

# PEKING REVIEW

9

February 25, 1966

北  
京  
周  
報

## COUNTY PARTY SECRETARY CHIAO YU-LU

An outstanding revolutionary whose example is inspiring  
the whole nation.

---

### **"Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note on Prime Minister Castro's Anti-China Statement**

Together with full text of the statement.

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# WORKS by MAO TSE-TUNG

( In English )

Just Off the Press

**Get Organized!**

16 pp.

**We Must Learn to Do Economic Work**

16 pp.

18.5 × 13 cm.

Half-cloth and paperback

**The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains**

12 pp.

14 × 9.5 cm.

Half-cloth and paperback

## Other Titles Re-issued

Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society	16 pp.	The Orientation of the Youth Movement	20 pp.
Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan	60 pp.	The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party	56 pp.
Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?	20 pp.	• • •	
On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party	24 pp.	Reform Our Study	16 pp.
A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire	24 pp.	Speech at the Assembly of Representatives of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region	12 pp.
Be Concerned With the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work	14 pp.	Rectify the Party's Style of Work	30 pp.
On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism	44 pp.	Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing	28 pp.
Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War	116 pp.	Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art	46 pp.
The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan	40 pp.	Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership	12 pp.
On Practice	28 pp.	On Coalition Government	104 pp.
On Contradiction	66 pp.	• • •	
• • •		On the People's Democratic Dictatorship	28 pp.
Combat Liberalism	8 pp.	• • •	
Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan	60 pp.	Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Important Talks With Guests From Asia, Africa and Latin America	14 pp.
The Question of Independence and Initiative Within the United Front	12 pp.	• • •	
Problems of War and Strategy	36 pp.	Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers"	36 pp.

18.5 × 13 cm.

Half-cloth and paperback

Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

**Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN,** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 25, 1966 Vol. IX No. 9

## CONTENTS

<b>THE WEEK</b>	3
<b>ARTICLES &amp; DOCUMENTS</b>	
County Party Secretary Chiao Yu-lu	5
Refuting Bundy — Observer	8
Wilson Is Too Ignorant of the Times — Renmin Ribao Commentator	11
Renmin Ribao Editor's Note on Prime Minister Castro's Anti-China Statement	13
Castro's February 6 Anti-China Statement	14
Anti-China Hysteria in Cuba	22
Belgian C.P. Weekly: Castro Speaks of Unity, But Has Chosen a Split	23
N. Sanmugathan: Castro Joins Anti-China Chorus	23
Who Are Applauding Castro's Anti-China Statement?	24
South Vietnam Battlefield: Mounting U.S. Casualties	25
Foreign Press Review: South Vietnam Tunnels Snare and Scare Invaders	26
<b>ROUND THE WORLD</b>	28
<b>ART</b>	31

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW  
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China  
Post Office Registration No. 2-922  
Cable Address: Peking 2901  
Printed in the People's Republic of China

## THE WEEK

# The Taching Spirit and the Taching Men

Five years ago, Taching was only a grassland. Today it is a modern oilfield, a rapidly rising enterprise which has contributed immensely to China's self-sufficiency in oil for the first time in history.

But Taching, which has become a household word all over the country, means much more than a petroleum centre. Opened up entirely by Chinese workers, geologists and engineers, it is a landmark in the nation's oil industry, an example of developing socialist industry by self-reliance, a pace-setter in building socialism the quickest way and with the maximum and best results.

In the process of socialist construction, Taching has trained a new generation of men. They have a high political consciousness and are skilled in their work, combining revolutionary drive with a realistic, scientific approach.

These **Taching men** working in the **Taching spirit** have blazed a trail for a Chinese way in oil prospecting and oilfield construction. Their splendid example has given tremendous impetus to the whole nation. Their impact on speeding up China's industry and other fields of national endeavour cannot be over-estimated. A campaign to emulate the Taching men and the Taching spirit is gathering momentum throughout the country.

### Politics in Command

Conditions were extremely trying when work first started at Taching. There were no houses on the vast grasslands while the tools and machines available were not sufficient for the workers to tackle the enormous job. But the workers were not dismayed. They were aware that they had come to Taching not only to conquer Nature but also to smash the blockade of the imperialists and revisionists who were taking advan-

tage of China's dependence on imported oil.

Inspired by the exploits of Chinese geologists who had painstakingly scoured the country to discover the big oilfield, thereby exploding the false theory spread by Western bourgeois "experts" that China had little or no oil reserves, the workers erected makeshift shacks to keep out the rain and the cold and made do with whatever tools and machines were on hand. Their persistent efforts and determination to extract oil as quickly as possible to meet the nation's growing needs soon paid off handsomely. The virgin land which had slumbered for ages began to throb with activity. The first barrel of oil was extracted less than a year after construction started. Since large-scale production began in 1963, the wells have been sending trainload after trainload of the precious "black gold" to all parts of the country.

### The Man of Iron

Most of this and more of the Taching story was told by Wang Chin-hsi, a well-known model worker from the oilfield, in Peking's Great Hall of the People on February 16. His graphic account kept the 13,000 people who packed the hall spellbound for three hours. An oilman from the Yumen oilfield in northwest China, Wang went to Taching in 1960. The revolutionary fervour with which he set about his work and his fortitude and resolve in face of near insuperable difficulties earned him the fond nickname Wang the Man of Iron.

Wang Chin-hsi is only one of the many outstanding workers of Taching who, dedicated to the revolution, find in their work something deeper and more far-reaching in significance than a mere struggle to get oil out of the ground. They look upon it as a pressing task in helping

their country get rid of its economic backwardness and as part of the struggle against the imperialists and the revisionists who are trying to bully the Chinese people. Always putting politics first, they have tempered themselves to become skilled workers with revolutionary ideals, united in purpose and able to withstand all difficulties. This proletarian revolutionary spirit which emanates from the study and creative application of Mao Tse-tung's works prevails all over Taching.

### Revolutionary Enthusiasm Plus Scientific Approach

Revolutionary enthusiasm alone, of course, would not have enabled them to carry the day. Chairman Mao's teaching that "man's correct knowledge comes from social practice" has spurred them on to make thorough investigations, get first-hand material and continually experiment so as to master objective laws. This scientific approach has helped the workers to build up Taching at an unprecedented speed and make it one of the most technologically advanced oilfields in the world.

When prospecting was started in 1960, the pioneers broke away from foreign stereotypes and taboos and adopted a method different from that commonly used abroad. Shattering the claims of some "authorities" that one can get only a rough understanding of the oil formations underground, the Taching builders made large-scale investigations and obtained voluminous first-hand data which enabled them to complete the

prospecting work in a surprisingly short space of time.

Engineers, workers and cadres have worked together and made careful studies of the special conditions of every bed in the strata and devised a whole series of working methods suited to Taching. They introduced a special method of high-speed drilling, and the result was that the average monthly speed which each drilling machine attained has rarely been known anywhere in the world in drilling wells of the same type. A special production test area was developed and every new invention or innovation was repeatedly tested there until it was proved satisfactory. Often, the number of analyses and comparisons ran into seven figures before a plan was finally adopted. It is through such painstaking and scientific efforts—constantly summing up their experience, making new discoveries and inventions and going on creating and advancing—that Taching's builders have made it the big and most up-to-date oilfield it is today.

Taching's men working in the Taching spirit have abundantly demonstrated that the Chinese people are fully capable of building a modern socialist industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results by relying on their own efforts. Taching has set an example of building industries the Chinese way. Following this example, other enterprises of the Taching type are springing up in growing numbers all over the land. The miracle of self-suffi-

ciency in petroleum which has opened the eyes of many foreigners to the reality in China today will in the days to come be repeated in other branches of industry, in science and in every other aspect of life in China.

### U.S. Bombing of Chinese Consulate Protested

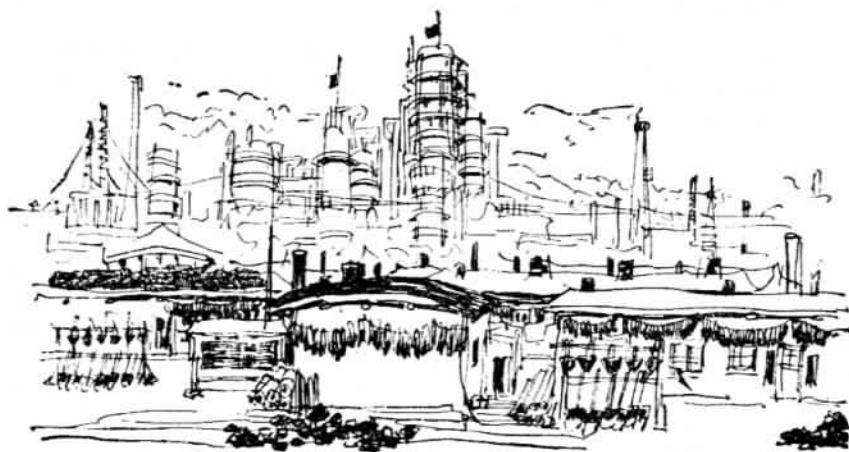
The United States had "only one desire" for Laos and all nations, namely, that "the people may live in peace." Thus spoke U.S. Vice-President Humphrey in Vientiane in mid February while on his Far East capital-hopping trip to drum up support and soldiers for Washington's misadventure in Vietnam.

Within a few days, however, American planes blew Humphrey's fine words sky-high. On February 18, four U.S. jet fighter-bombers bombed and strafed the city of Phong Saly in northern Laos. During the bombing, the American planes also attacked the Chinese Consulate-General in the city, causing serious damage to buildings and other Chinese property. This was the third time that U.S. military aircraft had bombed Chinese diplomatic missions in Laos and it was another direct provocation against the Chinese people by U.S. imperialism and its followers in expanding the war in Indo-China. In a statement of protest issued on February 19, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared:

"The bombing of the city of Phong Saly by U.S. planes indicates that U.S. imperialism has stretched its tentacles of aggression over the whole of Laos. In professing the desire that the Laotian 'people may live in peace,' the United States actually wants to wage a general war in Laos."

Pointing out that the Laotian authorities in Vientiane who had allowed the U.S. planes to carry out such raids could not shirk their responsibility, the Chinese Foreign Ministry statement said: "The Chinese Government solemnly points out that the Laotian authorities are acting against the wishes of the Laotian people in serving as a willing henchman of U.S. imperialism in its expansion of the war in Indo-China, violating the Geneva agreements and being hostile to

(Continued on p. 12.)



Behind the makeshift shacks rises a modern oilfield

Sketch by Shao Yu



# County Party Secretary Chiao Yu-lu

Hailed as "an outstanding pupil of Chairman Mao," Comrade Chiao Yu-lu is typical of the new type of man who is appearing in ever increasing numbers as China's socialist revolution and construction forge ahead under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

People throughout China are reading about and learning from the example of Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, late secretary of the Lankao County Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

LANKAO County on the border of Honan Province due east of the city of Kaifeng is situated at a point where the mighty Yellow River, in its eastward journey to the sea, suddenly makes an abrupt turn north and then flows northeast, forming a sharp step bend in Lankao. Attacked by churning currents in the high-water season, this was one of the most perilous points along the river. The river overflowed or breached its dykes at this point scores of times in the centuries before liberation, leaving a mass of sand and debris in the flooded area. The consequences were still felt in Lankao even in recent years and after the People's Government strengthened the dykes and took other measures to end the floods. There were devastating sandstorms in the dry spring months, alkaline soil and waterlogging. Lankao was never able to provide enough food for its inhabitants.

## A Testing Time

In 1962, the county was hit by some of the worst natural calamities in history. That spring 200,000 *mu* of young wheat were killed or buried by sandstorms. The autumn saw 300,000 *mu* of farmland under water and an additional 100,000 *mu* of young crops destroyed by rising alkalinity due to waterlogging. Two-thirds of the county's 900,000 *mu* of farmland were laid waste.

When the new county Party secretary, Chiao Yu-lu, came to Lankao that December he found farms and homes destroyed, thousands of peasants being evacuated and the county headquarters turned into a relief centre.

But this new county Party secretary saw matters with the eyes of a Communist: Here were 360,000 hard-working people, a reservoir of boundless strength, and 900,000 *mu* of farmland waiting to be made prosperous through the collective effort of those people.

The day after he arrived, before even many were aware that he had come, Chiao Yu-lu was out seeing for himself how matters stood. He visited the worst-hit production brigades. He sat and talked with the former poor and lower-middle peasants who had had little or no land before the land reform, and must be the mass backbone of collective efforts; he inspected the draught animals, tools and fields. He consulted with cadres and veteran farmers and asked many ques-

tions. From one old peasant he learnt that a species of *Paulownia*, a fast-growing tree of many uses, would hold down the sand. He was told that peanuts did well in the area and that they would also provide feed for raising more draught animals. The more he heard and saw, the more he became convinced that given revolutionary determination and down-to-earth revolutionary leadership the tide of adversity could be halted and reversed.

## Revolutionary Optimism

In this tall lean man, cadres and peasants saw a leader of great modesty with a will of iron and full of revolutionary optimism. They took heart.

## Biographical Note

COMRADE Chiao Yu-lu was born on Aug. 16, 1922. His parents were poor peasants of Shantung Province.

In his youth he was beaten up and jailed by the Japanese invaders and later pressganged for work in the coalmines of northeast China. He escaped and made his way home in 1943. Unable to find a living there he fled to Kiangsu Province where he laboured for a landlord. He returned to his home county in 1945 after the defeat of Japan. The area had not yet been liberated but the Chinese Communist Party was already active there. Chiao Yu-lu joined and fought with the people's militia. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in Jan. 1946, and as a militia leader he took part in many engagements.

The following year he fought south with the People's Liberation Army and on reaching Honan Province was assigned work in a rural district there. Later he joined the Loyang Mining Machinery Works where he subsequently became a workshop Party secretary. In 1962, as one of many experienced cadres sent by the Party to strengthen work on the agricultural front, Chiao Yu-lu was first posted to Weishih County and then to neighbouring Lankao. He was Party secretary of this county until his untimely death at the age of 42 on May 14, 1964.

At county headquarters, food, winter clothing and other relief supplies from other parts of the country were being sent out to the hard-hit inhabitants. Chiao Yu-lu saw that this was at best a defensive stop-gap measure. He proposed to tackle the county's troubles at their roots with county headquarters leading the attack.

His proposal won the immediate support of Chang Chin-li, the deputy Party secretary. After long discussion the two concluded that Lankao's future depended on the state of mind of its people. "And a key role in arousing the morale of the people must be played by the leaders," Chiao Yu-lu summed up. "We must have a fighting leadership." He called a meeting of the county Communist Party committee and, when all members were assembled, he led them to the railway station.

It was snowing. People were boarding trains for other, better-off, areas where the Government had arranged temporary accommodation for them. Chiao Yu-lu spoke simply: "These people are our own flesh and blood. These calamities are driving them away from their homes. If we fail to lead them in fighting their way out of their difficulties, we shall always feel the shame and the pain of it."

His words struck home. That night the committee meeting lasted into the early hours of the next morning. They discussed the problem in all its aspects. They found all answers centred on the question of "how to serve the people." They again studied Chairman Mao's articles *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*. Here, citing the examples of a Chinese revolutionary, a Canadian Communist and an old man in a folk tale, Chairman Mao discusses the revolutionary spirit of wholehearted service to the people and of daring to tackle seemingly insurmountable difficulties. The county committee members saw what they had to do.

At a subsequent meeting they recalled the tenacity with which Lankao's people had fought the Kuomintang's white terror during the War of Liberation. They determined to fight back against natural calamities in that same spirit. Difficulties seemed to weigh less heavily.

### Bold Proposal

The county leadership put forward a bold proposal: Bring sand-dunes, rivers, and alkaline soil under control within five years! It was an immense undertaking. A great deal of hard and painstaking work would have to be done to rally the people and turn plan into reality. But the county Party committee of Lankao made a solemn vow to the people to conquer their age-old natural enemies.

The first results of the new county Party secretary's leadership: revolutionization of the thinking of the

people; and first and foremost of the leading cadres, the nucleus of leadership.

Secretary Chiao knew that enthusiasm and good intentions alone were not sufficient. As a diligent pupil of Chairman Mao, he also knew that success required "knowing the enemy." Under his methodical leadership, the committee took heed not to rush unprepared into the tasks they had set for themselves nor blindly grope their way forward. It decided to make a detailed survey of the county to put their plans on a firm, realistic basis.

The idea was discussed thoroughly with the people's communes, and a working team of 120 people, including cadres, experienced peasants and technicians, was organized. Some comrades, hearing that he had liver trouble, tried without success to get Chiao Yu-lu to stay and direct operations from headquarters.

"I don't like predigested stuff," he declared. "I can't work going only by reports."

### Out to Get the Facts

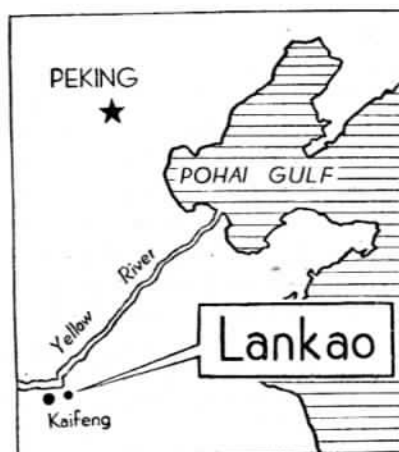
In collecting first-hand data as a basis for their plans, the Party secretary worked on the principle of investigating things at their most critical point and most critical moment. Following his example others, too, did the same. They let nothing stand in the way of getting the facts. They went out when sandstorms were at their height; when heavy rains pounded down they waded into rushing torrents to take measurements. To chart their course they chased sandstorms and sudden torrents from rainstorms clear across the county and into neighbouring provinces.

These were months of arduous and hectic work, in which Party secretary Chiao often ate sketchy meals and slept in wet fields. By the summer of 1963 the team had collectively covered a distance of 2,500 kilometres and gathered a mass of first-hand data. Chiao Yu-lu himself had visited most of the 149 production brigades scattered over the 1,800 square kilometres of the county.

The 84 "funnels" the wind-driven sand whistled through were charted—shelter belts and windbreaks were planned. All 1,600 sand-dunes were measured and mapped for anchoring down with grass and trees.

Streams and water courses were surveyed for dredging or reconstruction. Waterlogged and alkaline areas were marked down for special attention.

When the leadership and people knew exactly what they faced and what had to be done, their confidence in victory was immeasurably strengthened.



Plans made and completed, the county got down to work for their realization.

### Studying Chairman Mao's Works

Even in those gruelling months, Chiao Yu-lu found time to keep up with his study of Chairman Mao's works. Consulting these had become a deeply ingrained practice acquired over his years as a rural and then as a factory cadre. He drew wisdom and strength from his studies. What he learnt helped him quickly spot the crux of complicated problems and find their solutions; helped him rally the county committee and the people of Lankao around him; buoyed him up in the midst of difficulties. It was the source of his boundless revolutionary optimism.

One day, explaining his method of study to members of the county committee, he said: "I talk with people during the day and make investigations to find facts. When I go home I consult Chairman Mao's writings. In the evening I go over the day's events in my mind and try to apply what I have read to the problems that crop up. The next morning I make notes." He was known for the way he constantly studied Mao Tse-tung's works in order to master Marxist-Leninist theory for guidance in his work and integrally linked theory and practice. This method of his was noted and effectively followed by other cadres.

Comrades working with Chiao Yu-lu quickly discovered that he was as strict in his demands on them as he was on himself. And the demands he made brought out the inner strength of those who worked with him. Selfless and frugal, he dressed, ate and lived little better than the peasants.

With the people, he was like a fish in water. "You're just another one of us," said a former poor peasant to Chiao Yu-lu as they sat side by side talking over ways and means of changing the face of Lankao. "You think and feel as one of us." It was another way of saying that their county Party secretary was a true revolutionary with the interests of the people in his heart, a good pupil of Chairman Mao.

### The Mass Line

During the months of investigation the county Party secretary and his comrades never for a moment forgot Chairman Mao's exhortation to follow the mass line. They read and re-read the lines: "... It is necessary to adopt the method of linking the leading group with the masses, in addition to that of linking the general call with particular guidance. ... All correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses.' This means: take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action."

As the county Party secretary and his team moved from place to place they billeted with the peasants and worked with them in the fields "to see, hear, and inquire into what the people thought and wanted," to



Comrade Chiao Yu-lu in the field

test every point in the plan, to learn local experience in combating shifting sand, waterlogging and alkaline soil, and also to spread conviction in the practical possibilities of the great undertaking.

They learnt much from the peasants, taking in the precious knowledge the latter had gained in years of struggle against calamities. And this in turn contributed to better leadership. The county secretary saw that there was plenty of fight in the people, especially among the former poor and lower-middle peasants. His belief in people was vindicated again and again. One village refused state relief although all 27 families there had gathered in less than half a kilogramme per person of sorghum that autumn. They said they would get by by cutting and selling fodder. In another village, the peasants added fresh soil, laboriously dug up spade by spade, to cover up alkali-contaminated top-soil. In a third village, where no crops had been gathered for a whole year, peasants rallied round with all they had to keep their collective economy going.

At a mass meeting of representatives from every Lankao village in September 1963, the county Party secretary publicized these examples of self-reliance and revolutionary persistence. He pictured what could be done by collective endeavour. That was a memorable day in Lankao's history. No one left the meeting without feeling elated and encouraged by the examples of others. It stimulated their revolutionary determination, stiffened their resolve to improve their lot by their own efforts. The pace of struggle quickened.



But that autumn of 1963, it seemed as if the heavens had conspired to break their will. Within 13 days, 250 millimetres of rain fell, washing away 110,000 *mu* of autumn grain crops, and twice that area of cropland was badly hit. Another bitter winter was in prospect.

Once again the county Party committee turned its forces swiftly to emergency relief. But the new spirit that animated the people made itself felt. Indoor side-occupations were rapidly organized. Men and women in many production teams refused relief. "Give it to others in greater need. We can manage," was the way they expressed it. Amid the new trials brought on by autumn's freak weather, plans were made and work got under way for the next year's production.

### To Victory

Last year, for the first time in Lankao's history, the people harvested enough to feed themselves. Many production teams even laid in reserves. Had the county Party secretary been there he could have seen young tree belts and orchards growing, an expanding network of irrigation and drainage ditches, green fields where once the soil was encrusted with white alkaline salts. Windstorms came in 1964 and 1965 but Lankao's crops were protected. Last autumn, in one cloudburst 384 millimetres of rain fell yet not a single production brigade suffered flood or waterlogging.

But Chiao Yu-lu never lived to see his plans bear fruit. In March 1964, 16 months after his arrival, his health rapidly worsened. His comrades sent him off to Peking for treatment. Specialists there found that he was suffering from cancer of the liver and had not long to live.

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## Refuting Bundy

by OBSERVER

**W**ILLIAM Bundy, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, delivered a lengthy speech on February 12 called "The United States and Communist China." It is valuable material and warrants careful study as it testifies to U.S. imperialism's resolve to remain the enemy of the Chinese people to the very end and reveals its intentions to step up aggression and widen the war in Asia.

Bundy plainly declared in his speech that China is America's "great enemy" and is "the most serious and perplexing problem that confronts [U.S.] foreign policy," that the objectives of the United States and China are "totally antithetic" in Asia and throughout the world, and that the United States has "little alternative but to stand up to" China and "meet [China] with firmness." He blustered that United States power "is fundamental" in dealing with China and that

The welfare of the 360,000 people of Lankao was always uppermost in his mind, but the county secretary had never had a moment to pay attention to himself. His family and comrades had urged and argued but he had obstinately refused in those critical months to take time off for treatment.

His last words were: "I'm sorry I haven't finished the task the Party gave me." When comrades came for his things at the hospital, they found with him — *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and How To Be a Good Communist* by Liu Shao-chi.

The Chinese people honour the memory of the martyrs who gave their lives for the rising revolution in the bitter struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Today, they celebrate new heroes, like Lei Feng, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh and countless others, who carry on that great tradition in new circumstances. Comrade Chiao Yu-lu is of that glorious company of new men of the working people steeled and tested in the demanding struggles of socialist revolution and construction.

In the context of the current nationwide discussions on revolutionization of county Party committees which began in October last year, the example of the late Party secretary of Lankao has particular significance. The aim of these discussions is to improve the quality of leadership in the county committees according to the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and so serve the people wholeheartedly, like Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, the better to lead the people in building a new, socialist countryside.

"what we [U.S.] are trying to do" in Asia is the "containment" of China.

U.S. imperialism sees in China the biggest obstacle in the way of its world domination. Its inveterate hatred for and implacable enmity towards the Chinese people is itself evidence that the Chinese people are among the most revolutionary and most progressive. Otherwise, U.S. imperialism would not be opposing us as it is doing now. To be opposed by our enemy is not a bad thing; it adds to our honour.

**A Question in People's Minds.** Nevertheless, every thinking person wants to know why the United States has "little alternative" but to fight it out with China, since the two countries, separated by the Pacific, are thousands of miles apart and since China does not have a single soldier in the United States nor a single military base in its vicinity.



Bundy's answer is that China pursues a "deeply expansionist" policy and seeks "a fairly total form of domination and control in areas contiguous to it," while the United States wants to "preserve" the "freedom and independence" of the Asian nations and help them towards "development and growth."

### Hard Facts of U.S. Aggression

Of course, it requires no more effort than some fast talking for Bundy to depict China as the aggressor in Asia and present the United States as the guardian of the continent. Yet he cannot possibly alter or wipe out the hard facts and make the Asian peoples believe that it is China, not U.S. imperialism, which is the aggressor.

Who occupied south Korea and unleashed the war of aggression against Korea and is still hanging on there today, U.S. imperialism or China? Who has placed Japan under its control, converted that country into one of its bases for nuclear war in the Far East, and held on to Okinawa as its own territory, U.S. imperialism or China? Who is engaged in military intervention in Laos and in subversive activities and incursions against Cambodia, U.S. imperialism or China? Who has built military bases and stationed aggressor forces in a host of Asian countries, infringing upon their sovereignty and menaced their security, U.S. imperialism or China?

While Bundy talked volubly from a college platform in California, thousands of block-busters rained down on the soil of Vietnam. From whose planes were these bombs released? At the same time, more than 200,000 troops were fighting a massive war of aggression in that country, using all types of up-to-date weapons. To which country do those troops belong? It would indeed be very difficult for the U.S. imperialist aggressor, dripping with the blood of the Vietnamese and other Asian peoples, to turn itself into their saviour.

Posing as a historian, this creature of imperialism, Bundy, said that China now sought "to restore" itself to "its past position of grandeur" under the old emperors. This is the "valid evidence of [China's] Asian ambitions" he offered.

What "valid evidence"! Bundy tried to be clever, but ended up by exhibiting the fool in him. The fact that he had to turn to history books for "valid evidence"

of China's "expansionist" activities attests to the fact that he could not find any in real life today.

**Evidence of History.** But Bundy is a poor historian. Why did he steer clear of the Chinese history of the last hundred years? As everybody knows, the 109 years' history of China from 1840 to 1949 is a blood-soaked record of aggression, dismemberment, enslavement and exploitation by the imperialist powers, including the United States. Up to now, U.S. imperialism is still occupying China's territory, Taiwan. China is still subject to U.S. imperialist aggression. China's experience is also the common experience of many countries of Asia. Both history and reality have supplied "valid evidence" to U.S. imperialism's aggression against and expansion into China and various other Asian countries.

Bundy himself must have also realized that his offhand treatment of history cannot prove anything. So he pulled out further "evidence" by declaring that China "is inspired by a communist ideology" and "advocates change through revolution and violence throughout the world and particularly neighbouring areas."

### Who Kindles the Flames of Revolution?

What does he mean? If Mr. Bundy means to imply that China is the maker of all revolutions in every part of the world, and of Asia in particular, then he is giving us more credit than is our due. He is overdoing the propaganda for the Chinese Communist Party. In fact all this credit should go to the United States. How can we claim it? It is precisely U.S. aggression, intervention and enslavement that has kindled the flames of the people's anti-U.S. struggle on the Asian continent. It is precisely American aggression that has caused the south Vietnamese people to wage their revolutionary struggle so fiercely, the Thailand people to raise the anti-U.S. torch, the people of Leopoldville Congo far away in Africa and those of the Dominican Republic within a stone's throw of the United States to engage in anti-U.S. struggles. U.S. imperialism wants to forbid the people of the world to make revolution. It wants all oppressed nations and people to put up with their status quo as slaves and remain oppressed. But this cannot be. The United States itself won its independence after having cast off British colonial yoke by violence. **Why can't the people of Asia and other parts of the world do what the American people rightly did 190 years ago? Why should it be called Chinese "aggression" and "expansion" when the peoples of Asia and the world are rising up in revolution?**

Where there is imperialist aggression, there is resistance by the oppressed people and nations. All revolutionary people are eager to find a path to their own liberation. The path of the Chinese people is also the one that they want to take. **China's influence spreads far and wide exactly because all of us share a common experience and destiny.** U.S. imperialism is wasting its time by trying to "contain" China, just as a blind man is wasting a candle by lighting it.



Crocodile Tears

But Bundy tries to pin the charges of "aggression" and "expansion" on China to justify the U.S. policy of "containing China." He said that the "essence" of what the United States is "trying to do" is "containment," "containment that depends upon the performance of the Asian nations themselves." He said plainly: "Today there cannot be an effective deterrent military force, and thus a balance of power, around China's frontiers without major and direct military contributions by the United States."

### Two Aspects of U.S. "Containment"

What is meant by "containment"? And what is meant by the "containment of China" by the United States together with Asian countries? This means two things. **First, U.S. imperialism is tightening its military encirclement of China and preparing to launch an armed attack against it.** **Second, in the name of "containing China," U.S. imperialism attempts to control the Asian countries around China and enslave their peoples.** Whenever the people of these countries rise up in resistance, U.S. imperialism will, again in the name of "containing China," carry out armed repression against them. U.S. imperialism not only wants to turn the Asian countries into its military bases and colonies but also wants to line them up in its anti-China front and enlist them as pawns in its anti-China game. This is the essence of the "containment" of China that Bundy refers to.

**"Balance of Power" a Pretext.** What does he mean by a "balance of power"? This is pure imperialist logic. It serves as a pretext at all times for aggression. According to Bundy, to establish a "balance of power," the United States can send troops to Asia. If this is so, can Asian countries, too, send troops to the Americas to establish a "balance of power"? Following this logic, can any country in the world send troops to any place to establish a "balance of power"? Will this not turn the world upside down? The fact that Bundy talked like this simply means that U.S. imperialism is bent on its aggression in Asia and will cling on there, and that it is going to send more troops to the Asian countries to extend its aggression in Asia.

### Why U.S. Imperialism Hates China

Bundy said the United States and China are "anti-thetic" throughout the world. This is indeed the case. The counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism is to subject all countries in the world, big or small, to its aggression, control, intervention and bullying and to sabotage and suppress the revolutionary movements of the peoples so as to build an empire bigger than any history has ever seen. Just as the noted British philosopher Prof. Bertrand Russell has said: "In the course of history there have been many cruel and rapacious empires and systems of imperialist exploitation, but none before have had the power at the disposal of United States imperialists." U.S. imperialism is not only the enemy of the Chinese people, but also the common enemy of people the world over. Proceeding from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian



Slogan for aggression Cartoons by Jack Chen

internationalism, the Chinese people have always supported the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the world as a whole. Wherever there is struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the Chinese people never fail to lend their support. This stand of the Chinese people will not be altered, whatever the circumstances. **This is in fact the true reason why U.S. imperialism hates China so bitterly.**

**Food for Thought.** There is a passage in Bundy's speech which gives much food for thought. He said: "There is, to a very high degree, a valid parallel between the situation we continue to face vis-a-vis communist China and that we faced with the Soviet Union after the war." He added that since 1955, the Soviet Union has become "moderate." Bundy gnashes his teeth over China but pats the Soviet leaders on the back. Is this fortuitous? Of course not. The Soviet leaders are in fact not just "moderate." They have long betrayed the people of the whole world and become U.S. imperialism's accomplices and qualified lieutenants in its efforts to "contain" China.

### What Bundy Makes Clear

Bundy's long speech makes it abundantly clear that **U.S. imperialism is gradually shifting the focus of its global strategy from Europe to Asia.** Its military strength now deployed in Asia and the West Pacific exceeds that in Europe, and is directed against China. U.S. ruling circles have threatened time and again that, sooner or later, the United States will have to fight it out with China. This is sufficient evidence that U.S. imperialism now regards China as its main enemy.

However, this change of strategy does not mean that U.S. imperialism has grown in strength, but that it is finding itself in untold difficulties. It does not mean that it has found a way out, but that it is struggling in desperation. In the present-day world, it is not China that is encircled. It is U.S. imperialism that is heavily besieged by the people of the world. U.S. imperialism may shift the focus of its strategy to whatever place it likes, but it can never avert its doom.

Liu Tsung-yuan, a great man of letters of the Tang Dynasty, in his essay on "The Enemy," said: "Everybody knows that the enemy is hateful, but not that he is

also most useful; that he is harmful, but not that he is also most beneficial." The Chinese people have a great enemy — U.S. imperialism. This enemy is indeed most hateful and harmful to us, but we must see that its existence has also a beneficial effect on us. To have a ferocious enemy like U.S. imperialism glowering at us and threatening us day and night will make us Chinese people always bear in mind the danger of war while living in peace and redouble our vigilance. It

will make us work harder to build a strong and prosperous country. And it will keep us always on the alert and sharpen our fighting spirit. Wanton U.S. imperialist aggression and intimidation can further raise our political consciousness, strengthen our unity and enhance our combat readiness. Should U.S. imperialism dare attack China, it will be courting doom!

(*"Renmin Ribao," February 20.*)

# Wilson Is Too Ignorant of the Times

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

**S**PEAKING in the House of Commons on February 8, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson once again revealed the Labour government as an accomplice of the United States in its war of aggression against Vietnam. His speech was also another disgraceful performance in the service of the anti-China schemes of the United States.

In addition to applauding the resumption of U.S. bombing of north Vietnam and extolling the U.S. "peace talks" swindle, Wilson openly attacked China, insinuating that it is the "enemy of peace" and the "enemy of negotiations." He even urged M.P.s to demonstrate in front of the Office of the Chinese Charge d'Affaires in London. He said: "I would like to have seen the peace lobby on Vietnam outside the Chinese Embassy."

## Anti-China Outcries

This was not the first time that the British Labour government attacked China. Since coming to power, Wilson has repeatedly made anti-China outcries, each time more vicious than before. In 1964, he slandered China, claiming it was engaging in "subversion" in Africa. Last year, he called China's nuclear strength a "threat to neighbouring countries" and accused China of "fishing in troubled waters" when China told the intruding Indian troops that they must dismantle their aggressive military installations. And it was in 1965 that this Labour Party leader told demonstrators carrying banners demanding peace in Vietnam that "the right place to take that banner is to the Chinese Embassy." Now, Wilson has gone further by letting loose a torrent of abuse against China in the British Parliament, and by again calling for disturbances outside the Chinese diplomatic representative's office. For a head of government to engage in such agitation is a rarity in international relations. It only shows that the British Government is prepared to stoop to anything to fan up anti-China feelings.

It was not accidental that, in speaking of the Vietnam question, Wilson should have concentrated his attack on China.

Every time the United States finds itself in dire straits on this question, the Labour government stretches out a helping hand. This has practically become a rule. At present, U.S. imperialism, bogged down in Vietnam, is beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, and Johnson is completely at a loss. Wilson saw the need to act and he promptly stepped forward.

When he called China the "enemy of peace" and the "enemy of negotiations," he evidently wanted his listeners to believe that the U.S. aggressors were lovers of peace and were sincerely looking forward to a political solution of the Vietnam question, implying thereby that people should not oppose the United States but should condemn China. So Wilson's real intention is clearly to herd more countries into the anti-China group pieced together by the United States and to stir up a new anti-China campaign.

But Mr. Wilson is really too ignorant of the times and has too much confidence in himself.

U.S. imperialism is the arch criminal that has torn up the Geneva agreements, subjected Vietnam to aggression, enlarged the war and broken the peace of that country. The Johnson Administration has publicly



*"Carry your bags, sir?"*

*From the British weekly "New Statesman"*



stated that it will "see this thing [prosecution of the war] through" in Vietnam, that it will not pull its forces out of south Vietnam and that it will never recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole legitimate representative of the south Vietnamese people. Does Wilson really believe he can conceal from the people of the world the bloody hands of the U.S. aggressor with a few demagogic words in Parliament?

### A U.S. Satellite

On the Vietnam question, the Labour government long ago joined the ranks of the adversaries of the Vietnamese people. During more than the past year, the Wilson government has followed in the footsteps of Washington and has built itself an inglorious record.

It should be emphasized that the Wilson government has long outdone its predecessors in its subservience to the United States. The British Government's faithful service to the United States and its fixed resolve to play second fiddle have truly earned it the title of a U.S. satellite.

It is also for its own imperialist interests that the Labour government is so closely following the United States in active opposition to China. Everybody knows that the erstwhile British Empire has been falling to pieces. It has therefore formulated a so-called "East of Suez" policy to mend the disintegrating British Commonwealth, maintain its grip over the traditional sphere of influence of British colonialism, and suppress the national-liberation movement that is surging forward in Asia and Africa. But it knows full well that it simply does not have the means to carry out that policy. For this reason the Labour government is supporting

U.S. aggression in Vietnam and its policy of encircling and containing China and collaborating further with Washington with a view to obtaining U.S. support in return. Hence, Britain's "East of Suez" policy is actually an important move in aiding U.S. imperialism to build a "cordon" around China and to shift the emphasis of its global strategy to the East.

It is therefore clear that the reason why the Labour government collaborates with the United States and sets itself against the Vietnamese people is because it is afraid that the successful development of the latter's revolutionary struggle will strike at the root of Britain's imperialist interests in the East. Similarly, why it works for the U.S. scheme of encircling China is because the Chinese people firmly support the Vietnamese people's struggle and unswervingly support the liberation struggles of all the oppressed people and nations. Britain sees in this firm Chinese stand a formidable obstacle and a serious threat to its counter-revolutionary "East of Suez" strategy.

But times have changed. Today, the national-liberation struggles are sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America like a hurricane. The days when Britain ruled the roost in the world and when "the sun never set on the British Empire" have become a mere episode in history. Now even U.S. imperialism, which is said to be the most powerful of its kind, is on the decline. The Labour government will gain nothing by throwing in its lot with the United States in its aggression against Vietnam and opposition to China. Instead, it will end up as a sacrifice on the pyre of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. It can expect no better end.

(Summary of "Renmin Ribao" Commentator's February 18 article.)

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

the Chinese people, and that they will certainly come to no good end."

### Hooliganism Continues in Indonesia

Over the last four months, the Indonesian Right-wing forces have gone to great lengths to poison Sino-Indonesian relations. They have again and again organized hooligans to create incidents and commit outrages against Chinese nationals and Chinese diplomatic missions.

Only seven days after the February 3 attack on the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta, acts of violence took place against the Chinese Consulate and Chinese nationals in Bandjarmasin. Thus, in disregard of the Chinese

Government's repeated protests and demands, the Indonesian Government again has not kept its promise to prevent the occurrence of similar incidents.

On February 10, hundreds of hooligans made a wild attack on the Chinese Consulate in Bandjarmasin. They stoned the Consulate building, breaking many windows. While the rowdies shouted anti-Chinese slogans outside, some climbed over the walls and carried out provocations. In the afternoon, they damaged shops and houses of Chinese nationals.

Two days later, the hooligans were out again, doing serious damage to Chinese shops and houses and the local Chung Hua Chung Hui. That same day, while Su Sheng, the Chinese Consul in Bandjarmasin, was conferring with the Governor of South Kalimantan, hoodlums in-

scribed anti-Chinese slogans on his car.

All this occurred after the Chinese Consul had called on the Governor of South Kalimantan on February 9, demanding that the Indonesian authorities take effective measures to guarantee the safety of the Consulate and protect the life and property of Chinese nationals. The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, in its February 15 note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, lodged the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government. It demanded that the Indonesian Government make a public apology for the incidents, punish the culprits and their instigators, compensate the Consulate and the Chinese nationals for their losses, and take measures to guarantee against the occurrence of similar incidents in the future.



# "Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note on Prime Minister Castro's Anti-China Statement

*"Renmin Ribao" on February 22 published the full text of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro's February 6 anti-China statement with an editor's note, which reads as follows:*

**I**N the midst of the concerted attacks on China by the imperialists headed by the United States, the reactionaries of all countries and the Khrushchov revisionists, Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro has taken an active part in the anti-China chorus, following up his public attack on China on January 2 with a lengthy statement on February 6.

In his latest anti-China statement, Prime Minister Castro shot off his mouth, vilifying the People's Republic of China. He accuses China of "dishonesty," "cynicism," "bad faith," "perfidy," "hypocrisy," of being "extremely insidious," of "the most venomous intent," of using a "hidden dagger," of "blackmail and extortion," of "exerting pressure, committing aggression and strangulation," of resorting to "the worst methods of piracy, oppression and filibustering," and of having "committed a criminal act of economic aggression" against Cuba. He even makes the charges that China "has, in fact, joined in that blockade" (meaning the economic blockade of Cuba by U.S. imperialism), that Chinese representatives contacted Cuban military officers "for the purpose of proselytizing them," and that China's methods and practices were "exactly the same as those employed by the U.S. Embassy in our country in its attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba and impose its will on the nation in one form or another." According to this statement, it would seem China is steeped in villainy and truly guilty of monstrous crimes.

China has given, and will continue to give, steadfast support to the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and to defend the fruits of their revolution. China has consistently upheld proletarian internationalism and firmly opposed great-nation chauvinism. We have always maintained that all nations, big or small, are equal. A big country should not bully a small one, nor should a small country bully a big one; both should abide by principle and be reasonable. Prime Minister Castro is utterly unreasonable when in his statement he incites anti-

Chinese feelings on the pretext of China's rice exports to Cuba and its distribution of printed matter in Cuba.

The truth about the rice question has already been very clearly explained by a responsible official of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade in his statements\* of January 9 and 30 in which he presented all the relevant facts. While unable to disprove these facts, Prime Minister Castro has arbitrarily laid at China's door the blame for the "grave difficulties" Cuba has encountered in the economic field. This way of shifting the blame on to others is far from clever. It is natural that trade between two countries should be conducted in accordance with the principle of mutual benefit, through consultations on an equal footing and in conformity with agreements reached between the two sides. It is quite normal for differences of opinion to arise in the course of discussions on trade. How can anyone on this account vilify socialist China, which has always been true to its internationalist obligations and has supported the Cuban people in many ways, as being on a par with imperialism and slander China as having committed a "criminal act of economic aggression" against Cuba? In recent years, not only has the Cuban sugar-cane mono-culture, which is a legacy of imperialism, remained unchanged, but what the Khrushchov revisionists call "the principle of international division of labour" has been put into practice, which has further aggravated this lop-sided situation and created grave economic difficulties for Cuba. Is this the result of advice given by the Chinese? Are the Chinese to blame?

The truth about the question of printed matter is likewise very clear. It is perfectly normal, above-board and beyond reproach for the Chinese Embassy to issue its bulletins and for Chinese book distributors to circulate publications in Cuba explaining China's policies and views. Why is it that while the Cuban Embassy in China can distribute printed matter publicizing Cuba's views in China, the Chinese Embassy cannot do likewise in Cuba? Why should China's printed matter be dreaded like the plague while the anti-Chinese propaganda material published by the leaders of the Communist

\* See *Peking Review*, Nos. 3 and 6, 1966. — P.R. Ed.

Party of the Soviet Union is allowed to deluge Cuba? Why such a lack of confidence in one's own cadres and officers and in one's own people?

The anti-China balderdash is very much in the air these days. The addition of Prime Minister Castro to the anti-China chorus does not amount to much. Nobody, whoever he is and whatever airs he puts on, can add any real weight to it. He will only expose himself.

Whether or not a person in a socialist country — be he the premier of a big or a small country, the premier or an ordinary functionary — commands the respect of the people depends on whether or not he is a revolutionary, whether he remains a revolutionary all his life or stops half way, whether he supports or opposes revolution, whether he combats or curries favour with U.S. imperialism and whether he practises Marxism-Leninism or revisionism. Khrushchov was the premier of a very big country, but has not the whole world witnessed the "respect" shown him after he took the wrong path of revisionism?

Prime Minister Castro once zealously called for an "end to public polemics." However, since March last year he has attacked China again and again. At the mass rally on January 2, he publicly maligned

China and then followed this up with his anti-China statement of February 6. Prime Minister Castro has gone very far down the road of opposition to China. People will wait and see how much further he will go.

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are accustomed to being abused. Leaving aside the past, at present we are being abused abroad by the imperialists led by the United States, by reactionary nationalists, by the reactionaries of all countries and by the modern revisionists, and at home by Chiang Kai-shek, by landlords, rich peasants and counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. This has long been the case, and we are accustomed to it. Our attitude is: let them go on abusing us if they like; we will reply as and when necessary.

So far we have not yet given a systematic reply to Prime Minister Castro's anti-China statements. We reserve our right to do so.

Prime Minister Castro's statement of February 6 is useful material. We are publishing it here in full and are broadcasting it to the world in various languages. We hope that the Chinese people and the people of Latin America and other parts of the world will read it, ponder over the problems it raises and draw their own conclusions.

## Castro's February 6 Anti-China Statement

*"Granma," organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, on February 6 published "Prime Minister Fidel Castro's Reply to the Statements of the Chinese Government." The full text reads as follows. — Ed.*

**A**S a result of the pronouncements which I made in my speech of January 2 and the subsequent statements made by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Chinese Government has issued two statements trying to justify its conduct concerning the question of trade relations with Cuba.

**These statements of the Chinese Government, placed in the mouth of a so-called "official" of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the said country, are extremely insidious.**

Nobody will ever believe that in China an ordinary and unknown official of the Ministry of Foreign Trade could issue statements characterizing as lying the Prime Minister of a socialist state with which it maintains formal diplomatic relations, **statements which, by their political content and disrespectful form, involve the possibilities of seriously affecting the relations between the two countries, Cuba and China.**

It is necessary first of all to make two points:

1. **This kind of conduct involves great hypocrisy, because such pronouncements can only emanate from the highest level of the Chinese Government.**

2. **While being dishonest, this method reveals a sense of contempt for other people,** because it is equivalent to saying that the statements of the Prime Minister of a small state, although the question at issue seriously affects that state, deserve a reply only by an inferior and anonymous official of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of China.

We shall not use such hypocritical and contemptuous methods of procedure, because we are not used to this, nor do we make a distinction between big and small nations either in reference to the defence of our country's dignity or in the respect we have for others, whatever the consequences that may arise therefrom.

This attitude of the Chinese Government goes beyond the limits of a discussion based strictly on figures and data concerning trade exchange. Having reached this point, it is virtually useless to argue about such data and figures. Nevertheless, the assertions and conclusions which the Chinese Government pretends to defend in this respect must not be left unanswered.

On January 2 I did not want to pass judgment on or define or characterize the measures of an economic nature adopted by the Chinese Government, although I had more than enough material for passing a judgment. I confined myself to explaining that there would be an abrupt and unexpected reduction of imports from China. I explained the reasons given by the Chinese Government for this and

the immediate consequences of this for our country. What I said then, and I quote, is this:

"For reasons contrary to our wishes, there is a product concerning which we are going to have difficulties this year, and that product is rice. Now I am going to explain why we will have less rice, basing myself on a report of our Ministry of Foreign Trade concerning trade exchange with the People's Republic of China.

"The report says: Our policy of trade with China, for 1966, was directed towards a further increase in the volume of exchange, following the trend of the last few years.

"Planned exports for 1966 would rise to 110 million [pesos], and imports to 140 million [pesos].

"These amounts, compared with previous years, anticipated greater deliveries of sugar on our part and greater deliveries of rice on the other side.

"In mid November our delegation led by Comrade Ismael Bello, Director of our Ministry, went to Peking to discuss the trade protocol for 1966, which was due to be signed in Havana. After various interviews, the Chinese authorities formally raised the following points:

"Sugar. The Chinese side cannot accept the 800,000 tons of sugar offered, for the following reasons:

"a. They have had a bumper harvest this year.

"b. In 1961 the U.S.S.R. made them a loan of 500,000 tons of sugar, to be repayable with the same product. This year they have already repaid this amount of sugar to the U.S.S.R., using part of the sugar which they bought from Cuba.

"c. The Chinese people now require no ration cards to buy sugar because there is enough to satisfy the demand.

"The amount of rice supplied to Cuba in 1965, totalling 250,000 tons, was an exception arising from the request made to the Chinese Ambassador by Premier Fidel Castro.

"Notwithstanding the bumper harvest, they do not see in 1966 the possibility of supplying a greater amount [of rice] than in 1964, which was 135,000 metric tons, for the following reasons:

"a. The necessity of creating reserves against the outbreak of an attack by U.S. imperialism;

"b. The assistance which they have to give to Vietnam;

"c. The deficit in the production of other cereals, which obliges them to import from the capitalist area. For this purpose, it is therefore necessary to use a certain amount of rice in order to obtain foreign exchange.

"When our delegation proposed that the remainder of the 10 million [pesos] of the 1960 loan should be used in part to finance the imbalance which would appear in 1966, according to our export and import figures, the Chinese side replied as follows:

"The use of the economic loan was not within their power to decide, and should be raised at government level. But as for the products and the amounts which they could offer us, their offer was the maximum and, therefore, that was final.

"They declared that in this way the volume of exchange would more or less reach the 1964 level as it was to be a balanced trade.

"The trade implications of these proposals, says the foreign trade report: Although the Chinese side talks about bringing our trade to the 1964 level, by not granting an imbalance as they did in previous years, what in fact will be brought to the 1964 level is only our exports, while the value of our imports will drop to a level below that of any of the trading years between 1961 and 1965. Since 1961, our trade exchange has been established through yearly trade protocols, as is customary between the socialist countries."

On all these questions, the Chinese side has been unable to refute or conceal any of the essential points. They have confined themselves exclusively to discussing one point: Whether or not it is true that the volume of exports which Cuba will receive from China in 1966 will be lower than that of the previous years since 1961.

They are unable to deny that the exports offered by Cuba, including 800,000 tons of sugar, would come to as much as 110 million pesos and that the requests made by Cuba were estimated at a value of 140 million [pesos].

They are unable to deny that the Chinese Government refused the offer of 800,000 tons of sugar, nor can they deny the arguments which they put forward to justify this:

"a. That they have had a bumper harvest this year.

"b. That in 1961 the U.S.S.R. gave them a loan of 500,000 tons of sugar, repayable with the same product. This year they have already repaid this amount of sugar to the U.S.S.R., using part of the sugar which they bought from Cuba.

"c. That the Chinese people now do not require ration coupons to buy sugar because there is enough to satisfy the demand."

They are unable to deny that, for 1966, they only agreed to deliver 135,000 metric tons of rice, that is, 115,000 [metric tons] less than the previous year and 145,000 [metric tons] below the requests made. Nor can they deny the arguments which they put forward for this purpose:

"That notwithstanding the bumper harvest, they do not see in 1966 the possibility of supplying a greater amount [of rice] than in 1964, which was 135,000 metric tons, for the following reasons:

"a. The necessity to create reserves against the outbreak of an attack by U.S. imperialism.

"b. The assistance which they have to give to Vietnam.

"c. The deficit in the production of other cereals, which obliges them to import from the capitalist area, and for this purpose, it is therefore necessary to use a certain amount of rice in order to obtain foreign exchange."

They are unable to deny that when our delegation proposed that the 10 million [pesos] loan should be used to partly finance the imbalance which might appear, the Chinese side replied that this should be raised at the government level. But as for the products and the amounts which could be offered, their offer was the maximum and, therefore, that was final.

They are unable to deny that the Cuban delegation was told furthermore — this was something that never happened in any of the previous years — that the trade was to be balanced, which, in commercial terms, means that no loan could be expected.



Essentially, they are unable to deny that the Chinese representatives put forward four points in explicit and precise terms:

a. That our sugar exports would be limited to only 600,000 tons, even though sugar is our basic product with which we pay for our imports.

b. That the amount of products offered was maximum and final.

c. That the imbalance was to cease this year.

d. That rice, a traditional and appreciable product of our consumption, would be reduced to almost half compared to the previous year.

They are unable to deny that these proposals were put to the Cuban side with extreme suddenness at the end of 1965. Naturally, our Government was entirely unaware that this was to be the new trade policy of the Chinese Government towards Cuba.

I repeat that being unable to deny any of these essential matters, they have confined themselves exclusively to discussing a question of secondary importance, namely, whether or not it is true that the volume of exports which Cuba will receive from China in 1966 will be lower than that of the previous years since 1961.

In order to negate what is said about this, in the statement of January 9 they talked about the total volume of trade; without providing any other data, they asserted that the report of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade which I read on January 2, stating that imports would be lower than in any of those years, was untruthful. Nevertheless, in its reply of January 12 the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade provided the data relating to the actual imports from China:

1961	98.6
1962	89.8
1963	90.8
1964	109.3
1965	128.9
1966	(85.0)

In its new statement of January 30, the Chinese Government, again evading the essential points and insisting on the matter of comparison with previous years, tried to refute the method used by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade and alleged that it used figures of three categories. For its part, allegedly basing itself on the lists in the protocols, the Chinese Government claimed that China's exports to Cuba were as follows:

1961	108.00
1962	62.00
1963	77.61
1964	95.11
1965	127.00
1966	(84.50)

Well, let's see how the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade drew up its figures. It took the most accurate data available for the years 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964, namely, the physical goods which had really entered and left the country; as often happens, figures agreed upon in protocols change considerably in the course of the implementation of the protocols.

As regards the year 1965, in December when the Ministry of Foreign Trade drew up its report, it could not possibly use the method of basing itself on the total amount of goods entering and leaving, one reason being that the year had not yet ended, and another that it takes a certain time to receive, check and compile the data. In this case, for the said year the Ministry was compelled to use the figures in the protocol, although these, as has already been said, might considerably depart from the reality. Likewise, as regards the year 1966 that has just begun, the Ministry could only take into account the maximum and final figures of goods offered by the Chinese side in the negotiations. Did not the Chinese Government, too, take these data with respect to 1966 as its basis for comparison? Thus the Chinese Government also used different categories of data—one for the years 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964 and 1965: the lists in the protocols, and another for the year 1966: the offers by China in the negotiations.

But there is just one substantial difference between the data of the Chinese and Cuban Ministries of Foreign Trade; the data used by Cuba for the years 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964, covering two-thirds of the six-year period under review and really expressing the rate of development of exchange between the two countries, are based precisely on the goods that actually reached or left the country, while disregarding this reality entirely, the data used by the Chinese Government are based on the capricious criterion that the agreed lists of goods written on a piece of paper count for more than goods actually reaching a particular country.

Such goods sometimes exceed the goods listed in the protocols, as happened in 1962 when the amount agreed upon was 62 million [pesos] and the amount received was 89.8 [million pesos]. The latter amount is what really counts, and we have so counted it in our figures.

In other years, as in 1961, the amount of Cuban imports agreed upon was 108 million [pesos], but the amount that actually arrived was 98.6 [million pesos]. The latter amount is what really counts, and we have so counted it.

On the other hand, there is no possibility that the goods to be received for the year 1966 will exceed the amount agreed upon because the Chinese side has categorically declared the amount offered to be the maximum and final—a thing that never happened in any of the previous years.

**The argument about categories advanced by the Chinese side is clearly in bad faith, and intended to confuse those who do not know the facts,** to conceal the weakness of its own position, and to make people believe that the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade is irresponsibly playing with figures.

In my January 2 speech I also said:

"Taking into account the fact that the per capita consumption of rice in the People's Republic of China is very high and its sugar consumption very low, and I myself, taking into account the fact that in China, by contrast with Cuba, the selling price of sugar to the people is four or five times that of rice while in Cuba rice is two or three times the price of sugar, thought that a bigger trade in rice and sugar could be of mutual advantage to both countries. And therefore I put forward the proposal—in my opinion highly advantageous to that country and to



ours—that we would give two tons of sugar for each ton of rice that China sent to us.

**"I put this proposal forward taking a series of circumstances into account, as I have told you, including the principle of the international division of labour, the fact that we are traditionally a sugar-cane growing country and are sugar-productive; we are a country that knows how to grow sugar-cane and can get very high yields of sugar per hectare; but this is not our situation with rice because we have neither the same experience, nor large quantities of water, nor great rivers, nor broad regions enjoying optimum conditions for growing rice, nor, by contrast with sugar-cane growing, do we know the best techniques or have the best seed strains."**

I went on to say:

"And it must be said that the response, on that occasion, was more than we expected. They agreed with the proposal and even stated that the exchange should not be made in the way we suggested but that they would continue paying the same price for the sugar and we would continue paying the same price for the rice."

What do they deny in reference to this? They deny that the exchange proposed was actually two for one and say it was three for two. In this connection the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade explained the matter explicitly in the following words:

"In October 1964, talks began in Havana, prior to the negotiations that were to continue later in Peking, on the 1965 trade protocol.

"The Chinese side had already agreed to deliver 150,000 tons of rice to us that year, which meant a slight increase over the 1964 figures (135,000 tons). That meant that in 1965 Cuba would receive 150,000 tons of rice at a price between 145 and 150 pesos a ton varying according to the variety of the product, and that the equivalent exchange in sugar would be about 165,000 tons, in accordance with the stipulated price of 6.11 cents a pound.

"That was the occasion when the Prime Minister of Cuba's Revolutionary Government proposed increasing the trade in rice for sugar—as the Chinese Foreign Trade official has admitted, according to the Hsinhua text—to 370,000 tons of sugar for 250,000 tons of rice every year. This is to say that instead of 150,000 tons of rice, China would deliver 250,000 tons, and instead of 165,000 tons of sugar, Cuba would deliver 370,000 tons. In terms of arithmetic, Cuba would deliver roughly an additional 205,000 tons of sugar in exchange for an additional 100,000 tons of rice, and, if the arithmetic is not wrong, this amounts to almost exactly a proportion of two to one.

"Therefore the Prime Minister's assertion—that Cuba's proposal meant raising the sugar-for-rice exchange on the basis of two tons of sugar for each ton of rice—is absolutely true."

In reply to these irrefutable arguments and data the Chinese Government says: "The Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade spent much effort in compiling some nondescript figures to prove that what Prime Minister Castro affirmed about the exchange of two tons of Cuban sugar for one ton of Chinese rice was absolutely true."

Apparently, a mere arithmetical addition amounts to a strenuous effort for the Chinese Government and figures

which do not suit it are nondescript figures. The Chinese Government's mistake is due to their analysis of the figures without paying the least attention to the fact that the first 150,000 tons of rice were agreed upon at a price equivalent to roughly 165,000 tons of sugar, that is, in the proportion of 1.1 to 1, which was established at the time when I proposed raising the sugar deliveries from about 165,000 to 370,000 tons, or an addition of 205,000 [tons] of sugar in exchange for an additional 100,000 [tons] of rice (a two to one proportion), and this, added to the amount that was already agreed upon at a different price, made a total of 250,000 tons of this product to be received by Cuba.

They simply confine themselves to comparing the total figures. But whatever criterion they use to analyse the figures, that does not alter the fact that they were to receive an additional 205,000 [tons] of sugar in exchange for delivery to Cuba of only an additional 100,000 [tons] of rice. Can they deny that this proposal was highly beneficial for the Chinese people?

Nevertheless, the essential point in all of this is as follows. They have had to admit:

(1) That at the end of 1964 the Cuban Government put forward a special sugar-for-rice exchange proposal.

(2) That the Cuban proposal was made in terms of delivery of amounts greater than the established equivalents of sugar for rice.

(3) That as a consequence of this proposal they agreed to deliver 250,000 tons of rice.

(4) That, as I said on January 2, they agreed to deliver the requested amounts of rice though not to a price for sugar higher than the established one.

How did the Cuban Government interpret the Chinese reply? This is an important question. We had to consider China's agreement to raise its rice exports to Cuba to 250,000 tons as an affirmative reply to our proposal, in which our yearly need for that product, so important for our national consumption, was clearly expressed.

Their refusal to accept a higher price for sugar in exchange seemed to us to be in accord with the spirit of co-operation which had always prevailed in the Chinese Government's attitude in its relations with us, and we never imagined it was a rejection of a commitment to supply us with the yearly minimum requested.

The interpretation which the Chinese Government now places on this matter, saying that it was a favour granted for just one year—which was in no way what we asked for—reveals **an ambiguous attitude in its methods, and it amounts to an act of betrayal of the good faith of the Cuban side.**

It never occurred to us that **the Chinese Government would retain for itself, like a hidden dagger, the right absolutely unilaterally and without giving any warning whatever and without previous discussion, to interpret the scope of its commitment precisely at a time when our country was in no position—and did not have the means to buy rice in other markets.**

In respect to the rationing which we have been compelled to institute as a result of the Chinese Government's drastic and unexpected reduction of rice exports to Cuba, that Government in its latest statement makes the following assertion:

"Cuba started to ration rice at the monthly quota of six pounds per capita in 1962. In that year China exported to Cuba 120,000 tons of rice. Then, in 1963 and 1964, China exported to Cuba 135,000 tons of rice each year, and the rice ration for the Cuban population remained unchanged. In 1965, China's export of rice to Cuba nearly doubled, yet there was no increase in the Cuban rice ration on this account. According to the figures discussed by the two sides in the preliminary negotiations, China's export of rice to Cuba in 1966 will indeed be less than in 1965, but it will exceed 1962 and equal 1963 and 1964. In face of these facts, how can one arbitrarily link up the cut in the Cuban rice ration with the question of Sino-Cuban trade?"

**We cannot but regard this argument as cynical.** The Chinese Government cannot be unaware of the fact that in 1962, 1963 and 1964, Cuba was also getting supplies from other markets; that we were faced with increasing difficulties of a political character with many of those possible suppliers as a result of the Yankee blockade; that no Latin American country, with the exception of Mexico, traded with Cuba; that the countries which did not break off trade, such as Uruguay and others, did so after the O.A.S. agreement decreed by the Yankee imperialists at the consultative meeting in Washington in July 1964, where they took steps against Cuba on charges that Cuba had sent weapons to the Venezuelan revolutionaries and those countries were therefore forced to break diplomatic, consular and trade relations with our country.

Moreover, in obtaining our rice supply from the few places open to us, our purchasing power is limited by the sugar prices in the so-called world market. The Chinese Government cannot be unaware of the sugar prices in the years referred to. According to the accumulated average of spot prices in London, these were:

1962 — 2.89 cents per pound F.O.B.  
 1963 — 8.50 cents per pound F.O.B.  
 1964 — 5.88 cents per pound F.O.B.  
 1965 — 2.18 cents per pound F.O.B.

The average prices in the last five months of 1965 were as follows:

August	1.87 (cents)
September	1.93 (cents)
October	2.08 (cents)
November	1.85 (cents)
December	2.04 (cents)

If in December of the year when prices were so bad our Ministry of Foreign Trade received the surprising notice that the Chinese Government was going to deliver 115,000 tons of rice less than in the previous year and 145,000 [tons] less than what was needed, how could the Cuban Government avoid reducing the rice ration of its population in 1966?

How can the Chinese Government pretend to be unaware of those facts and shamelessly assert:

"If the Cuban side, truly because of difficulties in foreign relations, genuinely hoped that China would export more rice to Cuba in 1966, it could very well have raised the matter in negotiations at a higher level as it did in the past."

Naturally, the Cuban Government, as I shall explain later, had more than sufficient reason for not doing so. But before reaching that point, we would like to ask: What

would the Chinese people think if the Cuban Government, knowing that their request for sugar was 600,000 tons, as expressed by their representatives to our delegation, had replied that it intended to reduce deliveries to 300,000 [tons] because we wanted to sell the remainder in order to obtain foreign exchange to purchase other cereals?

So far from reducing our deliveries to 300,000 [tons], we proposed sending 800,000 [tons] although Cuba had the worst drought in the last 60 years, although its production will not equal but will fall below that of the previous year, although the price of sugar in the rest of the world market reached the lowest point in the last few decades and U.S. imperialism has tightened its blockade against us.

We with less sugar offered more; you with more rice offered less. We suffering from drought, blockade and low prices offered to increase deliveries of our main commercial product. You admitting that you have reaped bumper crops are reducing rice deliveries to us by almost 50 per cent.

Furthermore, the representatives of the Chinese Government claimed that it was necessary to establish rice reserves in order to be prepared against U.S. aggression. Does not Cuba face equal or greater danger of U.S. aggression than does the People's Republic of China? In the midst of aggression, how could a single grain reach our coasts from any country of the socialist camp thousands of miles away? By what means and through what frontiers could Cuba be supplied?

According to the Chinese Government's conception of international obligations, it is obvious that a country such as ours, militarily weaker and more vulnerable to aggression, has no right to think of reserves, and has not even the right to keep up a modest rationing of supplies whose institution became a compelling necessity in face of the U.S. imperialist blockade.

We do not exclusively blame the Chinese Government for the reduction of the ration. **The responsibility falls in the first place on the Yankee imperialists who have enforced an economic blockade against us; in the second place on the Chinese Government for having in fact joined in that blockade; and in the third place, on us ourselves for having believed in the Chinese Government's spirit of internationalism.**

But this is not all. In its statement of January 9, the Chinese Government said:

"There have been trade negotiations between China and Cuba every year, and every year differing views of one kind or another have cropped up in the course of them. But in the past, Prime Minister Castro never acted as he has now. Why then has he suddenly taken such an extraordinary step on the eve of the three continents peoples' solidarity conference in Havana? This offers food for thought."

In its statement of January 30, 1966, the Chinese Government insisted even more insidiously:

"We have carefully studied the reply of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade and we think that it has failed to answer the crucial question raised in my remarks on January 9, namely, why did Prime Minister Castro unilaterally and untruthfully make public the contents of the preliminary Sino-Cuban trade negotiations for 1966 suddenly on the eve of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference when the negotiations were going on

and when the Cuban Government could very well raise its differing views and demands, if any, to the Chinese Government?"

At the end of that very same statement, **it repeated, with the most venomous intent, the same insinuating, subtle and cynical idea:**

"If the Cuban side, truly because of difficulties in foreign relations, genuinely hoped that China would export more rice to Cuba in 1966, it could very well have raised the matter in negotiations at a higher level as it did in the past. But at a time when the preliminary negotiations between the delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Trade of the two countries are still going on, the Cuban side has unilaterally and untruthfully made public the contents of the negotiations and tried to shift on to China the responsibility for the cut in the rice ration for its population. This really compels us to suspect that in doing this the Cuban side is after something else."

Three times it has insisted on the same idea, talking as though relations between our two countries at that time were exactly the same as they were in previous years, as though they were proceeding in the best harmony, as though things of serious character gravely impairing these relations had never occurred prior to those negotiations of December 1965, and that therefore the Cuban Government's position was illogical, strange, abnormal, and suspect—creating a problem in the most artificial manner, pursuing ulterior purposes, and who knows what ulterior purposes! **It is trying to sow doubts in an insinuating, sly and subtle form, with the worst kind of poison.**

**This is an argument used in the worst of bad faith,** because the Chinese Government tried to take advantage of the fact that certain questions are not publicly known **in order to deceive and confuse people.** And it is even more disgusting if one has in mind the fact that the Cuban Government did not want to take the painful step of revealing these matters. In my speech of January 2, I confined my words strictly to the difficulties caused in connection with trade, without qualifying the Chinese behaviour and without going deeper into the problem, because it is extremely painful and unpleasant to have to divulge these other more serious matters which happened and which explained with total clarity the real purpose of the Chinese behaviour.

At the same time the Chinese Government talks as if January 2 had something to do with the tri-continental conference, and as though it was not, in fact, the date of our national festival celebrations of the 1959 victory of the insurgent army, the date on which every year we gather with the people in a mass rally to deal with the fundamental problems of the country. It affects absolute ignorance of the character of this date and the fact that new difficulties were about to arise immediately and had to be explained to the people. It had absolutely nothing to do with the tri-continental conference.

It is we ourselves who can affirm that on the very eve of that conference of solidarity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, **the Chinese Government carried out a criminal act of economic aggression against our country,** in a year of serious difficulties in weather conditions, of extraordinary low prices in the world market for our main export product, and of a tight imperialist economic blockade which prevents or makes it difficult for us to trade with most countries of the world.

**The Chinese Government could not have chosen a more opportune and adequate time to deal our people a telling blow** and, what is more serious, precisely a time when that conference of solidarity of the peoples of the three continents was about to take place. This indeed offers food for serious thought.

What we are now going to explain we could have said on January 2, and we could have explained the purpose of the behaviour of the Chinese Government. Nevertheless, we didn't. **It is precisely that Government, with its perfidy, its hypocrisy, its malicious insinuations and its contempt for our small country, which forces us to do it.**

Three months before the start of the trade talks, on September 14, 1965, at 10 a.m., the President of the Republic Comrade Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado and I, in my capacity as Prime Minister of the Government, summoned the Charge d'Affaires of the People's Republic of China to discuss questions which, in our view, were most serious.

Although the Chinese Government knew perfectly well—because the Cuban Government had stated it, and even stated it publicly—what our position was in respect to the distribution in our country of propaganda material on questions of a political nature, and especially on those questions which tend to deepen the division among the socialist peoples and countries, the representatives of the Chinese Government in Cuba paid absolutely no attention to our demands in this respect, disregarding prerogatives which, as a sovereign country, are the exclusive concern of our Government.

The position of the Cuban Government in this matter was expressed very clearly on March 13, 1965, in the campus of the [Havana] University, when we also gave a detailed account of our views on the division in the socialist camp and on the imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

On that occasion, we unequivocally declared:

"We, small countries which do not rely on the strength of armies of millions of men, which do not rely on the strength of atomic might, we small countries—like Vietnam and Cuba—have instinct enough to see with serenity and understand that, owing to the special situation—we, 90 miles from the U.S. empire, they, attacked by U.S. aircraft—we small countries are the only ones affected by this division and this discord which sap the strength of the socialist camp.

"It is not a question here of analysing the debated questions in the field of theory, in the field of philosophy, but of bearing in mind the great truth that in the face of an enemy which is attacking, in the face of an increasingly aggressive enemy, there are no grounds for division, division does not make sense, division has no reason to it.

"And division in face of the enemy has never been a correct strategy, has never been a revolutionary strategy, has never been an intelligent strategy in any epoch of history, in any period of mankind, ever since the appearance of the first revolutionary in the world, ever since the time when revolutions emerged as social phenomena in which the masses acted instinctively and until the time when revolutions became conscious, became tasks and phenomena fully understood by the people, which has taken place since the emergence of Marxism.

"And in this revolutionary process we, all of us, educate ourselves from the very outset in the idea that anything



which divides weakens us, anything which disunites is bad for our people and good for the imperialists. And the masses of our people from the very first moment understood the need for unity, and unity became an essential question for the revolution, unity became an appeal of the masses, unity became a slogan of the whole people. And we ask whether the imperialists have disappeared, we ask whether the imperialists are not attacking north Vietnam, we ask whether men and women among the people are not dying there.

"And who are they going to make understand, who are they going to make believe, that division is advantageous, that division is useful? Does not one see that the imperialists are advancing there? Does not one see the strategy the imperialists are following there? Does not one see the tactics the imperialists are following there, to crush the revolutionary movement in south Vietnam, first attacking north Vietnam by air on the pretext of retaliation, then arrogating to themselves the right to attack it at will, and continuing with the massive use of aircraft against the fighters of south Vietnam?"

The imperialists reserve to themselves the right to launch this type of air warfare with the least possible sacrifice, bombing with hundreds of planes and then going to the length of using helicopters to rescue the pilots of the downed planes. The imperialists indeed want a very convenient kind of struggle!

Indeed, the imperialists want a kind of war with only industrial losses! That is to say, "so many and so many planes lost." Indeed, the people of south Vietnam and the people of north Vietnam are suffering from all this! And they are suffering in their own flesh because men and women are dying there, both in the south and in the north, victims of the U.S. strafing and bombing.

And they do not in the least hesitate to say that they intend to continue all this, because not even the attacks on north Vietnam have had the effect of overcoming the division in the socialist family. And who can doubt that this division encourages the imperialists? Who can doubt that a united front in face of the imperialist enemy would make him hesitate, would make him think more deeply before launching his adventurist attacks and making his ever more barefaced intervention in that part of the world? Can they convince anybody? With what argument, with what logic? And who are the beneficiaries? The imperialists! And who are the victims? The Vietnamese! And what is the sufferer? The prestige of socialism, the prestige of the international communist movement, the international revolutionary movement! And indeed, this does cause us pain! As for us, "the liberation movement" are not demagogic words but a slogan we have always really felt!

Because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the centre of the world; because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the revolutionary centre of the world. And when we talk of these problems, we talk with absolute sincerity, and we talk with absolute disinterestedness, and we who talk did not attain revolutionary power in some bourgeois elections but by fighting, arms in hand; we talk on behalf of a people who for six years have been unflinchingly and unhesitatingly resisting the snares and threats of imperialism! We talk on behalf of a people who did not hesitate for the sake of strengthening the revolutionary movement, for the sake of strengthening

the socialist camp, for the sake of firmness and determination in defence of the revolution against the imperialists, did not hesitate to risk the dangers of thermonuclear war, of nuclear attack against us, when in our country and on our territory—with absolute and full rights, which we never renounce, and in an absolutely legitimate action, which we never regret—we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic missiles on our territory! And, besides, not only did we agree to have them brought in but we did not agree to have them taken out! And I think this is absolutely no secret to anybody.

We are talking on behalf of a country and a people which are receiving neither Yankee credits nor food for peace, and we have not the slightest relations with the imperialists—that is to say, in matters concerning revolutionary convictions and sincerity, we did not need anybody to teach us; no, not anybody, just as nobody had to teach our emancipators of 1895 or 1868 the path of independence and dignity—we, the people of the First and Second Havana Declarations, which we did not copy from any document, but they were the pure expression of the deeply revolutionary and highly internationalist spirit of our people.

As this has been the feeling and as this has been the thought of our revolution, proved whenever there was need to prove it and proved without hesitation of any kind, without compromise of any sort, and without contradiction of any type, that is why we have the right to ask—as many other people must ask—who benefit from this discord if not our enemies.

And of course we have the full right, the full and absolute right—and I don't think anybody dares question it—to ban such discord and such Byzantine battles from our country and from among our people.

And it is appropriate to have it known that here it is our Party which makes the propaganda! That here it is our Party which draws up the policies! That here these are matters belonging to our jurisdiction! And that if we don't want the apple of discord here, just because we don't like it, nobody can smuggle it in here! And that our enemies, our enemies, our only enemies, are the Yankee imperialists! Our sole irreconcilable contradiction is with Yankee imperialism! The only adversary against whom we are ready to break all swords is imperialism!

Our position is one: We favour that Vietnam should be given all the help necessary!

We favour that help should be given in weapons and men! We favour that the socialist camp should run the necessary risks for Vietnam!

We are very much aware that in case of any serious international complication, we will be one of the first targets of imperialism, but we are not worried by it and it has never worried us.

What this means is that, with all its frankness and all its sincerity, our reasonable and dispassionate position emanates from the right to think, emanates from the right to reason and emanates from our legitimate and inviolable right to adopt the measures and act in the sense we think more just and more revolutionary, without anybody entertaining the illusion of giving us lessons as revolutionaries.

**And I hope that the mistake of underestimating and ignoring the idiosyncrasies of our people will not be com-**



mitted, because Yankee imperialism made many mistakes of this type, one of whose characteristics was contempt for others, contempt for and underestimation of small nations. And this imperialism made the big and gross mistake of underestimating our revolutionary people; it would be a pity if others made similar mistakes. Our sincere policy has been and is to unite, because we are not and will never be anybody's satellite!

Great are the dangers that threaten us, but they are not to be fought with the Byzantine discords, with academic chatter. No! They are to be fought with revolutionary firmness, revolutionary integrity, the readiness to fight. The imperialist enemy is not to be fought effectively in any part of the world with the revolutionaries divided, with the revolutionaries insulting each other, with the revolutionaries attacking each other, but with unity, with cohesion in the revolutionary ranks. And to those who don't believe that this is the correct tactic for the international communist movement, we say that for us, here, in our small island, in our territory, in the first trench, 90 miles from the imperialists, it is the correct tactic!

And we will adjust our line and adjust our behaviour to that way of thinking.

Despite this absolutely clear stand, this unmistakable expression of the will of our people and of the line we intend to pursue, the Chinese Government has increased the delivery and massive distribution of propaganda material in our country, both directly from China and through its diplomatic representatives.

On September 12, the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces reported that a massive distribution of such material was being systematically carried out by the Chinese Government representatives among officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. That propaganda was being sent to the General Staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, to the staffs of the armed services, to the staffs of the army corps, to the divisional staffs, to the staffs of the commands of various military branches, to the leaders of the sections of the political department, and, in many instances, directly to the personal address of officers of our armed forces.

**That on occasions Chinese representatives tried to contact Cuban officers directly, and in some cases even approached officers obviously on missions to win them over, either for the purpose of proselytism or perhaps for the purpose of intelligence.**

Likewise a massive distribution of propaganda similar to, though not so intensive as, that mentioned in this report of the Armed Forces Ministry was being carried out among numerous government civil officials.

This was a really unusual thing, one that no single sovereign state, no single self-respecting government would ever tolerate; **it was a flagrant violation of the most elementary norms of respect which must exist between socialist countries and even between non-socialist ones.** Our revolutionary state could not permit this kind of presumption to influence military and administrative cadres through actions that betray the confidence, friendship and brotherhood with which our country receives the representatives of all socialist countries.

This was why on September 14 we had to express our indignation and our protest in the strongest terms to the

Charge d'Affaires of the Chinese People's Republic, in the absence of the Ambassador, and demanded that such activities should cease. We explicitly told the representative of the Chinese Government that **these methods and practices were exactly the same as those employed by the U.S. Embassy in our country in its attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba and in one form or another impose its will on this nation;** that our country had liberated itself from that imperialism 90 miles away from our coast; that **our country would not accept similar practices being imposed on us by another powerful country 20,000 kilometres away;** that we frankly considered the attitude of the representatives of the Chinese Government to be an encroachment on the sovereignty of our country and harmful to the prerogatives that exclusively belong to our Government within our frontiers; and that, whatever the cost, our Government would not tolerate such things.

After dilating on these points with plenty of arguments and strong adjectives, **we expressed our protest against the smear campaign against the Cuban revolution which has been launched in some parts of the world by elements closely connected with the Chinese Government.** From our point of view, this event adds to the seriousness of the disrespect shown by the Chinese representatives towards our demands in connection with the massive distribution of propaganda material involving matters of a political nature.

In spite of that warning, which was formulated in the most precise and peremptory terms, the Chinese Government and its representatives, with the insolence of the omnipotent and an absolute contempt for our country, shipped in for distribution in Cuba more than 800 cases of bulletins containing political propaganda material.

After the meeting referred to, they continued to arrive as follows:

#### In September:

Bulletin No. 37	200 copies
Bulletin No. 38	190 copies
Bulletin No. 39	3,816 copies

#### In October:

Bulletin No. 40	7,448 copies
Bulletin No. 41	6,816 copies
Bulletin No. 42	4,827 copies
Bulletin No. 43	10,043 copies

#### In November:

Bulletin No. 44	7,178 copies
Bulletin No. 45	2,671 copies
Bulletin No. 46	2,204 copies
Bulletin No. 47	2,668 copies

#### In December:

Bulletin No. 48	1,274 copies
Bulletin No. 49	910 copies
Bulletin No. 50	1,552 copies
Bulletin No. 51	4,311 copies
Bulletin No. 52	1,559 copies

#### In January:

Bulletin No. 1	1,099 copies
Bulletin No. 2	1,075 copies
Bulletin No. 3	1,200 copies

The total number of bulletins sent to Cuba from abroad after the direct and personal warning given by the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister of the Government: 58,041.

Similarly, after that date, tens of thousands of other bulletins and material of a political nature, printed or gathered by the Chinese representatives in Cuba, were distributed.

The propaganda material referred to kept arriving uninterruptedly to the Staff of the Armed Forces, and to the staffs of the armed services, of the army corps, of the divisions, of the commands of the military branches, and to the heads of the sections of the political department in spite of the fact that the Charge d'Affaires of the People's Republic of China told us on September 14 that he would inform the Government of his country and would reply to our demands. Not the least explanation whatever came from the Chinese Government, it kept carrying on its activities, and **it replied in a very obvious and clear way when our trade delegation arrived in China to discuss trade exchange for 1966 in the form of brutal retaliation of an economic nature for purely political reasons.**

It is natural that these activities will cease. Now that this is explained, we are entitled to ask:

How could the Chinese Government pretend that the Cuban Government should go humbly to the higher levels

to beg, to implore, that they should give us a loan, that they should accept the 800,000 tons of sugar, that they should send us 115,000 tons of rice in exchange, that they should allow us a trade imbalance as in previous years, since from the very first moment we understood the **obviously extortionist position on the part of China during the trade negotiations?**

This pretence by the Chinese Government can only be explained as an expression of absolute contempt for our country, and utter ignorance of our people's nature and their sense of dignity. It was no longer a matter of more or fewer tons of rice, more or fewer square metres of cloth, though it affected that, too, but a matter of very much greater importance, fundamental to the peoples, namely: whether in the world of tomorrow the powerful countries will be able to take on themselves the right to blackmail, exercise extortion against, pressure, commit aggression against and strangle other smaller peoples; whether there will also prevail in the world of tomorrow, which revolutionaries are struggling to establish, the worst methods of piracy, oppression and filibustering that have been introduced into the world ever since the emergence of class society, ever since the rule of slavery, feudalism, absolute monarchy, the bourgeois states and, in the contemporary world, the imperialist states.

Fidel Castro  
Prime Minister of the Revolutionary  
Government of Cuba

## Anti-China Hysteria in Cuba

**A** FOUL anti-China hysteria has been stirred up in Cuba by its propaganda machine working full blast since Prime Minister Fidel Castro issued a lengthy anti-China statement on February 6.

All Cuban papers gave demagogic headlines to Castro's anti-China statement. *Granma*, organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, devotes the whole of its front page to boldface headlines, in five different types and 20 lines, attacking China. The main headline reads: "Reply of Fidel to Statements of Chinese Government: Chinese Government Has Betrayed Good Faith of Cuban People, It Has in Fact Joined in Yankee Imperialism's Blockade of Cuba; We Must Say Two Things: Chinese Statement Involves Great Hypocrisy and Reveals Contemptuous Attitude Towards Other Peoples." The sentence, "Chinese Government Has Betrayed Good Faith of Cuban People," printed in type larger than the masthead of the paper, takes up one-fourth of the page.

Meanwhile, the radio stations in Havana broadcast Castro's anti-China statement again and again, day and night, insulting China a thousand and one times. In subsequent days, they broadcast further items attacking China.

The paper *Granma*, in its issues of February 7, 8 and 9 published statements, resolutions and letters,

which it claimed to have come from Cuban governmental and people's organizations and schools, expressing support for Castro's anti-China statement, reported "militant meetings" held by some organizations, and printed anti-Chinese cartoons and photos. The paper's editorial board announced in a note on February 9 that it "has received thousands of telegrams supporting the Cuban leader's stand on the question." On February 11, the paper carried a list of about 300 names of Cuban organizations and photostats of some letters, under the eight-column headline: "Support for Fidel's Reply to Chinese Government."

Under the headline: "Fidel's Statement Has Aroused Worldwide Reaction," the paper rounded up press comments acclaiming Castro's anti-China statement, from the United States, Britain and other imperialist countries, and also from Poland and Czechoslovakia. Among the U.S. papers quoted are the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Journal-American*, the *New York World-Telegram & Sun*, and the *New York Post*. The *New York Herald Tribune* is quoted as saying that more than a problem of economic character, it is due to the insistent distribution of Chinese propaganda material among the Cuban armed forces.

# Castro Speaks of Unity, But Has Chosen a Split

— Belgian C.P. Weekly

*The official publication of the Belgian Communist Party, the weekly "La Voix du Peuple," carried a commentary on January 14 entitled "Castro, in the Wake of the Soviet Revisionist Leaders."*

*The following is what the commentary says. — Ed.*

**C**ASTRO speaks a lot about imperialism, Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the communist movement.

As a matter of fact, he has chosen his camp. Castro is under the thumb of the Soviet revisionist leaders. Politically, ideologically and economically too.

From one compromise to another, one quickly does an about-face.

Castro, who speaks of unity, has chosen a split. Castro, who speaks of "respect" for fraternal Parties, hurls mean and insidious calumnies at China at a mass meeting, in the midst of Havana, and by chance, as it were, just before the opening of the conference of the three continents.

Castro declared, in particular, that he had proposed to exchange two tons of Cuban sugar for one ton of Chinese rice and had thought that this barter would have a long-term validity.

He also let it be known that China was trying its best to curtail trade with Cuba . . .

In fact, it is a scandalous, completely hypocritical speech, one that deliberately stands truth on its head and seeks to fuel the anti-Chinese attacks.

## Castro Joins Anti-China Chorus

— N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Ceylon

*N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party, in a press release issued in Colombo on February 10 exposed Fidel Castro's recent anti-China statement. It was published by "Kamkaruwa" (Labour) on February 18 under the title "Castro Joins Anti-Chinese Chorus." The following is what it says. — Ed.*

**F**IDEL CASTRO hit the news with violent denunciation of the People's Republic of China which even shocked many diplomatic circles. Politically informed circles had long been expecting this development. Cuba has for some time been drifting rapidly down the path of revisionism—propelled down this path by Soviet aid amounting to one million rubles per day. Castro had gradually been won round to the policy of peaceful coexistence with the U.S.A. on the understanding that he does not support any anti-U.S. revolutionary movement in Latin America. This agreement

was engineered via Moscow. No wonder that we have not heard any recent denunciation of Cuba by Johnson."

"Castro, of course, had to pay the price for this peaceful coexistence. He had to attack the common enemy of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Castro used the opportunity of the opening of recent tri-continental solidarity conference at Havana to launch his attack on China. He shocked delegates to this conference by lyingly attacking China as having refused to sell rice to Cuba. One of the Ceylonese delegates to this conference mentioned that this episode immediately lowered Cuba's influence among the delegates of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Cuba's reputation suffered further when China replied and exposed Castro's lies.

"Now, Castro has resorted to vituperatives—without any facts. How this speech must have warmed the hearts of Kosygin and Johnson—present-day patrons of Castro! But it has surely seriously damaged



Cuba's revolutionary image in the eyes of all revolutionaries. To vituperously attack a country singled out by U.S. imperialism as its main enemy cannot be a certificate of one's own anti-U.S.-imperialist attitude."

"What has happened to Cuba is tragic. But all progressives must recognize that it has happened. The extent or degree to which Cuba has departed from the revolutionary path can be gauged not only from the exit from the Cuban political scene of one of its foremost leaders, E. Che Guevara, but also of other foreign political refugees who had found asylum in Cuba and who now find the political climate there inconvenient."

Many instances can be given of Cuba's complete subservience to Soviet revisionism. Concerted effort

was made to pack the recent tri-continental conference held at Havana with revisionists and to keep away the revolutionaries. I know of one instance. I was in Peking last December. A Left-wing Colombian working in Peking was invited to attend the Havana conference. He got his Cuban visa and then went to the Soviet Embassy in Peking for a Soviet transit visa, as the only way of going to Havana was through Moscow. The Soviet Embassy refused visa. Back he went to the Cuban Embassy and explained the situation. He was asked for his passport. He willingly gave it. It was returned to him after a few minutes with the Cuban visa cancelled.

"The trouble is that once you start sliding downwards you inevitably end up at the bottom."

## Who Are Applauding Castro's Anti-China Statement?

UNDER the headline "Reactions to Castro's Anti-China Statement," the February 22 issue of *Renmin Ribao* devotes one page to press, news agency and radio comments from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia on Castro's February 6 anti-China statement.

These reactions show that the statement has won applause from the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of various countries. They promptly cranked up their propaganda machines to turn out calumnies against China.

In the Soviet Union, Castro's statement came as a godsend for **Radio Moscow**. For its own motives, the radio broadcast this anti-China statement 17 times in its Chinese language programme on February 8 and 9. It quoted Castro's words attacking China, saying that the statements of a responsible official of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade to present the facts regarding the question of Sino-Cuban trade were "extremely insidious," and that the points made in the official's statements were "based on distorted facts" and were "shameful."

The radio broadcast whole passages of Castro's statement vilifying China as showing "absolute contempt" for Cuba, "utterly ignoring" Cuba's "dignity," "taking on itself the right to blackmail, exercise extortion against, pressure, commit aggression against and strangle other smaller peoples," and resorting to "the worst methods of piracy, oppression and filibustering that have been introduced into the world ever since

the emergence of class society . . . and, in the contemporary world, the imperialist states."

In the United States, the **Washington Evening Star** in an editorial on February 9 wrote that Fidel Castro's unrestrained attack on the Chinese Government "leaves no room for doubt that he has cast in his lot with Moscow in its bitter ideological war with Peking. He could hardly do otherwise, of course. His very existence depends on a continuation of Soviet aid, which amounts to around one million dollars a day."

An article in the **New York Times** of February 10 hailed Castro's anti-China statement as "a landmark in Cuban policy." It said that one of the tentative hypotheses as to why Castro attacked China was that "perhaps having secured further Soviet economic concessions, he agreed to make return payment by excoriating the Chinese." The **New York Herald Tribune** in an editorial on February 12-13 called Castro's anti-China statement an "all-red thriller" and said that it would await his "next instalment." It pointed out that the statement "may be in preparation for the open division of the communist world into two separate, warring camps."

The British paper, the **Times**, in an editorial on February 7, said, "No matter what the reasons for his [Castro's] action, the rest of Latin America will breathe more easily. Dr. Castro may well maintain the propaganda thrust for revolution among his neighbours. But deeds are now less likely to follow words."

In an editorial entitled "China, Cuba and Coexistence," the British weekly, **Tribune**, said on February

11 that Castro "knows that, living only 90 miles from Florida, the need for coexistence . . . is essential."

The French newspaper, *le Monde*, in an editorial on February 8 said that "the economic as well as political reasons . . . are powerful indeed" to drive Castro to "an [anti-China] outburst." His "choice" . . . thus gives the Soviets a particular cause for satisfaction."

It added: "In any case, people abroad will not fail to note that the Cuban Prime Minister's virulent diatribe coincided with the presence in Havana of Mr. Patolichev, Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade, to negotiate a new trade agreement between Cuba and the Soviet Union."

An article in another French newspaper, *l'Aurore*, of February 7 said: "What is Cuba after? First of all, beyond the revolutionary fancies that have come to nothing, it is trying to start anew. Would not a renewal of contact with Washington be eventually facilitated by the breaking of ties with the big yellow brother? . . . About all this, Moscow rubs its hands with glee. . . ."

The West German weekly, *Der Spiegel*, carried an article in its February 14 issue, which said that Castro's anti-China outbursts were "the result of pressure" exerted by Moscow. "Year after year," it wrote, "the Soviet Union has been pouring one million dollars a day into Castro's coffer; and year after year, Cuba's

economy has become more and more dependent on the Soviet Union. Now the time has come for the Kremlin to get its bonus. . . . When he delivered his speech pouring abuse on that yellow blackmailer and thereby risked a public rupture, a man from Kremlin was fixing his gaze on him behind his back. That man was N.S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade, who came to Havana to assure Cuba of more Soviet aid."

The Indian newspaper, the *Hindustan Times*, in an editorial on February 8 wrote: "Latin American jitters about a pro-Castro revolution have led to an Organization of American States move. That Havana and Peking are at loggerheads now should be some comfort to the O.A.S."

**Api Pantjasila** (the Flames of Pantjasila), a newspaper of the Indonesian Rightists, carried a short commentary on February 7 acclaiming Castro's anti-China outbursts. "Castro has mercilessly lashed out at China. This is a fine example of upholding one's self-respect," it said.

The Yugoslav paper, *Borba*, in a commentary on February 8 echoed Castro's charge that China was guilty of retaliation, blackmail and "interference in internal affairs." It slandered China as having "attempted to interfere" in the domestic affairs of Asian and African countries.

## South Vietnam Battlefield

# Mounting U.S. Casualties

**People's Armed Forces Won 20 Major Victories in Eight Months . . .  
13,000 U.S. Invaders Put Out of Action . . . People's War Will Win**

**T**HE period from the end of May 1965 to January 30, 1966, during which the south Vietnam liberation armed forces often fought directly against American troops, is a milestone in the south Vietnamese people's war of resistance.

Before the end of May 1965, the south Vietnam liberation armed forces had mainly dealt devastating blows to the U.S.-equipped and -led puppet troops and had showed the world that U.S.-armed quisling troops were no match for the ill-equipped people's forces.

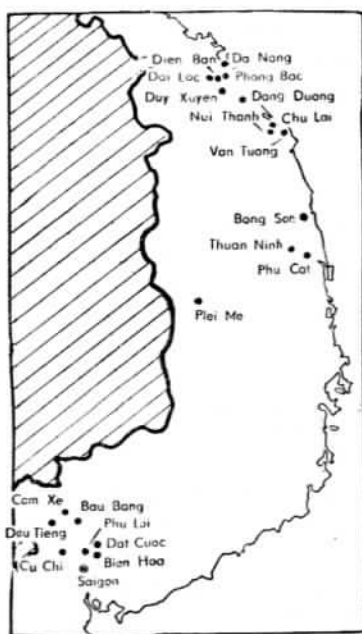
However, eight months ago, when Washington decided to throw large numbers of American troops into actual combat, many people were doubtful as to whether the people's forces could beat them. But the victories by the liberation armed forces over the last eight months have been a stout reply in the affirmative. In 20 large-scale battles alone, they put out of action nearly

13,000 U.S. aggressors including 10 U.S. battalions and 15 U.S. companies, shot down 160 aircraft, and destroyed over 140 amphibious armoured cars and tanks.

In the course of direct combat against the U.S. aggressors the liberation armed forces have rapidly grown in strength. From being able to beat ordinary U.S. troops, they are now able to defeat "ace" American troops. From being able to knock out one U.S. company in a single battle, they are able to knock out whole U.S. battalions. From being able to ambush U.S. troops on the move, they are now able to encircle and put out of action concentrated units.

Despite Washington's increase of American troop strength in south Vietnam to more than 200,000 during the eight-month period, U.S. troops are suffering heavier and heavier casualties. This is fresh proof that the strength of a people's war is inexhaustible.

## SCENES OF MAJOR VICTORIES



Sketch map by Lu Yu

Locality	Number of U.S. Troops Put Out of Action
Nui Thanh (May 27, 1965)	139
Da Nang (July 1, 1965)	193
Phong Bac (Aug. 9, 1965)	360
Van Tuong (Aug. 18-19, 1965)	919
Bien Hoa (Aug. 23, 1965)	nearly 300, including satellite troops
Thuan Ninh (Sept. 18, 1965)	200
Phu Cat (Oct. 10-14, 1965)	363
Da Nang and Chu Lai (Oct. 27, 1965)	600
Plei Me (Nov. 1-18, 1965)	1,700
Dat Cuoc (Nov. 8, 1965)	500
Bau Bang (Nov. 12, 1965)	2,040
Cam Xe (Nov. 20, 1965)	over 500
U.S. army billet in Saigon (Dec. 4, 1965)	over 200
Dau Tieng (Dec. 5, 1965)	one U.S. battalion put out of action and another badly mauled
Dong Duong (Dec. 8-18, 1965)	600
Cu Chi (Jan. 8-19, 1966)	1,289
Dai Loc, Dien Ban and Duy Xuyen (Jan. 10-17, 1966)	over 300
Cu Chi (Jan. 23-27, 1966)	over 260
Bong Son (Jan. 28, 1966)	over 500, including satellite troops
Phu Loi (Jan. 30, 1966)	over 300

## Foreign Press Review

### South Vietnam Tunnels Snare And Scare Invaders

Among the many tactics which have frustrated the American aggressors and their mercenaries in south Vietnam, one of the most effective is the people's "sophisticated" tunnels. Many bourgeois journalists marvel at this "maze" of "ingenious" tunnels and wonder how it could be built with crude tools. The answer is quite simple. When millions of people, determined to defeat foreign marauders, start digging, they can work miracles. Tunnel warfare is a product of people's war and is possible only in a people's war.

A number of American and Japanese correspondents have recently described the invaders' fear of tunnel warfare. Following are some excerpts from their reports.

#### Ingenious and Indestructible

The Japanese paper *Yomiuri Shimbun* on January 20 published a dispatch from Saigon entitled "Viet Cong Tunnels" by its special correspondent Nakazawa. He writes:

The U.S. troops failed to find any Viet Cong in the recent "search and destroy" operation in the Iron Triangle north of Saigon. However, they found a network of tunnels.

Although I could not determine its whole size, the system was so vast that the Americans were very

surprised. It stretches about 50 to 60 kilometres in length. Situated under solid ground and rock, it could withstand any heavy bombs dropped by the B-52's. It would be a terrific job for the U.S. troops to try to destroy the vast complex.

Below is an account given by an Australian soldier, William Hall, 21, of his experiences in the search operation:

The Viet Cong tunnel I entered on January 9 was built under an ordinary small hut. I went in with a flashlight in my left hand and a gun in my right. I was so scared that I felt as if I was entering hell.

I was bruised on the head the moment I entered. I made a left turn at a point only three feet from the entrance, and then a right turn. I could only inch forward gingerly with the help of the flashlight.

We were supposed to be on the "march," but in fact we "crawled." The tunnel is half a man's height. We were very careful not to make even a little sound, we were deadly nervous.

We had no means of contact with each other, for the tunnel is too narrow to bring in our walky-talkies and wireless sets.

Our fears grew as we crawled, because the tunnel is such a complex that the Viet Cong might sneak in and jump you at any point. Call me a coward if you like, but I couldn't hide my fear in the tunnel. Just figure it out for yourself: you must be on all fours, move inch by inch on the uneven floor, and all in the dark. When you come across a trapdoor, you have to open it, knowing that at that very moment you might





South Vietnamese guerrillas at a tunnel entrance

be blown up. Even if it doesn't happen, you are already scared into a cold sweat.

The tunnel is an awful complex, with caves and dugouts here and there, and also such hideous creatures as centipedes and scorpions. More horrifying still are the handprints left by the Viet Cong on the cave walls—perhaps just a few seconds ago. I bet you would shiver at the thought that they might be waiting for you just round the next corner.

### A Huge Maze

Malcolm W. Browne, an Associated Press correspondent in Saigon, in his book *The New Face of War*, writes:

About twenty miles north of Saigon is an area covered mostly with jungle and rubber plantations, which Americans have dubbed "the Iron Triangle." It is a roughly triangular tract of wilderness about a hundred square miles in area in which all efforts to drive out the Viet Cong so far have proved ineffective.

One of the reasons is a vast network of tunnels the guerrillas have dug throughout the area. The tunnels are interconnected in a huge maze, with camouflaged ventilation holes extending to the surface every fifty yards or so.

All efforts to wipe out this tunnel system have failed. Tanks have sometimes crushed sections of tunnel, but never all the tunnels. Smoke generators operated by diesel engines have been ducted into the tunnel works, but they never seem to smoke out all the enemy. Demolition charges have blown out long stretches of tunnel. Entrance holes have been found under stoves in peasants' huts, and sealed.

But with molelike perspicacity, the guerrillas go on digging, and the tunnels continue to expand.

"It wouldn't surprise me to learn," an American officer told me, "that one of these damn tunnels leads right under my desk in Saigon."

The idea is far-fetched, but not as impossible as it sounds.

Over the years, the Viet Cong has built solid, cleverly concealed fortifications in many thousands of hamlets, against the day when it may have to use them. Innocent-seeming paddy dykes are studded with gun ports; apparently accidental holes in the corners of fields actually are machine-gun emplacements; tall trees contain snipers' nests, and even graveyards become enormous bunker systems.

Assaulting a Viet Cong tunnel network is normally an exhausting and bloody business, resulting in heavy friendly casualties. The ground over and near the tunnels is invariably studded with thousands of concealed spile foot traps—another specialty of Viet Cong ingenuity. These traps, made of upright nails with barbed points, easily penetrate the sole of a combat boot, and painfully incapacitate a soldier stepping on one.

Mines and booby traps add to the difficulty of clearing a tunnel field, and snipers are invariably posted at ventilation holes.

"One of them stood up and shot at me," a wounded American captain told me once. "I saw him and drew a bead, but he ducked down just as I fired. I started moving cautiously toward the place. I saw him disappear, when another shot came from another spot about fifty yards away. That was the one that got me. I believe it was the same sniper, using another hole."

Entrance holes to tunnels or weapons depots are sometimes underwater in the bank of a canal or water hole, and are accessible only to swimmers who know where to look.

### It's a Strange World

John Wheeler, another Associated Press correspondent in Saigon, had this to say recently:

It's a strange world in the multi-tiered tunnel system.

Hundreds of allied troops have fallen under the guns of tunnel-dwelling Viet Cong.

The Second Brigade of the U.S. 25th Division, including the famed Wolfhounds of the 27th Infantry, has been plagued with sniper fire even at brigade headquarters ever since the unit moved to Cu Chi.

Those who have followed the tunnels respect the ingenuity, determination and tenacity of the Communists.

The ground is brick-hard around Cu Chi. But using only crude tools, the Viet Cong went down 40 feet (12 m.) and thousands of tons of dirt was scattered widely to prevent detection of openings.



# ROUND THE WORLD

## Indonesia

### White Terror Rampant

Since October 1 last the Right-wing forces in Indonesia have been massacring Indonesian Communists and other innocent people en masse. According to doctored official statistics, altogether 78,500 have been murdered in cold blood in Bali, East Java, Central Java and North Sumatra alone. This was revealed by a "fact-finding commission" formed in accordance with a decision of the Supreme Operational Command (KOTI). These figures were given in a report of the commission carried in the Indonesian paper *Angkatan Bersendjata* (Armed Forces) on February 10 and 11.

The report admitted that the victims were mainly Communists; others were killed simply because of "incitement" or "misunderstanding." According to the report, the local officials who furnished the statistics, "have tried, with or without intention, to cover up or minimize in their reports the number of the dead." It added that in many areas no figures have been collected thus far and "in some other areas, the action is still going on." Many more thousands have been detained. The commission made a rough estimate of the number under arrest as follows: 25,000 in East Java, 70,000 in Central Java and 11,000 in North Sumatra, or a total of 106,000 people in these three areas alone.

## India

### Food Crisis Worsens

Riots took place both within and without India's Lok Sabha (House of the People) in mid February as the Indian Government came under sharp attack for its handling or rather mishandling of the increasingly serious food situation. At the budget session which started on February 14, members of the opposition vociferously took Mrs. Gandhi's new government to task. The House, ac-

cording to the *Times of India*, "witnessed an unprecedented turmoil which climaxed the debate on the food situation." In the three-hour debate, opposition M.P.s demanded an immediate inquiry into the "police excesses in Kerala and the food muddle." The Food Minister, Subramaniam, who was supposed to explain the situation, "was not allowed to proceed and he had to wind up abruptly his speech." Speaker Hukam Singh, having failed to call the excited M.P.s to order, "suggested in obvious annoyance that he might as well leave the House and allow the members 'to settle the matter among themselves,'" the Press Trust of India reported.

Some Congress members also joined the opposition in censuring the Government. A few days earlier, at the ruling Congress Party's 70th annual convention, Party leaders had tried all kinds of tactics to divert the members' attention from the food problem. But they failed. Both Kamaraj, the Congress Party President, and Chavan, the Defence Minister, again harped on the well-worn theme of Chinese "aggression"; they and the new Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, sought cheap applause by calling for continued Indian oc-

cupation of Kashmir. Despite all these efforts, DPA reported that a revolt broke out against the Congress leadership. "Since independence," the same news agency recalled, "the Congress leadership has never faced such a determined revolt against its policies."

India's hungry masses too are losing their patience. When the parliamentary debates were going on, several thousand people staged an anti-hunger demonstration outside the Lok Sabha. In Calcutta, more than 10,000 government employees and students demonstrated to demand adequate grain supplies. Police opened fire, wounding 50, and arrested a large number of students. In Kerala, students went on a hunger strike demanding an increase in the food ration and the release of fellow students thrown into jail during previous hunger strikes.

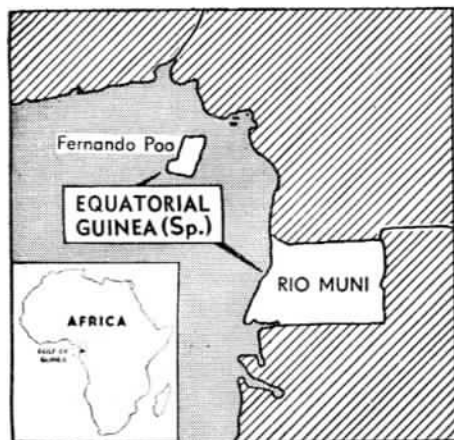
## Africa

### Spark of Armed Revolt

The sparks of armed revolt have been struck in one more part of Africa. The latest to join other guerrilla forces fighting for freedom on the continent are the people of Equatorial Guinea, which, situated in West Africa's Guinea Gulf, consists of the islands of Fernando Poo and Annobon, the Corisco and Elobey



A crowd in Calcutta waiting for ration cards



islands, and Rio Muni on the mainland.

A Spanish colony since 1778, Equatorial Guinea was nominally granted "internal autonomy" in 1964 by the Franco regime, which nevertheless through a Governor in Santa Isabel maintained its rule over this 28,000 square kilometres of land peopled by 250,000 Africans.

The first engagement against the Spanish colonial troops took place recently in the town of Guadalupe in the district of Mongomo. The Spaniards lost several automatic weapons and the insurgents are using them to carry on the fight. A press release issued in Accra, capital of Ghana, and signed by Jesus Mba Ovono, Secretary-General of the People's Idea of Equatorial Guinea, announced: "Our first groups of the future liberation army of Equatorial Guinea have taken positions in the mountains of Rio Muni and started military operations against the Spanish colonialists."

Like everything newly born, the revolutionary force in Equatorial Guinea may indeed be not powerful at the start. But once the people there have embarked on the road of armed struggle, a struggle against the oppressors, they are sure to grow in strength and finally to achieve liberation. As the same press release has declared: "Although we do not have many weapons or much equipment with which to beat our oppressors, we have the most powerful weapon — our faith in our fatherland and our very strong desire for independence and dignity."

## U.S.A.

### Uproar on Capitol Hill

"Gray capital, gray debate" is how the American magazine *Newsweek* describes the quarrel over Vietnam that is going on in Washington, which, in the words of a veteran Senator, has become "a wretched one-topic town."

The current session of the 89th Congress, already labelled "the Vietnam Congress" by the American press, is one at which the Johnson Administration's Vietnam policy has been strongly assailed.

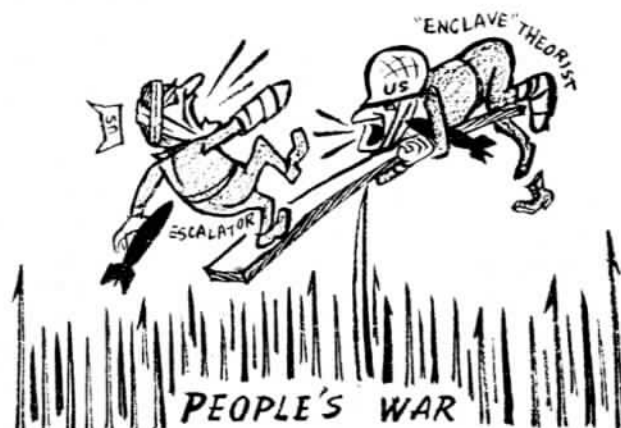
It all began with hearings on Johnson's request for an additional \$415 million for military spending. More important, it is taking place against the background of the serious defeats which Washington has repeatedly suffered both in its widening war of aggression, and in its notorious "peace offensive." Three similar debates occurred in 1965 but none was so heated as the current one. This shows that the difficulties now confronting Washington must also be greater than the previous ones.

Two basic "schools of thought" emerge from the debate. The escalators who, for fear of a general collapse of the American position of aggression as a result of the defeat in south Vietnam, advocate greatly intensified warfare in the hope of arriving at a military solution at any cost. And the "de-escalators," who, seeing a dismal picture ahead, dissent from Johnson's escalation venture and urge a strict limitation on the extent of military operations in Vietnam. Be they escalators or "de-escalators," all of them have one thing in common and the one and same thing in mind, i.e., how to better serve U.S. global strategy as a whole. Their only difference is a matter of tactics and the method to be used in the aggression.

One exponent of the "de-escalators" is retired General James Gavin, whose "enclave" theory asks the U.S. Government to hold on to Saigon and some seaboard perimeters and, in the words of his chief supporter, George Kennan, wait "for the simmering down of hostilities and then see what it gives." In addition to Kennan, who is a former chairman of the policy planning commission under the State Department and one time ambassador to Moscow, Gavin's views are shared and endorsed by Chairman Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Matthew Ridgway, who experienced the bitterness of defeat in the Korean war and thinks it a folly to engage U.S. troops in an Asian land war.

Among those who favour a wider war is Maxwell Taylor, co-author of the "Staley-Taylor Plan" and former "ambassador" to Saigon. Now a special adviser to the U.S. President, Taylor at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee proclaimed that the risks involved in an expanded war were warranted because of "the importance of our [U.S. imperialist] stake in South-east Asia." Opposing the "holding strategy" proposed by Gavin and Kennan, he reiterated his "four-point" strategy which includes increased U.S. capability in ground combat and intensified bombing of north Vietnam. His war cries created such tumult that the Committee Chairman had to rap for order.

Neither school, however, is ready to give up the policy of aggression



On the Razor's Edge

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an



in Vietnam and so neither is really able to extricate the Johnson Administration from its difficulties.

### Latin America

## Hitting the Colossus of the North

The struggle of the Brazilian people against U.S. imperialism as reported last week (*Peking Review*, No. 8, pp. 30-31) is but one instance of the reaction in Latin American countries to Washington's brutal economic plunder and palpable political and military intervention. In the 1950s and early '60s, U.S. Big Business drained out of Latin America a total of \$29,300 million in profit and interest, plunging the economies of nearly all the countries there into plights that go from bad to worse. Now a new anti-U.S. storm is sweeping the whole of the continent which Washington likes to consider its own "backyard."

In the Dominican Republic, where the struggle against Yankee imperialism erupted last April, another nationwide general strike began on February 9. While in Santo Domingo jittery U.S. paratroopers, who have donned "bullet-proof vests" and equipped themselves with infra-red

anti-sniper devices, made a house-to-house search for arms, the strike spread to other parts of the island country. Near Barahona city, plantation workers burnt down more than 1,000 acres of sugar-canes in protest against Yankee aggression. The former Minister of the Armed Forces in the "provisional government," Rivera Caminero, has been forced to flee from the capital and board a frigate to escape to the U.S. As AP reports, the climate of uncertainty persists in the country.

In Ecuador, the struggle against the Jijon dictatorship has continued ever since the present military junta came to power in mid-1963 through a U.S.-engineered coup. Jijon has sold out the national interests. While U.S. corporations are exempted from all taxation and provided with all kinds of privileges, the financial deficit of the country has reached 1,000 million sucres. The price of consumer goods has gone up by 100 per cent since Jijon took over. A new anti-U.S., anti-Jijon movement gathered strength late in January and by the early part of this month it had spread to seven provinces. During this time three demonstrations were held before the U.S. Embassy which was stoned by angry students on February 11. The day

before, the U.S.-Ecuador Cultural Centre in Quito was attacked for the third time. The demonstrating students and workers cried "Down with the arch culprit — U.S. imperialism!" "Down with the accomplice of U.S. imperialism — the military dictatorship!"

In Chile, a 48-hour general strike began in the middle of this month in solidarity with the workers of the El Teniente Copper Mine who have been on strike for 42 days for a wage increase. The U.S. Kennecott Copper Corporation, which owns El Teniente, together with another U.S. firm now jointly control more than 90 per cent of Chile's copper production. In the past 40 years or so, these two U.S. companies have reaped at least \$3,000 million in profits on an investment of \$500 million.

Other strikes against U.S. monopoly capital in the last few months involved workers of the Demerara Bauxite Company in British Guiana and Colombian workers of the gold-mining Choco-Pacifico Company.

All these outbreaks and others like them constitute a strike movement on the continent which is noteworthy for its long duration and broad participation and in some cases for the intensity of the struggle.

---

## NEWS NOTES

### "Asia Foundation" Uprooted . . . Information Please . . . Fishing in Scenic Spots

The office of the "Asia Foundation," one of Washington's strongholds for spying and subversion in Phnom Penh, has been told by the Royal Cambodian Government to cease operations as from March 1. The reason was given by Prince Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, who declared: "At a time when the safeguarding of our independence and neutrality has become such a serious matter, we will be running risks if we allow U.S. espionage and subversive agents freedom of action." Activities of the foundation were

banned in Burma as early as 1962.

The United States has allowed the racist Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia to set up an "information office" in Washington though, according to State Department press officer McCloskey, the U.S. Government still considers the Smith regime "illegal." In Salisbury the "state of emergency" has been extended for another three months to allow the white racists to continue their suppression of the local African people's resistance. Maybe this is the kind of information Washington

finds useful in coping with the mounting American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination.

A U.S. fishing boat was recently detained by the Colombian Navy while fishing in Colombian territorial waters. The U.S. Ambassador to Bogota rejected the charge by saying that the boat "was merely enjoying the scenery of the Colombian coast." When the Colombian Government produced evidence that the boat, when intercepted, still had its net in the water and was carrying tons of fish commonly found in Colombian waters, some U.S. Senators threatened to "take military action." Several days earlier, the Mexican Navy also intercepted a U.S. shrimp boat poaching in Mexican waters.

## Chinese Art in U.S.S.R.

An exhibition of Chinese paintings, graphic art and sculpture held in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev from November last year to February this year, attracted lively comment among the Soviet people.

The 117 items on display portrayed the life of the working people in China, their devotion to the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and also the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

At the end of the show the visitors' books contained many expressions of high praise of the exhibits. A Kiev visitor wrote that through the exhibition "I see the struggle being waged by the Chinese people under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas." A Moscow visitor wrote, "Your vivid creations point the way for the development of art. You have successfully portrayed the joy of creative labour, a devoted spirit in defending the country, hatred towards the enemy, and the unity of the Party and the people."

In the Leningrad visitors' book, there is an entry signed "yours sincerely, engineer," reading: "Dear Chinese friends: thank you for the ideas you have conveyed! Thank you for your paintings! You are men of mettle!" Another visitor wrote: "Splendid! It shows most convincingly that the new life of the Chinese people has given birth to a new art. There is not the slightest doubt that socialism will triumph."

Traditional-style Chinese paintings aroused special interest among visitors. A Moscovite described them as excellent — portraying the life and struggles of the people of New China by using traditional national techniques in the presentation of contemporary themes. "I thank the Chinese painters, who are on the right road, refusing to

follow the decadent trends of the West," this visitor wrote.

Chinese posters also favourably impressed the Soviet public. Here is a typical comment: "The posters are superb in technique and colour, in militant spirit and ideological content. They give expression to the spirit of modern China."

Another visitor wrote, "We are glad that Chinese artists do not stand off from the fighting people. They range themselves alongside the people of Vietnam, the Congo . . . and the Negroes fighting for their rights." A "retired woman worker" wrote: "I like very much the picture captioned *Study Chairman Mao's Works, Bring Up Communist Successors*. It reminds me of V. Mayakovsky's posters urging us to heighten our vigilance and struggle for socialism."

Nevertheless, there was also a handful of people who made use of this cultural exchange as an occasion to denigrate China.

In Moscow on December 13, a certain "visitor" took out his notebook and copied from it vicious anti-China remarks. He wrote in the visitors' book such slanders as that China was guilty of the "cult of the individual" and that the Chinese people lived "in misery." Another man slanderously described the exhibits depicting the Chinese people's struggle in defence of their homes and country and the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation as "militaristic," "sabre-rattling" and "a threat to the United States." Still another, giving vent to his bitter hatred for socialism, wrote: "It is just for show, almost the same as in the days of Stalin, or even worse. What a dismal picture!"

But the same visitors' book registered many other entries which roundly refuted these anti-China slanders. Some of the visitors indignantly crossed out the slanders with a red pencil and wrote down their own impressions in praise of

## Vietnamese Ensemble in Peking

The visiting Song and Dance Ensemble of the Vietnam Democratic Republic captivated a Peking audience at their first performance on the evening of Feb. 22. Their songs from the fighting fronts of Vietnam and dances depicting the anti-U.S. struggle were rousing and enlivened. That evening Vice-Premier Po I-po received and had a cordial talk with the members of the troupe and went on stage to congratulate them on their successful performance.

Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi received them on Feb. 19 and was present at the banquet given in their honour by the Chinese Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

the exhibition. They wrote: "Long live revolutionary China!" "The Chinese people are creating new things for their country, are changing their age-old backwardness. There is no question at all of 'just for show,' as written earlier by those who dropped in because they had nothing to do outside."

Another visitor wrote: "These works brim with life and revolutionary spirit, and reflect the new life. Those who try to deny the importance and role of this exhibition must be philistines!"

Many other visitors expressed their warm friendship for the Chinese people and their leaders. One of the entries in the visitors' book reads: "Please convey our heartfelt gratitude to the Chinese leaders and all the Chinese people. Thank them for the magnificent art and revolutionary spirit of these works." Another said: "Salute to you, New China! It is 30 years now since I visited you, and I can hardly recognize you now. Grow, blossom, and rejoice!" A retired worker said, "Everybody rejoices at the achievements of the fraternal Chinese people. Long live the friendship between our two peoples!"

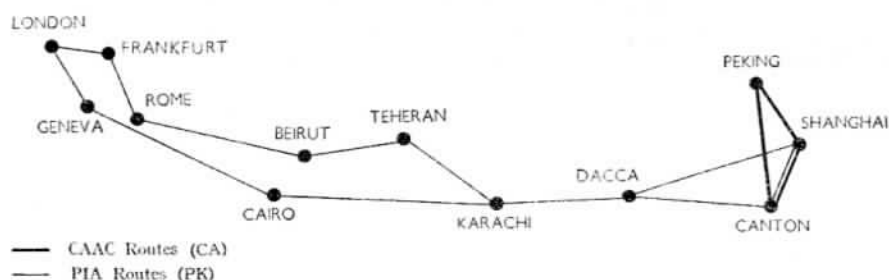


# PAKISTAN INTERNATIONAL AIRLINES

## RESUMES TWICE A WEEK JET FLIGHTS

**DACCA — CANTON — SHANGHAI — DACCA** (Every Wednesday)

**DACCA — SHANGHAI — CANTON — DACCA** (Every Saturday)



Schedule as from March 1, 1966

(All Times Local)

Sat. PK 753 720-B F/T	Sat. CA 035	Wed. PK 751 720-B F/T	Wed. CA 053	Wed. CA 031	DAYS FLIGHT No. AIRCRAFT CLASS	Wed. CA 032	Wed. PK 750 720-B F/T	Sat. CA 036	Sat. PK 752 720-B F/T
...	05.20	...	08.30	12.10	d PEKING	a 21.10	...	22.25	...
20.00	10.40 11.40	20.30	11.15	↓	d SHANGHAI	d 19.00	...	20.05	18.25
21.50	14.25	↓	...	15.55*	d CANTON	d 17.30	17.15	16.35	↑
22.50	↓	↓	...	...	d DACCA	a 16.25	...	...	12.10
00.50	...	22.55	...	...			11.10	...	
Sun. PK 711 720-B F/Y	Thur. PK 705 720-B F/Y	DAYS FLIGHT No. AIRCRAFT CLASS				Wed. PK 702 720-B F/Y	Sat. PK 708 720-B F/Y		
02.00	00.30	d DACCA	a	...	10.20	10.50			
04.25	02.55	d KARACHI	d	...	06.00	06.30			
07.30	07.30	d TEHERAN	a	...	03.25 Wed.	03.35 Sat.			
08.45	↓	d BEIRUT	d	...	↑	23.35			
09.25	...	d CAIRO	a	...	...	22.55			
10.10	...	d ROME	d	...	...	19.20			
11.10	...	d GENEVA	a	...	...	18.20			
↓	10.15	d FRANKFURT	d	...	21.05	↑			
13.20	11.15	d LONDON	a	...	20.05	14.25			
13.00	↓		a	...	...	13.45			
14.00	13.10		d	...	↑	...			
↓	13.50		a	...	14.30	↑			
15.40	↓		d	...	13.50	12.10			
16.30	15.10		a	...	...	11.20			
17.50	...		d	...	12.30	10.00			
Sun.	Thur.			...	Tues.	Fri.			

Traffic Rights Sha.-Can./Can.-Sha. for International Passengers only

\* connecting PK 750/751

GENERAL AGENTS FOR PAKISTAN INTERNATIONAL AIRLINES  
**GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AVIATION OF CHINA**