

# PEKING REVIEW

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Socialist Cultural Revolution

## ON "THREE-FAMILY VILLAGE"

— The Reactionary Nature of "Evening Talks  
at Yenshan" and "Notes from  
Three-Family Village"

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*The "Shanghai Spring"  
Music Festival*

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# PEKING REVIEW

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## Socialist Cultural Revolution in Shanghai

LIKE the rest of the country, China's biggest metropolis, Shanghai, is in the midst of the socialist cultural revolution. The broad masses there—workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres and revolutionary intellectuals—raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, have opened fire on the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line that has appeared in the cultural field.

Shanghai, with its one million industrial workers, has a glorious revolutionary tradition. Over the last 17 years, the people of this city, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, have unceasingly pitted themselves against bourgeois ideology on the cultural front. Especially after Chairman Mao issued in September 1962 the great call never to forget class and class struggle, they have exerted further efforts in upholding proletarian ideas and eradicating bourgeois ideas in the realm of culture. The struggle reached a new stage in November 1965, following the publication of Yao Wen-yuan's *Comment on the New Historical Drama "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office"* which exposed Wu Han's anti-Party and anti-socialist activities. Extensive criticism of the drama followed. In May this year, another article by Yao Wen-yuan exposed the "Three-Family Village" anti-Party gang (see p. 5). Since then, the movement is gathering momentum in this big city.

Workers and peasants in Shanghai got together to hold meetings to voice their criticism; some wrote articles overnight, some asked their sons or daughters to write down their views. Seamen who had just come off ship joined meetings to criticize the "Three-Family Village." Local newspapers, radio broadcasts, and factory wall newspapers all carried articles rebuking the clique. Some 7,000 articles and letters from readers flowed into the editorial department

of the *Jiefang Ribao* (Liberation Daily) in nine days.

Two characteristics highlight the cultural revolution in Shanghai. First, the broad masses take part in this great struggle armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Secondly, the workers, peasants and soldiers have become the powerful main force in this revolution.

Since last year, more and more Shanghai people have been consciously studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, arming themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. With the power of deep insight so acquired, they immediately discerned the reactionary nature of the "Three-Family Village."

The extensive participation by the labouring masses in this struggle on the cultural front has given it a new look. Imbued with class sentiments, they express their deep love for Chairman Mao and intense hatred for their class enemies. In their speeches at meetings or in articles published in the local newspapers, they have all expressed their firm resolve to thoroughly expose and defeat the "Three-Family Village" gang and defend the Party and socialism.

Speaking of the significance and nature of this struggle, the masses analyse it as "an acute, complex, protracted, life-and-death class struggle,

a class struggle without guns," "a struggle that is vital for the building of socialism and communism, for the future of the world revolution." They say that "imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries in various countries constitute the international 'Three-Family Village' opposing us, whereas Teng To, Liao Mo-sha and Wu Han are the domestic 'Three-Family Village,' one supplementing the other and working in co-ordination to restore capitalism in China."

While workers in the city and rural commune members on its outskirts cited facts since the 1958 big leap to refute the slanders of Teng To and his clique, office workers and revolutionary intellectuals also have joined in the criticism, determined to defeat the "Three-Family Village" gang's plot to bring about a "peaceful evolution" in China.

In this struggle, a contingent of theoretical literature writers has been formed by the workers, peasants and soldiers to repudiate those anti-Party, anti-socialist "authorities" and "experts." The appearance of this contingent indicates the irresistible tendency that workers, peasants and soldiers will occupy the dominating position in cultural affairs and that reactionary bourgeois "authorities" and "experts" will be overthrown.

## National Finance and Trade Conference

A NATIONAL Conference on Finance and Trade took place recently in Peking.

Delegates to the conference reviewed finance and trade work in 1965. They held that an excellent situation prevailed on various national fronts in 1965 and that the situation in the field of finance and trade was also excellent. During the year, with the increase in production, market conditions became still more stable and prosperous; state revenue

and expenditure were balanced, and showed a surplus; currency circulation was satisfactory; the socialist position in the market was further strengthened and expanded and the people's livelihood was improved still more. Foreign trade, too, increased during 1965.

This was a conference at which the participants raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, further put politics first and developed criticism and self-criticism

in the spirit of rectification. It was also a conference where ways and means were discussed for the further building up of the people's finance and trade.

Particularly noteworthy is the marked progress in political work done in the financial and trading departments last year. A mass movement to study Chairman Mao's works among all financial and trading workers has developed to a high tide and many outstanding units and individuals have come to the fore in the movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. They have become the sturdy backbone that gives impetus to the revolutionization in both ideology and work of financial and trading workers. The socialist education movement and the movements to learn from the Chinese People's Liberation Army, from the Taching Oilfield and the Tachai Production Brigade have developed deeper. Financial and trading workers in general have raised their class consciousness to a higher level, strengthened their stand in class struggle and brought about a tremendous change in their outlook. The idea that finance and trade were part and parcel of the revolution has been going deeper into the hearts of the people.

The conference held that the fundamental question in present financial and trading work is to concentrate our best efforts to put politics first still more. To put politics first means to put Mao Tse-tung's thinking first. For this purpose, close attention must be devoted to the following points:

First, we must study and apply Chairman Mao's writings in a creative way and give particular stress to the application of what we have learnt; we must regard Chairman Mao's writings as the supreme directive for all the work in financial and trading departments and always give priority to the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings.

Second, while taking class struggle and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism as the key link, we must adhere to the policy of "developing the economy

and ensuring supplies," persist in the stand of serving production and the well-being of the people and firmly maintain the viewpoints of politics, of production and of the masses.

The conference regarded building the commerce, finance and banking of China in the interests of the people in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thinking as a great and glorious historic task now confronting the financial and trading departments. The basic condition for running our finance and trade in the interests of the people is to build up a revolutionary contingent of financial and trading workers who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and are "red and expert," that is, an extremely proletarian and highly militant financial force. Financial and trading workers must be trained into staunch fighters without thought of personal fame or profit, fearing neither hardships nor death and devoted wholeheartedly to the revolution and the people. They are required to become a contingent doing not only economic work but political work and mass work as well.

The conference called upon all workers in finance and trade to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, resolutely and persistently put politics first, put politics in command over all financial work, promote the revolutionization of men's ideology, run the people's commerce, finance and banking even better, and speed the development of the social productive forces so as to strive for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of China's Third Five-Year Plan.

### **Weightlifting Tournament of New Emerging Forces**

The 1966 Weightlifting Invitation Tournament of the New Emerging Forces successfully ended on May 24, after five days of hard competition. Two world records were shattered and another equalled, while 19 records set at the First GANEFO were broken.

The tournament, with competitors and observers from 12 Asian, African and European countries and regions, was organized by the Chinese National Committee for the

GANEFO and the Chinese Weightlifting Federation. Over 60 weightlifters, many of them holders of world, national or GANEFO records, competed in eight weight classes at Peking Gymnasium. Their participation signified a new victory for the people's unity against imperialism.

Among those who packed the gymnasium at the opening ceremony on May 20 was Vice-Premier Chen Yi. The crowd of six thousand gave the teams a big hand as they marched in. Chung Shih-tung, chairman of the tournament's organizing committee, extended a warm welcome to all the participants who had come to Peking in defiance of intimidation and sabotage by U.S. imperialism, old and new colonialism and their lackeys. "This," he said, "is a positive expression of the solidarity of the people of the world in their struggle against imperialism and a great contribution to the promotion of sports among the people all over the world." Stressing the importance of developing sports independent of imperialist control and manipulation, he said: "The tournament abundantly shows that it is the common desire of the people of the world to strengthen friendly ties in sports in the spirit of promoting friendship, mutual advancement, common progress and solidarity against imperialism. No reactionary force on earth can stop this."

#### **World Records**

On the third day of competition, China's featherweight Hsiao Ming-hsiang broke the world record in the clean and jerk twice in quick succession and equalled the world record in the three-lift total. In his third attempt, Hsiao jerked 155 kg. and then did 157.5 kg. to smash the world record of 153.5 kg. held by another Chinese weightlifter, Chi Fa-yuan. His three-lift total was 397.5 kg. which equalled the world record set at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics by Yoshinobu Miyake of Japan.

On the same day, China's lightweight Teng Kuo-yin pressed 145.5 kg. to chalk up another world record. The previous world record was 145 kg. set by Yevgeny Katsura of the Soviet Union.

# ON "THREE-FAMILY VILLAGE"

## — The Reactionary Nature of "Evening Talks at Yenshan" and "Notes from Three-Family Village" —

by YAO WEN-YUAN

ON April 16, 1966, the fortnightly *Frontline* (*Qianxian*) and the *Peking Daily* (*Beijing Ribao*) published some material under the title "A Criticism of Three-Family Village and *Evening Talks at Yenshan*" with an editorial note. The note says:

Our magazine and paper published these articles without timely criticism; this is wrong. The reason is that we did not put proletarian politics in command and that our minds were influenced by bourgeois and feudal ideas, and hence in this serious struggle we lost our stand or vigilance.

This is a gross lie. The author of *Evening Talks at Yenshan* is Teng To, while *Notes from Three-Family Village* represents a "gangster inn" run jointly by Teng To, Liao Mo-sha and Wu Han. Teng To was the editor-in-chief of *Frontline*, and he controlled and monopolized the leading posts in the ideological and cultural work of Peking Municipality. He and his cronies of Three-Family Village made *Frontline*, the *Peking Daily*, the *Peking Evening News* (*Beijing Wanbao*), etc., instruments for opposing the Party and socialism, pursued a rabid anti-Party, anti-socialist, Right opportunist, i.e., revisionist, line and served as spokesmen of the reactionary classes and the Right opportunists in their attacks on our Party. Could this be just a case of "loss of vigilance" and of publication "without timely criticism"? After letting loose so many vicious blasts against the Party and socialism, how can they claim that their minds are only a little "influenced" by bourgeois ideas? We must thoroughly expose this huge swindle.

Everyone still remembers that at the start of the criticism of Wu Han's drama, *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, Teng To feigned a correct posture. After hectic plotting, he used the pen-name Hsiang Yang-sheng and wrote a long article, "From *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* to the Theory of Inheriting Old Ethical Values", which appeared simultaneously in the *Peking Daily* and *Frontline*. This article, which was designed to save Wu Han under the guise of "criticizing" him, was a thoroughly anti-Party and anti-Marxist poisonous weed. Does the prominence given by both the *Peking Daily* and *Frontline* to Teng To's article "criticizing" Wu Han merely show a "loss of vigilance"? Merely a "relaxation of the class struggle on the cultural and academic front"? No, not at all. Their vigilance is very high. They spared no effort in their class struggle against the Party and the people. When they saw that the problem of

Wu Han could no longer be glossed over, Teng To hastily came out with a fake criticism; but one who had always acted a negative role could not act a positive role convincingly, and so left a great many holes. Then, as soon as it became clear that even Teng To could not be saved, they hastily wrote another fake criticism in the name of the editorial departments, stubbornly fighting back to prevent the struggle from going deeper. But this sham was even more obvious, and there were even more holes. They are trying to deceive people by this talk of not putting proletarian politics in command and not making a timely criticism, hoping by their bogus criticism of Teng To and Three-Family Village to fool the readers and the Party into believing that they are on the side of truth.

How can they clear up the problem by taking such an attitude? How can they "carry out serious criticism"? The editorial note says that Wu Han "time and again . . . spoke on behalf of the Right opportunists who were dismissed from office". This was something which they first tried to cover up but which they now have to admit because it was exposed earlier on. The editorial note also says that Liao Mo-sha was "a protagonist consciously opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought". But the reference to Teng To towards the end simply says that he "glorified dead men and stubbornly advocated learning from them. . . . He propagated a large number of feudal and bourgeois ideas, opposing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought." No mention, however, is made of his anti-Party, anti-socialist activities, which makes the whole thing hard to believe. Do the countless poisonous weeds in the 150-odd articles in *Evening Talks at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* just advocate "learning from dead men"? Do they just propagate feudal and bourgeois ideas? Do they represent only an ideological mistake and not a political problem? Is it logical and credible that two out of the three brothers in Three-Family Village are anti-Party and anti-socialist, while the third who actually did most of the writing merely advocates "learning from dead men"? Starting with a great flourish and then petering out and making a fake criticism in the hope of slipping by, they are simply putting on a show of criticism to resist the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party. Isn't this clear enough?

The material under the title "What Did *Evening Talks at Yenshan* Actually Advocate?" compiled to sup-

port the editorial note covers two whole pages of the *Peking Daily*, and yet it too tries to gloss over the sharp political questions. The sub-titles of the various sections read: "Distorting the Party's Directive 'Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend', Advocating Complete Freedom for Bourgeois Ideas"; "Idealizing All Aspects of the Feudal Social System"; "Using Corpses from Old Feudal Times to Resurrect the Bourgeoisie"; "Propagating the Exploiting Classes' Decadent Philosophy of Life"; and "Using Ancient Things to Satirize the Present and Attacks by Innuendo". Sub-titles reveal the tendency and judgement of editors. This method of editing suggests to the reader that *Evening Talks at Yenshan* contained little or nothing which was opposed to the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao or which supported the Right opportunists, and was different in character from *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. Prominence is given in the first section to the distortion of the Party's policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", while "Using Ancient Things to Satirize the Present" is put at the end with a few mild comments and one or two examples for the sake of appearances. Anyone with a discerning eye can see at a glance what the editors are up to.

When we investigate the matter, however, we find that it is not at all as they present it. A great mass of political comments, which grossly slandered the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, supported the Right opportunists and attacked the General Line and the cause of socialism, are either left out or abridged, while some of the most obviously vicious comments using ancient things to satirize the present and oppose the Party and socialism have been included in other sections in a deliberate attempt to make them stand out less; and there is not a single word about the pernicious nationwide influence of *Evening Talks at Yenshan*. On the other hand, excerpts which did not touch on vital problems are presented with a great fanfare. There is an attempt to turn big issues into small ones and slip through. In particular, the editors have concealed the fact that the mass of articles attacking the Party written by Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha during this period were not produced independently of each other but were produced by the partnership of Three-Family Village, which was under command and had a plan and clear co-ordination. Wu Han was in the van and Liao Mo-sha followed close behind, but of these three warriors the real "commanding general", the manager and boss of the Three-Family Village gangster inn was none other than Teng To himself.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "We must firmly uphold the truth, and truth requires a clear-cut stand." ("A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*") In a sharp and complex class struggle, all sorts of disguises are bound to be encountered. Only when we hold high and in prominence the revolutionary banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, adhere to principle, persist in the truth, and speak out clearly without

mincing our words to expose the true nature of things, can we avoid being taken in by disguises. Since *Frontline* and the *Peking Daily* have suddenly raised the problem of *Evening Talks at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* but are concealing the truth, it is obviously the duty of all revolutionaries to make a thorough exposure of the reactionary character of these writings. Despite the jumble of trash in them, once we make an analysis we can see that they consistently follow a single black anti-Party and anti-socialist line, just as "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* do, and some dark clouds have been raised up over China's political skies in the last few years. It is now time to reveal the inside story of this big Three-Family Village gangster inn more fully.

### **How Did *Evening Talks at Yenshan* and *Notes From Three-Family Village* Come on the Stage?**

*Evening Talks at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* came on the stage close on the heels of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. They formed a deliberate, planned and organized major attack on the Party and socialism, master-minded in detail by Three-Family Village. One look at the time-table will give us a clear picture of what happened.

*Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* was published in *Peking Literature and Art (Beijing Wenyi)* in January 1961. Today, the reactionary nature of this drama has become increasingly evident. It directed its spearhead precisely against the Lushan meeting and against the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with a view to reversing the decisions of that meeting. The clamorous message of the drama was that the dismissal of the "upright official Hai Jui", in other words of the Right opportunists, was "unfair" and that the Right opportunists should come back to administer "court affairs", that is, to carry out their revisionist programme. It was then the urgent desire of the author to support a Right opportunist come-back and resumption of office so as to bring about the restoration of capitalism. This was also the common desire of the "brothers" of Three-Family Village.

The drama was praised and supported by certain people as soon as it was published; and the "brothers" of Three-Family Village went wild with joy in the belief that their vanguard had won the first round. Rubbing his hands with glee, Liao Mo-sha wrote in the *Peking Evening News* on January 2, 1961, "After the winter drums have sounded, the spring grass begins to grow. . . . An all-out effort will begin in spring." This was early spring for Three-Family Village. Then, on February 16 Liao Mo-sha wrote an open letter to Wu Han, "congratulating" him on "breaking through the door and dashing out . . . in order to encourage people to greater efforts". He suggested "a division of labour and co-operation" between "history" and "drama". On February 18 Wu Han in his role as vanguard replied to his "elder brother", "May I suggest to you, brother, that you too break through the door and dash out?" And he added boastfully, "You say I have broken

through the door and dashed out; you have hit the nail on the head. That is precisely what I have done. This door must be broken through." What an aggressive posture, what brave airs! It really looked as if he meant to fight it out. He believed that the time for the offensive had arrived and that with the production of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* the winter drums had sounded and the gang should ready themselves for "an all-out effort".

On February 25, 1961, one week after the shout, "This door must be broken through!", Wu Han in an article "Meetings of 'Immortals' and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contending" burst out with the statement, "We must have a series of meetings of 'Immortals' at different levels right down to the grass roots. . . . Since the men at the grass roots are doing practical work and are in touch with reality, their problems are more concrete, striking and concentrated." He called on all those at the grass roots level "with misgivings in their hearts" to go into action. He shouted about "clearing away all obstacles along the forward path of contention by a hundred schools". And he boasted smugly, "Perhaps I can be rated as an intellectual, having studied for more than forty years, taught in universities for some twenty years, and written several books." Thus he considered that, with his capital and the backing of the bosses behind the scenes, the time had come for the anti-Communist bourgeois intellectuals to take the stage and show their prowess.

In March 1961, amid this great fanfare and in the "dramatic" atmosphere of night and cloud raised by *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, immediately after Wu Han had "cleared the path" with his staff, the commanding general took the stage. With *Evening Talks at Yenshan*, he "broke through the door and dashed out" "at the suggestion of friends". Teng To said he had been "compelled to mount horse", but this is wrong. Rather, he was "begged to mount horse". After the vanguard had cleared the way, and with another "brother" wielding the whip for him, wasn't it time for the commanding general to mount horse?

Close on the heels of Wu Han's preface to *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* came *Notes from Three-Family Village*. In August 1961, when the reactionary classes in the country were intensifying their attacks, Wu Han made a special point in his introduction to the same book, "This drama lays stress on the uprightness and tenacity of Hai Jui, who was undaunted by force, undismayed by failure and determined to make a fresh start after defeat." He actively incited and supported the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office" to renew their attacks on the Party. In this preface he gloated over the way in which his friends were helping to plan his campaign and claimed that his effort was "a modest spur to induce others to come forward with valuable contributions", to "induce" many other poisonous weeds to come out. Then on October 5, 1961, in an article entitled "Show Concern for All Things" in the column *Evening Talks at Yenshan*, Teng To quoted the couplet:

*Sounds of wind, rain and the reading of books all fill my ears;*

*Family, state and world affairs, I show concern for them all.*

He declared with deep feeling that this "fully reflected the political ideals of the scholars of the Tunglin party at that time", and that "this couplet has a really profound significance". The Tunglin party was an "opposition party" within the landlord class during the Ming Dynasty. The reason why Teng To so much admired their "political ideals" was that the term "opposition party" resounded in his mind. Apparently, he felt that all the "sounds of wind and rain", all the ill winds and pestilential rains of the time, had induced such a state of restlessness that he must take a step further to live up to his "political ideals", "show concern for all things", and launch even more open attacks on the Party and on socialism. Only a few days later, on October 10, 1961, the "Three-Family Village" signboard was publicly hung up in *Frontline*, edited by Teng To, and this underground factory was turned into an open partnership. The three partners concentrated their fire, and in its first issues extremely vicious attacks, like "Great Empty Talk" and other articles, were launched against the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party.

The appearance of *Evening Talks at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* signified another offensive against the Party, which was planned, organized and under direction, following up on *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. Only by linking up the writings of the Three Families can we get to the bottom of this gangster inn's secrets.

### A Black Line and Gusts of Ill Wind

Teng To explained how the topics for *Evening Talks at Yenshan* were chosen when he said, "I often thought of, saw or heard of things which struck me as problems, and these at once provided topics." Since Teng To was in a position of leadership, what things did he see? What people did he hear talking? His remarks disclose that these evening talks were written to deal with "problems" from real life over which he felt dissatisfaction. Some of the vicious anti-Party and anti-socialist stuff was first heard and then written up by him. In all cases, the points of departure and themes of these essays were important current political issues intimately bound up with reality, and were by no means just the "idealizing of the ancients". This clue, provided by the author himself, helps us to see clearly that *Evening Talks at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* are shot through and through with the same black anti-Party, anti-popular and anti-socialist line as that followed in "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, namely, slanderous attacks on the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung; attacks on the General Line of the Party; all-out support for the attacks of the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office" in

an attempt to reverse earlier correct decisions concerning them; and support for the frenzied attacks of the feudal and capitalist forces. In step with the changes in the situation of the class struggle at home and abroad and with the different "problems" thought of, seen and heard of, they selected different lines of attack and there was a division of labour, in which they complemented and responded to each other, in whipping up a succession of black waves and gusts of ill wind.

The Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, held in January 1961, pointed out:

The great achievements of our country during the last three years show that the Party's General Line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's communes suit the realities of China . . . in view of the serious natural calamities which affected agricultural production for two successive years, the whole nation must concentrate in 1961 on strengthening the agricultural front.

The communique of this plenary session pointed out sharply:

. . . a very small number of unregenerate landlord and bourgeois elements, accounting for only a few per cent of the population . . . invariably try to stage a come-back. . . They have taken advantage of the difficulties caused by the natural calamities and of some shortcomings in the work at the primary levels to carry out sabotage. (*Communique of the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*)

These elements stirred up an anti-Party and anti-socialist ill wind, did their utmost to slander and vilify the socialist cause of the Party and the people and abused the Central Committee of the Party in a futile attempt to overthrow the Party's General Line. Serving the political ends of the bourgeois and landlord class elements who were attempting a come-back, *Evening Talks at Yenshan*, which appeared soon after the plenary session, exploited certain economic difficulties caused by the grave natural calamities to concentrate on stirring up an evil flurry of attacks on the General Line and on bolstering up the restorationist activities of the landlord and capitalist classes.

On March 26, 1961, Teng To raised the slogan, "Welcome the 'miscellaneous scholars'". Who were these "miscellaneous scholars"? According to him, they were those "with a wide range of knowledge" and knowing "an assortment of bits of everything". He said: "The noted scholars of yore could all, more or less, be classified as miscellaneous scholars." He added the warning to the Party: "It will be a great loss to us if we now fail to acknowledge the great significance of the wide range of knowledge of the 'miscellaneous scholars' for all kinds of work of leadership and for scientific research work." "Work of leadership", please note. Here is the vital issue. From these words of Teng To's it is quite clear that the "miscellaneous scholars" were none other than the unregenerate elements and intellectuals of the bourgeois and landlord

classes, a handful of characters of dubious political background, as well as such reactionaries as the "scholars" of the landlord and bourgeois classes. The motley collection of the dead — emperors, generals and ministers, scum of all sorts, feudal die-hards, and charlatans like geomancers — all of whom Teng To wrote about with great awe in his articles, have their memorial tablets in the ancestral temple of the "miscellaneous scholars". Using their "knowledge" as their capital, such characters are trying desperately to intrigue themselves or climb into leading positions at different levels and change the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In demanding that we recognize the "great significance" of the "miscellaneous scholars" for the "work of leadership", Teng To was, in effect, demanding that the Party open the door to those "miscellaneous scholars" who had taken the capitalist road and allow them to lead in "all kinds of work of leadership" and in "scientific research work" — in other words, in the academic and ideological fields — and so to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. He styled himself a first-rate "miscellaneous scholar". At that time some bourgeois elements were eagerly urging the "leadership" to "respect" their "wide range of knowledge" of how to carry out capitalist exploitation. They wanted to use this "knowledge" of theirs to change socialist enterprises into capitalist enterprises. The slogan "Welcome the 'miscellaneous scholars'" raised by Three-Family Village in support of the seizure of leadership by members of the exploiting classes must not be regarded as mere empty talk. Did not the "miscellaneous scholars" of Three-Family Village actually control a number of leading positions?

On April 13, 1961, Teng To demanded in his essay "Guide Rather than Block" that "everything" should be "actively guided to facilitate its smooth development". "Blocking the path of the movement and development of things" is "doomed to failure". "Everything", please note, including those dark, reactionary things that are anti-Party and anti-socialist. If we are to persist in the socialist road, we have to block the road to the restoration of capitalism; if we are to support all new-born, revolutionary things, we have to strike down all decadent, counter-revolutionary things. As the saying goes: "There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest." To clear the way for the tide of revolution, we must dam the tide of reaction. By demanding that instead of blocking we should "facilitate the smooth development" of "everything", including anti-socialist things, was not Teng To clearly demanding that we should practise bourgeois liberalization and bend and surrender to the ill winds which were blowing at the time, the winds of "going it alone" (i.e., the restoration of individual economy) and of the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household? "Guiding" meant paving the way, and these men styled themselves "the vanguard paving the way" — for the cap-



italist forces. Three-Family Village counted on the "failure" of socialism and the "certain triumph" of the black wind of capitalist restoration, and thought they could now openly throw themselves into the arms of the reactionary forces for the development of capitalism!

On April 30, 1961, in an essay "The Theory of Treasuring Labour Power", Teng To levelled a direct attack on us for not "treasuring labour power". Mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the landlord class in the same breath, he argued that "as far back as the periods of the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Warring States and thereabout", the exploiting classes "discovered certain objective laws governing the increase and decrease of labour power... through the experience of their rule" and were able to calculate the limits on "the labour power to be used in different kinds of capital construction". Teng To demanded that "we should draw new enlightenment from the experience of the ancients, and take care to do more in every way to treasure our labour power". Everybody knows that we give the utmost attention to treasuring labour power. In all its work the Chinese Communist Party proceeds from the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people and is wholeheartedly in their service. On the other hand, none of the slave-owner and landlord classes in history cared about anything but the insatiable and cruel exploitation of the working people, thus arousing the slaves and the peasants to one great uprising after another. How could they recognize the "objective laws governing the increase and decrease of labour power"? All this was merely an attempt to slander the General Line and the great leap forward as not "treasuring labour power" by exploiting the temporary difficulties caused by the natural calamities at the time, and a demand that we should give up the General Line of going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, quicker, better and more economical results, give up developing agriculture in a big way and abandon the revolutionary policy of energetically building a prosperous country through self-reliance, but instead use the landlord class's "experience as rulers" to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. What Teng To was saying, in other words, was this: It is "beyond your capacity" to carry on through self-reliance. This is "excessively forced". Call a halt at once. Give it up quickly and use the old methods of the "miscellaneous scholars" of the landlord class! Was this not clearly co-ordinated with the vicious attacks of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism? Had we followed this line, not only would we have had no Taching, no Tachai, no atom bombs, but we would have been reduced to an imperialist colony.

It is by no means accidental that both before and after the publication of this article, Teng To ranted in favour of learning from the Khrushchov revisionist clique. In his essay "The Way to Make Friends and Entertain Guests", he advocated "learning from" and "uniting with" countries "stronger than our own" and

said, "We should be pleased if a friend is stronger than we are." In the essay "From Three to Ten Thousand", he swore, "If a man with a swelled head thinks he can learn a subject with ease and kicks his teacher out, he will never learn anything." This was a vicious attack on our struggle against modern revisionism and a demand that we ask the revisionists in and let the wolves into the house. We want to learn from all the experience and lessons beneficial to socialist construction that the world provides, but we must never learn from revisionism. We warmly welcome the victorious development of every revolutionary cause, but we must never welcome revisionism. In his series of indirect accusations "reviling the locust tree while pointing to the mulberry", Teng To sings exactly the same tune as the Right opportunists, slandering the Party line for socialist construction as "forced" and claiming that China's only "way out" is to "learn from" the Soviet revisionist clique and practise revisionism in China.

In stirring up this evil wind, Three-Family Village raised a hullabaloo and cleared the way for the release of all kinds of monsters from confinement, collaborating from within with sinister forces from without. In league with the reactionaries in China and abroad and with the modern revisionists, it made dastardly attacks on the Party's General Line for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's communes, and painted modern revisionism in glowing colours in a vain attempt to create public opinion favourable to a come-back by the Right opportunists.

In June and July 1961 Three-Family Village let loose another vicious blast. July 1 was the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Holding high the red banner of the General Line, the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung was leading the Chinese people forward triumphantly along the socialist road amidst sharp struggles against reactionaries in China and abroad and against serious natural calamities. Not reconciled to their defeat, the domestic reactionary forces and the Right opportunists who had been dismissed from office were trying harder than ever to have the previous decisions reversed, in an attempt to negate the repudiation of the Right opportunists at the Lushan meeting and the fruits of the various other major political struggles since liberation. It was at this moment that the "brothers" of Three-Family Village shot poisoned arrows thick and fast at the Central Committee of the Party in support of the Right opportunists.

On June 7, 1961, Wu Han described another "trumped-up case" in an insidious article ostensibly written in memory of Yu Chien. He glorified Yu Chien who had been dismissed from office, calling him "unbending and simple", and a man whose "spirit will live for ever". He made a point of stating that Yu Chien had been "rehabilitated", that "Yu Chien's political enemies failed one after another", and that he was moreover appointed "Secretary of War (Minister

of National Defence)". "Rehabilitate" is a modern term which no emperor would ever have used. By using it, Wu Han betrayed what was in his mind, namely, that the proletarian revolutionaries would fail one after another and the Right opportunists would soon be rehabilitated.

On June 22, 1961, shortly after Wu Han's article on Yu Chien, Teng To published "The Case of Chen Chiang and Wang Keng". It was so blatantly vicious that the author's heart misgave him and he dared not include it in the collected volumes of *Evening Talks at Yenshan*. We can find it, however, in the *Evening Talks* column in the *Peking Evening News*. The author claims to have picked this "anecdote" up from some old books because it was so "thought-provoking". The article threw out hints about a "deliberately exaggerated and trumped-up case", but the revelation comes in the last paragraph, which reads:

By the reign of Empress Dowager Ming Su, the Sung government was growing daily more corrupt. There was no intelligent and capable prime minister at the top with responsible assistants to take charge of personnel and administration, while the local officials lower down did exactly as they pleased.

As a result, he wrote, "this case was inflated and complicated." This was venomous slander, directed against our Party and expressed in the counter-revolutionary language of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. The ostensible attack on Empress Dowager Ming Su and on the prime minister was a malevolent denigration of the Central Committee of the Party, while the statement that "local officials lower down did exactly as they pleased" was a malicious denunciation of Party cadres at various levels, a charge that the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements had been unjustly treated. He even used the modern term "inflated". What sort of thought was provoked? Was it not the thought that would pave the way for reversing the previous decisions on the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements? Was it not the thought that would release monsters to attack socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat? What is particularly interesting is the fact that Teng To pinned his hope of reversing the previous decisions on an "intelligent and capable prime minister" coming forward and seizing the leadership. To those with discerning eyes, it is as clear as daylight what kind of people he was appealing to for the seizure of power. This is the true voice of the commanding general of Three-Family Village. He refrained from including this article in the collection, but the harder one tries to conceal a thing, the more it attracts attention.

At the same time, in another article "The Prosperity and Decline of Two Temples", Teng To gave full vent to his feelings about the fate of two temples. One had had many worshippers and was "famed far and near", while the other was "in decline" and "ignored all along". For fear that others might not understand his meaning, he urged readers to apply this

to "similar situations", implying that we had cold-shouldered the Right opportunists and stopped paying tribute to them. Teng To expressed strong dissatisfaction over the fate of being "ignored all along" that had overtaken those anti-Party, anti-socialist clay idols who had fallen from their political pedestals, the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements who were utterly spurned by the Party and the people. He wanted the Party to "esteem" them highly again, to put these clay idols "in decline" back in their shrines.

Immediately afterwards, Wu Han in his preface to *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* cried even more openly, "Although Hai Jui lost his post, he did not give in or lose heart." He shouted about the need to be "undismayed by failure and determined to make a fresh start after defeat". This was the common cry of Three-Family Village at the time, and certainly not an isolated phenomenon. They not only incited the Right opportunists to try again, but also redoubled their own efforts.

On July 25, 1962, Three-Family Village came out with a most venomous anti-Communist article, entitled "Special Treatment for 'Amnesia'". They vilified responsible Party members as suffering from "amnesia", which made them "quickly forget what they have seen and said . . . go back on their own word, fail to keep faith", and become quite "capricious". They proposed "hitting the patient over the head with a special club to induce a state of 'shock' ". They were not only using exactly the same language as the Right opportunists to slander the Central Committee of the Party which they hated; they actually wanted to finish off the proletarian revolutionary fighters with one blow. What poison! Were they not hoping to render revolutionaries unconscious or kill them so that revisionism could seize power? This article was a stark revelation of their deep class hatred for the Party, an attack on our Party made completely from the stand of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

The series of facts listed above definitely proves that *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* not only represented Wu Han's personal political attitude but was a prelude to the anti-Party, anti-socialist political activities of the Three-Family Village clique in support of the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office". The members of this small clique, who pinned their hope on the seizure of power in the Party and government by the anti-Party, anti-socialist elements, stirred up an adverse current. "Like mayflies trying to topple the giant tree, they ridiculously over-rated themselves"—the slanderous attacks by this handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements could not damage the great prestige of our Party in the least, but only revealed their own criminal features, aroused the people's anger, and ended up in their repudiation by the Party and the people.

The Three-Family Village offensive was at its most frenzied from the start of publication of *Notes from*

*Three-Family Village* until March 1962, when the Third Session of the Second National People's Congress met. In the first place during this period, the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists abroad had intensified their anti-China chorus, which was very noisy for a time. At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in October 1961, the leadership of the CPSU systematized the revisionist line which it had been gradually developing since the 20th Congress, and pushed further ahead with its revisionist political line for splitting the international communist movement and restoring capitalism. In China, the reactionary classes and their political agents, aiming to come back to power, took advantage of the three consecutive years of serious natural calamities we had suffered to launch a still wilder all-out attack in the political, economic and cultural fields in a futile attempt to overthrow the Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat at the very time when we were implementing the policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising of standards".

Two articles typified how *Three-Family Village* sized up the situation during this period. The first, "On Waves" by Wu Han, appeared on January 1, 1962. With irrepressible fanaticism he hailed the "wave" that had been pounding society "during the past half year and more". He joyously declared that "this is a really big tidal wave", advertising the counter-current against the Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat as one of its achievements. He predicted that this "tidal wave" would grow "bigger and bigger". Blinded by inordinate ambition, Wu Han believed that the gang he belonged to would win and the adverse current of revisionism would become the main stream. Shortly afterwards, on February 4, in his article "This Year's Spring Festival" which later he dared not include in the collection *Evening Talks*, Teng To wrote even more explicitly, "The bitter cold of the north wind will soon come to an end. In its stead a warm east wind will blow and a thaw will soon set in on this earth." Was not "thaw" one of the terms in the out-and-out counter-revolutionary vocabulary used by the Khrushchov revisionist clique against Stalin? Blinded by inordinate ambition, this gang now predicted that by 1962 socialist New China would "soon come to an end", that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be toppled by the anti-socialist adverse "tidal wave" and "in its stead" there would be a Right-opportunist or revisionist regime, that *Three-Family Village* would gain greater influence and would be able to do whatever it wanted. Comrades, you can see how eagerly this group wished China to have a revisionist "thaw"!

It was with this estimate of the situation that *Three-Family Village* launched its wild all-out offensive.

On November 10, 1961, Teng To came out with his article "Great Empty Talk" in *Notes from Three-Family Village*. In ostensibly criticizing a child's poem, he indirectly condemned the statement that "the East wind

is our benefactor and the West wind is our enemy" as "empty talk", "jargon", "cliches" and "pomposity". This was a flagrant denigration of the Marxist-Leninist scientific thesis that "the East wind prevails over the West wind" as "empty talk". Teng To said, "In certain special situations such great empty talk is inevitable", hinting to readers that what he was condemning was not the child's poem but our Party's ideological weapon for carrying on the struggle and educating the masses in "special situations", that is, in the international and domestic class struggle. What was Teng To's purpose? It was to slander the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, which leads us forward, as "empty talk", to get us to abandon Mao Tse-tung's thought in our political life, and to give up the Marxist-Leninist line. He went so far as to make the arrogant demand that our Party should "say less and take a rest when the time comes for talking". If Mao Tse-tung's thought were laid to rest, would it not become possible for revisionist ideas to run rampant? This desperate denunciation of Mao Tse-tung's thought could not do it the least harm; on the contrary, it showed even more clearly that Mao Tse-tung's thought is an ideological weapon of unlimited revolutionary force which makes all monsters tremble with fright.

In close co-ordination with the above, *Three-Family Village* brought out a series of articles attacking Mao Tse-tung's thought and maligning revolutionaries. *Evening Talks at Yenshan* came out with the article "Give It Up and You Will Be on Firm Ground". Its central idea was that the Party should "give up" the General Line for socialist construction, and it ridiculed those who would not give it up for being "blind" and "looking for trouble". It demanded that the Party should "boldly give it up" so as to come down to "firm ground", i.e., the ground of capitalism. On November 25 Liao Mo-sha also published two articles, "Wherein Lies Confucius' Greatness?" and "Jokes About Being Afraid of Ghosts". In the first he sang the praises of Confucius for being "rather 'democratic' and welcoming criticisms of his theories", implying that the Party should encourage bourgeois democracy and thus allow the reactionary elements to come forward and attack Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the second he vindictively slandered Mao Tse-tung's thought and vilified revolutionary Marxist-Leninists as "braggarts . . . who claim that they are not afraid of ghosts but are actually frightened out of their wits by them". He tried to show them up as "utterly ridiculous". Everybody knows that the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese people, educated by Mao Tse-tung's thought, are not only not afraid of monsters and ghosts, but are determined to destroy all the monsters and ghosts in the world.

*"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards,  
And wild bears never daunt the brave."*

This couplet sums up the fearless heroism of the great Chinese people. Such heroism prevails over all evil trends. Liao Mo-sha even planned to edit a collection of *Stories About Being Afraid of Ghosts*. Was this not

open collaboration with the reactionaries, both in China and abroad, and the modern revisionists to defame the Chinese people who are not afraid of ghosts, to defame our Party and the revolutionaries who persist in following Mao Tse-tung's thought?

The day after the appearance of these two articles, "Two Foreign Fables" was published in the *Evening Talks at Yenshan* column as a further attack on so-called bragging. It claimed that "even now one can always and everywhere find such braggarts", and clamoured viciously, "We must not let these charlatans off lightly." Do you want revolution? Do you want to keep the interests of the country and those of the world at heart? Do you want to rely on your own efforts to overcome difficulties? All this is "bragging" and "boasting". Three-Family Village will settle accounts with you. When this article was included in the collection, the author deleted the sentence, "Instead of being overcome, difficulties will daily grow in number and seriousness." See how maliciously these men ridiculed our Party's policy of self-reliance in overcoming difficulties! They even thought that the difficulties would grow in number. A little later, Wu Han in his article "Chao Kuo and Ma Su" made use of two historical tales about what he called "talking big to impress people" and "boasting" in order to satirize the present and urge us to "review now" the "lessons of failure", the "lessons of harming oneself and others and ruining the country". Obviously, Wu Han imagined that the great Chinese people had "come to grief", that the General Line had "failed", and that the Right opportunists would soon come to power. The gust of foul wind which started with Teng To's "Great Empty Talk" was closely co-ordinated with the clamour for the advent of the Right opportunists to power. As we read these words again today, at a time when a vigorous new upsurge is taking place in China's socialist construction, we can come to only one conclusion—such anti-Party and anti-socialist "heroes" are never able to see the great strength of the masses, they are blinder than the blind in their estimate of the political situation.

Comrades and friends! These slanders and attacks, with Teng To's articles at their core, were made within such a short period of time, concentrating on the same targets and using identical terms. Is it possible that they were not organized and co-ordinated in a planned way? How frenzied they are in opposing the Party and socialism! How can we fail to be aroused to great indignation! How is it possible for us not to smash them to smithereens!

A subsequent series of articles also "breaking through the door and dashing out" directed the attack even more crudely against the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In an exceptionally savage attack they shifted the emphasis from political to organizational problems.

In an article "Is Wisdom Reliable?" published on February 22, 1962, Teng To urged the "emperor" to

"seek advice from all sides". He emphasized that "one need not plan everything oneself" and said with ulterior motives that "when a man plans everything himself, flatterers will seize the chance to say things to please him". By this he certainly did not mean that those in leading positions should listen modestly to opinions from below; what he wanted was the acceptance by the Central Committee of the Party of the revisionist line which he and his like supported. They insolently warned the Party, "one will eventually suffer heavy reverses" if "one makes all decisions oneself in the hope of achieving success with original ideas", without accepting "good advice" from "below", in other words from Three-Family Village. This was an open demand that their scheme to restore capitalism should be made the Party line and a scurrilous aspersion on the Central Committee of the Party. Their "good advice" was that we should take the revisionist road and restore capitalism, which would throw more than 90 per cent of the Chinese people back into a state of dark and cruel oppression. This "good advice" was exceedingly bad advice. Here, as on the question of fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds, the revolutionary people and the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements are diametrically opposed in their views on what is good and what is bad. They do not speak a common language.

On February 25, 1962, only three days later, there appeared another article, "The Royal Way and the Tyrant's Way". Now the Marxist theory of the state teaches us that both the "royal way" and the "tyrant's way" are ways of dictatorship by the landlord class, forms of counter-revolutionary violence. However royal in appearance, all landlord rule was nevertheless essentially tyrannical. "Benevolent government", so-called, was merely a mask for sanguinary counter-revolutionary violence. As Lu Hsun sharply pointed out, "Though the Chinese royal way appears to be the opposite of the tyrant's way, in actual fact they are complementary. The tyrant's way invariably precedes and succeeds the royal way." (*Collected Works of Lu Hsun*, Chinese edition, People's Literature Publishing House, Peking, 1963, Vol. 6, p. 10.) Teng To, however, extolled the "royal way", saying that "after all, even in ancient times the royal way was much better than the tyrant's way". Why did he eulogize the dictatorship of the landlord class in this most absurd manner? It was with the aim of making us accept the "lesson" he had fabricated: "Thus people can see at a glance how those who wanted to be tyrants made enemies everywhere and became very unpopular." He even translated this into "our language" (the language of Three-Family Village), saying that "by the tyrant's way . . . we mean the arrogant, subjectivist and arbitrary way of thinking and style of work of one bent on acting wilfully". Isn't this a tune we have heard only too often? The modern revisionists have been eulogizing U.S. imperialism, which is vainly attempting to establish world hegemony, as an angel of peace, and have been calumniating China, which is firmly opposing U.S. imperialism, as "bellicose" and "seeking hegemony". At home the reactionary

classes actively advocated the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries and modern revisionism and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples, and attacked us as being "isolated" and "making enemies everywhere". If we compare the language used, it is evident that when *Evening Talks at Yenshan* slandered those who "wanted to be tyrants", "made enemies everywhere", "became unpopular" and were "bent on acting wilfully", their target was the revolutionary line of our dictatorship of the proletariat, and they were parroting the reactionaries in China and abroad. This was certainly not merely a question of "idealizing the feudal social system", as the article in the *Peking Daily* claimed.

On March 29, 1962, there appeared the article "In Defence of Li San-tsai". The title itself was odd. Nobody in our time was attacking Li San-tsai, who lived four hundred years ago; so why this cry for the "defence of Li San-tsai"? According to the article, Li San-tsai "was a positive historical figure", a great hero who "attacked the dark politics of feudalism". But when we look up the *History of the Ming Dynasty*, we find something quite different. He was a butcher who ferociously suppressed peasant uprisings, who "used many tactics to capture and destroy big brigands and evil men", and whose life was a record of sanguinary crimes. He was an out-and-out flunkey of the landlord class, a loyal servant of the "dark politics of feudalism", who repeatedly memorialized the emperor to wipe out those he called "trouble-makers" and "big brigands" in order to "preserve for ever" the rule of the landlord class. Now what was the real purpose of "defending" such a man?

In fact, Li San-tsai was a careerist who wanted to climb into the cabinet. Because he was at loggerheads with the ruling faction of the landlord class, he kept attacking them as a member of an "opposition party", and used the slogan of "pleading for the people" in his memorials to the emperor. In this dogfight he was "dismissed from office". Teng To praised this member of the "opposition party" who was "dismissed from office" and passed him off as a great hero because he wanted to use this dead man to defend the Right opportunists. He focussed on what happened after Li's dismissal. "Even after Li San-tsai had retired to his home, charges of 'stealing imperial materials to build a private mansion' were brought against him, etc. . . . Li San-tsai wrote memorials time and again . . . but the court of Emperor Wan Li dared not make a thorough investigation." This statement, "dared not make a thorough investigation", was concocted to hint at something else, since the historical records make it clear that certain officials did go to investigate the matter. Teng To simply wanted to use it to laud to the skies the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office", to obstruct the struggle of the revolutionary people to make further investigations into their criminal activities, to have the verdict on them reversed, and to

back them in their renewed attacks on the Party by writing "memorials."

"In defence of Li San-tsai" was a sequel to *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. Li San-tsai was just another Hai Jui, another "upright official" dismissed from office. Isn't this abundantly clear?

Instances of Three-Family Village's direct attacks on the Central Committee of the Party, on Chairman Mao and the General Line are too numerous to quote. But it is clear even from some of the evil blasts after the publication of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* how shocking the secrets of Three-Family Village are, what virulent class hatred this handful of men have for the Party and the cause of socialism, and what lavish praise and support they have given the Right opportunists, i.e., the revisionists. They hoped that China would change its colour from red to black. Their "gangster inn" is an important den of restorers of capitalism, a nest of poisonous snakes which we must expose thoroughly and destroy completely. Our fighting task today is to step forward and destroy Three-Family Village and carry the revolution through to the end!

### Doing Everything Possible to Promote "Peaceful Evolution"

In addition to writings openly opposing the Party, the people and socialism, *Evening Talks at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* contained most poisonous weeds in the form of so-called "academic discussion", "textual research" and "relaxation". Under the cover of "learning useful knowledge, both ancient and modern", they launched all-round attacks on socialism. They did not merely "idealize the feudal social system" and "glorify dead men", but had their own practical political objectives. On the one hand, in co-ordination with the black line of shameless opposition to the Party, the people and socialism, they used the cover of "history", "knowledge" and "things of interest" to dull the revolutionary vigilance of the people, hoodwink more readers and extend their influence. On the other hand, they employed what is called "the gentle method of decapitation" to conduct all-round attacks on the proletarian line consistently upheld by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung in all fields, and used the ideas of the landlord and bourgeois classes to corrode the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary people in every way in order to promote "peaceful evolution". Whoever is addicted to and obsessed by all this will degenerate and become a new bourgeois element. The dual tactics of Three-Family Village<sup>1c</sup> consisted of using sharp poisonous arrows and all kinds of sugar-coated bullets.

In the very first article of his *Evening Talks at Yenshan*, Teng To put up the signboard of grasping "one-third of life". He said that "people's attention should be called to treasuring one-third of one's life [i.e., one-third of 24 hours each day] so that, after a day's labour or work, everyone can learn some useful knowledge, both ancient and modern, in a relaxed mood". Taken at face value, "one-third" referred to

one's spare time. But of course what Three-Family Village wanted was not merely this "one-third", its real aim being to subvert the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about the restoration of capitalism. But "one-third" could very well serve as a smokescreen for seizing the remaining "two-thirds". In asking everyone to read *Evening Talks at Yenshan* "in a relaxed mood", they were trying to dull the people's revolutionary vigilance; beginning by corroding "one-third of the life" of those who were not firm in their revolutionary stand, they aimed at corroding the whole of their lives and making them serve as the organized force and social basis for the Three-Family Village clique in recruiting more and more people and promoting "peaceful evolution".

Making abundant use of the form of replies to readers, Teng To spoke at length in his articles in *Evening Talks at Yenshan* of how he received young people, of how he got "enlightenment" and "suggestions" from "fellow-townsmen", "comrades", "friends", "children", "editors", "students" and "teachers" and even from the "working staff" in various departments, and of how he answered their "questions". It can be seen from all this how extensive were the activities of Three-Family Village. The spreading of anti-socialist ideas went hand in hand with these extensive activities of theirs. They poisoned the minds of some persons and pulled people over to their side. Under the cover of imparting knowledge, they feverishly tried to lure young people into the Three-Family Village gangster inn. Suffice it to mention only two examples. In "Poor, But with Lofty Ideals", Teng To said, "The day before yesterday, a young student came to see me. . . . He said that he intended to write a paraphrase in the vernacular of the *Lives of Poor Scholars* by Huang Chi-shui of the Ming Dynasty and asked me if I approved of the idea." The *Lives of Poor Scholars* is the biography of members of decayed landlord families; in particular, it is a eulogy of the "moral integrity" of the landlord class and therefore can have most pernicious influence on people today. This student was seriously corrupted by bourgeois ideology, but he had not yet made up his mind whether or not to write the paraphrase. It must have seemed to Teng To that he had hit the jackpot. He not only praised the student's intention as a "very good idea" but immediately seized the opportunity for a long political lecture, linking the work of paraphrasing the *Lives of Poor Scholars* with the idea of showing "respect" for the landlord class and of learning from its "lofty moral integrity", and insinuated that the biography could be used as an "example to learn from" for certain people "when they happened to meet with unexpected difficulties in the future". Is this not clearly a case of pushing someone down a well and then dropping rocks on him? Is this not using the student to serve the "poor scholars" of today, that is, the anti-socialist elements? Another fellow, "a student writing from the Peking Broadcasting Institute" was also strongly influenced by bourgeois ideology. Obsessed by vulgar interests, this student saw nothing but the "long hair of a certain woman on a

bus", and he asked Teng To to tell him "what inspiration we can get from such long hair". Teng To promptly wrote an article that is typical of the decadent class. He not only supported this student but also widely publicized various cases of "long-haired beauties" from the most licentious imperial courts in history. Is this not leading those who are already corrupted by bourgeois ideology further down the road of decadence and turning them into new bourgeois elements? All the young people who have been under the corrupting and seductive influence of Three-Family Village should step forward and indict Teng To and his gang for their criminal schemes.

When one looks from this standpoint at these writings advocating a reactionary ideology, their political aims are only too clear.

Teng To and his gang energetically pursued a reactionary bourgeois educational line, preparing their forces organizationally for the restoration of capitalism. Using the bourgeois theory of human nature as the basis of education, they preached that "one should, in the main, agree with Mencius when he said that 'all men are born good'". They opposed the use of the class viewpoint for analysis and for educating the younger generation in an attempt to cover up their crime of poisoning the minds of young people. They went so far as to assert that "the whole set of methods used by opera schools of the old type was in line with educational principles" and that "it should be completely adopted in every field of society". They wanted to replace the class line by the so-called principle of "employing people according to their talents" and thereby to train large numbers of successors of the landlords and bourgeoisie "in a planned way". They did their best to spread such ideas among the young people as "the method of combining teaching oneself with family tradition", "becoming a famous scholar" through "hard study", "laying a foundation" by "reading all the materials available", etc. Here the question is not merely one of seeking fame and becoming an expert in the bourgeois way; more important is the fact that they intended to corrode and drag over some people by this method, assemble a bunch of disciples of Three-Family Village, turn them into propagators of their anti-communist ideas, and transform certain young people into instruments of Three-Family Village for restoring capitalism. Using honeyed words to lure the youth to become "scholars" and "famous persons", the Three-Family Village clique harboured most vicious designs.

They persisted in a reactionary bourgeois line in academic work, preparing the intellectual ground for the restoration of capitalism. They raised the slogan of "learn more and criticize less", saying: "The attitude to take towards everything is to learn more and criticize less." They pilloried those holding the revolutionary banner high as "fault-finders", who "love to resort to censure at the slightest opportunity" and who "are bound to come to grief". What does the slogan "learn more and criticize less" mean? It means that

while they should be allowed to malign Mao Tse-tung's thought, extol landlord and bourgeois culture and strive for the restoration of capitalism by their "academic work", we should not be allowed to criticize the culture of the bourgeoisie and landlord class, and the revolutionary people are to be deprived of the right to criticize them. All this amounts to saying that the culture of the exploiting classes has to be accepted in its entirety and regarded as sacrosanct imperial edicts. The core of their reactionary academic line is attack on the proletariat, support for the bourgeoisie, the strengthening of the control exercised by their gang over academic departments and encouragement for the unrestrained growth of all poisonous weeds, including the highly poisonous ones of Three-Family Village.

The same is true of literature and art. In line with "learning more and criticizing less", they created the slogan "give equal treatment to everything". They said, "All dramatic works are equal, be the themes modern or traditional. We must give equal treatment to both." In class society, there is no such thing as supra-class equality, and equality between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie simply does not exist. The only question is who will win. Support for the revolutionary modern drama of the proletariat necessarily calls for criticism of the old drama of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. To proclaim that "there are good plays completely suited to present-day needs" in the "dramatic heritage" inevitably brings in its wake attack on and suppression of revolutionary modern drama. Their intention in raising the slogan "give equal treatment to everything" was to kill two birds with one stone: to attack all measures of full support to revolutionary modern drama as well as to boost the numerous poisonous weeds and protect them against criticism, thus making these weeds serve their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities.

They persistently upheld the reactionary moral code of the landlords and the bourgeoisie in an effort to restore the rule of the exploiting classes in the field of social relations. They recommended these classes' utterly decadent philosophy of life, including "moral integrity", "loftiness and aloofness", "patience", "money-making", etc. They advocated learning "the virtue of patience" from the reactionary philosopher Chu Hsi, the "refractory spirit" of "contempt for labour" from Chang Shih, the method of "complying with the rites by setting restraints on oneself" from Confucius, etc. They even urged the restoration of the feudal form of greeting — clasping one's own hands in front. This amounts to an open appeal for us to go back to the old China of feudalism and capitalism! Comrades! Just imagine. If all these things came to pass, wouldn't all the new communist morality and practices be trampled underfoot? Wouldn't our society be turned into a dark world with the feudal order as its standard? If we were to show respect for elements of the exploiting classes when seeing them, wouldn't it mean that the counter-revolutionaries had regained power? Wouldn't the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers be

once again subjected to cruel oppression by these "gentlemen" with "moral integrity", these stubborn elements of the exploiting classes?

As dutiful sons of the landlord class, they publicly demanded that biographies of its members should be written up. Please read this passage by Teng To:

In the past, in editing the local chronicles of various places, it used to be the practice to list the "rural gentry" and then collect data and write separate biographies of each one. If we should now compile the chronicles of Peking, we should obviously consider giving proper place to the old and young Mi's of Wanping (referring to Mi Wan-chung and Mi Han-wen, bureaucrats of the Ming and Ching dynasties respectively).

"In the past" means the era of feudalism and the period of reactionary Kuomintang rule; "it used to be the practice" means the "practice" followed by the landlords and squires, particularly the despotic landlords, and all those nauseatingly acclaimed as "rural gentry" were prominent members of this class. That "we should now" write biographies of the "rural gentry" means that the landlords and local despots, overthrown since the land reform, should be placed on top again together with their ancestral tablets and that the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants should be trodden down again by the "rural gentry". This shows that their madness knows no bounds. Responding to the call of the commanding general, *Notes from Three-Family Village* brought up this question time and again, demanding that warlords, bureaucrats, landlords and other "negative figures" be honoured with biographies. This was an attempt at restoration in the most profound sense of the term. It was precisely an attempt to increase the political capital of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and to create conditions for them to rule again over the Chinese people. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers will never permit the purposes of such criminal activities to be attained!

What has been given here is only a fraction of the relevant material. Even so, it can be seen that all the propaganda put forth under the guise of imparting "learning" and "knowledge" has a single focus — opposition to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the total negation of socialism, the effort to bring about the degeneration of cadres and young people, and the complete and out-and-out restoration of capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie" ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"). Three-Family Village relished portraying all that was decadent and reactionary, and this exposes its reactionary world outlook. Here one can see right into the rotten souls of the warriors of Three-Family Village. Wu Han has an "epigram", "Spare time is a free world where one's prime interest can roam at will." This reveals that when they donned the Communist cloak to attend meetings, do their work, give reports . . . all

this was a disguise which they assumed reluctantly, and not their "prime interest". It was during their "spare time" at Three-Family Village that their true countenance, their "prime interest", came out without inhibitions. Apart from conspiring against the Party and socialism, they indulged in gluttony and pleasure hunting, gossiped about raising cats and dogs, lauded landlords, collected antiques, played mah-jong, and cagaged in trade and in the same kind of pursuits that are common among Soviet revisionist intellectuals. They were capable of indulging in all kinds of rottenness ranging from acidly reciting the poet Tu Fu's lines, "The rich do not die of hunger, Most scholars fail in their career", to getting sweet inspiration from the "miracle of long-haired beauties". They are double-dealing hypocrites. They have put some of their ideas into words to corrupt our people and our Party.

Do you want to know the meaning of "peaceful evolution"? Then just look at the living examples of Three-Family Village. All their nasty talk, their activities and aims add up to "peaceful evolution" in the truest sense of the term. We can draw profound lessons about class struggle from these horrid teachers by negative example.

### Stratagems in Retreat

In September 1962 the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was convened. At this meeting Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued the great call to the whole Party and the people throughout the country never to forget class struggle. The meeting raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and sounded the clarion call for resolute struggle against the forces of capitalism and feudalism seeking restoration. It pointed out, "This class struggle inevitably finds expression within the Party." Deeply alarmed, the monsters and freaks of all descriptions trembled with fright. Seeing bad weather ahead, Three-Family Village began to beat a retreat, with its commanding general withdrawing first. Soon afterwards, in his "Announcement to Readers" in the fifth volume of *Evening Talks at Yenshan* in October 1962, Teng To said, "I am discontinuing *Evening Talks at Yenshan* because I have recently turned my attention to other things in my spare time."

The last essay in *Evening Talks at Yenshan* published on September 2, 1962, was entitled "Thirty-Six Stratagems". "Of all the thirty-six stratagems, to depart is best." This remark indicated that he was about to slink away. However, in collecting these "talks" in one volume, the author, fearing that this might leave a trace of his slinking away, placed this particular essay in the middle of the volume instead of at the end in disregard of the order of publication. This article says with a deep implication:

"To depart is best" was not the only stratagem Tan Tao-chi then employed; without employing other stratagems he could not have succeeded in getting away, much as he wanted to. It was thanks to several co-ordinated stratagems he employed, such as those of

deceptive military deployment and sowing discord among the enemy . . . that he succeeded in making good his retreat.

After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Three-Family Village, besides continuing its attacks, did indeed employ "several co-ordinated stratagems" with the intention of "making good its retreat" once the revolutionary people started their counter-attack. This is why they have staged numerous other fascinating performances. Let us see some of their stratagems:

1. Making the following hypocritical announcement in the fifth volume of *Evening Talks at Yenshan*:

For some time I have been compelled to "mount horse" in writing *Evening Talks*, and I now dismount in order not to feel dissatisfied with myself any more. It will not be too late to write again when there is really something to write about in future and when I feel the urge to do so.

Here Teng To was trying on the one hand to explain that he had not made deliberate attacks and that both in "mounting" and "dismounting" he was acting under compulsion and, on the other hand, to give a hint that "in future" when the situation became favourable, he would write again and start all over again.

2. Retaining their position, namely, the column of *Notes from Three-Family Village*, and continuing their attacks while writing a number of articles like the "Ode to Petroleum" as a gesture of approval for "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's policy of self-reliance" in order to cover their retreat.

3. Encouraging papers elsewhere, which, inspired by *Evening Talks at Yenshan*, had opened up "special columns for miscellaneous essays, to carry on for a long time to come" so as to retain more positions.

4. Taking down the signboard *Notes from Three-Family Village* in July 1964, lest the criticism of Liao Mo-sha's article "There Is No Harm in Ghost Plays", which was unfolded from 1963 to 1964, should expose Three-Family Village as a whole.

5. Letting Liao Mo-sha write a sham self-criticism in which he ascribed "the cause of my mistake" to "the bourgeois world outlook" which "still dominates my mind", and to his being "forgetful of the fact that classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist in our socialist society". Please note that Wu Han repeated this almost word for word in his own "self-criticism" at a later date! Liao Mo-sha added that he had "unconsciously lent a helping hand to the bourgeois and feudal forces in their frenzied attacks on the Party and socialism". Since Liao Mo-sha was a mere "helping hand" to Meng Chao, there would, of course, be no need to make an inquiry into Three-Family Village. What a wonderful stratagem!

6. After the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* began, Teng To hastily wrote a "critical" article under the pseudonym Hsiang Yang-sheng, saying that



the "guiding thought" and the "basic idea" of the play was "to propagate the moral code of the feudal ruling class" and solely "to propagate historical idealism". In doing so, on the one hand, he tried to cover up the political motive and the politically reactionary nature of the drama, thus trying to save Wu Han and to lead the discussion into a blind alley. On the other hand, he implied that such an entity as Three-Family Village did not exist and that he had "broken away from" Wu Han. Towards the end of his article, he added a line of reminder to Wu Han: "It is also my hope that Comrade Wu Han will continue to write if he has anything to say . . . to make an analysis and a study of things in a truth-seeking way." Here he was instructing Wu Han on how to make his next move.

7. Wu Han responded immediately to his call and wrote more than one article to show his "gratitude" to Hsiang Yang-sheng, while continuing his furious attacks in the name of "self-criticism". Emboldened by the backing he had received, Wu Han proceeded to lavish praise on himself and, taking over for his own use the weapon employed by Liao Mo-sha in the latter's "self-criticism", he said, "Correct thinking has not established a dominant position in my mind" and, "in a word, I have forgotten the class struggle!" Hsiang Yang-sheng's "criticism", he added, "has helped me realize my mistakes." As if this would enable him to get away!

8. Finally, seeing that the situation was getting pretty hot for them, they suddenly "criticized" Teng To in the name of the editorial departments and used every stratagem for slinking off to cover their retreat.

Can all these "co-ordinated stratagems" enable them to "make good their retreat"? They have played a great many tricks and indeed have gone to extreme lengths in cheating people. But they have seriously underestimated the ability of the revolutionary people to see things in their true light and the determination of the proletariat to carry on with the revolution. Can they lock up their secrets? Can they slip away? Led and educated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the broad masses of the revolutionary people are determined to eradicate this black anti-Party and anti-socialist line. These persons think their different stratagems very clever. Actually the things they have done are stupid and only serve to expose them. They have not only common reactionary political ideas but also a common programme of action; theirs is an anti-Party, anti-popular, anti-socialist clique of a handful of individuals. Is this not crystal clear?

In March 1962, when the frenzied attacks by Three-Family Village reached their zenith, Teng To published a poem entitled "Black Swan" in the *Peking Evening News*. One verse reads: "When the spring breeze brings dreams and the lake waters send forth their warmth, I alone have foresight!" How he exulted in his keen "foresight"! But his "foresight" has failed this time. It is the revolutionary people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought that have real foresight. Look, are

not the secrets of Three-Family Village being gradually exposed by the broad masses of the people?

### Thoroughly Uproot Three-Family Village and Eliminate the Poison It Has Spread

One cannot help asking why is it that such wild, venomous and unscrupulous activities opposing the Party and socialism on the part of Three-Family Village could have gone on for several years? Could it be that the only reason lay in "not putting proletarian politics in command"? What was put in command if not proletarian politics?

Since the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* began, people have been exposing its reactionary nature, its political motive which was to lend support to the Right opportunists, and Wu Han's ugly history of opposition to the Communist Party, the people and the revolution. But it is only when we view *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* in the context of all the activities of Three-Family Village and ascertain the latter's role in the acute class struggles of the last few years that we are able to get down to the very roots of these big poisonous weeds, uproot them thoroughly and destroy this big inn of gangsters.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." ("The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan") The fact that since the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* the Three-Family Village clique has tried to make a stand at every step and carried on the fight while beating a retreat again confirms this universal truth. In no circumstances will the reactionary classes and their representatives retire from the stage of history of their own free will. Only when the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers rise up and wage arduous struggles step by step will the proletariat be able gradually to wrest back positions from these "miscellaneous scholars".

The tentacles of the Three-Family Village clique have reached into many departments. *Evening Talks at Yenshan* has exerted a bad influence throughout the country. Under the signboard of "knowledge" and a "fine style", it attracted a number of people who lacked political discrimination. It did not lack admirers and followers in journalistic, educational, literary and art, and academic circles. Teng To himself has boasted, "The viewpoints and theses in many of the articles are approved by friends." "Letters sent to me by readers from afar have increased." "In order to satisfy readers' requests, some newspapers in other places have also adopted the same form and published special columns for miscellaneous essays which impart knowledge." A number of articles were also written to echo certain viewpoints of *Evening Talks at Yenshan*. On September 9, 1961, the *Peking Evening News* advertised the publication of these essays in boldface characters, bragging that "the author has grasped certain contemporary questions", and that they are "both rich in ideological

content and useful in enriching knowledge". The paper tried by every possible means to spread the pernicious effects of these essays among the people. As a result, they did much to corrode people's minds and spread their poison far and wide. It is imperative for the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to come forward and thoroughly expose in all their aspects the evils done by *Evening Talks at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* and conduct still more penetrating criticism. Only in this way can their bad effects be liquidated.

The course of events from the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* to that of *Three-Family Village* has been one of stirring class struggle. It is a great revolution in the political, ideological and cultural fields. Faced with so arduous and militant a task, we must dare to make revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's words encourage us: "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor"—this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") Today we very much need to give play to this principled and critical spirit which proceeds from the interests of the cause of communism. All those who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, obstruct the advance of the socialist

revolution, or are hostile to the interests of the revolutionary people of China and the world should be exposed, criticized and knocked down, whether they are "masters" or "authorities", a Three-Family or a Four-Family Village, and no matter how famous they are, what influential positions they hold, by whom they are directed or supported, or how numerous their flatterers are. On questions of principle, it is either the East wind or the West wind which must prevail. For the sake of the socialist revolution, of the defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of the cause of communism, we must have the courage to think, to speak out, to break through, to act and to make revolution.

*"The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel,*

*And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust."*

No matter how much poisonous fog or blinding dust has been spread by Three-Family Village, it will certainly be thoroughly cleared away by the spirited struggle of the millions of workers, peasants and soldiers who are armed with the "massive cudgel" of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought will penetrate all the dark corners and show up all the monsters and goblins in their true colours.

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## Victory of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking

# "Shanghai Spring" Music Festival Opens

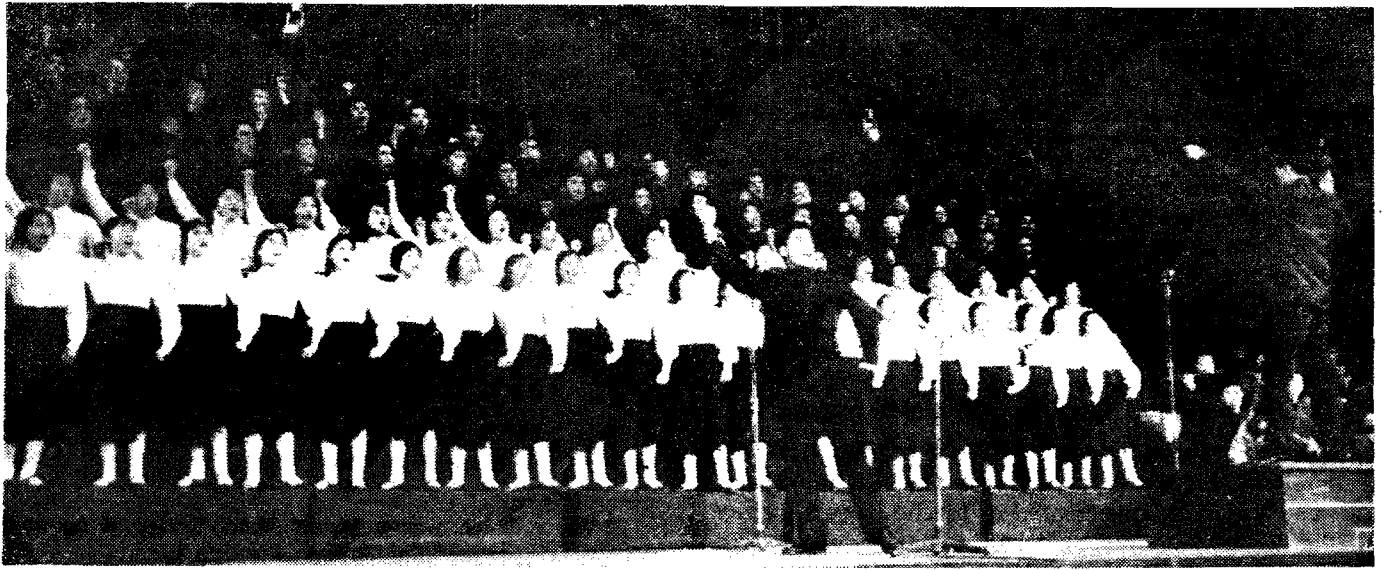
THE 7th "Shanghai Spring" Music Festival is being held this year as China's great socialist cultural revolution goes into a new upsurge. This big musical event had an impressive opening on the night of May 14 in the open-air auditorium of Shanghai's Cultural Square. Leading comrades of the East China Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and of Shanghai's municipal Party committee and government attended together with 10,000 working people. It was an exhilarating occasion. The performances were spirited throughout and greeted with thunderous applause.

### **Into the Fight Against the Anti-Party Black Line**

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung was the red line running through the whole programme. Amateur singers, dancers and musicians from among Shanghai's workers, peasants and soldiers as well as their professional counterparts took their participation in this festival as a militant act for joining in the cultural revolution. They said: "Every item is a bullet aimed against that anti-Party, anti-socialist, black line!"

*Hail the Red Banner*, a powerful orchestral composition, opened the evening. This work evokes the image of the Chinese people, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking, holding high the red banner of struggle against

imperialism and revisionism and support for the world revolution, and bravely advancing with giant strides. The subsequent items—choral singing of revolutionary songs, a recital in the Soochow *pingtan* style of Chairman Mao's two poems under the title *Farewell to the God of Plague*, dancing, and "*biao yan chang*" which combines singing, dancing and acting—also vividly reflected the Chinese people's boundless love for their Communist Party and Chairman Mao and portrayed their energetic, militant life. They demonstrated the enormous achievements of Shanghai workers, peasants and soldiers in the socialist cultural revolution. They also showed the progress made by professional song and dance artists in putting politics first, creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, implementing Mao Tse-tung's literary and artistic line, and identifying themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. While composing and rehearsing their festival items, they assiduously studied Chairman Mao's works and the two editorials recently carried by the *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily)—"Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking; Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution" and "Never Forget the Class Struggle"—as well as "On 'Three-Family Village'" (see p. 5) and other articles.



The Shanghai Conservatory's performance of "A Reply to the World of Today — On Reading Wang Chieh's Diary" combines elements of Peking opera music with revolutionary songs

This enabled them to raise their level of political consciousness still higher and understand still better how art must serve proletarian politics and class struggle. It reinforced the militancy and revolutionary spirit of their efforts.

#### More Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Take the Stage

An important feature of this festival is that a greater number of workers, peasants and soldiers are appearing on the song and dance stage. In the opening concert, over 500 workers, peasants, People's Liberation Army men, students and children mounted the stage to perform. They were themselves the composers of most of the items they put on. Singing and acting about themselves, there was warmth, simplicity and feeling in their performances. It was an impressive demonstration that they are not only good at work and in battle, but are also artistically talented, and are playing their role as the main force in the socialist cultural revolution.

Six workers from the Shanghai Solvents Factory, where every workshop team has its own choir, put on *A Veteran Worker Studies Chairman Mao's Works*, a composition for male voices. It was written collectively by workers and staff members about their factory's Ma Chung-yun, a "Five-Good Worker" and a national "Outstanding Worker," who has steadfastly and creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works for the past ten years. An expression of deep proletarian class sentiment, their song tells of the love and respect of the veteran workers for Chairman Mao, and how, guided by his thinking, they have brought up young workers to be worthy successors in the proletarian revolution.

*Thinking of the Consumers as We Grow Vegetables*, a "biao yan chang" item, was sung by seven women peasants of Hongqiao People's Commune on Shanghai's outskirts. It reflected the revolutionary

sentiments of the commune vegetable-growers as they work. The gay melody, their words, and the accompanying dance movements depicting hoeing, weeding and other real-life labour, combined to express their eagerness to serve their city-dwelling comrades.

*Song of the Eagle* sung by eight "Five-Good Fighters" of an air force unit stationed in Shanghai praised the militant life of the airmen as they mature under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and train hard to raise their fighting prowess in order to safeguard the motherland.

*We Are Revolutionary Youth* and *We Want to Be Farmers When We Grow Up* were two of the song and dance numbers composed and performed by the No. 8 Girls' Middle School and the primary school attached to the No. 1 Normal Middle School. They drew musical pictures of China's younger generation, growing up healthy in mind and body, reared on Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

#### Creating Images of Socialist Heroes

The festival shows notable progress in reflecting China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, and in creating images of socialist heroes, especially the heroic image of the working class. *Forward, Glorious Workers of Shanghai!* is an eight-part cantata with acting and dancing staged by some 200 professional singers, dancers and musicians. It presents the great image of the working class. In powerful and monumental musical terms it portrays the heroic feats of the workers of Shanghai who, with Mao Tse-tung's thinking as their guide, with their own hands turned Shanghai into a scientifically and technologically advanced industrial base. It lauds the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution of the Shanghai workers in self-reliantly and steadfastly forging ahead and overcoming all difficulties to win victory. To enable audiences from the workers, peasants and soldiers to understand both

what they hear and see in this composition, old and foreign stereotypes have been discarded and forms of presentation are put at the service of the content. Singing predominates; acting, dancing, recitation and other stage arts are incorporated.

This cantata uses many forms of vocal art. There is choral singing, solos, voices singing in unison, in harmony and in answer to each other. Passages of recitative and dancing are incorporated to enhance the revolutionary spirit of the performance. The music throughout is militant, stirring and in keeping with our times.

### Giving Choral Singing a National Form

Another chorus unique in style of presentation was *A Reply to the World of Today—On Reading Wang Chieh's Diary*. This was created by teachers and students of the Shanghai Conservatory in the movement to "Sing of Wang Chieh, Learn From Wang Chieh and Do as Wang Chieh Did."\* Combining elements of Peking opera music and revolutionary songs, this chorus magnificently expresses the determination of the people of China to carry the revolution through to the end, in the

spirit of that great soldier Wang Chieh. The 90 and more students and teachers presented their composition with warm revolutionary feeling, and won resounding applause from the audience. Many expressed the opinion that this work is a laudable attempt at giving a national form to choral singing.

The ten special programmes of music in this festival—each with a different central theme—will present in all nearly 200 items. The majority, 130 of them, are new works by Shanghai workers, peasants and soldiers and professionals in the fields of music, singing and dancing. Others are improved versions of items which were warmly welcomed at the last "Shanghai Spring" Music Festival or contributions from places outside Shanghai.

\* Wang Chieh was a young squad leader of an engineering company of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In an accident, he sacrificed his life to save those of the miitiamen he was training. He was a devoted student of Chairman Mao's works and a model in creatively applying his thinking. A nationwide movement is in progress to learn from him.—Ed.

## Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Creatively Study And Apply Mao Tse-tung's Philosophical Thinking

### — Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites

This is the second instalment of selections from "One Hundred Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites" originally published in the philosophical magazine *Zhexue Yanjiu* (No. 2, 1966). The 100 examples were all taken from essays written by workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres in the course of their creative study and application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's philosophical thinking. They appeared in *Zhexue Yanjiu* in 12 groups each with a group subhead and an editor's note. The following three examples are from three groups together with *Zhexue Yanjiu's* original group subheads and editor's notes. The first instalment appeared in our last number, No. 21.—Ed.

### The Fundamental Cause of the Development of a Thing Lies in the Contradictoriness Within the Thing

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** *The fundamental cause of the development of a thing and its change is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that materialist dialectics "holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes."*

*Studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thinking creatively, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres are consciously arming themselves with this dialectical thought, using it as a powerful weapon to promote the revolutionization of their ideology and work. Comrade Wang Chieh, for instance, realized through study that if one wants to mature into a revolutionary speedily, the main thing is to temper oneself consciously in*

*actual struggles. Comrade Wang Chieh diligently studied Chairman Mao's works, stepped up his ideological remoulding, and truly became one who had no other thought but of the revolution and of wholehearted service to the people.*

## **If a Person Wants to Mature Quickly, He Must Consciously Temper Himself**

**F**AMILY origin plays a certain part in a person's maturing, but the main thing is his own efforts, his ideological remoulding. In life, one is subjected to the influences of various environments, ideas and ways of living, some good, some bad. They exert a good or a bad influence on a man's growth. The good influences should be absorbed and developed and the bad ones reformed. That is to say, the principal causes of a person's growth are internal, not external. If he wants to mature quickly, he must consciously temper himself. A proletarian revolutionary must be able to hold his ground against bad influences in good environments, and even more so, in bad environments. A good comrade is one who is able to stand the test.

Whenever I saw other comrades being admitted to the Communist Party, especially those who joined the army at the same time as I did, I would worry. I argued to myself: my work is not any worse than his, how comes it he has joined the Party while I am lagging behind? Thinking so, I would start to blame my

family origin — for my family is middle peasant, and so are my relatives — and I would feel discouraged.

When a problem crops up, the best thing to do is to consult Chairman Mao's works. So, to find the answer to my problem, I studied a passage in *On Contradiction*. Here, Chairman Mao says: "External causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes." I examined myself closely in the light of this and discovered that I had not been keeping up with my ideological remoulding; I wanted to join the Party purely for the sake of becoming a Party member. Then I compared myself against the criterion for a Party member, and things became even clearer. The trouble was not my class origin, but the fact that, because I had not made enough efforts in daily life, I still fell far short of the standards required of a Party member in major aspects. From now on, I will take as my starting point the raising of my level of political consciousness, diligently study Chairman Mao's works, and step up my ideological remoulding. I will try to get everybody's help, work wholeheartedly for the Party, strive to join the Party organization as early as possible and devote my whole life to the cause of communism. (From *Wang Chieh's Diary*.)

## **Recognize the Particularity of Contradiction, Concretely Analyse Concrete Things**

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** *Contradictions exist everywhere, but the nature of contradiction in different things differ. Different methods are needed to resolve contradictions of different kinds. Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us that "in studying the particularity of any kind of contradiction . . . we must not be subjective and arbitrary but must analyse it concretely. Without concrete analysis there can be no knowledge of the particularity of any contradiction." In the way we look at things, in farming, in technical work, in spreading advanced experience, or in political and ideological work, we should start out from the actual situation, apply the principles of materialist dialectics and concretely analyse concrete things.*

*By creatively studying and applying the dialectical thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the workers and staff members of the coking plant at the Paotow Iron and Steel Company succeeded in breaking through old stereotypes and conventions to produce coke of excellent quality from Inner Mongolian coal. They achieved this new success because, in the course of several hundred scientific experiments, they got to know the special characteristics of Inner Mongolian coal and the law of flexibly adjusting the ratio of the different kinds of coal used.*

*Comrade Chen Yung-kang, a specialist in growing paddy rice, has said: "Experience must never become a convention to restrict us, and we mustn't consider new techniques from an old point of view." This is very correct. "Experience" becomes "convention" because the particularity of contradiction is ignored and concrete contradictions are not concretely analysed.*

*To understand the particularity of contradiction and find ways to resolve contradictions, said Comrade Li Jui-huan, leader of the Youth Shock Brigade of the Peking No. 3 Building Co., one must "act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and carefully investigate concrete and actual conditions."*

## Using Different Methods to Resolve Different Contradictions

**I**N the spring of 1958, when I first became a squad leader, I was inexperienced and faced many problems which I did not know how to solve. After studying *On Contradiction*, I realized that problems are contradictions. Contradictions exist objectively and are present in the process of development of all things from beginning to end. There is nothing without contradiction. Contradictions emerge constantly, and when old ones are resolved, new ones appear. The constant emergence of contradictions and their solution propels things forward. Having understood this, one need not be afraid of problems. As long as I earnestly analyse problems and go on to solve them, work in the squad will surely go well.

Having studied the universality and particularity of contradiction, I understood that contradictions exist in all places and at all times in our life and work: this is the universality of contradiction. But the contradiction of a given thing has its own characteristics: this is its particularity. In resolving contradictions, one must "suit the remedy to the disease," and resolve different contradictions by different methods.

Once, when our squad was out doing tactical training exercises, a few comrades did not do their training well. Without analysing the reasons, I jumped to the conclusion that it was because they were afraid of hardships, so I got the men together and criticized them, talking mostly in terms of general principles. Instead of getting good results, this talk aroused some dissatis-

faction among the men, who said that I did not know what actually happened. At the squad meeting that night, they made many criticisms of me. I was told that the three comrades had different reasons for not doing their training well: one was suffering from foot trouble, another had worn-out soles and was afraid of hurting his feet; the third was the only one who was really afraid of hardships. I then recalled Chairman Mao's words: "The principle of using different methods to resolve different contradictions is one which Marxist-Leninists must strictly observe," and his caution against "after glimpsing the rough outline, immediately to try to resolve the contradiction (to answer a question, settle a dispute, handle work, or direct a military operation). This way of doing things is bound to lead to trouble." I realized then that I had fallen into the mistake of subjectivism.

The next day, I gave my extra pair of shoes to that fighter whose shoes were worn out. I spoke to the one whose feet hurt. Far from criticizing him, I praised him for keeping up training when he was not well. I also had a talk with the one who was afraid of hardships, explaining to him the importance of tactical training. As a result, everybody took the training in real earnest.

Since this incident, I have always tried to take into consideration the specific character of each comrade in the squad and use different, appropriate methods to help and educate them. The results have been good. Everybody is happy, and there is greater solidarity and fraternal spirit among the comrades. (By Liao Chuchiang in an article of the same title in the book *Studying for the Sake of the Revolution* published by the China Youth Publishing House, 1964 edition.)

## Grasp the Principal Contradiction, and Concentrate Forces to Resolve It

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** *In doing any work, we must endeavour to discover in a complex situation the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of that contradiction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us: "The study of the various states of unevenness in contradictions, of the principal and non-principal contradictions and of the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction constitutes an essential method by which a revolutionary political party correctly determines its strategic and tactical policies both in political and in military affairs. All Communists must give it attention."*

*In the autumn of 1963, an especially grave natural calamity beset the Tachai Production Brigade [of the Tachai People's Commune in Shansi Province]. But, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, in the complicated situation that had arisen, they grasped the principal contradiction and concentrated the main force of the entire brigade on restoring the land. As a result their yields not only did not drop from this exceptional calamity, but they succeeded in gathering in 1964 a record bumper harvest in their history. Studying Chairman Mao's works and applying his thinking in a creative way, the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres have realized that in all work, it is imperative to get a firm grip on the principal contradiction, and concentrate forces to resolve it; once this is done, all other problems can be readily solved. Countless vivid examples show that only by acting according to these instructions of Chairman Mao can we do our work well.*

## How We Invented a Handy, Light, Well-Finished and Inexpensive Electric Wall Ramming Machine by Grasping The Principal Contradiction

**W**E took a trial model of our wall ramming machine to a construction site in the Tanan Mountains and put this new creation through the test of practice.

Its use not only enabled us to complete the whole construction project a week ahead of schedule, but, more important, enabled us to confirm the value of using machinery to tamp walls. We also totted up the defects of our trial model: it was clumsy, heavy, crude and expensive. The whole thing was oversized; that made it clumsy. It weighed over 200 kgs., that was too heavy. A hoist was needed to lift it to the top of a wall. It was crude because we did not go into theoretical analysis properly when we designed it and had fitted it with gear wheels from lathes which were frequently damaged when the machine was not well operated. It was expensive because its manufacturing costs were high. This would restrict its popularization in future.

Back from the project, I took account of the new contradictions discovered and decided on a blow-for-blow struggle against these defects: to make it handy, light, well-finished and inexpensive. It was a sharp struggle. To turn clumsy, heavy, crude and expensive into their opposites meant resolving a whole series of contradictions, and the problem of weight was an especially tough one. In building our trial model, we had already tried to reduce weight wherever possible, economizing on every gramme and every centimetre. I calculated: 35 kgs. for the motor, 40 for the base, 35 for the ramming hammer, 40 for the safety cover. This already added up to 150 kgs. not including the weight of the main machine parts. How could we cut the weight down any more? I asked the builders how heavy a machine they thought they could handle, and they replied under 150 kgs., about what two men could lift up to the top of a wall. Thinking this over and over again, I found myself beset by contradictions. If the machine frame were made smaller, the hundreds of parts could not be mounted in it. If the hammer were lighter, it would not deliver a heavy enough impact. A smaller motor could not provide enough power.

At this crucial juncture, my brother workers gave me great encouragement. They said: "Hua-ting, why are you so baffled by this problem? Hasn't a heavy wall clock been turned into a tiny timepiece for the wrist?" There was great truth in their words. With this problem in mind, I turned again to Chairman Mao's *On Contradiction*. Chairman Mao says that "in studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved." These words of Chairman Mao already told me the solution to

the problem. But how to grasp the principal contradiction?

I thought: the machine frame is large and heavy. The motor and hammer cannot be made any lighter. That leaves the question of the number of revolutions of the motor. The motor is of high speed, but the gear wheels of the hammer move at low speed. Therefore, the speed of the motor has to be reduced several scores of times as it is transmitted to the hammer by means of a number of gear wheels with the small ones nesting into the big ones. And this means many more extra parts such as axles. The result is, these parts cannot all be contained inside the frame of the machine and have to be extended to the back of the driver's seat by chain drive. Since the machine frame is large, its base and cover have to be large, too. Analysing these points step by step, I finally discovered that the weight was the principal contradiction, and this was determined by the transmission system.

Having grasped this principal contradiction, I went again to the workers for help and also looked into the books. Finally, in a book on machine designing, I found the principle of worms and gears, which can reduce speed from several dozen to over a hundred times. This is a simple principle in itself, but I had never applied it before. So I went and asked the machine operators about it. They approved of using it, but reminded me that, as considerable friction is generated between the worms and gears and great heat is produced, these should be immersed in oil. They also suggested that I alter the design and make a closely sealed construction which would reduce the heat generated and keep out dust, and at the same time remove the need for constant oiling.

With this principal contradiction resolved, the remaining problems were easily handled. By 1963, I had made new blueprints which reduced to only a few the several dozen gear wheels and other parts of the old transmission system. With only these few gears and bearings, the machine base was made smaller and so was the cover. The whole thing really became handy, light, well-finished and inexpensive. The parts were well-finished so they were more lasting. The smaller size made the machine more handy to operate, and the weight was reduced from the original 226 kgs. to 115 kgs., while the size was smaller by one-third. It also became inexpensive: manufacturing costs were cut to around half the original. It should be said that real success came to the wall ramming machine only on October 1, 1963; therefore, we named it Model 63-101. (By Huang Hua-ting, carpenter of the No. 3 Building Construction Co. of Kwangtung Province. Originally published in *Xueshu Yanjiu* [Academic Research] No. 2, 1965, under the title "Mao Tse-tung's Thinking Is the Source of Strength for the Working Class.")



(To be continued.)

# Condemning Indonesian Government's Cruel Persecution of Chinese Nationals

**The Commission warns the Indonesian Government: The Chinese Government absolutely cannot be unmindful of the cruel persecution of Chinese nationals in Indonesia. If you do not stop these fascist outrages, you will certainly reap a bitter harvest.**

*The statement issued on May 18 reads as follows:*

SINCE last October, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces who staged the counter-revolutionary military coup have been engaged in reckless anti-Communist and anti-popular activities, and at the same time have stirred up a ferocious anti-China and anti-Chinese current, instigating and organizing hooligans to carry out inhuman persecution of Chinese nationals there. The Chinese Government has lodged strong protests with the Indonesian Government against this in more than ten notes.

However, instead of taking effective steps to stop these anti-Chinese atrocities, the Indonesian Government has become increasingly flagrant in inciting and organizing the reactionary thugs to persecute the Chinese nationals. Indonesian military and governmental authorities have gone to the length of openly taking part in the anti-Chinese activities. We hereby express the greatest indignation at this.

While stepping up its persecution of Chinese nationals, the Indonesian Government has been talking nonsense about the protests sent by the Chinese Government being "not fully compatible with available facts." Referring to the safety of Chinese nationals, Indonesian Deputy Prime Minister Suharto has brazenly declared that "so far there is no need for anxiety." It is futile for them to try to "shut out the heavens with the palm of one hand" and deny responsibility for their criminal persecution of Chinese nationals.

It is well known that the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces have systematically, and in an organized and planned way, engineered the massive anti-Chinese atrocities in all parts of the country. The Right-wing military and governmental authorities in various areas have called up troops and organized and directed hooligans to launch wild attacks on Chinese nationals, wantonly destroy and set fire to Chinese-owned shops, houses, schools and the premises of Chinese organizations, loot their property and murder them in cold blood. Quite a number of Chinese nationals have been clubbed to death, killed with sharp weapons, burnt alive or drowned in rivers. Some have been beheaded, disembowelled or dismembered. Even the old and infirm and women and children have not been spared.

Take the large-scale anti-Chinese atrocities on Lombok Island towards the end of last year. The thugs ran amok, killing and burning. More than 20 Chinese nationals were killed on one day — December 30. The Right-wing hooligans locked the pregnant wife of Chinese national Ngo Giok-tian in a room together with her six children and then set fire to the house and the mother and her six children were burnt to death.

In Bima County in Sumbawa on January 12, hooligans organized by the Right-wing reactionary forces forced all of the more than 1,000 Chinese nationals, young and old and men and women, in that county out of their homes and looted and robbed them of everything they had. The hooligans savagely clubbed them and used knives and axes on them, causing heavy casualties.

And since March of this year, when the Indonesian Right-wing generals' clique reorganized the cabinet and completed its plan for the usurpation of power, the anti-Chinese activities have grown worse; such atrocities as killing, burning, destroying, looting, manhandling, kidnapping, raping and insulting have become non-stop occurrences.

For example, for ten days on end, from April 15 to 24, all Chinese nationals at Lhokseumawe in north Atjeh area were victims of wild attacks by the Right-wing reactionary forces.

On April 20, armed troops and police, ganged up with hooligans, forced all the Chinese there out of their homes, not excluding the sick, stripped the men, painted their heads and faces, painted anti-China slogans on their bodies, then beat them up and cursed and insulted them in every possible way.

Then all the Chinese, men and women and young and old, were compelled to quick-march barefoot to the county magistrate's office. There they were exposed to the blazing sun for more than five hours. The hooligans conducted repeated house-to-house plunder of the homes of all the Chinese nationals and took away all their money and other belongings.

In the name of the Indonesian Government, the Right-wing generals' clique has even openly and directly ordered anti-Chinese activities for the unreasonable



taking over, forcible occupation or closing down of Chinese organizations and schools in various places. Top Right-wing military men and government officials have put up a vociferous clamour for the seizure of all property of the Chinese nationals, so as to deprive them of their means of subsistence. Tens of thousands of Chinese nationals in various parts of Indonesia have become homeless and their families destroyed. They are now living in utter misery.

There is a mass of iron-clad evidence of the atrocities committed by the Right-wing reactionary forces in Indonesia in persecuting Chinese nationals and piling up a debt of blood. How can the Indonesian Government imagine it can succeed in covering up its responsibility for the crimes simply by breathing a few words about "not complying with the facts?" The Right-wing reactionary forces in Indonesia have been attacking Chinese nationals with such savagery, yet Suharto advises them "there is no need for anxiety." Does he want the Chinese nationals to wait for death with hands tied and be meek and willing victims?

In these activities of opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals, the Right-wing generals' clique in Indonesia has gone so far as to collaborate openly with the Chiang Kai-shek gang. They arranged for Chiang gang agents to join the Right-wing soldiers and hooligans in the attacks on the Chinese Embassy and Consular offices. They have also used Chiang gang agents to help them in further and even more reckless persecution of Chinese nationals, coercing them into attending anti-China meetings and forcing them to pledge "allegiance" to the Right-wing military regime in Indonesia, in a wild attempt to tear the Chinese nationals away from their motherland. As everyone knows, the Chiang Kai-shek gang is a clique of traitors who, long repudiated by the Chinese people, have remained die-hard stooges of U.S. imperialism. By working hand in glove with the Chiang Kai-shek gang, the Right-wing reactionary forces in Indonesia have fully revealed themselves for what they are.

It is even more outrageous that the Indonesian Government has made the assertion that the brutal persecution of Chinese nationals is due to their own "attitude and actions." This attempt at rebuttal, like a criminal pointing an accusing finger at his victim, is a malicious one. The Chinese nationals have lived in Indonesia for generations and, together with the Indonesian people, have developed the land and mineral resources there and resisted the colonial rule of the Dutch and Japanese imperialists. They have built a flesh-and-blood friendship with the Indonesian people. Since Indonesia gained independence, the Chinese nationals have given active support to the Indonesian people in their opposition to imperialism and old and new colonialism and the development of their national economy, and they have contributed to promoting friendly relations between China and Indonesia and enhancing friendship between the two peoples. These are irrefutable facts and the Indonesian Government cannot erase them. Now, after ruthlessly persecuting

innocent and defenceless Chinese nationals, the Indonesian Government tries to throw the blame on the persecuted victims. No fair-minded people in the world can fail to be angered by this and can fail to condemn it.

It must be pointed out that according to the principles guiding international relations, every country has the duty to protect the lives and property of foreign nationals. The treaty signed between China and Indonesia clearly stipulates that both sides affirm their willingness to protect "the proper rights and interests of the citizens of the other party residing in its territory." Instead of protecting the proper rights and interests of Chinese nationals, the Indonesian Government has now made the persecution of Chinese nationals its established policy. It is not only trampling upon the elementary principles guiding international relations, but is shirking its binding international obligation.

The reckless anti-China activities and the persecution of Chinese nationals, carried out by the Indonesian Government under the baton of the Right-wing generals' clique, in total disregard of international good faith, is inseparable from the ultra reactionary policies it is now following, namely, of throwing itself into the arms of imperialism externally and slaughtering the Indonesian people at home. The aim is to meet the needs of U.S. imperialism and deliberately wreck Sino-Indonesian relations. What it has done has proved to the full that it has degraded itself into a pawn of U.S. imperialism.

We must warn the Indonesian Government: under all circumstances, the Chinese Government has the responsibility for protecting the proper rights and interests of the overseas Chinese. The Chinese Government absolutely cannot be unmindful of the cruel persecution of Chinese nationals in Indonesia by the Right-wing reactionary forces. If you do not stop these fascist outrages, you will certainly reap a bitter harvest.

We are constantly concerned for the safety of the Chinese nationals in Indonesia, and hereby express our profound sympathy and regard for the persecuted Chinese residents in Indonesia. In face of the ruthless persecution by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces, the Chinese nationals have carried on their splendid patriotic traditions, upheld their national dignity, persisted in their friendship with local people and persisted in distinguishing between right and wrong. They have remained staunch in the face of danger, have united together and helped one another, sharing hardships together. We extend to them our highest respect and admiration.

The Chinese Government is deeply concerned about the present plight of Chinese nationals in Indonesia. The demand of the Chinese Government that the Indonesian Government arrange ships to transport back to China those persecuted Chinese nationals who express of their own accord the desire to return to their motherland is entirely just and reasonable. Pending the Indonesian Government's performance of its bounden duty, the Chinese Government has decided to send ships to Indonesia in the near future to bring

back the persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China, in order to end their suffering at an early date. We resolutely demand that the Indonesian Government give an answer, at the earliest date, to the demands contained in the May 18 note of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs with which the Chinese Government can be satisfied, and ensure the smooth

return at an early date of the persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to come back to their motherland. The Indonesian Government must effectively ensure the safety of the lives and property of those Chinese nationals who will continue to stay in Indonesia and must immediately stop all persecution of Chinese nationals.

## How Indonesian Reactionaries Persecuted And Slaughtered Chinese Nationals

**S**IMULTANEOUS with their brutal suppression of the Communists and people in Indonesia, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionaries started a violent anti-China and anti-Chinese movement last October.

Since then, there have been repeated attacks on Chinese diplomatic missions as a result of which some Chinese diplomatic personnel were injured. Chinese nationals resident in Indonesia have been fanatically tortured and slaughtered in cold blood, their property looted or destroyed and their associations and schools closed down or forcibly occupied. In persecuting the Chinese nationals, the Indonesian reactionaries used agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, the faithful running dog of U.S. imperialism, as their accomplices. Anti-Chinese atrocities occurred in hundreds of cities and towns on islands throughout Indonesia, rendering countless Chinese nationals homeless and bringing death and destruction to their families. The plight of these homeless Chinese is now one of utter misery.

Directed by the Indonesian Right-wing military clique, the anti-Chinese violence during the past months was carried out in a planned and organized manner. The Right-wing military and government authorities in various places openly dispatched army troops to escort and assist the hooligans persecuting the Chinese. They provided vehicles for their transport and for their means of communication and even sent army officers to direct the brutalities on the spot.

After they seized power on March 12, the Right-wing generals' clique pushed the anti-Chinese measures further in the name of the Indonesian Government. Besides continuing the burning, killing and looting, they closed down and forcibly occupied overseas Chinese associations and schools, on a scale larger than ever before. Openly joining forces with the Chiang Kai-shek gang, they have now intensified the political persecution of the Chinese nationals while contemplating measures to deprive them of their livelihood completely.

### Torture and Slaughter of Chinese Nationals

Directed and manipulated by the Indonesian Right-wing military and government authorities, fully

equipped army troops joined mobs of hooligans numbering from several hundred to several thousand — all armed with knives, axes, sticks or clubs — in beating up, torturing and killing unarmed Chinese nationals, not sparing the aged and disabled, women or children. Raping of Chinese women by members of these mobs and army men occurred in many places.

Last October, Right-wing army men and hooligans in Peureulak in south Atjeh rounded up Chinese nationals who had hoisted the flag of the Chinese People's Republic, beat them up, robbed them of their belongings and savagely murdered Wen Ta-shan, Huang Mu-hsiang, Tseng Yu-min and Yeh Po-hsiang, leaders of the local overseas Chinese associations.

Last November, Huang Tsung-kuei, an overseas Chinese in Djapara in Central Java, after an illegal "trial" by Indonesian army paratroops, was waylaid by a mob of hooligans on his way home and burnt to death with kerosene. Hsieh Wen-chiao, Secretary of the Overseas Chinese Federation in Kependjen in Malang, was stabbed to death by hooligans in front of his shop.

Hundreds of Chinese nationals were killed or injured in a wave of atrocities last December in and around Medan city, Sumatra. Huang Ya-tsung was beheaded; Chan Yi-shui, leader of the Stabat Overseas Chinese Federation, died after being stabbed in more than 20 places; the father and four sons of an overseas Chinese family were killed and their eyes gouged out after death.

Even more shocking massacres occurred on Lombok Island last December. On December 30 alone, more than 20 Chinese nationals were murdered. Hooligans locked Mrs. Ngo Giok-tian, an expectant mother, and her six children in their home and set fire to it, burning the seven of them alive. The ears and fingers of Mrs. Li Yuan-chou were chopped off by hooligans when they robbed her of her rings and ear-rings. She was then thrown into a river and drowned. Other Chinese nationals were beheaded, mutilated or disembowelled. Chang Chung-hsiang and Chang Mei-chen were a newly married couple. Hooligans first killed Chang Chung-hsiang, then raped his wife, finally killed her in the most brutal manner.

In January this year, Right-wing hooligans in Bima on Sumbawa Island, attacked more than 140 local Chinese families totaling more than 1,000 persons early in the morning. At around 3 a.m. they drove them all into the streets, beating and knifing men and women, old and young. They killed or wounded dozens on the spot. After that the victims were taken away forcibly by army and police in trucks and imprisoned for more than a month. Manhandled in a hundred and one ways, many became sick from being tortured.

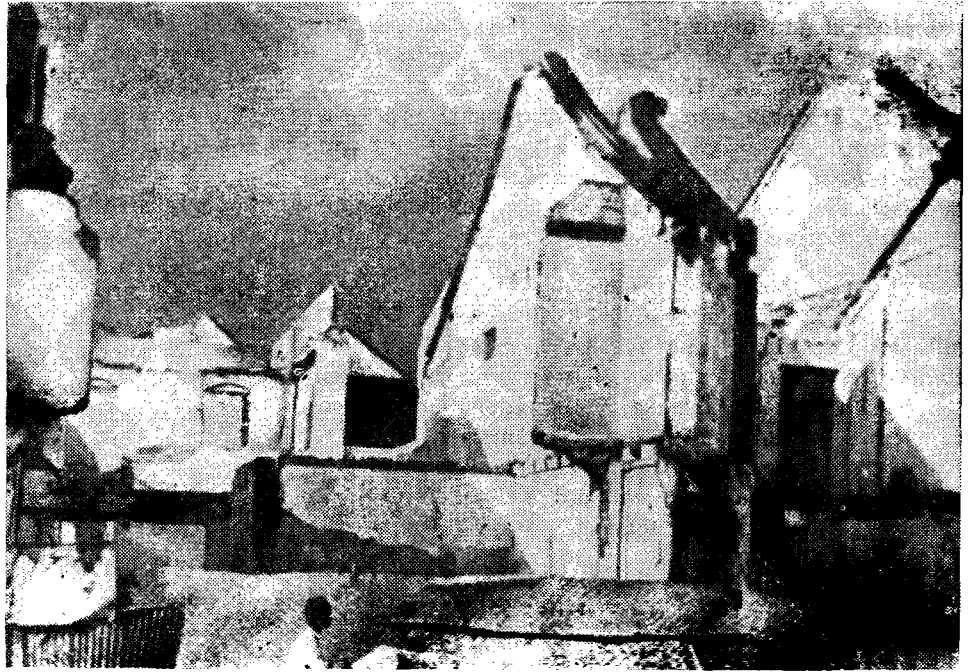
On April 20, armed troops, police and hooligans in Lhokseumawe in north Atjeh drove Chinese families out of their houses, made them run barefooted to the magistrate's office and kept them standing there in the scorching sun for more than five hours; many collapsed. The hooligans forced the men to take off their clothes, poured various coloured paint over them, daubed their bodies with anti-China slogans and beat them up. Jao Chu-tsai, chairman of the local overseas Chinese federation, after being smeared with paint, was paraded through the streets. The thugs then took him out of town and using swords tried to coerce him into confessing to crimes he had never committed. He withstood their brute force and did not yield to their pressure.

### **Massive Looting and Destruction of Chinese Nationals' Property**

The Indonesian Right-wing military and government authorities, to deprive the Chinese nationals of their livelihood, directed hooligans to raid Chinese shops and dwellings and loot and destroy their property.

On November 10 last year, thousands of army men and thugs in Makasar, commanded by an army major riding in an armoured car, broke into overseas Chinese shops and dwellings and looted without restraint. They destroyed everything they could not carry away, including commodities, clothes, furniture and vehicles. The raid lasted from nine in the morning until seven in the evening, and wreaked havoc on more than 2,000 Chinese shops and houses, leaving countless Chinese nationals homeless and without any means of livelihood.

Last November 14, hooligans in Bonthain in South Sulawesi, who raided local Chinese shops and houses, threw all kinds of commodities, utensils and clothing into the streets and made a bonfire of them. They committed acts of vandalism by pouring kerosene over rice and throwing soap into wells.



**All that remains of Chinese shops and homes in Solo, Central Java, where thugs rampaged without check**

During a raid in the latter part of last October in Kebumen in Central Java, hooligans burnt down many Chinese houses, buildings of the local overseas Chinese federation, the Chung Hwa School and two Chinese factories. Streets where Chinese nationals lived became horrible scenes of destruction and large numbers of Chinese were left homeless.

In January this year, all Chinese nationals in Bima in Sumbawa were herded together and detained by army men and police, and their homes ransacked by hordes of hooligans. Even doors and windows were carried away.

On the afternoon of February 11 this year, hooligans organized by Right-wing reactionaries painted the walls of Chinese shops and houses in Bandjarmasin with a skull and cross-bones. Next morning, bands of thugs ransacked every shop and house painted with the sign. While on their rampage, the hooligans shouted "Long live the armed forces!" and other slogans. The army men and police following behind waved their hands in approval.

On March 21 this year, more than 1,000 hooligans in Lampung, given signed permission by the local military authorities, looted and destroyed Chinese shops after holding an anti-China meeting and demonstration. Some Chinese shops were plundered three or four times.

### **Wrecking and Seizure of Overseas Chinese Organizations and Schools**

On March 12, the day Suharto, a chieftain of the Right-wing generals' clique, announced his seizure of power, Right-wing army men and hooligans in Bandung systematically attacked the city's 13 overseas Chinese schools and forcibly occupied them. They tore up,

trampled on and burnt the Chinese flags and portraits of Chinese leaders hanging in the schools and scrawled anti-China slogans on the walls. They burnt the students' belongings, teaching equipment and other facilities. In the wake of these atrocities, Right-wing authorities in other places organized hooligans to raid and seize overseas Chinese schools. In Magelang, hooligans burnt down the entire building of the Chung Hwa School.

On April 5, a responsible member of the Djakarta military authorities, on the instructions of the Indonesian Government, issued an order which viciously slandered overseas Chinese organizations and schools as "dens of subversive and counter-revolutionary elements." Using this as a pretext, the Djakarta military authorities closed down and disbanded the local Chinese associations and schools.

On April 6, hooligans in Djakarta broke into Chung Hwa Middle School and tried to force the teachers and students to give up the keys so that they could occupy the school. When they refused, bayonets were pointed at their throats and chests to intimidate them. Although 13 of the teachers and students were wounded, they rejected the hooligans' demands.

On April 8, Djakarta hooligans raiding the General Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations, detained the staff members and more than 120 Chinese nationals on the premises. They beat and kicked them and interrogated them one by one in a barbarous way. They later abducted Huang Mu-he, an official of the association and seven other Chinese nationals and tortured them. The military authorities of West, Central and East Java, South and North Sumatra, and South and Southeast Sulawesi later also issued orders to close down the local Chinese schools and organized hooligans to occupy local overseas Chinese federations. On April 12 and 23, swarms of hooligans led by Right-wing armymen raided two offices of the overseas Chinese federation in Surabaya in East Java and wrecked and stole typewriters, radios and other equipment. They injured Cheng Cho-liang, General Secretary of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and eight employees of the federation and occupied the two offices.

Educational and welfare establishments of Chinese nationals in Indonesia have suffered serious destruction. The closure of nearly all the Chinese schools has shut out more than 200,000 overseas Chinese students and thrown more than 7,000 overseas Chinese teachers out of work.

### **Right-Wing Authorities Openly Join Hands With Chiang Gang in Feverish Persecution of Chinese Nationals**

The Right-wing military clique is now using agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang as a tool to step up the persecution of Chinese nationals and coerce them into betraying their fatherland. The Right-wing authorities in Medan instructed Tseng Shao-fan

and other Chiang agents in the city to coerce Chinese nationals into taking part in the anti-China "review" on May 7. Very few however took part in the meeting. Brigadier General Muskita, Chief of Staff of the Sumatra Inter-District Defence Command, who spoke at the meeting on behalf of the commander, openly slandered the Chinese nationals as "fifth columnists" and warned them to "choose between the Indonesian Republic and the People's Republic of China." After the meeting, agents of the Chiang gang, under Indonesian troop and police escort, held an anti-China demonstration and again raided the Chinese Consulate and the local overseas Chinese federation. Instructed by the chieftains of the Right-wing generals' clique, Yang Wei-ping, an agent of the Chiang gang and a spy in the pay of the Indonesian army authorities, and others have lately been coercing the Chinese nationals into taking part in a so-called pledging allegiance rally in co-ordination with the creation of another serious anti-China, anti-Chinese outrage in Djakarta by the Right-wing military regime.

The anti-China and anti-Chinese outrages perpetrated by agents of the Chiang gang on instructions of the reactionary forces are spreading to other places. Right-wing military and administrative authorities in different parts of Indonesia have used the Chiang Kai-shek agents to spy on overseas Chinese organizations and schools, to advise them on how to persecute the Chinese nationals and to act as hatchetmen in raiding and wrecking the Chinese Embassy and consulates and overseas Chinese organizations and schools. Under orders from the Right-wing military and administrative authorities, Chiang Kai-shek agents warned patriotic Chinese nationals against holding posts in overseas Chinese organizations so as to usurp the leadership of these organizations. They compelled the patriotic overseas Chinese organizations to "dissolve themselves" so that puppet organizations can be set up as tools of the Right-wing military regime against China and Chinese nationals.

There have been signs lately that the Right-wing reactionary forces are plotting further large-scale persecution of Chinese nationals. Right-wing chieftains have been noisily calling for resolute measures against the overseas Chinese. At a recent meeting Nasution openly called for the reintroduction of the decree banning the retail business of Chinese nationals in localities below district level. This was an attempt to deprive well over 100,000 Chinese nationals of their livelihood. Various Right-wing organizations and papers have also made wild anti-Chinese outcries. The Right-wing "Indonesian Students' Action Front" (KAMI) and "Indonesian Youth Students' Action Front" (KAPPI) have threatened to "take over" all property of Chinese nationals. One Right-wing newspaper even "predicted" threateningly that there is "the possibility that millions of Chinese will be killed" in Indonesia.

*(Hsinhua News Agency, May 19.)*

# Bloody Crimes Committed by Indonesian Reactionaries Against Chinese Nationals

The ruined shell of the building of the General Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations in Tjimahi, West Java. It was looted and burnt by hooligans organized by the Indonesian Right-wing forces.



One of the organized gangs in Makasar with a wrecked car and a motorcycle belonging to Chinese nationals.



The ransacked offices of the General Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations in Medan, North Sumatra.



Inside the wrecked home of Yang Hung-lang, a Chinese national living in Tandjung Priok Port.

# Indonesian Reactionaries Must Repay Their Debt of Blood

**T**HE publication of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's May 18 note to the Indonesian Embassy in Peking (see *Peking Review*, No. 21, p. 36) and the statement issued by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China (see p. 24), both of which reiterated the solemn stand of the Chinese Government in defence of the proper rights and interests of the Chinese nationals in Indonesia, had the immediate and full support of the people of China, especially overseas Chinese who have returned to the motherland and the relatives of overseas Chinese.

In cities, towns and rural people's communes, from tropical Hainan Island in the south to the northeast; in Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Wuhan, Tientsin, Shenyang, Changchun, Kunming, Nanning, and especially in Kwangtung and Fukien Provinces where there are large numbers of returned overseas Chinese and families of overseas Chinese, meetings were held to voice firm support for the Foreign Ministry's note and the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission's statement. Speakers at the meetings all vehemently condemned the Indonesian Government for its fascist crimes in frenziedly opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals. They demanded that the Indonesian Government give a prompt and satisfactory answer to the Chinese Foreign Ministry's note, immediately stop the atrocious persecution of Chinese nationals and ensure the early return of those persecuted Chinese who desire to come back to China.

At these meetings many Chinese nationals who had just returned from Indonesia, some of whom had been illegally arrested and tortured by Indonesian Right-wing thugs or had been outrageously persecuted simply because they possessed pictures of Chairman Mao Tse-tung or books and journals published in Peking, cited a host of facts revealing the fascist nature of the atrocities committed by Indonesian Right-wing hooligans in robbing, beating and murdering Chinese nationals. They pointed out that the campaign against China and Chinese nationals was started by the Indonesian Right-wing forces to meet the need of U.S. imperialism and was synchronized with their reign of terror against the Communists and the people of Indonesia. They also drew attention to the fact that those who opposed China and persecuted Chinese nationals were only a handful of reactionaries who had set themselves counter to the Indonesian people and that the masses of the Indonesian people wanted friendship with the Chinese people.

They spoke of the staunchness shown by the Chinese nationals in the face of ruthless persecution, and related how in their struggle against the attacks they were filled with boundless strength when they thought of their great socialist motherland and people and the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. When they described the way Chinese nationals had upheld the dignity and honour of the motherland and demonstrated the heroic quality of the Chinese people, they were heartily applauded and praised.

At the May 19 meeting in Peking, which was convened jointly by the All-China and the Peking Federations of Returned Overseas Chinese, Chuang Hsi-chuan, Acting President of the All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese, on behalf of his organization expressed resolute support for the Foreign Ministry's note and the statement issued by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. He said that the criminal persecution of Chinese nationals by the Right-wing forces in Indonesia had been carefully planned and directly organized by the Indonesian Government and that there was a mass of irrefutable, iron-clad evidence pointing to this fact. He also declared that, concerning the atrocious persecution of Chinese nationals, the Indonesian Government's assertion that it was "a reaction of the indignant masses of the people" was a preposterous lie aimed at shifting the blame onto the Indonesian people.

Chen Chi-yuan, Huang Chang-shui, Chuang Ming-li and other leading members of the All-China and the Peking Federations of Returned Overseas Chinese in their speeches at the Peking meeting pointed out that the Right-wing reactionary group in Indonesia which rabidly attacked China and persecuted Chinese nationals could not in the least harm the great People's Republic of China and that they could only reveal their own ugly features as those of servile pawns of U.S. imperialism. They warned the Indonesian Government: The Chinese Government and people will not be indifferent to your brutal persecution of Chinese nationals. The peoples of Indonesia and the world as a whole shall call you to account for your towering crimes and insist that your debts of blood be repaid in full. The days of your master, U.S. imperialism, and yourself are numbered!

At the Peking meeting, Chinese nationals who had returned from other parts of the world also expressed their unanimous support for the decision of the Chinese Government to send ships to Indonesia to bring back the persecuted Chinese nationals and extended their

deep sympathy to the Chinese who were being persecuted in Indonesia.

Meetings in various parts of China heard many heart-rending accounts of the tragic persecution of Chinese nationals in Indonesia from overseas Chinese who had recently returned from that country and relatives of overseas Chinese who were victims of the racist persecution. Li Tsun-han, a returned overseas Chinese from Indonesia and now a worker in Canton, told how the reactionary forces in Indonesia killed many Chinese nationals in cold blood and said that the aged, the weak, and women and children were not spared. He also said: "My mother Chang Yu-ping was thrown into a river by some thugs after her ears and fingers were chopped off and her ear-rings and finger-rings ripped off." In a voice shaken with emotion he declared: "My mother was 62 years old and was an ordinary housewife who got along well with the local people." "This debt of blood owed us by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionaries must be paid back in full!" he demanded.

Shanghai worker Chou Hsiu-li, whose father and younger brother were killed on Lombok Island last December, described with fierce indignation how many of her kinsmen in Indonesia had been pitilessly murdered. They had been disembowelled and their bodies dismembered, or they had been thrown into rivers to drown. In spite of these atrocities, she said, Suharto had the audacity to claim that "so far there is no need for anxiety," in referring to the safety of Chinese nationals. "This is brazen cynicism," declared Chou Hsiu-li. "The bloody crimes have been seen by all and Suharto and his kind cannot deny them."

Sixty-eight-year-old Yang Hsiang-mei told how she learnt from the newspapers that her son Hsieh Wen-chiao, Secretary of the Overseas Chinese Federation in Kependjen in Malang, had been stabbed to death by

Indonesian Right-wing thugs. Holding back her tears, she recalled that her son had lived in Indonesia for more than 20 years and had close ties with the local people. Her younger son Hsieh Chien told how his martyred brother had spared no effort to collect money and material to help the Indonesian people when the volcano Agung on Bali Island erupted in 1962, and when floods devastated East Java in 1963, and how he and other Chinese residents had assisted in the building of a university in Malang County in 1963. He said: "My elder brother had ties of profound friendship with the local Indonesian people. The crime of the Indonesian Right-wing hooligans in killing him has not only aroused indignation among the Chinese people but has also been severely condemned by the Indonesian people."

Many other Chinese nationals now back from Indonesia in their speeches spoke of the friendship between the ordinary Indonesian people and Chinese nationals. Some of them described how, at the risk of their own lives, Indonesian people befriended the persecuted Chinese nationals. They recalled how their Indonesian friends had condemned the handful of Right-wing forces as the scum of the Indonesian nation who were destroying the traditional friendship between the people of China and Indonesia. "The day will come when we'll settle accounts with them," many Indonesians had told their Chinese friends.

The general sentiment among overseas Chinese was expressed by Liu Yao-tseng, President of the Djakarta General Association of Overseas Chinese Organization who had just returned from Indonesia. In his speech at a meeting in Canton, he sternly warned the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces: "Though you have ruthlessly persecuted Chinese nationals, we are fully confident of our ability to defeat the anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign you have stirred up, because we have the leadership of Chairman Mao and the support of our powerful socialist motherland."

## Peking Marks "African Liberation Day"

**M**ORE than 1,000 people gathered at a rally in the Chinese capital on May 24 to commemorate "African Liberation Day" and express the resolute support of the Chinese people for the African people in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, and to win and uphold national independence.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Yang Ming-hsuan, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, attended the rally. Diplomatic envoys of African countries and African experts,

students and visitors were also present. The rally heard speeches by Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity; Camara Sekou, Ambassador of Guinea who represented diplomatic envoys of African countries in China; L.E. Morrison, Azanian Member of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association; and Hussein Abdilahi Liban of Somalia.

Liao Cheng-chih in his speech pointed out that the most important task before the African people today was to carry the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle

through to the end so as to achieve complete political and economic independence. He denounced imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States for launching a frenzied counter-attack on the African people's cause of unity against imperialism and condemned U.S. imperialism and its partners for having recently engineered a series of military coups d'etat and subversive activities in African countries. He pointed out that though these actions might for a time stir up an adverse current they could never check the victorious flow of the main current of the African people's anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle.

Liao Cheng-chih condemned modern revisionism, whose centre is the leading group of the Soviet Union, for having played the ignominious role of an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in sabotaging the African people's anti-imperialist struggle. He said: "With a view to serving imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, the modern revisionists try their best to spread all kinds of fallacies, saying that colonialism has become more 'sensible,' that it will 'get out of the colonies' of its own accord, that 'the national-liberation movement has entered the final phase of the abolition of the colonial system,' that 'the socio-economic problems have become the key problems of African countries' and so on and so forth. Recently, they have been peddling everywhere 'the Tashkent spirit,' advocating reconciliation and coexistence between the oppressed and the oppressor, between the victim of aggression and the aggressor."

Although the modern revisionists sometimes put up gestures to support the anti-imperialist struggle of the African people, they cannot cover up the ugly reality of their sham support and true betrayal, Liao Cheng-chih declared. He stressed that in order to win freedom and liberation and in order to win true victory in the struggle against imperialism, it was imperative to oppose, at the same time, modern revisionism, the accomplice of imperialism.

Liao Cheng-chih said that Chairman Mao Tse-tung had pointed out long ago: "The frantic struggles of the imperialists and reactionaries will only stimulate the peoples of African countries to sharper vigilance and stronger determination in the fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the defence of national independence and the prosperity and progress of their countries."

Liao Cheng-chih reaffirmed that whatever the cost, the Chinese people would resolutely support the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the African people, resolutely support the just struggle of the people of all independent African countries to oppose imperialist subversion, intervention and aggression and

safeguard their national sovereignty and independence. This revolutionary and principled stand of the Chinese people had been frenziedly opposed and attacked by the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries. This only served to show that the Chinese people were perfectly right in supporting the struggles of African and other peoples. They would unswervingly maintain this course of action and would not retreat one step. Should the U.S. imperialists dare to impose an aggressive war on China, the 650 million Chinese people would use the invincible might of people's war to bury them completely. The great friendship between the Chinese and African peoples could stand the test of time and this friendship was bound to be developed and consolidated still further in the common anti-imperialist struggle in the days to come, Liao Cheng-chih said.

In his speech, Guinean Ambassador Camara Sekou said that the importance attached to "African Liberation Day" by the Chinese people once again demonstrated the sincere militant friendship cherished by the great Chinese people for the African continent and for all the oppressed countries of the world.

Though the imperialists had tried everything, their schemes were bound to fail, he said. This was because it was the people who created history and today the people of the whole of Africa were without exception devoting themselves to the genuine, unified and entirely revolutionary cause.

L.E. Morrison pointed out that the awakened African people had gradually come to realize that counter-revolutionary violence must be opposed by revolutionary violence. Imperialism, colonialism and their lackeys could not escape their historical fate of collapse which would be brought about by the revolutionary people of Africa through armed struggle. The struggle against imperialism was closely connected with the struggle against the bogus revolutionaries, he said. Both imperialists and bogus revolutionaries were equally dangerous. To bring both of them to ruin struggle must be waged against them.

Hussein Abdillahi Liban said in his speech that no matter what conspiracies ferocious imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys might try, they could not turn the tide of people's revolution. He pointed out that imperialism led by the United States took the form of new colonialism and masked its face with economic and technical aid. We must never think that imperialism would become kind and reasonable, he warned. Imperialism's hands were stained with the blood of the progressive leaders and the people of Africa, and the African people would never forget this.



# China Supports Palestinian People's Struggle

**P**ALESTINE Day" was observed in Peking on May 20 by a rally of more than 1,500 people from all circles. In the name of the entire Chinese people, they proclaimed resolute support for the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine against U.S. imperialism and its tool of aggression, Israel, and for their return to their homeland. They also pledged the firmest support to all other Arab peoples who, in order to win and safeguard their independence, are putting up an unyielding struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and old and new colonialism.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Liu Ning-I, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, attended the meeting. Also present were diplomatic envoys and friends from Arab countries and friends from various countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Oceania and from the United States.

The rally was addressed by Kuo Chien, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity; Rashid Said Jarbou, Chief of the Office of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking; Mohamed Atef el Nawawi, representative of the envoys of the Arab countries in Peking and Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the U.A.R. Embassy; and D. Manuweera (Ceylon), representative of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association. Their speeches were greeted with warm applause.

A message of support addressed to the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian people was adopted.

In her speech, Kuo Chien stated emphatically that the Chinese people were unwavering in their support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Palestinian people and all Arab peoples. "We will never recognize Israel, the U.S. imperialist tool of aggression. This just stand is unshakable," she declared.

Kuo Chien exposed U.S. imperialism as having created Israel as a dagger in the heart of the Arab world and using it for constant aggression and provocation against the Arab countries. U.S. imperialism was the arch criminal that was subjecting the Arab countries to aggression, interference, subversion and division.

She denounced the United Nations as the tool of U.S. imperialism on the Palestine question from the very beginning, and pointed out: "The United Nations serves the U.S. aggressors on the Palestine ques-

tion as it did on the questions of the Congo (L), the Dominican Republic, and so on. The U.N. flag is stained with the blood of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

Kuo Chien condemned the Soviet revisionist leading group which pretended to be a "friend" of the Arab peoples. She said that they hypocritically professed support for the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples, but were in fact acting in collusion with U.S. imperialism and Zionism, playing the despicable game of selling out the national interests of the Arab peoples. They were accomplices of U.S. imperialism in its aggression against and oppression of the Arab peoples.

"Soviet official circles openly stated that Khrushchov's proposal for a so-called peaceful settlement of international territorial disputes was also applicable to Israel and the Arab countries," she pointed out. "Recently, their press has made great efforts to laud the 'Tashkent spirit' and advertise 'conciliation' and 'peaceful coexistence' between the Arab countries and Israel. By doing so, they have won the praise and favourable response of the United States and the Israeli ruling clique. At many international conferences, Soviet representatives have actually sided with U.S. imperialism and Israel, its tool for aggression, and refused to support the just struggle of the people of Palestine. At the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference early this year, in disregard of the demands of the Arab representatives and many representatives from other parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Soviet representative firmly opposed the adoption of a resolution for severing all relations with Israel. This once again reveals their ugly features of sham support for and real betrayal of the Arab peoples."

Kuo Chien paid high tribute to the indomitable struggle being waged by the heroic Arab people of Palestine against U.S. imperialism and its tool of aggression, Israel. She expressed her conviction that provided the Palestinian people relied on their own strength, united still more closely and persevered in struggle, they would certainly win final victory, supported as they were by all the Arab peoples and the people of Asia, Africa and of the whole world.

Rashid Said Jarbou declared in his speech: "The Palestinian people reassert that armed struggle is the only way leading to the liberation of their motherland."

He noted that certain people had been saying that the question of Palestine should be settled in the "spirit of Tashkent." "The Palestine Liberation Organization firmly rejects the application of this formula to the question of Palestine. It regards whoever seeks to act in this way as helping colonialism and its base of aggression Israel to entrench themselves in the heartland of the Arab countries," he stated.

Mohamed Atef el Nawawi pointed out in his speech: "A front comprising Britain, the United States and international Zionism has sought to turn Palestine into a Zionist state, an imperialist base and a pillar of monopoly capital."

But, he said, the Arab countries remained firm in their conviction that it was necessary to adopt fresh and effective measures to promote the liberation of their motherland by the Palestinian people. Like all other liberation struggles throughout the world, the cause of the liberation of Palestine would triumph only by waging an armed struggle.

D. Manuweera stated in his speech that journalists of Asia and Africa would use their pens to expose before the whole world the crime committed by U.S. imperialism and the United Nations against the Palestinian refugees.

He denounced those hypocritical revolutionaries who "are collaborating and conniving with the U.S.

imperialists to thwart the national-liberation struggles now being waged in many countries of the world," and "in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, proposing that the Israeli-Arab dispute be solved on the basis of 'Tashkent talks.'" He said: "The Afro-Asian Journalists' Association will not think twice before exposing the vicious schemes of these fake revolutionaries and their dirty tricks to deceive the Arab people."

On the same afternoon, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the China Islamic Association and the All-China Journalists' Association gave a reception to mark "Palestine Day" and to support the struggle of the Palestine people against U.S. imperialism.

Rashid Said Jarbou and his wife were among the friends from Arab and various Asian and African countries who were present. During the reception, the hosts and guests chatted cordially and drank many toasts to the victory of the Palestine people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for liberation.

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity sent cables to Ahmed el Shukeiry, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Third Palestine National Congress which opened in Gaza on May 20, expressing firm support for the liberation struggle of the people of Palestine. The China Islamic Association also cabled Ahmed el Shukeiry in support of the struggle of the Palestine people against U.S. imperialism.

# Speech of Chinese Delegate

## At Fifth Conference of Afro-Asian Organization For Economic Co-operation

- **Let us eradicate imperialist influence thoroughly and win complete political and economic independence.**
- **The Soviet leaders are accomplices of U.S. imperialism and the awakened Afro-Asian people will not fall into the trap set by them.**

**S**PEAKING at the May 18 plenary session of the fifth conference of the Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Co-operation, head of the Chinese delegation Hou Tung proposed a five-point stand as the basis for the development of economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries:

1. We should hold high the banner of solidarity against imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the United States, carry through to the end the struggle to win and safeguard national independence, put an end to imperialist and old and new colonialist

aggression, control and plunder, and achieve complete and lasting political independence and economic independence.

2. Among the independent Afro-Asian countries, we should actively strengthen and develop economic relations and promote the development of independent national economies in accordance with the spirit of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, mutual assistance and co-operation and friendly consultation.

## Soviet Revisionists' Scheme to Worm Their Way Into AFRASEC Ends in Fiasco

**T**HE Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Co-operation held its fifth conference from May 16 to 19 at Beni Mellal and Casablanca in Morocco.

More than 20 Afro-Asian countries were represented. They included China, Morocco, Pakistan, Guinea, Mali, the United Arab Republic and Japan.

In his speech, the leader of the Chinese delegation, Hou Tung, who is Vice-Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, submitted proposals for the development of economic co-operation among the Afro-Asian countries.

During the conference, the Uzbek Chamber of Commerce of the Soviet Union, at the bidding of the Soviet modern revisionist leadership, tried hard to worm its way into the organization with a view to creating obstacles for the conference and undermining Afro-Asian unity. But this vicious attempt was thwarted.

The Chinese delegation exposed the move at the meeting of the organization's administrative council held on the eve of the conference. The delegation declared that the conference should in no way discuss the question of admitting the Uzbek Chamber of Commerce. The Chinese delegate pointed out that, according to the organization's statute, only Afro-Asian countries are entitled to membership. Uzbekistan was only a republic of the Soviet Union, with its central government in far-away Moscow, which was in Europe. The modern revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union now

actually wanted to seat one of its union republics as an equal with the sovereign states of Africa and Asia. This was typical big-power chauvinism and was an insult to the Afro-Asian nations.

This just stand won the support of many other delegates. Taking into consideration the views of the delegates as well as the statute of the organization, the administrative council finally decided that the fifth conference would not discuss the question.

Unreconciled to its failure, the Soviet Uzbek Chamber of Commerce deliberately created difficulties at the conference. This aroused much dissatisfaction. Some delegates said that since the Soviet Union was neither an Asian nor an African country, it had no right whatsoever to be admitted. What, they asked, would become of the organization if the Soviet Union were admitted? As a result of the opposition of many delegates, the Uzbek Chamber of Commerce failed in its illegal attempt to obtain acceptance.

The conference adopted resolutions on sectoral economic co-operation, on the role of Afro-Asian members in economic development and on the convening of an Afro-Asian conference on mercantile marine.

At the closing session on May 19, Morocco was elected chairman and Iraq and Guinea vice-chairmen of the organization.

A new council composed of China, Pakistan, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, the U.A.R., Japan and eight other countries was also elected.

3. We should actively expand trade with each other and give most-favoured-nation treatment on a voluntary and reciprocal basis, in accordance with our needs and capabilities and in appropriate ways.

4. We should mutually provide economic and technical aid without attaching any conditions or demanding any special privileges, and exchange technical experience on the basis of equality and mutual benefit so as to speed up the process of forming and expanding an army of technical personnel in each

country in accordance with our needs and capabilities and in effective ways.

5. We should act in co-ordination and take concerted steps in a resolute struggle against the actions of imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the United States in using various so-called international organizations directly or indirectly to undermine the interests of the Afro-Asian countries, and against acts of great-power chauvinism and national egoism by which it is sought to control and exploit other nations

and make them economic appendages, under the guise of "international division of labour" or "specialization of production."

Hou Tung pointed out in his speech first of all that in more than seven years since the organization was founded in 1958, the people of Africa and Asia, holding aloft the banner of solidarity against imperialism, had won great victories in waging persistent struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the United States in order to win and defend national independence, develop independent national economies and liquidate colonial influence. In particular, the tremendous victories won by the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation had placed the U.S. imperialists in a desperate dilemma and had resulted in them being beset with difficulties at home and abroad. Never before had the imperialists been so isolated or in such great difficulty and never before had the anti-imperialist forces of the Afro-Asian people been so mighty and strong. But the imperialists and old and new colonialists headed by the United States would never withdraw from the stage of history of their own accord and were putting up a death-bed struggle.

In the economic fields in many Afro-Asian countries, the imperialists and old and new colonialists headed by the United States still enjoyed various privileges, controlled important sectors of production and economic lifelines and cruelly exploited and plundered through their investment, trade and "aid."

"Imperialism and old and new colonialism are also taking advantage of their monopoly positions in the economies of many Afro-Asian countries to ensure a continuous flow of the wealth of these countries into their pockets," he said. "According to preliminary calculations, in recent years imperialism and old and new colonialism have extorted more than ten thousand million U.S. dollars yearly from these countries in profits and interest and from unequal exchange of commodities.

"What is more serious is that imperialism and old and new colonialism are increasingly using their economic influence in the Afro-Asian countries as an important means to interfere in the internal affairs, to infringe on the sovereignty, and to control the destiny of these countries, and even to subvert their governments. The clearest evidence of this is provided by the series of coups d'etat engineered recently by imperialism in the Afro-Asian countries."

Hou Tung pointed out that these facts cannot but attract serious attention from the economic circles and the masses of the people in the Afro-Asian countries. The influence of imperialism and old and new colonial-

ism was far from being completely swept out of Asia and Africa. Finding themselves getting into a more and more hopeless situation, the imperialists and old and new colonialists had become more frantic in their counter-attacks. The Afro-Asian people would either completely crush imperialist rule, and thoroughly wipe out imperialist influence in the economic, political, military, cultural and other fields, or imperialism would stage a come-back to enslave and strangle us. There was no middle-of-the-road alternative here. Therefore the primary task of the Afro-Asian people was to carry the anti-imperialist struggle through to the end, and achieve complete political independence and economic independence.

"Running against the tide of history, imperialism may temporarily stir up an adverse current, but it will never be able to prevent the victorious advance of the main stream of anti-imperialist struggle of the Afro-Asian people," he said. "On the contrary, it can only further awaken the Afro-Asian people and arouse their stronger resistance. The present international situation is, in essence, even more favourable than before to the Afro-Asian people who are united against imperialism and decidedly unfavourable to imperialism and old and new colonialism. A new, more powerful, more broadly based, more violent storm of anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle will soon rise in Asia and Africa."

At this crucial historical moment of the Afro-Asian people's struggle for liberation, however, the leading group of the C.P.S.U., who described themselves as "friends" of the Afro-Asian people, were preaching that "Asia and Africa have almost shaken off the fetters of colonial enslavement," that "the Afro-Asian national-liberation movement has entered its final phase of abolishing the colonial system" and that "imperialism and old and new colonialism have abandoned exploitation, recognizing that it does not pay" and so on. They wanted us to believe that we can rely on the United Nations which is a tool in the hands of imperialism to "bestow" national independence, that we can rely on the "aid" of imperialism to develop our economy and that we can carry out "international division of labour" and "economic co-operation" with imperialism. But facts have proved that all these are lies. The leading group of the C.P.S.U. even went so far as to sit together with the "delegates" of the United States, and its puppets in Saigon, south Korea and the Chiang Kai-shek clique to discuss the establishment of the "Asian Development Bank," which was to serve Johnson's plan of armed aggression against Vietnam, and declared that they would co-operate with this bank. What they had said and done was completely false and was aimed at lulling the anti-imperialist, revolutionary spirit of the Afro-Asian people and inducing them to give up their struggle against imperialism. They were out and out apologists for old and new colonialism and accomplices

of U.S. imperialism. The awakened Afro-Asian people would definitely not fall into their trap.

Hou Tung pointed out that the experience of many Afro-Asian countries showed us that we must throw off dependence upon imperialism completely and rely mainly on the efforts of our own people. This means to pursue a policy of self-reliance.

To develop the economy through self-reliance means: To abolish completely all political and economic special rights and privileges enjoyed by the imperialists and place the vital sectors of the economy firmly in our own hands; to rely on the labour enthusiasm and collective wisdom of the people of our own countries; to utilize fully all the national resources that can be made use of, and base the national economy on a nation's own manpower, material and financial resources; to change step by step the monocrop economy caused by imperialism and colonialism, in accordance with the possibilities of the country and needs of the people of the whole country and gradually achieve industrialization; to carry out national construction by methods that accord both with objective laws and with the specific conditions of the country; and to advocate the spirit of diligence and the practice of thrift and, on the basis of the development of production, to gradually raise the living standard of the people of the whole country.

"Our organization was established in response to the call of the Bandung Conference to unite against imperialism and develop Afro-Asian economic co-operation," Hou Tung said. "It will contribute to this cause so long as it firmly adheres to this spirit. It is with this noble objective that all of us have come to attend this conference. However, we have to say with deep regret that the document submitted by the secretariat as a basic paper for discussion under the title 'Sectoral Collaboration Ensures Effective Economic Co-operation' runs completely counter to the spirit of solidarity against imperialism. The essence of that paper and its basic contents are against the fundamental and long-term interests of the Afro-Asian people. In order to uphold the interests of the Afro-Asian people, our organization, the AFRASEC, must clearly distinguish enemy from friend and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. This document attempts to turn the AFRASEC into an organization which 'gains the confidence and respect of friend and foe alike' and into an instrument of 'understanding and agreement' between the Afro-Asian countries and imperialism. This is utterly wrong and runs completely counter to the objective of the organization. It will not be endorsed by the Afro-Asian people. Therefore, this document submitted by the secretariat should not be used as a basic paper for discussion. A new one should be prepared on the basis of full deliberation."

Hou Tung then proposed the five-point stand for the development of economic co-operation among Afro-Asian countries.

He continued: "Before ending my speech, I should like to raise a question of paramount importance to the Asian and African people, that is, to support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle to drive out U.S. imperialism, to liberate the south, to defend the north and reunify their motherland." He said that the victories won by the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation had given powerful support to the struggle of the Afro-Asian people for winning and defending their national independence.

The Chinese delegation therefore proposed that the conference should express the common will of the Afro-Asian people, resolutely support the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, resolutely support the Vietnamese people in driving all the U.S. forces of aggression out of Vietnam, and resolutely expose and oppose all forms of the "peace talks" fraud plotted by Johnson and his accomplices.

Hou Tung said, "We must particularly point out that, though the leading group of the C.P.S.U. gives lip-service to support for Vietnam and opposition to the United States, they in fact have never stopped their behind-the-scenes manoeuvres for the 'peace talks' fraud. The so-called aid they have given Vietnam is far from commensurate with the strength of the Soviet Union. Their aim is not to aid the Vietnamese people to defeat U.S. imperialism, but through it to gain capital for peddling the U.S. 'peace talks' swindle, in order to extinguish the revolutionary flames of the Vietnamese people's struggle and thus to serve U.S. imperialism. Once again, this proves that the leading group of the C.P.S.U. are absolutely not the friends of the Afro-Asian countries, but accomplices of our No. 1 enemy — U.S. imperialism. We must resolutely expose and oppose them. We must also stress that the Chinese people are fully prepared to deal with the scheme of U.S. imperialism to expand its war of aggression. The larger the scale on which U.S. imperialism expands the war, the more ignominious will be the defeat it will suffer."

In conclusion, Hou Tung said: "The imperialists won't get out unless they are driven out. They won't fall unless they are hit. We, the Afro-Asian people, will certainly be able to drive imperialism and old and new colonialism out of Asia and Africa and build an independent, sovereign, prosperous and powerful new Asia and new Africa so long as we raise high the banner of solidarity against imperialism, of national independence, self-reliance and mutual support and aid, and resolutely struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and its accomplices of all hues and shades."

# Peoples Abroad Continue to Acclaim China's Third Nuclear Test

*Statements in support of China's third successful nuclear test which was held on May 9 continue to appear in the foreign press. At the same time, messages of greetings are pouring in from overseas. They are representative of the worldwide support for China's efforts to strengthen national defence still further and to safeguard the security of the country and the peace of the world. Some of these statements and greetings were published in the last issue of "Peking Review" (No. 21). The following is a further selection. — Ed.*

**Samdech Norodom Sihanouk**, Cambodian Head of State, in a message to Premier Chou En-lai, conveyed his "most sincere congratulations on China's new nuclear test which is a magnificent scientific success of China." "All peoples cherishing justice and peace and opposing the imperialist aggressors will draw from it added confidence in their future, and pay tribute to the wisdom of China, the only atomic power which has solemnly declared that it will never be the first to use these weapons of mass destruction," he said.

**Houari Boumedienne**, Chairman of the Algerian National Council of Revolution and Premier of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, sent Chairman Liu Shao-chi a letter congratulating China on its nuclear explosion containing thermo-nuclear material.

**P.V. Sarma**, chief representative of the Mission of the Malayan National Liberation League in the People's Republic of China, has written a message of greetings to Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity. This new explosion, he said, would give added stimulus to the Malayan people to crush the British-U.S. neo-colonialist product of "Malaysia" and struggle for a genuinely independent, democratic and reunified Malaya. It demolished the nuclear blackmail and threats of U.S. imperialism and its abettors and told the Soviet modern revisionists that they had failed in trying, together with the U.S. imperialists, to maintain a nuclear monopoly and sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples of the whole world.

**Ibrahim Isa**, Indonesian Representative at the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and Secretary-General of the Indonesian Organization for Asian-African People's Solidarity, in a letter to Liao Cheng-chih, said the explosion was a brilliant achievement of the Chinese people that must be ascribed to the correct and wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "The Indonesian people," he declared, "regard this achievement as their own, and also as the achievement of the struggling peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

**The Cameroon General Confederation of Labour**, has sent a message to the Chinese Embassy in Conakry, which reads in part: "When we think that the science of nuclear arms will from now on be mastered completely by the Chinese people led by a glorious Party and by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, we, the world's peace fighters, are filled with the certainty of the final victory of our struggle against the imperialist aggressor and exploiter, of the victory of the people's revolution of the entire world."

**The Zimbabwe African National Union** issued a statement in Dar-es-Salaam saying: "The Zimbabwe people hope that Mao Tse-tung's thinking will be used by all the peoples of Asia and Africa as a shield against the forces of imperialism headed by the U.S." Signed by its chief representative in the Tanzanian capital, E.M. Pasipanodya, the statement let it be known that "the Zimbabwe people are behind China" and expressed the hope that China would continue building up its military forces and developing nuclear weapons in order to defend the people against the United States.

**Reu Uria Simango**, Vice-President of the Mozambique Liberation Front, told a Hsinhua correspondent: "China is a revolutionary, anti-imperialist country, and a great supporter of national-liberation movements." He pointed out that its latest nuclear explosion meant "the strengthening of all revolutionary forces in the world and encouragement to all liberation movements."

**Ahmed el Shukeiry**, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, said he was proud of the success because it served world peace.

**Naji Ahmad Kouni**, Secretary of the U.A.R. Branch of the Palestine Workers' Federation, announced in Cairo that "it is a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism" and "we consider the strength of the Chinese people as our own strength, their achievement as our achievement."

**Jose Venturelli**, Chilean peace champion, in his message to the China Peace Committee, said that a nuclear weapon in the hands of the revolutionary Chinese people was a guarantee for peace.

**Santiago Garcia**, dramatist and Director of the Colombian House of Culture, said that China's latest test was a step towards peace because the monopoly of atomic weapons by imperialism meant the danger of nuclear blackmail against mankind.

**Felix Salcedo**, General Secretary of Colombia's National Federation of University Students, said that the clamour against China's nuclear test was produced because it resolutely defended the interests of the world's oppressed and because it vigorously exposed the U.S. policy of nuclear blackmail pursued under the mask of "peace."

# ROUND THE WORLD

## SOUTH VIETNAM

### Strife Among Puppets Non-plusses Their U.S. Masters

The U.S. military effort and political manoeuvring in south Vietnam have now both come to a dead end. The schemes hatched at the Honolulu conference which were intended to stabilize the puppet regime have run upon the rocks as the protracted strife between the Nguyen Cao Ky-Nguyen Van Thieu group in Saigon and the Nguyen Chanh Thi group in the Da Nang-Hue area has flared up into armed conflict. It began just when U.S. "Ambassador" Lodge was called back to Washington for consultations on further escalating the war in south Vietnam.

The latest crisis was brought about by the Saigon group's dispatch of troops to Da Nang in an attempt to crush its opposition headed by Nguyen Chanh Thi, former commander of the puppet First Army Corps, whom Ky removed from his command in early March. A "National Political Congress," called by Ky in mid April on the orders of his Washington mentors, at which "general elections" and "civil government" were promised, had failed to appease the opposition. Then came the show-down of force. Fierce fighting followed, resulting in several hundred casualties. Americans were also wounded as shells and rockets from both sides landed among the American positions.

Despite Saigon's big garrison, Buddhists there have become more active in their fight against the Ky administration. More than 1,000 Buddhist youths demonstrated in the streets on May 18 carrying banners denouncing the Americans for helping Nguyen Cao Ky to send troops to Da Nang. At a meeting, Buddhist students angrily declared that Lodge and the U.S. Government were "completely responsible for the Da Nang aggression." A "suicide squad" was formed by 30 young Buddhists who

threatened to set fire to themselves if need be. On May 21 and 22, thousands of Buddhists again demonstrated, shouting "Yankees, go home!"

As the clash between the two contending factions grows more serious, the Saigon puppet regime is fast disintegrating. The Saigon police chief is now at loggerheads with the commander of the puppet First Army Corps appointed by Ky to replace Thi, while the "secretary of state" in charge of inspection resigned on May 18 in protest against Ky's policy in central south Vietnam. The puppet chief of staff of the "first tactical region" has also resigned.

Lodge, who returned to Saigon on May 20, intervened immediately in the situation by sending urgent messages to the two contending factions. He stressed that "the current crisis is having an adverse effect" on the U.S. He warned his warring puppets that "the blazing conflict" "is endangering continued American support."

The sharpening of the internal strife among the puppets, in the final analysis, is the result of the victories of the people in south Vietnam. Washington is finding it difficult "to bring the various factions to an understanding of the need for unity" because, in the words of Johnson, "there is no instant solution to any of the problems they [the puppets] face."

#### THE AMERICAN "BRIDGE"

### Hastening Capitalism's Come-Back in the Soviet Union

Early this month, speaking on the millenary of the establishment of Christianity in Poland, U.S. President Johnson heaped praises on the Soviet revisionist leadership for its all-out effort to put into operation the principles of profit and material incentive, important steps in the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. In-

spired by these changes, Johnson declared that his government would "continue to build bridges across the gulf which has separated us from Eastern Europe."

One of his "bridges" is "the intimate engagement of peaceful trade." On orders from Johnson, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk on May 11 recommended to Congress legislation for extending to the Soviet Union and some East European countries "most favoured nation" treatment in trade with the U.S. Congress was told that the purpose of the legislation is to speed up the building of "bridges" as a means of promoting peaceful evolution in the Soviet Union and some East European countries. He made it clear that the aim of the "expansion of trade" was to encourage the restoration of capitalism. Growth of trade with these countries, he added, "will make it possible, little by little, to influence them towards greater internal freedom and towards peaceful relations with the free world."

On personnel and cultural exchanges with the East European countries, the U.S. President said, these were small steps, but "the beginnings of all things are small." He envisaged that from these the U.S. could "take other steps to help revive the intellectual, commercial, and cultural currents which once criss-crossed Europe. . . ."

Among the American "cultural currents" which will soon be criss-crossing the Soviet Union are those of the American Ballet Theatre, the Earl Hines jazz band, the New England Conservatory Choir, which specializes in religious songs, and the Boston Symphony Orchestra's chamber group. Their tours are provided for by the U.S.-Soviet cultural exchange agreement signed in March last. Under the agreement, the corrupt culture of decaying U.S. imperialism will find its way into the Soviet Union to help accelerate capitalist restoration. Before the agreement was signed, Johnson himself ordered a review of it to ensure that the attractions selected by the U.S. would be permitted to be presented in the Soviet Union.

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