of the country.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party issued a statement on October 5, saying that the September 30 movement was an internal affair of the army and that the Indonesian Communist Party would not intervene. The statement expressed support for President Sukarno's instructions on the settlement of the question of the September 30 movement.

President Sukarno Presides Over Cabinet Meeting

On the evening of October 6, a press statement by Subandrio, First Deputy Prime Minister of Indonesia, was broadcast over Radio Djakarta. The statement said that a cabinet meeting had been held in Bogor on October 6, with President Sukarno in the chair, to discuss the "September 30 incident."

According to the statement, President Sukarno first of all characterized the incident in these terms: "The September 30 incident," he said, "was an event in the course of the revolution, and not one that belonged to a period when the revolution would appear to have been completed." Therefore, it was "indeed part of our revolution," he added, "like other incidents which happened previously." The President said that he "did not consider it correct to establish the Revolutionary Council." He added that those army officers killed in the September 30 incident were "revolutionary heroes" and that "tribute should be paid to their memory." "At the present moment," he said, "no charges should be made against one another," nor should any attempt be

made "to deepen the hatred of one side towards the other." He said, "a calm atmosphere is needed," and he would "seek a political settlement, a just political settlement."

Mass Arrests, Closing Down of Schools, Burning Down of Communist Party Headquarters

After the cabinet meeting, Radio Djakarta under the control of the army authorities continued broadcasting statements by some political parties and organizations vociferously calling for the violent suppression of the "September 30 movement" and its supporters and the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party and the People's Youth League, as well as of certain other popular organizations. The army paper *The Armed Forces* on October 9 demanded "crush Aidit's Indonesian Communist Party." It stated on October 8: "Get the gallows ready."

Meanwhile, the wholesale arrests were stepped up. On the 8th the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia reported the arrest of some leaders of the People's Youth League. Foreign news agencies said the army was carrying out round-the-clock searches and arrests in Djakarta. The Indonesian army announced on the evening of the 17th that 3,000 people had been arrested following the September 30 incident. The First Secretary of the Djakarta City Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, Njono, was reportedly among the arrested. An announcement by the Director of the Information Bureau of the army said that Lieutenant-Colonel Untung and Colonel Latif, member of the Revolutionary Council of the September 30 movement, had also been arrested. Mass arrests were made in Java, Sumatra and other regions, too.

Foreign news agency reports said that "all known haunts of Communist Party members have been raided. . . . Heavy trucks rumbled through the streets carrying arrested Party members, hands clasped behind their necks." "Djakarta prisons were said to be overcrowded and an emergency jail was reportedly installed in the cellar of a department store," the dispatches noted.

A crowd of hooligans staged a demonstration in Djakarta on October 8 and burnt down the headquarters of the Indonesian Communist Party, it was reported. On October 9, the office of the Women's Movement of Indonesia was burnt to the ground. On the 10th, the head offices of the People's Youth League and the All-Indonesian Central Organization of Trade Unions were wrecked. On the 12th, the homes of leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party were also wrecked. An AP report on the demonstration of the 8th said, "truckloads of demonstrators passed the American Embassy shouting 'Long live America!'"

The Indonesian Minister for Higher Education and Sciences announced that 14 institutions of higher learning had been closed down since October 11 for what he

called their direct or indirect support for the "September 30 movement." According to Radio Djakarta, these institutions were: the Republic University, the Indonesian People's University, the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences, the Bachtarudin Political Science Academy, the Anwari Technological Institute, the Dr. Rivai Academy of Journalism, the Multatuli College of Arts, the Dr. Ratulangi Economic Science Academy, the Ronggowarsito Academy of History, the People's University, the Surakarta Kotapradja University, the Suprpto College of Journalism in Surabaya, the Sarinah Satria College of Journalism and Publicity in Malang, and the Egom Academy of Agriculture and Peasant Movement in Bogor. The minister also announced the suspension of the Federation of Indonesian Students Movement and other student organizations.

Foreign news agencies reported that the Republic University in Djakarta was burnt down by hooligans on October 14. "Armed with knives, stones and sticks," they attacked the students. "They broke everything in sight" and shouted: "Hang Communist Party boss D.N. Aidit!" and "Ban the Communist Party, master-mind of the September 30 movement!" Later, troops and police machine-gunned the students of the Republic University. It was reported that in this incident, five persons were killed, 250 others injured and many students arrested.

Stirring Up Anti-Chinese Sentiment, Creating Anti-Chinese Incidents

The Indonesian army papers in news items and commentaries for several days running have tried hard to stir up anti-Chinese sentiment. As early as October 6, the army paper *Berita Yudha* in a roundabout way put the question: "Can it be that the counter-revolutionary adventure of the 'September 30 movement' depended only on their own material strength without material and moral support and assistance from broad strata at home and abroad?" On the same day the other paper, *The Armed Forces*, clamoured for the "removal of foreign political bases." On October 10, the same paper with evil intent said that the September 30 movement "chose October 1, the National Day of the People's Republic of China, to start a national tragedy."

In the last few days one anti-Chinese incident after another has occurred in Djakarta and other places. It was reported that on October 8, acting under instructions, hooligans "demonstrated" before the Chinese Consulate-General in Djakarta. Some of them posted on the gates of the Chinese Consulate-General a number of anti-Chinese leaflets issued by "The Anti-Communist Movement." The leaflets read: "China stage-managed the September 30 movement. Drive out all Chinese immediately!" "The Indonesian Communist Party is armed by China! Hang the Chinese!" "China is the wire-puller behind the Indonesian Communist Party! Sever diplomatic relations with China at once!" A Reuter report said that during an

other demonstration on October 14, "outside the American Embassy the demonstrators shouted 'Communists — No!' Outside the Chinese Consulate they shouted 'Crush China!'"

Particularly serious was the incident on October 16 when an Indonesian armed unit illegally broke into the Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, ransacked the office and living quarters, and insulted and forcibly searched the Chinese diplomatic officials.

Suharto, Appointed Minister and Army Commander, Talks Loudly About "Continuing to Liquidate the Remnants of 'September 30 Movement' — the Counter-Revolutionary Group of Adventurers"

On October 14, President Sukarno announced in Djakarta the appointment of **Major-General Suharto** as Minister and Commander of the **Indonesian Army**. At the same time, Sukarno relieved **Pranoto Reksosamudro** of the post to which Sukarno himself had appointed him on October 1.

According to an announcement of Radio Djakarta, President Sukarno presided over Suharto's swearing-in ceremony on October 16 in the State Palace in Djakarta. He declared in a speech that he had placed the leadership of the army in the hands of Suharto. He ordered Suharto to "restore law and order." He said it was necessary "to create a calm atmosphere, which is not filled with emotion nor inflamed by Left or Right." He added, "To seek a political settlement, I need full and comprehensive facts and I shall not heed those facts which have been covered by red, green or yellow cloth."

Subsequently, at a meeting of the Indonesian Supreme Operational Command on the evening of the 16th, Sukarno appointed Suharto Chief of Staff of the Supreme Operational Command and in charge of investigations into the September 30 incident, in addition to his other responsibilities.

Immediately after his assumption of office, Suharto issued his first order in which he said that he had Sukarno's "trust." Suharto called on his subordinates to "continue to liquidate the remnants of the 'September 30 movement' — the counter-revolutionary group of adventurers."

According to the army paper *The Armed Forces*, the Supreme Operational Command ordered the banning of all political parties and mass organizations regarded as being involved in the September 30 movement. On the 18th, the Djakarta Military District issued an order outlawing the Indonesian Communist Party and such progressive mass organizations as the People's Youth League, the Women's Movement of Indonesia, the Indonesian Peasant Front, the Federation of Indonesian Students Movement, the Indonesian College Students' Association, the Indonesian Youth

and Students' Association, and the Indonesian Scientists' Association.

U.S. Imperialists and "Malaysia" Are Jubilant

A few days after the September 30 event, an October 5 AP report from Singapore quoted a Western diplomatic source to the effect that "if Major-General Suharto and Defence Minister Abdul Haris Nasution, both leading Rightists, do not act now, they will have missed an opportunity they are not likely to get again. In fact if they don't act, they may be signing their own death warrant."

The United States and "Malaysia" were pleased with the latest developments in Indonesia, according to Western news agencies. Hensley of UPI on October 13 reported from Washington that "officials have been gratified at the strong action taken by Nasution and the army against Communist elements since September 30." This UPI correspondent on October 12 had quoted a British source as saying that both U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart during their recent talks in Washington had expressed the view that the Indonesian situation, in which the army was taking action against the Communists "responsible for the coup," seemed to be developing in a direction which was quite satisfactory to Washington and London.

An AP correspondent reported from New York on October 14: "There is every indication now that the army is running the Indonesian show . . . a junta — with men like Suharto and Abdul Haris Nasution, the armed forces chief, at its head."

"Prime Minister" Rahman of "Malaysia," a tool of U.S. and British imperialism, added his bit on October 11. "I am very happy with the course of events now going on in Indonesia," he said. If the army took over Indonesia and cleaned up the Communists, "I think confrontation will come to an end." He added that if any help was needed, "I'll come."

How the Soviet News Agency and Press Have Reported and Commented on the Events

In reporting Suharto's deployment of forces to suppress the September 30 movement, TASS News Agency quoted Western news agency reports as saying that the Indonesian army "has quelled a coup d'etat." The same news agency on the 12th, quoting a report of the Indonesian army paper *Berita Yudha*, put Nasution on a par with Sukarno and called them "leaders of the revolution." TASS said that they "discussed the regrettable events which befell our people and the country as a result of the treacherous actions of those who named themselves the 'September 30 movement.' Mutual understanding and unity of views on the question of purging all those implicated in this movement were reached at the meeting."

In a commentary on the 16th, the Soviet paper *Izvestia* went so far as to call the September 30 move-

ment a "rebellion" and Lt.-Col. Untung, Col. Latif and the others "rebels." This paper, which is the organ of the Soviet Government, said: "Forces loyal to the military command, brought from the provinces, have quelled the rebellion" and added, "the remaining rebels have fled to the mountains."

This official organ of the Soviet Government even suggested with an air of satisfaction that the unleash-

ing of the anti-communist campaign by the Indonesian Right-wing forces was because "several Communists were among the members of the Revolutionary Council" set up by the September 30 movement and also because "*Harian Rakjat*, organ of the [Indonesian] Communist Party, which failed to understand the confused state of things in the first few days, wrote as if the rebellion had the support of the people."

"Renmin Ribao" Publishes Materials On Current Political Situation In Indonesia

RENMIN RIBAO on October 20 published on its front page a long Hsinhua round-up report under the bold-character heading: "Sudden, Drastic Changes in Indonesian Political Situation." (For a full translation see p.7.)

The paper devotes four full pages to materials related to the political developments in Indonesia since October 1. The general headline reads: "A Collection of Materials on Current Political Situation in Indonesia."

Under the bold-character headline "documents of the September 30 movement," the paper carries in the upper part of the third page a press communique of the September 30 movement and an order on the formation of an Indonesian revolutionary council which were broadcast over the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia on October 1. The subheads read: [The movement] "announces that the movement is one within the army, directed against the 'council of generals'; points out that the 'council of generals,' a subversive movement engineered by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, plans to start a coup d'etat before October 5 this year."

Under the general headline "attitude of the Indonesian army," the paper prints in the rest of its third page relevant documents and speeches broadcast over the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia.

The subhead for "the proclamation and two decisions issued by the Indonesian army command" reads: "Vows to stamp out the September 30 movement, clamours about 'readiness to defeat counter-revolution.'"

Under the heading "Suharto's broadcast speeches and statement," the paper prints Suharto's two broadcast speeches, one on October 1 and another on October 4 and his statement on October 3. The subhead reads: "Announces he has taken command of the army; declares it is necessary completely to wipe out the Sep-

tember 30 movement: demands the air force rid itself of personnel involved in the movement."

The page also carries two decisions of the commander of the Djakarta military district under the subhead: "Proclaims suspension for the time being of all activities of the Indonesian Communist Party and certain mass organizations in Djakarta and its vicinity, calls on leading members of these organizations to report to the command within a fixed time-limit."

The page also prints an announcement of the commander of the fifth military district of Greater Djakarta ordering those who have received arms from the September 30 movement to hand them in within three days.

An address delivered by Abdul Haris Nasution on October 5 is also printed on this page under the subhead: [He] "says the six generals executed are 'heroes,' declares 'we have the duty to carry on our struggle.'"

In the lower right part of its fourth page, *Renmin Ribao* publishes, under the heading "attitude of other armed services of Indonesia," two announcements issued by the Indonesian air force, two statements by the commander of the navy and an announcement issued by the commander of the police force on October 3.

The relevant statements and speeches made by President Sukarno are printed in the top half of the fourth page. The subheads are:

"President Sukarno's communique of October 1": "Announces he is in good health, appoints temporarily Pranoto Reksosamudro to take charge of the army's routine affairs";

"President Sukarno's broadcast address of October 2": "Orders that an atmosphere of calm and order be created so as to settle the September 30 incident; ap-

points Suharto to be responsible for restoring security and order”;

“President Sukarno’s order of October 3”: “Announces that the air force has not been involved in the September 30 incident, calls on the air force and the army not to permit discord to be sown between them”;

“President Sukarno’s instructions at his meeting with the commanders of the various services”: “The September 30 movement [he says] is an event in which political issues are involved and which is to be handled by himself; [he] describes the executed generals as ‘revolutionary heroes’”;

“President Sukarno’s remarks at a plenary meeting of the cabinet”: “[He] says he does not consider it correct to establish the revolutionary council; expresses the hope that the local revolutionary councils would dissolve themselves; will seek a just political settlement”;

And “Sukarno’s statement about appointing Suharto army commander.”

Under the heading in bold characters, “**the position of the Indonesian Communist Party**,” *Renmin Ribao* prints on the fourth page relevant documents issued by the Indonesian Communist Party. The subheads are:

“Chairman Aidit’s letter of instructions”: “The September 30 event is an internal affair of the army; the Indonesian Communist Party’s consistent stand is to agree to measures for purification within all revolutionary instruments; condemns the ‘council of generals’; calls on Party members to continue to smash the five evils and put into effect the five amulets of the revolution; uphold and strengthen the unity of the Party and strictly observe Party discipline.”

“Statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee”: “The September 30 movement is an internal question of the army, the Indonesian Communist Party will not intervene.”

“Editorial of *Harian Rakjat*”: “The action taken by the September 30 movement is patriotic and revolu-

tionary; the coup d’etat engineered by the ‘council of generals’ is a counter-revolutionary action and should be condemned; appeals to the entire people to heighten vigilance and be ready to face all eventualities.”

Under the general headline, “**attitude of other quarters of Indonesia**,” the paper devotes the whole of its fifth page to relevant statements and remarks made by Indonesian government ministers, political parties and mass organizations.

These are remarks by Idham Chalid, Vice-Chairman of the People’s Assembly of Indonesia, remarks by Sartono and Sujono Hadinoto, Vice-Chairmen of the Indonesian Supreme Advisory Council, remarks by Sudibjo, General Secretary of the Secretariat of the Indonesian National Front, two directives by Sumarno, Minister for Internal Affairs, two statements by the Indonesian Nationalist Party, a speech by Ali Sastroamidjojo, General Chairman of the Indonesian Nationalist Party, a statement by Partai Indonesia, a joint statement by the Muslim Scholars’ Association and the mass organizations affiliated to it, a statement by the Indonesian Islamic Union Party, a statement by the Indonesian Perti (Islamic) Party, a resolution by the Indonesian Christian Party and its affiliated mass organizations, a directive by the Association of Indonesian Independence Supporters, a statement by the Central Committee of the Indonesian Consultative Body of the 1945 Revolutionaries, a statement by the Women’s Movement of Indonesia, and a statement by the Indonesian Action Committee for the Boycott of U.S. Films.

The sixth page reports **Foreign Reaction and Comments**. Under the headline “Comments by U.S. officials, news agencies and papers,” *Renmin Ribao*’s subheads read: “[They] consider the Indonesian situation ‘to be taking a turn somewhat satisfactory’ to Washington, to be ‘a great new chance’ for the U.S.; acclaim the army as in a position ‘to assert themselves,’ urge Indonesia to ‘disrupt’ its association with China.” Grouping together comments by British officials and papers, *Renmin Ribao*’s subheads say: “They see in Nasution’s action ‘the optimum development the West could hope,’ think ‘Communists will not just disappear as a political

Japanese C.P. Protests Against Indonesian Right-Wing Anti-Communist Outrages

ACCORDING to news reports from Tokyo, Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party, when speaking on October 17 on the recent situation in Indonesia, asked: “Who is glad at the anti-communist outrages committed by the Right-wing forces in Indonesia?” He said that his Party, in accordance with proletarian inter-

nationalism, had strongly protested against these illegal atrocities against Communists.

Comrade Kenji Miyamoto made his statement at a rally celebrating the seventh *Akahata* festival in Tokyo. Among the 70,000 people who attended the meeting were Chairman Sanzo Nosaka and other leaders of the Japanese Communist Party.

force.'” The paper reports comments by French papers and news agency with the subhead: “They note that the event took place because the Right-wing generals did plot a coup, that pro-Western factions in the army are associated with U.S. espionage organization.”

Reaction from “Malaysia” is reported on the same page under the headline “‘Malaysian’ chieftain Rahman’s clamours.” The subhead says that [Rahman] “is ‘very happy’ with the course of events now going on in Indonesia, calls for ‘take-over of Indonesia by the army and cleaning up of Communists.’”

Under the headline “Comments by Japanese officials, papers and news agency,” *Renmin Ribao* points out in its subheads: “[They] believe that the ‘military

authorities,’ worried over the growth of the people’s strength, want to take action beforehand; say that ‘President Sukarno is moving much closer to the side of the anti-communist main current of the army, namely Defence Minister Nasution — Suharto.’”

At the bottom of the sixth page, *Renmin Ribao* reports “Soviet press reports and comments on the Indonesian situation.” The subheads read: “Quoting Western news agencies and Djakarta press comments, TASS reports that Suharto ‘has quelled a coup d’etat,’ puts Nasution on a par with Sukarno and calls them ‘leaders of the revolution.’ *Izvestia* calls the September 30 movement a ‘rebellion,’ blames the Indonesian Communist Party for the Right-wing anti-communist movement.”

Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement

U.S.-South Vietnamese Air Attacks on Cambodian Village Condemned

October 20, 1965

ON October 15, the United States and its south Vietnamese puppets sent their aircraft to make three successive attacks on the Cambodian village of Bathu, Svay Rieng Province, and, by the savage means of dropping napalm bombs, shooting rockets and strafing, killed seven and wounded six peaceful Cambodian inhabitants, and caused the burning down of many houses and the loss of cattle. This is another serious provocation deliberately carried out by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys against the Kingdom of Cambodia.

U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in south Viet Nam and Thailand have all along harboured aggressive designs against the peace-loving Kingdom of Cambodia. For many years, they resorted to all kinds of despicable and shameless means in an attempt to force Cambodia to give up her independent and sovereign policy of peace and neutrality. Their attempts failed in the face of resolute rebuff by the Government and people of Cambodia. Now that the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys have suffered ever heavier defeats on the south Viet Nam battlefield, they have more than ever come to regard the Kingdom of Cambodia, which firmly opposes U.S. imperialist aggression and upholds peace and justice, as a thorn in their side and are making increasingly frequent threats and provocations against it, vainly attempting to compel it to submit so that they may further extend their war of aggression in Viet Nam.

But the people of Cambodia are not to be bullied. They have long recognized clearly the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. During his recent visit in China and Korea, Prince Norodom Sihanouk sharply exposed and condemned the Johnson Administration’s crime of expanding its war of aggression in Indo-China and expressed the determination of the valiant Cambodian people to resolutely struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to the very end, thus winning the praise and admiration of the peace-loving countries and peoples. The firm will of the Cambodian people to defend their state sovereignty, uphold peace and neutrality and maintain national dignity can by no means be altered by any U.S. imperialist threats.

In its communique issued on October 18, the Royal Government of Cambodia lodged the most serious protest against the criminal attacks on Bathu village by U.S.-south Viet Nam planes and at the same time appealed to all countries which love peace and justice to adopt prompt and necessary measures to prevent the repetition of this vicious crime. The Chinese Government and people firmly support this just stand taken by the Kingdom of Cambodia and strongly condemn U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in south Viet Nam for their bloody crimes against the Cambodian people. We hereby warn the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys: You must stop forthwith your frenzied provocations against Cambodia, otherwise you will have to eat the bitter fruit of your own deeds.

For Final Victory Over U.S. Imperialism

PRINCE Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, Madame Sihanouk and their party left Kunming for home on October 16, taking with them the Chinese people's profound, militant friendship to the fraternal Cambodian people. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, leading officials of the Yunnan provincial government and more than 100,000 people from all walks of life gave the Cambodian guests an enthusiastic send-off.

Prince and Madame Sihanouk concluded their visit to China by spending three days in Kunming, a scenic city in southwest China. Chou Hsing, Governor of Yunnan Province, gave a banquet in honour of Prince and Madame Sihanouk on October 13, the day of their arrival in Kunming. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, who accompanied the distinguished guests during their journey from Harbin in northeast China, also attended. Both Prince Sihanouk and Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke at the banquet and stressed the significance to human progress of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. They agreed that to achieve final victory in this struggle the people of China and Cambodia should always unite closely.

Prince Sihanouk had high praise for Sino-Cambodian friendship. He said: **"Although the social system**

in Cambodia differs from that of China, the two countries actually differ very little. They have common ideals; that is to say, they are struggling with all their might against those enemies of the people of the world and against the enemies of freedom, justice and peace, namely, the imperialists and old and new colonialists, first of all the U.S. imperialists who are the most dangerous enemies."

The Cambodian leader paid tribute to China which, he said, "is the firmest and most sincere supporter of Cambodia's peace, independence and territorial integrity." He added: "China gives Cambodia genuinely unconditional aid which, by assisting above all in the rapid development of our country's industry, has greatly helped in raising our people's living standard and in lifting our country out of its state of under-development. Equally important are the benefits we have derived from China's experience in national construction, the example China has set for us, the techniques she has passed on to us and the lessons we have learnt from what we have seen with our own eyes." Prince Sihanouk declared that, in the highest interest of both countries, Cambodia and China would always remain

Premier Chou on Sino-Cambodian Friendship

CHAIRMAN Liu Shao-chi, on October 15, received a delegation of the Cambodia-China Friendship Association led by Hu Nim. The day before, Premier Chou En-lai met the Cambodian guests and gave a banquet in their honour.

In his speech welcoming the delegation, the Premier said that friendly relations between China and Cambodia, which had greatly developed over the past decade, had been brought to a new height by Prince Sihanouk's current visit. "The friendship between our two peoples," he said, "is no ordinary friendship, but one that has steadily developed in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism and on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and independence and a trust that is mutual. It has stood and will continue to stand all tests. We are confident that this militant friendship between the two peoples will develop from generation to generation."

Describing Sino-Cambodian friendship as a kinsmanlike friendship of long-standing, Premier Chou said: "His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk has said that the Khmer people regard the Chinese people as

their best friends. We would like to tell our Cambodian friends that the Chinese people likewise regard the Khmer people as their best friends. The friendship between our two peoples is not one that excludes others. We are willing to develop friendship with all those countries which respect our sovereignty and territorial integrity and support us in our struggle to safeguard our country's honour and independence. Certain big powers, however, are very jealous and afraid of the growth of friendship between our two countries; they even try to sow discord between us. But these attempts are doomed to failure."

Hu Nim in his speech stressed that the Cambodian and Chinese peoples were closely united in opposition to U.S. imperialism and its stooges. "U.S. imperialism and its stooges," he said, "are not at all happy to see so close a friendship between Cambodia and China. But this is a good thing. Future developments will further prove the correctness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis that the East wind is prevailing over the West wind. The anti-imperialist forces of the East are bound to defeat the imperialist forces of the West."

closely united in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism and old and new colonialism.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that "the friendship between China and Cambodia is forged for the purpose of jointly opposing their most dangerous enemy, U.S. imperialism, for the sake of world peace and genuine peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and for justice and human progress."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi had a farewell banquet for Prince and Madame Sihanouk on October 15. Repeated toasts to the militant friendship between China and Cambodia were made.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that *the successful sixth visit of Prince Sihanouk constituted a powerful support for China.* "During the current visit of His Royal High-

ness the Prince," he said, "we have exchanged views and reached complete unanimity on opposing U.S. imperialist aggression and many other important questions."

Prince Sihanouk said that **Cambodia and China were not only friends but relatives.** *The people of the two countries would never desert each other but would always stand together. He said: "The imperialists will never succeed in their attempt to hide from the people of the world the facts of China's achievements. China has friends everywhere."*

In a toast at the banquet, Madame Sihanouk expressed the hope that the friendship between Cambodian and Chinese women would grow with each passing day. "In all circumstances, Cambodian women will remain united with the women of China," she declared.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi:

China Dares to Run Risks to Thoroughly Defeat U.S. Imperialism

- **The greatest hope of mankind today is to firmly oppose U.S. imperialism.**
- **In order to oppose U.S. imperialism it is imperative to wage a serious struggle and to take risks. Only in this way will victory be won.**
- **To seek a compromise with U.S. imperialism instead of opposing it would be to end up as shamefully as the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and the Khrushchov revisionists.**

VICE-Premier Chen Yi in his speech at a banquet given by Chou Hsing, Governor of Yunnan Province, and his wife, in honour of the Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk on the evening of October 13 in Kunming, stressed that mankind's greatest hopes now rested on whether or not it firmly opposed U.S. imperialism.

He said certain persons had alleged that his condemnation of U.S. imperialism at the September 29 press conference in Peking attended by Chinese and foreign newsmen indicated the intention of Chinese leaders "to seek adventures."

"We say that in order to oppose U.S. imperialism, it is imperative to wage a serious struggle and to take risks. Only in this way will we be able to win. China with her 650 million people has the courage to run risks in order to thoroughly defeat U.S. imperialism.

"To seek a compromise with U.S. imperialism instead of opposing it would be to end up as shamefully as the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and the Khrushchov revisionists. Those who have alleged that the Chinese leaders intend 'to seek adventures' want

us to take the road of Chiang Kai-shek and Khrushchov, the road of capitulation to U.S. imperialism. We definitely will not take their road. We want to take our own road, the road of firm opposition to U.S. imperialism."

Invincible Friendship

Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that *Sino-Cambodian friendship was forged for the purpose of jointly opposing their most dangerous enemy, U.S. imperialism, for the sake of world peace and genuine peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, for justice and human progress. It was not forged for the purpose of striking a bargain.*

"This friendship is most reliable and invincible. On both sides, we should do our best to help each other and continue to develop this traditional friendship," Vice-Premier Chen Yi said.

He added: "I greatly admire the statement made by Prince Sihanouk in Peking, that if there were some 15 countries in the world that followed the line of non-co-operation towards U.S. imperialism, refused to provide it with military bases and forbade its aircraft

and ships to use their airfields and ports, this would be enough to force U.S. imperialism to retreat. This is a correct appraisal.

"Today, U.S. imperialism is not really so very powerful. Its policy of aggression is unpopular and is meeting with resistance everywhere. I believe that the time will soon come when, as predicted by His Royal Highness, many countries will unite to oppose U.S. imperialism. We are bound to win, provided China, Cambodia and other friendly countries persist in their struggle against U.S. imperialism," said the Chinese Vice-Premier.

He said that *Prince Sihanouk had his own stand and environment and China had hers. But U.S. imperialist aggression against them had linked them with a common goal, that of repulsing U.S. imperialism.*

The Chinese people, said Vice-Premier Chen Yi, greatly admired Prince Sihanouk's political courage.

Recalling his visits to a number of Asian and African countries during the past year or so, he pointed out that *many leaders on these two continents thought very highly of the courage shown by Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk in rising against U.S. imperialism, rejecting its aid and breaking off relations with it.*

Under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, he continued, Cambodia had won prestige and respect throughout the world.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that Prince Sihanouk had a most profound understanding of China and had supported her most courageously and warm-heartedly. His six visits to China were an expression of his esteem and support for China. They were also of immense help to China.

Prince Sihanouk gave a high appraisal of China's achievements in construction, Vice-Premier Chen Yi added. This was the appraisal of the Prince himself, of the Royal Family of Cambodia and of the Cambodian people as a whole. It encouraged the Chinese people to advance towards still greater achievements.

Referring to China's aid to Cambodia, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the aid was still too little. With the improvement of the situation in China's construction, she was willing to offer more.

Support for China

"Aid has always been mutual," he emphasized. "Cambodia has stood for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and the restoration of China's legitimate seat there. She has supported China's recovery of Taiwan and the offshore islands. This constitutes the greatest aid to us."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "The U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries have wantonly slandered China. Though the overwhelming majority of the world's people do not believe their slanders, a few have been suspicious.

"It is just at this time that Prince Sihanouk has come forward to point out, by a statement of facts, that

China is not an aggressor, that she loves peace, that she favours peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and that she has no territorial ambitions against any country, big or small. He has pointed out that China has achieved very good results in her national construction, that all the 650 million Chinese people have united under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and that China has engaged in friendly co-operation with Cambodia.

"Basing himself on facts, Prince Sihanouk has upheld justice and has spoken out for justice on the international forum. This represents the most powerful support for China. No economic statistics can ever do justice to this political support for which we are very grateful."

The Chinese Vice-Premier said that Prince Sihanouk had based his judgments on facts. Such judgments conformed to reality. His Royal Highness had correctly judged the trend of the international situation and of China's present and future. This showed his great aptitude and penetrating insight as a statesman.

"We hope that the unbreakable friendship between our two countries will grow constantly. Whatever difficulties may lie ahead, we will continue to struggle together to defeat our common enemy," Vice-Premier Chen Yi said.

He vehemently condemned the base schemes of the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries of various countries, aimed at sowing discord between China and Cambodia.

"The imperialists and reactionaries allege that all political actions taken by Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk are influenced by China. They aim at poisoning Sino-Cambodian relations because they know it would be to their advantage to separate the two countries even by an inch, while the unity of the two countries is to their disadvantage. On this point, they have made a perfectly correct judgment.

"Under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, Cambodia has firmly defended her national independence and has embarked resolutely on the course of industrialization to build a strong industrial-agricultural country. She has firmly followed the line of self-reliance in construction and persistently opposed U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Chinese people," said Vice-Premier Chen Yi, "will always stand by your side."

With the aim of intimidating some Asian and African countries that were the friends of China and joined China in opposing U.S. imperialism, the imperialists and reactionaries asserted that, after compromising with the United States, China would turn her back to these countries, said Vice-Premier Chen Yi and he added, "We say that *there is only one condition for a compromise between China and U.S. imperialism, namely, that the U.S. imperialists must give up their policy of aggression and war. But this is impossible.*"

Vice-Premier Chen Yi recalled the speeches made by Prince Sihanouk in Peking, the joint statement he signed with Chairman Liu Shao-chi, the joint statement he signed in Korea with Premier Kim Il Sung, and the speeches made by the Cambodian Head of State in Harbin and Kunming.

These contained valuable lessons for the Chinese people as well as the Cambodian people, the Chinese

Vice-Premier said. They were particularly worth learning by the very few people who still had doubts and still vacillated in their attitude to the anti-imperialist struggle.

In conclusion, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that Prince Sihanouk's visits to China and Korea had been a very great success and would add a glorious page to the annals of friendship among the three countries.

China's Warning to U.S. Imperialists Helps World Peace

Prince Sihanouk's Comment on Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Press Conference

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, has written a letter to Vice-Premier Chen Yi, commenting on the latter's September 29 press conference which was attended by Chinese and foreign correspondents.

Prince Sihanouk wrote that he was greatly impressed by the importance of the subjects with which Vice-Premier Chen Yi dealt and by the justice of the views and positions presented by him on these questions.

Following is the letter written by Prince Sihanouk in Kunming on October 14, 1965. — Ed.

**To His Excellency Marshal Chen Yi,
Your Excellency Vice-Premier and Dearest Friend,**

I am in receipt of the full text of your press conference in Peking on September 29.

I have just finished reading it. It greatly impressed me by the importance of the subjects with which you dealt, by the clarity with which you presented your views and the positions of the People's Republic of China on the major problems of the day and finally by the justice of those views and positions.

You have honoured me by asking for my opinion on what you said to the correspondents.

I am sorry that I am unable to comment on certain of the questions dealt with and which belong to the competence of China and its sovereignty. But it is with pleasure that I give you my opinion on questions of common interest to our two countries and questions of interest to all people.

1. On the question of sharing nuclear knowledge.

I liked enormously all the remarks that you made in response to this question, in particular: "Now they (the Western countries) promote the so-called underdeveloped countries by describing them as developing countries. So far as China is concerned, we are not grateful for that";

"So far there has not been any country in the world which can change its state of backwardness by merely relying on foreign aid"; and

"The just struggle of Afro-Asian countries against imperialism and colonialism is the best atom bomb."

These words greatly encourage the countries and people of Asia and Africa who have greeted them with enthusiasm. They are a sharp lesson given appropriately to all the great and rich powers, who are so arrogant and stupidly proud of their "super-developed" state.

It is only the People's Republic of China which, in the period of just a few years, having raised itself to the ranks of a world power, is able to give them this lesson. And I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart, in the name of all those who are despised by the West.

2. On the U.S. war of aggression against Viet Nam.

The sentiments you expressed and the position of the People's Republic of China that you outlined in answer to this question and that on the U.N., have our complete approval because, as you know, Cambodia has the same sentiments and has taken the same position.

My remarks in China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea bear this out.

3. On the Second African-Asian Conference.

Your Excellency and His Excellency Chou En-lai know our sentiments and our position, which in certain respects coincide with yours and on other points are slightly different.

Our two Governments maintain a respect for each other's free decision, so I think it is not necessary to speak here of the small "difference" between us.

We are in complete agreement with you in finding that it is not appropriate to draw into our African-Asian Conference the United Nations or its Secretary-General

because there are countries in our conference which do not have relations with the United Nations.

We also agree with you when you affirmed that "without adopting resolutions condemning U.S. imperialism, the African-Asian Conference will disappoint the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. To hold such a conference would be a waste."

I have said and written the same thing a long time ago.

I also approve of Your Excellency's statement that "so far as certain countries are concerned, the more they denounce U.S. imperialism, the more bread they will probably get from it. . . ."

I will permit myself to state only that my country prefers not to have recourse to such means which is equivalent to condemnable complicity with our enemies. The Afro-Asian countries that condemn U.S. imperialism while eating its bread and pocketing its dollars betray the cause of our struggle and are retarding its outcome.

4. On restoring to China its legitimate rights in the U.N.

Cambodia supports completely the position taken by China on this question.

The United Nations should declare null and void its resolution condemning China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as aggressors; the U.N. Charter must be re-examined and revised by all countries of the world, big and small; all independent states should be represented in the U.N.; and all puppets of imperialism should be expelled.

5. On China's development of nuclear arms.

We greatly value your statement "China has pledged never to be the first to use atom bombs. Our nuclear weapons will only be used for defence."

This is clear proof of the peaceful intentions of the People's Republic of China.

But Cambodia remains convinced that China's atomic power is the best guarantee for peace and best deterrent to the bellicosity and nuclear threats of U.S. imperialism.

6. On the warnings to Britain and the United States (regarding the use of Hongkong by the United States as a base for its war of aggression against Viet Nam).

Western papers and others of the so-called free world have alleged that these warnings were proof of "the aggressiveness and incorrigible bellicosity of the People's Republic of China."

Sincerely, Cambodia thinks quite the contrary. It thinks that these warnings are salutary not only as regards Viet Nam, but also as regards world peace.

Because only the firm position of China has been able and will be able to check the bellicose elements of the "free" world and the U.S. imperialists in their attempt to hurl the world into the flames of war.

Cambodia, on its part, knows and will always bear in mind that the Americans and their lackeys in Bangkok and Saigon do not dare to carry war to her nor destroy her independence and territorial integrity just because of the warnings given them by the People's Republic of China.

That is why our country considers China as our No. 1 friend.

Please accept, Mr. Marshal and dearest friend, the assurance of my highest and most affectionate regards.

N. Sihanouk

Head of State of Cambodia

Kunming, 14 October, 1965.

Prince Sihanouk's Report on Visits to China and Korea

- Speaking about the sudden Soviet notification asking him to postpone his visit to Moscow, Prince Sihanouk said that this violated all diplomatic rules and international etiquette, and that the Soviet leaders' volte-face was a deliberate insult to Cambodia.
- The relations of friendship and mutual support which link Cambodia with China and Korea are more solid than at any time.

IN a report on October 17 at a rally in Phnom Penh welcoming him back from his visits to China and Korea, Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk said, "As in 1960, 1962 and 1964, the welcome in China has been very cordial and grand. The reception in Peking was the most impressive and wonderful in the world. In Chengtu, Chungking, Wuhan, Harbin, Kunming, I also received demonstrations of moving friendship."

Prince Sihanouk added, "Chairman Liu Shao-chi solemnly reaffirmed in his speech that the People's Republic of China would give Cambodia unflinching and positive support in case of being subjected to aggression. He stressed: 'China's words always count.'"

"Furthermore, Chairman Liu Shao-chi's statement has been firmly confirmed in the Sino-Cambodian joint statement which points out that the Chinese people will give us all-out support in case of foreign aggression,

"An exceptional fact should be pointed out, that is, the Chairman of the Republic went especially to Harbin in the northernmost province of China to welcome me and accompany me in my private visit in that city. On that occasion, Chairman Liu Shao-chi once again reiterated the support of the People's Republic of China and its high appraisal of our courage."

Referring to China's new aid to Cambodia, Prince Sihanouk said, "Details concerning this aid, studied in the course of two long *tete-a-tete* conversations between Premier Chou En-lai and Norodom Sihanouk, cannot be definitely decided until after on-the-spot studies of our needs (in education and public health) and of the possibilities of our raw material (for industry) by missions of Chinese experts led by a high government official."

Unpleasant and Unexpected Surprise

Referring to the Soviet Union, Prince Sihanouk said, "This country had an unpleasant and unexpected surprise in store for me."

He said, "During my stay in Korea, I received, by telephone, an urgent request for an interview from the U.S.S.R. Ambassador. Upon my positive response, this diplomat came to my residence at 21:30 hours on October 8. He entered the drawing room where I waited. He sat on a sofa with his legs crossed. Later he lighted a cigarette in a free and easy manner and started taking big puffs.

"After this curious beginning, he read to me in Russian a type-written note on a piece of old paper. This would shock any diplomat familiar with the usual practice.

"I immediately had the text translated into French by a Korean interpreter who himself was taken completely by surprise."

Prince Sihanouk went on, "This note informed me in a curt and ungracious style that the Soviet leaders would be pre-occupied and could not receive me in November. Consequently my visit should be postponed to a later date and arranged through diplomatic channels. Nevertheless, permission was granted me to go through Soviet territory to visit other socialist countries in Europe.

"This Soviet notification gives rise to my following remarks: it was unexpected and really very strange because the delegation of Son Sann, charged with the responsibility to arrange my trip to the U.S.S.R., had informed me several days earlier that the Soviet Government was ready and even eager to receive me!"

Soviet Note Violated All Diplomatic Rules

He said, "The Soviet note violated all diplomatic rules, international etiquette and principles that all governments worthy of the name are obliged to apply towards a head of state even if he is that of the smallest, poorest and most insignificant country.

"This note in question is a simple and rough copy, not even a piece of paper with the letterhead of the Soviet Embassy in Pyongyang. . . . This letter, of which the content is already a very grave affront, ought

at least to assume the form of a cable from Mikoyan and Kosygin who are the authors of the official letter of invitation for a visit to the Soviet Union addressed to the Cambodian Head of State."

Prince Sihanouk said, "In fact, it should be pointed out that if I was prepared to go to Moscow, it was not at all the result of a request on my part. Quite the contrary, it was clearly expressed in an invitation from the Soviet leaders, addressed in the form of an official letter and gave me the liberty to choose between two dates and two Soviet national festivals: May 1 or November 7. These gentlemen even told me that I would be very welcome either on May 1 or November 7.

"In the letter expressing my thanks, I accepted their invitation, and chose November 7. The Soviet leaders again expressed agreement that I make the visit in November, and also indicated that they really believed in the significance of the visit which we were going to make.

"Besides, the press communique of the Cambodian News Agency and the newspapers in our country have published these letters. The major international news agencies like the AFP have also carried news reports containing the main content of this matter."

An Affront Without Precedent

Prince Sihanouk pointed out, "The volte-face of the Soviet leaders for which they have made excuses that nobody in the world can take seriously constitutes an affront without precedent."

He added, "I do not know the real reasons the Soviet Union has in inflicting upon me—and through me upon my country—such an absolutely inexcusable and irreparable affront—outright provocation for a rupture between our two countries. . . . I must point out that certain observers in Moscow and Peking feel that it looks as if the Soviet leaders might have been upset with some of the statements I made in Peking, and perhaps also with the Sino-Cambodian joint statement."

Prince Sihanouk said, "I can only find three things which might have disappointed the Soviets to a greater or lesser extent, in spite of the fact that I made no mention of the Soviet Union.

"These three things are:

"We oppose nuclear monopoly.

"A certain section in my last speech in Peking: 'certain countries which claim to be opposed to imperialism and friendly towards the Vietnamese people have advocated the holding of discussions without pre-conditions between the U.S. aggressor and its victim, the Vietnamese people. People certainly cannot mention the robber and the robbed in the same breath, etc.'

"I am opposed to any reconciliation or compromise with the imperialists."

He said, "There is nothing new in these three points of Cambodia. They have been proclaimed for the last several months, in fact for the last several years. But, apparently there may be other reasons which I cannot guess."

“Today, unless the Soviet leaders disclose what the actual reasons are for their deliberate affront to the Head of State of Cambodia, we, like the rest of the world, can only guess. Personally, for the time being I do not want to make any suppositions. But I would like to tell you the views of certain members of our delegation.

— Before I made my statements in Peking and Pyongyang, the Russians still believed that they could soften our position on the struggle against imperialism and on Viet Nam, notably by ‘blackmailing through assistance.’ After the statements, they understood that their hope had come to nought, so they began to ‘cut off the bridge.’

— We are the expiatory victim of the discomfiture in which the Soviet Union has found itself in its relations with our best friend, the People’s Republic of China. Considering us to be pro-Chinese, they decided to treat us as anti-Russian!

— This is simply a manifestation of racism. The Russians are drawing closer to the Americans because, like them, they are white. To them, the ‘yellow peril’ refers above all to China and those who are friends of the Chinese are their enemies.”

Prince Sihanouk said, “As for me, as always, I am prepared to subject myself to the verdict of our sovereign people. If it is proved that I have committed a political mistake in provoking this affront which brings grave damage to our national honour, I am prepared to assume all responsibility for this and to resign as head of state.”

To Forge Ahead on One’s Own Efforts

“But if it is proved that neither my acts nor my words deserve the affront directed against us by the Soviet leaders, then I, in order to defend the honour of our country, shall call on the whole nation, especially our fine sons and daughters, to apply, through work, honesty, austerity and more sacrifices, the most wise advice Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi have kindly given me:

‘It is not a good solution to rely on foreign aid and loans for building a country and serving the people. If people want to remain free, it is infinitely pref-

erable to forge ahead by their own means and their own efforts.’

‘China which had once been a “recipient” of Soviet aid finally adopted this latter solution. We hope that your country, Cambodia, will only have commercial relations with foreign countries as soon as possible.’”

Prince Sihanouk said, “The United States has disappointed us, and now the Soviet Union has done the same. This shows us how dangerous it is to rely on the so-called generous big powers for disinterested aid to the ‘under-developed’ countries. It also substantially proves that the counsel of our Chinese brothers is correct and pertinent.”

He noted that “the Soviet Ambassador in Pyongyang is much astounded at my refusal to make use of the ‘permission’ of transit accorded by the Soviet Union for my visit to other socialist countries in Europe. He will be, without doubt, the only one, I think, failing to understand that such ‘permission’ is unacceptable and humiliating for the head of a state doubtlessly small and poor but preserving after all, a sense of dignity.

“I therefore express my apology to the leaders of those countries for the postponement independent of my will. But in future, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for me to accept such an invitation, even though official and formal, above all when it comes from a country in the Soviet camp. Like the cat of the fable, the Moscow precedent has indeed caused us sufficient alarm.”

Prince Sihanouk added, “Without doubt, some medium and small countries may laugh at the insult to which we have been subjected. But, perhaps, to certain persons, the lesson will help them to learn to beware of the super-powers which are wooing them. They too may some day experience the bitterness of disillusionment.”

Prince Sihanouk said, “The relations of friendship and mutual support which link us with the two strong and prosperous countries in Asia, the People’s Republic of China and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, are more solid than at any time. Their respect and support for us are firmer and more comprehensive than in the past.”

Chinese Foreign Ministry Denounces India’s Attempt To Deny Its Responsibility for Aggression

THE Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a note on October 18 to the Indian Embassy in China refuting the note of the Indian Government dated September 27, in which the Indian Government attempted to deny the intrusion of the three Indian soldiers into Chinese territory and made false accusation against China.

The note pointed out: “On September 26, 1965, three Indian soldiers intruded into Chinese territory by cross-

ing the Tungchu La on the China-Sikkim boundary and were arrested on the spot by Chinese defence troops stationed there. Against this intrusion the Chinese Government lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government on September 27. In its note of the same day, the Indian side, instead of admitting its own mistake, falsely accused Chinese troops of crossing the border and kidnapping three Indian soldiers and even

lodged a so-called protest with the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government categorically rejects this unwarranted and mischievous protest and expresses its surprise and indignation at the Indian practice of willfully confounding right and wrong."

The note said: "In the past few years, Indian troops have carried out repeated intrusions and harassing raids on the China-Sikkim border. The Chinese Government has repeatedly made representations to and protested with the Indian Government, in the hope that the Indian side will rectify these errors. However, the Indian side has turned a deaf ear to the words of the Chinese Government and even taken advantage of China's forbearance to make shameless denials and prevarications, saying that if Indian troops have carried out repeated intrusions and harassments, 'how is it that there has not been a single case of an Indian soldier being caught on Tibetan territory?' (Reference remarks made by an Indian official spokesman on September 17, 1965.) The Indian Government should understand that there is a limit to the Chinese Government's forbearance. The fact that Chinese defence troops have now arrested three intruding Indian soldiers on a single

occasion has completely belied the denials of the Indian side. **The three intruding Indian soldiers who were arrested have personally admitted that they were sent on orders to intrude into Chinese territory for reconnaissance; that they were arrested after intruding into Chinese territory in disregard of the warnings served by the Chinese defence troops on the spot.**

The note continued: "**The culprits, and material evidence are all there. The lie painstakingly concocted by the Indian Government that Chinese troops crossed the border and kidnapped Indian soldiers has been exploded.** The Indian Government is slapping its own face by lodging a counter-protest with China in an attempt to deny the responsibility for its crime and vilify China. Facts are more eloquent than words. The more the Indian Government insists on lie-making, the more will be the loss of face."

The note pointed out: "**The Chinese Government once again advises the Indian Government to draw a lesson from its past experiences and restrain itself. If it insists on making intrusions and provocations, it will come to no good end.**"

Chinese Defence Ministry Warns India to Stop All Provocations

A LEADING official of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence said on October 19 that the Indian Government could in no way alter the fact that it had instructed its troops to intrude into Chinese territory for reconnaissance and provocation.

The official said this in an interview with a Hsinhua correspondent concerning the three Indian soldiers who intruded into China on September 26 and were arrested by Chinese defence troops.

The three arrested Indian intruders are Lancenaik (corporal) Santokh Singh (No. 9202802), Sepoy (private) Nain Singh (No. 9202369) and Duta Lam (No. 9205999).

They have personally admitted that "by order of our platoon leader, we three crossed the top of the Tungchu La (i.e., dividing ridge on the China-Sikkim boundary) to make observation of Chinese troops."

When they "entered Chinese territory," they said, they "disregarded the warning of the Chinese troops and illegally intruded 50 metres inside Chinese territory. This is an act of encroachment on Chinese territory."

This testimony, the Defence Ministry official said, "is a resounding slap in the face of the Indian Government which has slanderously alleged that Chinese troops crossed the border and 'kidnapped' three Indian soldiers."

The official said, "the culprits and material evidence are all there. However hard the Indian Government may try to concoct lies and turn things upside down, it can in no way alter the iron-clad fact that it has instructed its troops to intrude into Chinese territory for reconnaissance and provocation.

"The Indian Government will absolutely not succeed in its attempt to evade its responsibility for aggression by vilifying China."

The Tungchu La, where the three Indian soldiers made the recent intrusion, was one of the important passes where Indian troops had crossed the long-delimited Sino-Sikkim boundary and built a large number of military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the boundary or on the boundary itself since September 1962, the official pointed out.

He added, "Even after the Chinese Government, on September 16, set a deadline for the Indian Government to dismantle these military works, the Indian troops entrenched at Tungchu La still hung on and on. They fled pell-mell only after Chinese troops had drawn close to observe their activities.

"However, less than eight days later, Indian troops came back again. They came not only by this route, but also from Toka La and Ya La and fired mortar and rifle rounds on Chinese troops, wounding one Chinese soldier and disrupting the production of Chinese herdsmen."

"This is fresh evidence of the expansionist ambition of the Indian reactionaries," the official emphasized. "The Chinese defence troops stationed there are closely watching all the manoeuvres of the Indian expansionists and are making serious efforts to reinforce the guarding of the frontier."

The Defence Ministry official also said: "We warn the Indian authorities in all seriousness: stop all your

provocative activities immediately. Do not mistake China's forbearance for a sign of weakness. Should you continue to act arrogantly and keep sending your troops to intrude into Chinese territory for military provocations, we will act justly in self-defence as we have always done.

"No one may take the liberty of encroaching on the sacred territory of China. If you ignore our advice and again dispatch your troops to intrude into China for provocations or fire on Chinese territory, you will be punished as you deserve; do not say that you were not warned in advance."

The Three Indian Soldiers Confess Their Crime of Intruding Into China

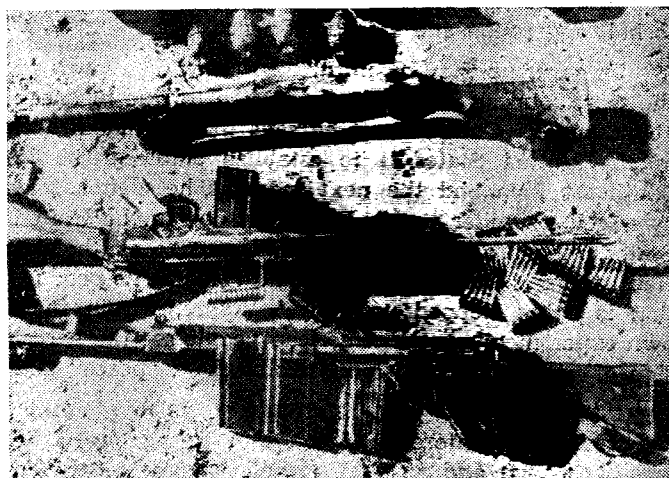
The three Indian soldiers who intruded into Chinese territory for reconnaissance and were arrested by Chinese defence troops on September 26, have admitted that they did so on orders from their superior.

Their testimony nails the lie of the Indian Government which has tried to evade its responsibility for this act of aggression by concocting the story that "40 Chinese soldiers" intruded into Sikkim, "surrounded" and "forcibly kidnapped" three Indian soldiers.

The testimony of the three Indian soldiers reads as follows:



The three Indian intruders arrested by Chinese defence troops. From right to left: Sepoy (private) Nain Singh, Lance Naik (corporal) Santokh Singh and Sepoy (private) Duta Lam



Weapons carried by the Indian intruders

"On September 26, by order of our platoon leader, we three crossed the top of the Tungchu La (i.e., dividing ridge on the China-Sikkim boundary) to make observation of Chinese troops. When we entered Chinese territory, Chinese troops repeatedly waved to us to stop advancing and turn back. But we disregarded the warning of the Chinese troops and illegally intruded 50 metres inside Chinese territory. This is an act of encroachment on Chinese territory; it is entirely our mistake.

Santokh Singh No. 9202802
Nain Singh No. 9202369
Duta Lam 9205999

September 26, 1965"

26 सितंबर के एक दिन हमें प्लटून लीडर द्वारा
हमें चुनकर हमें मजबूत तौर पर पहाड़ की
ऊँची चोटी पर ले जाया गया और वहाँ से हमें चीन की
प्रादेशिक सुरक्षा में प्रवेश किया तो चीनी
सेना ने हमें लौटने के कई बार हाथ
दिलाया कि यदि हम चला और यदि
हम जाओ लेकिन हमने चीनी सेना
की प्रतिक्रिया नहीं की। हमने और चीन
की प्रादेशिक सुरक्षा में 50 मीटर गैर-
कानूनी प्रवेश किया यह चीन की प्रादेशिक
सुरक्षा पर आक्रमण करने का कार्यवाही है
और बिल्कुल हमारी गलती है।
संतोख सिंह नं० 9202802
नैन सिंह नं० 9202369
दुता लाम 9205999
26/9/65

Written confession of the Indian intruders

The Awakening American People Are Marching Forward and Fighting

THE American people are swinging into action and, together with the Vietnamese people, all the people subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression and oppression and all peace-loving people throughout the world, they are fighting against the Johnson Administration's war of aggression in Viet Nam. The tidal wave of mass demonstrations which is developing in the United States on an unprecedented scale indicates that the consciousness of the American people has been rising rapidly.

In the last few days, the "National Days of Protest" movement sponsored by the National Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam has swept the United States. Some 60 cities are seething with activity. Thousands upon thousands of people have thrown themselves into the struggle, shouting such resounding slogans as "No more imperialist wars!" and "U.S., get out of Viet Nam!" Young Americans surrounded recruiting centres, burnt their draft cards and marched to army bases. American women, holding their placards high, asked "how many more mothers must mourn" the loss of their sons? Angry throngs held a "haunt-in" demonstration against General Taylor, a criminal in the aggressive war against south Viet Nam. Neither the Johnson Administration's injunctions nor police tear gas can prevent the American people's struggle against the aggression in Viet Nam from reaching a new high. This storm of the American people's struggle has shaken the White House and caused great consternation among U.S. ruling circles.

Striking Characteristics

The struggle has striking characteristics. First, the movement is developing on a broader scale and with greater momentum than ever. It has rallied mass organizations composed of wide sections of the American people to take simultaneous, organized united action on a nationwide scale. This has never been known in the history of the American people's struggle against the U.S. Government's aggression abroad. Second, the goals of the struggle are more clearly defined, the slogans are unmistakable and the struggle is spearheaded against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. In this way, the struggle against the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam is closely linked with the American people's fight against monopoly capital and for their vital interests, and the struggle of the American people is closely linked with the struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism. Since the end of World War II, the American people, through their actions on an unprecedentedly wide scale, have demonstrated their determination to maintain peace. A mighty

force against U.S. imperialism is now rising in the heartland of U.S. imperialism — the United States itself.

Johnson Compels the People to Take Action

It is U.S. imperialism which has compelled the awakened American people to finally defy everything and take to the streets to put an end to the war of aggression against Viet Nam. The Johnson Administration has sent more and more American youth to the south Viet Nam battlefield, where the U.S. troops of aggression already number more than 140,000. The Johnson Administration is also going to dispatch to south Viet Nam U.S. troops stationed in Europe. Washington has announced that it will draft 45,000 in December into the armed forces. On the south Viet Nam battlefield, American troops are engaged in large-scale battles. Washington has even resorted to intensive bombing with B-52 strategic bombers and the use of poison gas. The Johnson Administration has unscrupulously escalated its war of aggression in Viet Nam, continued to expand the area of bombing and gone so far as to carry out military provocations against China time and again. The American people, therefore, are faced with the real danger of a large-scale land war being forced on them by the Johnson Administration. All this has enabled them to see more clearly that the path taken by the Johnson Administration of intensifying and expanding its war of aggression against Viet Nam will lead the American people to disaster and make them suffer senseless sacrifices for the profits of the monopoly capitalist groups. In these circumstances, all ordinary Americans cannot but seriously think things over, voice their opinion and take action. Now, they have gone into action and are struggling to stop the Johnson Administration's military adventure, to halt aggression and safeguard peace.

To cover up the U.S. imperialist crime of expanding the war, Johnson has tirelessly spoken tongue in cheek about peace. One moment he says that the main aim of the United States is to establish stable peace in Southeast Asia and the next moment he claims that "we seek no wider war." But every day in the United States, men are being drafted and sent to south Viet Nam; there is war mobilization and armaments production is being stepped up daily. Where, within their own experience, can the American people see the barest sign of peace-seeking? Johnson's stock of "peace" talk can no longer fool them.

Today, the interests of the U.S. ruling circles lie in intensifying and extending their aggressive war in Viet Nam, in sacrificing still more American lives and

squeezing out still bigger war profits. The American people love peace, but the ruling circles are made up of a group of blood-thirsty warmongers. This basic difference and antagonism between the American people and their rulers are not only irreconcilable, but will become ever sharper as the Johnson Administration carries on its war adventure more wildly.

Will the American people look on while the Johnson Administration pushes their country into the abyss of war? Will they continue to tolerate their government sending their sons and husbands thousands of miles away as cannon-fodder. No. Definitely not. As their political consciousness grows, the American people's struggle against aggression in Viet Nam will also develop. Neither deception nor repression by the U.S. rulers can block the development of the American people's mass movement against the imperialist war.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, "It will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength. In the United States there are others who are really strong—the American people." It is the American people, not the sabre-rattling U.S. reactionaries, who will decide America's fate. The great, awakened Ameri-

can people will be the grave-diggers of U.S. imperialism—the most cruel, reactionary and corrupt of all imperialism.

U.S. Imperialism — the Common Enemy

The interests of the American people are in complete accord with those of the Vietnamese and other peoples of the world. U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the world's people, including the American people. The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and the struggles of all countries and peoples which are victims of U.S. imperialist aggression and oppression are all support for the American people. Likewise, the American people's struggle against U.S. imperialism constitutes a support for the just struggles of the Vietnamese and other peoples who are fighting against U.S. aggression. So long as the Vietnamese people, the American people and the countries and peoples of all continents which are subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying unite and form the broadest united front, they can definitely defeat the U.S. aggressors, smash the Johnson Administration's adventurous war plans and safeguard Asian and world peace.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, October 18.*)

Call of an Awakening America

"Stop the War in Viet Nam Now!"

IT is the worst of the times: the Johnson Administration is pursuing a neo-fascist policy at home and abroad, committing Hitlerite crimes in Viet Nam and elsewhere. It is the best of the times: the American masses, in their finest tradition, have awakened and sprung into action to protest Johnson's policy of aggression and war, demanding an end to the atrocious and gruesome U.S. war in south Viet Nam.

Between October 15 and 17, more than 100,000 American people of different ages, nationalities, occupations and religious beliefs took part in a mammoth protest movement initiated by the National Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. It was a popular movement engulfing some 60 American cities, big and small, from the New England states in the northeast to Texas in the south, from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast; a movement that enjoyed support not only at home but also the support of many mass organizations abroad; a movement that caused repercussions in many parts of the world from London to Buenos Aires.

One of the largest demonstrations was staged in Berkeley, California, where some 10,000 persons, twice the original estimate, attended an all-day "teach-in" rally on the campus of the University of California. At the end of the rally, the demonstrators went in 12

columns on a protest march to the Oakland army base with placards opposing the Viet Nam war and torches which illuminated the evening sky. They sang songs, waved flags and their placards read: "Stop LBJ's War!" "No More Imperialist Wars!" "U.S. Get Out of Viet Nam!" Encountering 1,400 policemen, 600 national guardsmen, and some 1,000 hoodlums in the pay of the Berkeley municipal authorities, the demonstrators turned back to the city's Constitution Square where 5,000 of them remained to carry on a night-long vigil. The following day, about 3,000 people continued to demonstrate and marched towards the Oakland base, the main staging point for Viet Nam-bound American troops and supplies. On the third day, another 2,000 went to the base, some women pushing perambulators holding small children who carried placards reading: "Why are we in Viet Nam? Why are we killing people? We need an explanation!"

In New York City, 25,000 people marched down Fifth Avenue on the second day of the 3-day protest. With demonstrators marching eight abreast, singing and shouting slogans, the parade included cars carrying paper figures of Uncle Sam next to a bloody Vietnamese child on a stretcher and cartoons censuring the Johnson Administration's criminal acts in Viet Nam. The marchers, including Puerto Ricans and a Latin Ameri-

can contingent, were applauded by crowds on the side-walk and also were photographed by F.B.I. agents for future persecution. Some American Nazi elements and ultra-Rightists broke into the parade to beat up the demonstrators who were undaunted and held a mass rally at the end of the demonstration.

Similar meetings took place in many other cities, including **Washington D.C.**, where many students picketed the armed services recruiting stations with placards saying: "**Stop the draft, let Johnson do the fighting!**"; **Austin, Texas**, Johnson's hometown, where, despite orders from the city authorities banning demonstrations, 150 local inhabitants participated in a street demonstration against Johnson's war of aggression in Viet Nam.

Beat-the-Draft Campaign. In many cities, the recruiting centres of the three armed services were the destination of the demonstrators. In New York City, several hundred youth demonstrated before the biggest recruiting station there, where a draft-age young man publicly burnt his draft-card. Aware that this had been made a federal offence under recent legislation by the Johnson Administration, this courageous youth said: "I hope this will be a significant political act." The government's calling up of young people through the draft to fight and die in a war without glory has become especially unpopular and the Johnson Administration has been so short of manpower in this unpopular war that it has not only recruited newly wed young



In Berkeley, California: At the start of the National Days of Protest against war in Viet Nam

people but also immigrants who have just come to the United States—one young Scotsman, for instance, was drafted only a few months after landing in this country so full of "promise." In Chicago, 300 people paraded before a recruiting centre while some 90 women picketed outside another with signs asking: "**How many more mothers must mourn?**"



American Youth David Miller burning his draft-card at a New York meeting

At the same time, a campaign got under way calling on people to refuse enlistment. The spokesman of the Students for a Democratic Society announced on October 16 that the organization was staging a nationwide "beat-the-draft-campaign." Members of its New Brunswick branch in New Jersey distributed many pamphlets calling on American youth not to go to south Viet Nam to die for the U.S. ruling circles.

Young Americans' Role. Young Americans, hitherto known as "a silent generation," especially college students, played an important role in the protest demonstrations. Students from a great number of universities and colleges plunged into action. Seven hundred and fifty Yale students paraded and held a meeting; at Boston University leaders of the Negro movement and college professors strongly condemned U.S. aggression in Viet Nam. A professor of political science in New Jersey's Madison University expressed his hope before a rally there that victory would belong to the people of south Viet Nam; he was immediately sacked after he had won much applause from the listeners. Similar students' protests took place in Portland, Maine; Santa Barbara, California; Detroit, Michigan and in the state of Colorado.

The demonstrators in the 3-day protest represented a rather broad front against the Johnson Administration's policies of aggression and war. There were workers, students, housewives and professors; there were whites and Negroes alike. United as one they directed the spearhead of their struggle against the Johnson Administration and its war machine.

Washington was alarmed. Although the press officer of U.S. State Department still alleged that "there is wide public support for the Administration's policy," his boss, Secretary of State Rusk, has contradicted him by conceding that the Johnson Administration had acted "in ways which do not evoke universal approval" and

taken steps "which are unpopular." The leader of the National Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, the sponsor of the protest movement, put it very well when he said: "I think the government got the message. The message was that a very large number of people disagree with American policy in Viet Nam." He also announced that a new round of demonstrations would come off in November.

The ruling circles in the United States naturally consider these demonstrations a thorn in their side. Ex-president Dwight Eisenhower branded the participants as "mistaken people," while ex-ambassador to Saigon Maxwell Taylor, who was chased by some 60 people in a "haunt-in" demonstration at Fox Point, Wisconsin, complained that the demonstrations were "harmful" to the U.S. "war effort" in south Viet Nam. In the three days, the Johnson Administration not only used the armed forces and resorted to various despicable measures, such as hiring thugs to make trouble, to suppress and undermine the demonstrations, but also hinted that it was going to subject certain organizations and individuals to political persecution.

Worldwide Repercussions

People in many countries have responded to the call of the American Viet Nam Day Committee for a two-day protest against the American war in Viet Nam (see *Round the World*, p. 30.)

In Toronto, Canada, both U.S. citizens and Canadians demonstrated in front of the U.S. Consulate. Here, a resolution was passed by a gathering of people to dissociate themselves from the war against Viet Nam.

In London, there was a 36-hour-at-a-stretch demonstration at Grosvenor Square in front of the American Embassy. A protest meeting was attended by Dr. Joseph Needham, a Cambridge professor, the Rev. Francis Noble and Labour M.P. Sydney Silverman. A

resolution passed here lodged a strong "protest against U.S. aggression in Viet Nam," and urged the British Government to "dissociate itself from American action."

Demonstrations also took place in front of the American Embassies in Dublin, Brussels, Oslo, and Stockholm.

In Bonn, West Germany, there was a three-hour demonstration before the U.S. Embassy to observe the International Days of Protest against U.S. military intervention in Viet Nam. The demonstrators delivered a written protest to the U.S. Embassy. It said that American outrages in Viet Nam were as brutal as Nazi Germany's.

In Rome, people gathered at the hall of the ancient Brancaccio Palace for a meeting and later came out in a procession from the Palace to the Colosseum, waving a large flag of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. A banner at the head of the columns carried the words: "The students and professors of Rome University stand against the U.S. aggression."

In Australia and New Zealand, where the governments have sent troops to help U.S. imperialism fight the south Vietnamese people, there also were demonstrations. In Melbourne, the Rev. Victor James called on unions, workers, churches and all Australians to keep up a continuous protest against the criminal war in south Viet Nam. He said that Australians must not only raise a demand for the withdrawal of Australian troops but also for the withdrawal of the troops of U.S. imperialism.

Protest demonstrations took place in British Guiana and Argentina and statements pledging support to the American people's movement were issued by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and 11 African nationalist political parties. The American people are not alone in their struggle against the Johnson Administration's war and aggression in Viet Nam.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

All Our Work Is for the Revolution

THE Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging; The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring." Ours is a great revolutionary era. Ours is a great revolutionary country. The times and our motherland demand of comrades working on every front that they have the country in their hearts and a world view in their minds and foster the idea of all our work being for the revolution.

Whatever work we do in our country—in the military field, in foreign affairs, politics, economy or

culture, in agriculture, industry, commerce, communications, post and telecommunications, or the building industry, in science, education, public health, sports, literature, art, journalism, publishing, or in any other trade or profession; in a vigorously developing movement or in some ordinary and trivial task—it all belongs to the work of the revolution and is an integral part of our revolutionary cause. Our revolutionary cause, in turn, is a part of the world revolution. Every success we achieve at our working posts and in our

daily work is a contribution to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

China is now in the midst of an upsurge in its socialist revolution and construction. Guided by the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Chinese people are deepening the socialist education movement, carrying through a profound cultural revolution and at the same time developing in every branch of endeavour the mass movement "to compare with, learn from, catch up with and surpass the advanced and help those lagging behind." In revolutionary practice and in the course of studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works, the masses of people have greatly raised their level of political consciousness and broadened their view. An ever-increasing number of people are freeing themselves ideologically from a narrow view of their life and looking beyond to the cause of socialist revolution and construction of the whole country and the revolutionary cause of the entire world. "All our work is for the revolution" is becoming a militant watchword of the masses of the people and cadres; it is also a reflection of the fine spiritual outlook of our people.

Task of Our Socialist Revolution

The content of revolution varies in different historical periods. During the new-democratic revolutionary period, the major task was to seize state power from the forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Its fulfilment was marked by the founding of the People's Republic of China. China then entered the period of socialist revolution. To the proletariat, the seizure of state power does not mean the end of revolution but the first step in a ten thousand-li long march. Our task is to make use of the state machinery and rely on the masses of the people so as to carry forward the revolution without interruption.

Socialism is a very long historical period. Classes and class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads continue throughout this period. We must carry the revolution against capitalism into the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields, and carry through to the end the socialist revolution and the struggle against our class enemies in China and abroad. We must also thoroughly transform China's face of "poverty and blankness," wage the revolution against poverty and backwardness and build our country into a powerful socialist state with a modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and technology and modern national defence. During the socialist period we must take active steps to narrow down gradually the differences between city and countryside, between industry and agriculture and between manual and mental labour. This is necessary in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, root out the sources of capitalism and revisionism and prepare conditions for the future transition to communism. At the same time, we should also give vigorous support

to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles of the people of the whole world. The more our socialist construction develops, the more proletarian internationalist obligations we should undertake.

In short, the socialist revolution is more arduous, complex and profound and richer in content than the democratic revolution. It involves class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; the elimination of exploiting classes and systems of exploitation; and the wiping out of the three major differences mentioned above. It comprises the revolutionary tasks within the country and the tasks of supporting the revolution in other countries. We must consciously adapt our thinking, work and actions to these revolutionary tasks and become conscious revolutionaries both in socialist revolution and construction and in our support to the struggle of the people of the world.

What Is Meant by Revolutionary Work?

Under the rule of the old reactionary regimes, revolutionary work was work of a special kind. It was "illegal" for one to take part in revolution. In joining the revolution, one risked one's life and had to have the determination to be ready to sacrifice all. There was a very clear line of demarcation between joining and not joining the revolution. But, now, when one is taking up an occupation under the leadership of our revolutionary regime and the socialist system, one is simultaneously taking part in revolutionary work and actually working for the revolution. Many people lack a clear understanding of the question of what is revolutionary work under these circumstances. They fail to realize that what they are doing is for the revolution and that an occupation which was not revolutionary work in the old society turns out to be revolutionary work in the new.

Some people know that joining the People's Liberation Army to defend the motherland is working for the revolution, that taking part in the socialist education movement in the city or the countryside and waging the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road means working for the revolution, but think that farming, working in the factories, feeding cattle or pigs, hair-cutting, cooking meals, standing behind the counter, street cleaning, collecting night-soil, making clothes, taking part in sports activities, treating patients, delivering babies, and so on, cannot be considered revolutionary work. Is this correct? Certainly not! They think this because they fail to see that farming, working in the factories and all such sorts of work under present-day conditions is similarly in the service of the people and socialism, and therefore is also revolutionary work. They think this way also because they only regard class struggle as revolution, but not the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Revolution means transforming the world, and this embraces the transformation of both society and nature. In our country the struggle to transform nature is carried out under the leadership of the Party and state and constitutes an integral and important part of our socialist cause. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us that "class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements in building a powerful socialist state." We should always remember these words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. We must mobilize our revolutionary spirit to wage the struggle for production and scientific experiment as well as the class struggle, and with the same spirit undertake all work, even that which looks ordinary and trifling.

Everyone Can Contribute to Socialism

In our society, there is a division of labour between different trades and professions, all of which are indispensable to our socialist revolution and construction. Each one of us can only do a part of the work of our collective cause and carry only part of the responsibility. But if we can do our part of the work well, that means that we have fulfilled our duty to the revolution. The extent of our responsibility in doing different kinds of work may vary and the abilities of different persons differ, yet the success we achieve in every work and each person's contribution go into the common pool of our collective cause and add to the edifice of socialism.

All work in our country is for the revolution, yet not everyone realizes this and not everyone does his work with a full consciousness of this. To have or not have this consciousness makes a world of difference. By working for the revolution consciously, we mean understanding that one's work is in the service of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, thereby linking one's ordinary day-to-day work with the common effort of the whole nation to build a powerful socialist motherland, with the great task of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world, and with the lofty goal of communism for which we are striving. By so doing, a man will take it to be an honour to do his ordinary work and realize the importance even of his trivial work; by so doing, he will exert his best efforts, forge ahead with all his energy, constantly make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing. On the contrary, if a man lacks such a consciousness, he will not display a revolutionary spirit but will do his work without spirit, become conservative and make no progress. He will work as if he were not engaged in revolutionary work.

The idea of working for the revolution and the idea of working for oneself are two diametrically opposed world outlooks. We must foster the idea that all our work is for the revolution. This demands that we persist in placing politics in command, promote proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology. The ideo-

logical influences and force of habit carried over from the old society are very stubborn. They tend to lead people's thinking to narrow considerations of personal gain and loss and make them think about nothing else. These old ideas, to different extents, affect many people, preventing them from integrating their personal interests with the interests of the state and the collective, and immediate interests with long-range interests.

These people either do not understand or have forgotten that the happy life the people enjoy today is the hardwon fruit of the revolutionary struggles of the past, and that it is only by continuing the socialist revolution till its completion and successfully carrying out socialist construction that we can consolidate our revolutionary gains and further raise the people's standard of living. They also fail to understand that communism can be finally realized in China only when worldwide victory is won for the proletarian revolution. If one departs from this lofty political goal, one will see only the trifling things beneath one's nose, look after and consider only one's own personal interests, and pursue exclusively one's personal enjoyment in life. Consequently he will lose his revolutionary spirit and even degenerate.

Arming Oneself With Mao Tse-Tung's Thinking

To work consciously for the revolution demands that one makes an earnest study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking and raises one's level of revolutionary consciousness. When you are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, you acquire political far-sightedness, you stand on a height and command a long perspective; you dare to struggle and are good at it; you have the mettle of a revolutionary and a realistic spirit; you are straightforward, honest, upright and energetic. You will fear no difficulties, engage in creative labour and work miracles.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking has been transformed into a great material force in actual life. Such living examples as the People's Liberation Army, the Taching oilfield and the Tachai Production Brigade with their soaring revolutionary spirit and energy have emerged in the nation, countless heroes and outstanding collectives have sprung up one after the other on every front. At different working posts, the greater the number of the people who engage in a conscientious study of Chairman Mao's works and in conscious work for the revolution, the greater will be the development of our revolution and the more our cause will prosper. In a country such as ours, with almost one-quarter of the world's population, if everybody develops a revolutionary spirit, carries through the revolution consciously and displays a militant enthusiasm, the Chinese people will be able to make a still greater contribution to the cause of revolution throughout the world.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial of October 11, 1965.)

ROUND THE WORLD

In S. Viet Nam:

Johnson Faces a People's War

American reinforcements keep pouring into south Viet Nam, where Washington's "dirty little war" is daily expanding. The last two brigades of the U.S. First infantry Division began landing at Vung Tau in the first week of October, bringing the number of aggressive U.S. forces in south Viet Nam to over 140,000. How many more will come is anybody's guess: some say a total of 225,000 by the end of this year; others say 300,000 by mid-1966. It is reported that before long the U.S., in addition to the 173rd Airborne Brigade and a brigade of the 101st Airborne Division, will have four full divisions in south Viet Nam—the First and Third Marine divisions, the First Cavalry and the First Infantry.

At the same time, thousands of American troops are working round the clock at south Viet Nam's Cam Ranh Bay, where the construction of a U.S. "logistical hub" is under way. Helicopter pilots and stocks of U.S. arms and ammunition are being transferred from Western Europe to south Viet Nam. As dirty as ever, the war of aggression being waged by the U.S. in Viet Nam, is no longer little.

But this does not mean, as the American press has claimed, that the military situation is improving in favour of the aggressors. With more G.I.'s pouring in, U.S. strategy is to extend "zones of influence" from the sea coast and move inland to attack the liberated areas. As the U.S. aggressors become more and more involved in the ground war, their casualties are mounting and so are their losses in weapons. Incomplete statistics give the U.S. casualties between March and September this year as 5,000, about four-fifths of these resulting from battles in the central highlands.

These battles, while inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy, have also a very great military signifi-

cance. They have ushered in the present powerful movement among the people's armed forces in south Viet Nam to wipe out the U.S. invaders.

One example showing the strength of the people's forces is the battle of Thuan Ninh. This mountain village is in Binh Dinh Province, just 30 kilometres northeast of An Khe, the base camp of the newly arrived First Cavalry (air mobile division), whose mission it was to extend its "zone of influence" from the sea coast to the Cambodian and Laotian borders, to launch offensives, according to U.S. *News & World Report*, with a "continual round of sweeping operations." The 101st Airborne Division was assigned the task of clearing the way for the First Cavalry Division. It chose first to raid Thuan Ninh, believing it to be where the Liberation Armed Forces were massed. On Sept. 18, 2,000 paratroopers headed for Thuan Ninh in two groups, one in helicopters and the other advancing by land under artillery cover.

The American paratroopers landed in a strip 500 metres long and 200 metres wide with two hills at the north and another one at the south. *Newsweek* reported that "the troopers landed literally in the midst of a Viet Cong battalion . . . and, as the helicopters came in for a landing, the Viet Cong dove into prepared positions and began pouring deadly fire into the paratroopers." Some 50 enemy planes were called up but by then the men of the Liberation Army had already started bayonet charges and were so close to the enemy that air attacks were impossible. One American officer told a *Newsweek* reporter that their own men were killed "because of Air Force bombs dropping so close." Reporting on the losses, the same American magazine wrote: "Undisclosed U.S. casualties, though officially described as 'moderate,' were among the heaviest in any single action in which American

troops have been involved in Viet Nam." The actual figures given by the Liberation Armed Forces are over 200 paratroopers killed or wounded and ten aircraft downed.

Today, in south Viet Nam, when the enemy sets out to fight the Liberation Armed Forces he either suffers heavy blows or finds no one to fight against. General Westmoreland has boasted that his men would blast the people's forces if only they could find them. It is true that "the Viet Cong have been extraordinarily hard to find or fix." But, when the aggressors do find the people's forces, it is not easy to "fix" them; on the contrary, they overrun the enemy as they did in the battle of Thuan Ninh.

Today, the south Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces are concentrating on wiping out the enemy's effectives, platoon by platoon and company by company. They attack on all battle fronts and their ways of annihilating the enemy are varied, including mining, surprise attacks, intercepting enemy reinforcements while storming strongholds. One recent example of the latter tactics is provided by the battles in the Phu Cu area in Binh Dinh Province, 70 kilometres north of Qui Nhon. On September 23, the Liberation Armed Forces attacked and overran the important Phu Cu post along Highway One and later intercepted two reinforcement units from Phu Cat and Bong Son. Following these attacks the enemy defence system along the entire highway was greatly shaken. In Binh Dinh today, the U.S. puppet forces have to depend on air transport to bring in men and supplies.

In a nutshell, the many scattered, small areas of liberated territory which dotted the land from the 17th parallel down to Cape Ca Mau, from the western mountain areas across to the eastern coast, have been linked together until the countryside now encircles the cities.

CORRECTION: In line 3 of "The Week" in issue No. 42 of *Peking Review* (October 15), "former Prince Regent of Thailand" should read "former Regent of Thailand."

People Oppose "Johnson's War"

"I have a son who is now in Viet Nam. My husband served in World War II. Our country was at war. But now, this time, it's just something that I don't understand. Why?" This was written to Johnson from the Midwest by one American mother who wanted to know what her son was fighting for in south Viet Nam. She was only one of the many thousand American mothers and wives who want, and have a right, to know. Johnson gave no real answer because, he said, the answer was "not an easy one." But Johnson was dodging. And the reason for this, as it is now dawning on the American people, is that the war in south Viet Nam is a war of aggression — an unjust war.

With the escalation of the war, the American people's opposition to it is also mounting, growing both in scope and depth.

Opposition began with strong criticism of the government's policy. There have been teach-ins among the intellectuals, declarations and letters of protests from people in all walks of life. One correspondent exposed Johnson's lie that to fight in Viet Nam was to help the south Vietnamese people fight for "freedom"; why in south Viet Nam, and why not in south Africa where many people were jailed because they stood up for fundamental human rights, he asked. Others scoffed at Johnson's "peace talks" fraud. Don't tell us such lies as that widening the war is an act for peace, they said. Another wondered if letting American youth kill people and be killed was the real meaning of Johnson's "Great Society." One American couple expressed anxiety that if the U.S. continued to overrun a country in an attempt to save a government which received no support of any kind from its own people, it would go down in history as a tyrannical power.

These are some of the letters the American public have sent to the U.S. Senate in protest against Johnson's

war and these letters are but one of the many ways the American people have used to voice their objection. And when words failed to budge the Administration from its policy of aggression and war, they were followed by action. Local organizations for stopping the war have mushroomed in many U.S. cities. They have unfolded diversified forms of struggle. In New York, Berkeley, Chicago, Detroit and Washington D.C., meetings have been held in chapels, theatres or on streets; people have distributed leaflets or made house-to-house visits, enlisting others to join in the struggle. A campaign known as "carry-the-war-protest-to-the-neighbourhoods" is sweeping the country. There have been public protest demonstrations and cases of young servicemen refusing to go to south Viet Nam. One old lady made her protest by burning herself to death.

As the struggle goes on, the people have begun to take a broader view of things around them. They have come to see that their struggle against the Viet Nam war is connected with the struggle for their fundamental rights, for freedom and democracy, connected also with the struggle against class and racial oppression; and, too, that all these struggles should be directed at the one and same enemy, the U.S. ruling class which the Johnson Administration represents. For instance, there is now a saying among the fighters of the Negro movement: "Freedom in both Selma and Saigon!"

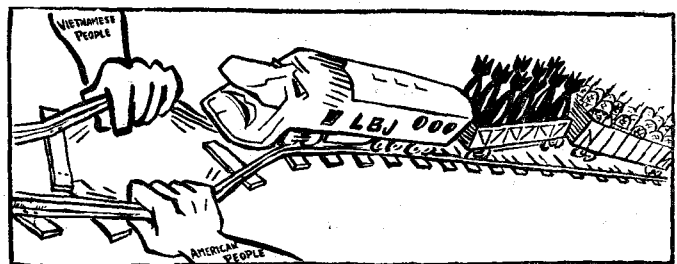
These many protests and demonstrations have now culminated in still larger protest meetings and demonstrations, which took place between October 15 and 17, known as the National Days of Protest (see p. 25). Sponsored by the American Viet Nam Day Committee at the

call of the National Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Viet Nam which was organized by 33 mass organizations in the country, the National Days of Protest say straight out that the American people do not want war with the Vietnamese people.

International Days of Protest. At the same time, the Viet Nam Day Committee issued an appeal proclaiming October 15 and 16 International Days of Protest, adding that the struggle for self-determination in other continents was related to the struggle for democracy in America.

"The Viet Nam war," it said, "has also illuminated the political crises in the U.S.A. . . . The American people are treated as objects to be ignored or manipulated. They voted for peace, but they received a policy of war. Every day, people in the U.S. are coming to see that the struggle for civil rights, the struggle against poverty, the struggle for free speech in the universities and the struggle against the Viet Nam war have at least one basic element in common: the inability of the American people to play a role in the decisions which affect their lives."

Concluding, the appeal said that people throughout the world must now move beyond single demonstrations and rallies to one massive internationally co-ordinated action. In the United States, on the days of protest, it said, the people would, through acts of massive civil disobedience, block the gates of army bases from which troops and munitions are being sent to Viet Nam. The appeal asked that organizations throughout the world take the most militant and dramatic actions compatible with local conditions on October 16.



From Two Sides

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

RADIO PEKING

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WHAT WE SAW IN TIBET — Interview with three recent visitors to Tibet

ISRAEL EPSTEIN author of *Unfinished Revolution in China* (1947)

DOUGLAS LAKE New Zealand journalist

FLORA RUSSELL Australian visitor

On the air: November 3, 1965 Re-broadcast: November 12, 1965

Selections from the new Chinese dance-drama

ROAR, RIVER CONGOI

Scheduled for November 21, 1965 after the "Sunday Programme for African Listeners"

RADIO PEKING'S English Language Transmissions

— DAILY —

EAST & SOUTH AFRICA			AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	40, 30, 25	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	40, 30, 25	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
WEST & NORTH AFRICA			EUROPE		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	50, 43, 31	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	58, 51, 48, 42
04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	50, 43, 31	05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	51, 48, 42
SOUTHEAST ASIA			NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	252, 224, 32 31, 25, 19	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19
21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	224, 32, 31 25, 19	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
			10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
SOUTH ASIA			NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	41, 40, 30	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
			12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 19