

PEKING REVIEW

8

February 18, 1966

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Confessions Concerning the Line of Soviet-U.S. Collaboration Pursued by The New Leaders of the C.P.S.U.

by *Hongqi* Commentator

*Self-Reliance in Developing the
Textile Industry*

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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3. United Action Is Impossible With Those Who Transpose Enemies and Friends
4. The New Leaders of the CPSU Are Taking United Action With the United States on the Question of Vietnam
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北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 18, 1966 Vol. IX No. 8

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THE WEEK

A New Type of Man

As the pace of socialist revolution and socialist construction in China grows swifter, a new type of man is emerging in growing numbers. They are highly politically-minded, dedicated heart and soul to the revolution, and they perform remarkable feats despite great odds. Guided by the revolutionary teachings of Mao Tse-tung, they work in different fields with an ideal and a will. The names of two such men who have become examples for the whole nation to follow made headlines in the press during the past week.

A County Party Secretary

One of them is Chiao Yu-lu, the late secretary of the Lankao County Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He successfully mobilized the leadership and the people to combat one of the worst natural calamities known to Lankao and to work out plans for transforming their poor farmland in order to obtain self-sufficiency in grain. His selfless devotion to the revolutionary cause and his study and creative application of Mao Tse-tung's works have earned him the honoured title of "outstanding student of Chairman Mao."

The story of Chiao Yu-lu's revolutionary qualities and methods of work was published in the press on February 7 and broadcast over the national radio network. The response was immediate and spontaneous. A campaign soon took shape all over the country to study and learn from Chiao's communist qualities of wholehearted service to the people.

Chiao took up his post as Party secretary in Lankao County in the winter of 1962. Located in the eastern part of Honan Province with a long history of inability to support itself in grain, Lankao was hit that year by an extremely severe natural

calamity. Crops on two-thirds of the land were either destroyed or damaged by sandstorms, waterlogging and saline matter in the soil—the three endemic enemies of the local inhabitants. When Chiao arrived, whole families of peasants were being evacuated to better-off areas. The county headquarters was converted into a relief centre, sending grain, coal and winter clothing to all parts of the county.

Chiao, who suffered from a serious liver ailment, worked in Lankao for only 18 months. But in that time he helped to imbue the leadership and the people there with revolutionary spirit and determination to fight and conquer all difficulties. Under his guidance, they turned from merely taking relief measures to attacking the problems at the roots. They made a thorough investigation of the impact of the floods and sandstorms on all the land in Lankao and worked out detailed remedies as part of a co-ordinated long-term plan. They planted trees to control the drifting sands, dredged waterways to drain off excess water, and covered the alkaline top soil with fertile soil dug up from underneath. These measures have greatly helped to transform the face of Lankao. From beginning to end, Chiao drew on the wisdom and skill of the hard-working people, and stimulated their desire to fight back and make Nature yield to their will. He always worked alongside them, lived with them, learnt from them, and shared their ups and downs in the best tradition of the Chinese Communist Party.

In May 1964 when Lankao was well on its way to self-sufficiency in grain for the first time ever, Chiao died of cancer of the liver at the age of 42. Under his pillow were two books: *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and *How to Be a Good Communist* by Liu Shao-chi. He did not live to see the fruits of his and his

comrades' efforts, but his exploits will always be remembered and will fill another illustrious page in the movement to study Mao Tse-tung's works now gathering momentum among the Chinese people.

It was Mao Tse-tung's thinking that gave Chiao Yu-lu the courage and determination and pointed out for him the way to give leadership which enabled the people to solve their pressing problems. Such leadership, which applies the stand, viewpoint and methods advocated by Mao Tse-tung to practical work, has led the revolutionary Chinese people to bring about tremendous revolutionary changes.

A Proletarian Fighter

"As long as there is a breath left in me, I'll never flinch before the enemy and I'll carry on the fight and do my bit for the liberation of the oppressed working people."

Combat hero Mai Hsien-teh wrote this pledge in his diary on April 15, 1965 after studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's work *Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle* written in August 1949. Mai fulfilled the pledge to the letter a few months later in a naval battle against intruding Chiang warships. Sustaining a severe head injury which would have incapacitated a less tenacious person, he kept to his post throughout the battle and discharged his duty till the enemy ships were sunk. What he did in the three hours after he was wounded makes an epic that stirs the hearts of the people across the nation.

Now convalescing in a hospital in Canton, Mai has received thousands of letters expressing admiration for his valiant deeds and determination to carry forward the revolutionary heroism he displayed. Vice-Premier Ho Lung and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council Yeh Chien-ying travelled specially to Canton to see him recently, conveying to him Chairman Mao Tse-tung's best regards and wishing him speedy recovery.

Mai Hsien-teh operated an engine on a gunboat of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Last August 6,

when two warships of the Chiang Kai-shek gang intruded into fishing grounds off the southeast China coast on a harassing mission, P.L.A. gunboats on patrol were ordered into action. Mai was operating the control panel of the main engine of one of the gunboats which engaged the enemy ships in close-range battle. As the fighting intensified, a piece of shrapnel struck Mai in the forehead. He fell to the floor, unconscious. While a comrade was bandaging the wound, Mai came to. Struggling to his feet, he groped his way to the panel. Blood oozing from the wound went into his eyes, but he continued to work the controls. Despite his severe wound, Mai went round to check his engine. Within the labyrinth of pipes, he located a screw which had become loose. He took up a spanner and tightened it, ensuring the normal operation of the engine throughout the battle. . . .

When Mai was later taken to the hospital, the diagnosis revealed that the piece of shrapnel which hit him had penetrated the right frontal lobe of the brain and entered the left frontal lobe beside the skull, causing serious injury to various parts of the cerebral cortex. That Mai had persisted in performing his duty for three hours on end after sustaining his injury, said the doctor in charge of his case, "defied all known laws of science."

Mai is the 21-year-old son of a boatman. Just over two years ago he joined the P.L.A. — the great revolutionary cauldron that has produced men of such mettle as Lei Feng and Wang Chieh. Like them, Mai has avidly studied Chairman Mao's works which serve him as the highest instructions for all work, inspire him to great deeds and make him and countless others men of steel nerves who fill the ranks of the P.L.A. today.

For More Cotton in 1966

Phenomenal changes — both in people's outlook and their material well-being — continue to take place in this country. To many observers, they are near miraculous.

The nation's cotton crop is one of many examples of the upward climb

in agricultural production since the three successive difficult years (1959-61) of big natural calamities. The rise in cotton production has been particularly outstanding.

New advances in 1965 raised both total output and per-*mu* yield to the highest level yet recorded. This followed two years of constant rise: 1963 production overshot that of 1962 by 50 per cent and 1964 excelled the previous year's harvest by more than 30 per cent.

The latest good news came from a recent national conference on cotton in Peking. Many counties and special administrative regions brought in excellent harvests which averaged over 100 *jin* of ginned cotton per *mu*, while a number of people's communes and production brigades reported exceptional 200 *jin* per-*mu* yields.

Many factors contributed to 1965's excellent harvest. The traditionally low-yielding northern provinces increased per-*mu* yields by a big margin last year. The rich cotton fields in the Yangtse River basin raised their output still higher and more areas, including places in north-east China which have a cold climate and only a short frost-free period, gathered in a big harvest. Topping all this, the nation's cotton belt was further extended last year to include Kwangtung, Fukien and Hunan Provinces which grew little or no cotton in the past.

With total acreage enlarged on the basis of successful experiments made in the preceding years and with the popularization of improved techniques, the outlook for cotton production is now better than ever.

War Council in Honolulu

The gathering in Honolulu of the masters from Washington and the stooges from Saigon was a council of war. The eleventh of a series of mid-Pacific parleys since 1961, it points to a further expansion of U.S. aggression against Vietnam. That Johnson had to journey to Honolulu was another sign of the U.S. predicament in Vietnam.

In Los Angeles on his way back to Washington, Johnson said on Feb-

ruary 8 that the war in Vietnam must be won on two fronts. "One front is military. The other front is the struggle against social injustice; against hunger, disease and ignorance; against political apathy and indifference."

Neither front, however, affords Johnson any comfort. The number of U.S. aggressor troops in south Vietnam has passed the 200,000 mark, but under the hammer blows of the heroic south Vietnamese people their military situation is as precarious as ever. The Honolulu conference left no doubt that Washington would redouble its stakes in an attempt to recoup its losses. But stepped-up U.S. war efforts mean that its losses would grow *pari passu*.

Military coups, corruption and factional feuding among the proconsuls in Saigon give a hollow ring to Johnson's talk about a "social reform" programme which, in the final analysis, is a revamped version of the "Staley plan" for the establishment of "densely populated areas" and "strategic hamlets." The U.S. "multibillion-dollar programme" to preserve south Vietnam's "independence" and transform it into a viable state has achieved nothing, and it will never achieve anything. The chief concern of the handful of "young Turks" now exercising nominal control in Saigon is protecting their own lives and lining their pockets. Even the Western press concedes that to make them the accepted rulers of south Vietnam is both absurd and impossible.

The prospects for the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam, when all is said and done, are as bleak as ever.

Soviet-American Collusion

Designed to help salvage something from Washington's military losses without having to pull U.S. troops out of Vietnam, Johnson's flawed "peace offensive" has failed but has not been shelved. Continent-hopping emissaries are still running errands while the modern revisionists, overtly or behind the scenes, are doing their best to lend a hand.

In office only a little over a year, the new leaders of the Communist

Japanese C.P. Delegation Arrives for Visit

Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party, and other members of a Japanese C.P. delegation arrived in Shanghai on February 10. On February 12, Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, gave a banquet in honour of the Japanese comrades. Both Comrade Peng Chen and Comrade Kenji Miyamoto spoke at the banquet, expressing the hope that the deep, mili-

tant friendship between the Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties and between the people of both countries would continue to grow, and that the two Parties and two peoples would win still greater victories in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and modern revisionism.

On February 14, Comrade Kenji Miyamoto and his delegation flew to Canton.

Party of the Soviet Union have moved ahead in pushing Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. They are particularly obsessed with Soviet-American collaboration to dominate the world.

Much water has flowed under the bridge of Soviet-American collusion since Kosygin and company took office. Fresh proof that the new C.P.S.U. leaders have sunk lower and lower in their revisionist mire is the number of books they published last year which paid lip-service to the interests of the world's revolutionary people while casting them to the winds. An article by *Hongqi* Commentator in our current issue deals with the question at length.

U.S. and Chiang Gang Sign Illegal "Agreement"

U.S. strategy's "new sharp Asian tilt" finds the Pentagon again eyeing an inalienable part of China—Taiwan. Having turned the island into a colony, Washington, with its fingers badly burnt in south Vietnam, has now made a new move to convert Taiwan into its base for a bigger war of aggression and to perpetuate its occupation.

A so-called "agreement" on the status of the U.S. aggressive forces in Taiwan, illegally signed by Washington and the Chiang Kai-shek gang, was "passed" by the "Legislative Yuan" of the Chiang clique on January 11. This is an addition to the heap of traitorous crimes by this gang which has sold out China's national interests to U.S. imperialism.

This illegal "status agreement" gives the U.S. aggressive forces the right to delimit their occupation areas on Taiwan at will, and U.S. occupation troops are entitled to "adopt every measure necessary" to maintain "order and security." This means that they will stop at nothing in committing crimes against the Chinese people on Taiwan. Privileged exemption from taxation and from regulations governing the issue of visas and registration of foreigners, and other extra-territorial rights, are intended to further consolidate the position of the U.S. aggressor troops as the lords of Taiwan.

A blunt evaluation of how Washington views the signing of the "agreement" was to be found in an AP dispatch from Taipeh on January 12: "The last obstacle to stationing substantial American forces in Formosa [Taiwan] was cleared." U.S. imperialism did not lose any time in the large-scale extension of its military bases in Taiwan and sent in aggressor troops and aircraft. The U.S. 13th Task Air Force in Taiwan was expanded into the 327th Air Division on February 8.

But the U.S.-Chiang "status agreement" is worthless. The Chinese Government declared as early as December 8, 1954, that the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique had no authority whatsoever to conclude any treaty with any country. The Chinese people will never tolerate U.S. imperialism using this new "agreement" to turn Taiwan into a base for expanding its war of aggression in Vietnam.

Confessions Concerning the Line of Soviet-U.S. Collaboration Pursued by The New Leaders of the C.P.S.U.

by "HONGQI" COMMENTATOR

SOVIET-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world is the soul of the Khrushchov revisionist line. Since coming to power, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have tried hard to appear different from Khrushchov and to don an anti-U.S. mask in their attempt to cover up the essential fact that they are continuing this line. But an increasing number of facts show that they have acted even more thoroughly and gone even farther than Khrushchov in the matter of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are greatly annoyed at the exposure of their true features by the Marxist-Leninists. They have poured out torrents of abuse and attacked our articles exposing them as full of "utterly groundless, slanderous, provocative fabrications."¹

Abuse and sophistry cannot alter the facts. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are daily exposing themselves by their numerous words and deeds and by the articles in their own press. An outstanding instance is the publication of a batch of books advocating Soviet-U.S. collaboration by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. in 1965. Typical among these are *The Motive Forces of U.S. Foreign Policy* and *The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. — Their Political and Economic Relations*.

What are the main theses of the two books?

Covering Up the Aggressive Nature of U.S. Imperialism

The Motive Forces of U.S. Foreign Policy was edited and published by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1965. Although the book cannot well remain silent about certain facts of U.S. aggression abroad and has to say something denouncing U.S. aggressive activities, it tries hard to prove that these evil deeds are the doings of the reactionaries in the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, while the chieftains of U.S. imperialism, who likewise represent monopoly capital, are not included among these reactionaries; in other words, the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism can change. Denunciation of U.S. imperialism is but a screen; the sub-

stance of the book consists of covering up its aggressive nature.

The book divides the U.S. ruling circles into two groups, "the sober and sensible" and "the bellicose and aggressive." It says: "The struggle between the two tendencies in foreign and military policy—the adventurist and aggressive on the one hand and the sober and sensible on the other—is more and more intensely enveloping the ranks of the real rulers of the United States—the country's biggest monopolies." It also speaks of "the struggle that has intensified to the extreme between the two tendencies in foreign policy, the two groups in American social life—i.e., on the one hand, the ultra-reactionary and wildly aggressive and, on the other, the moderate and sober who are inclined towards a reasonable assessment of the balance of power that has now taken shape, and towards peaceful co-existence."

Who are "the moderate and sober who are inclined . . . towards peaceful coexistence"? According to this book, they are the chieftains of U.S. imperialism, the successive U.S. presidents since the war. It speaks of Eisenhower as representing "more moderate circles, which were not inclined to put into practice their adventurist doctrines and go to the risk of a big war"; of Kennedy as "the president popular among the people," who had "breadth of vision and a sober approach to the burning problems of international life" and "understood the possibility and necessity of peaceful co-existence"; and of Johnson as "a cautious and moderate political figure" who is "not given to political risks" and as enjoying "an absolute mandate from the people to carry out a policy directed towards consolidating peace and liquidating 'the cold war,' and towards Soviet-U.S. rapprochement."

Arch War Criminals Turned Into "Peace Partisans"

How is it that these arch war criminals have suddenly turned into partisans of peace? How is it that these common enemies of the people have suddenly

become presidents popular among the people? In so lavishly embellishing the leaders of U.S. imperialism, the book has no other aim than that of peddling the wares of "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful competition" between the Soviet Union and the United States. It says, "The ruling classes of the United States are beginning to realize in one measure or another that peaceful economic competition is the decisive field of struggle between world class forces at the present time." In "the nuclear age," "only a madman or a suicidal person can resort to war as an instrument of policy" and "the U.S. Government has in many cases shown a desire for compromise." The book asserts that provided there is "peaceful coexistence" between the Soviet Union and the United States, "the competition between the two socio-economic systems and the ideological struggle between the two main antagonists on the international arena will proceed within the confines of broad economic, diplomatic, scientific and cultural competition and co-operation, without sanguinary collisions and wars."

The book proclaims that "Soviet-American relations, the relations between the two greatest powers in the world, constitute the axis of world politics, the main foundation of international peace." Using the words of U.S. Secretary of State Rusk, it preaches that "the two great powers — the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. — bear special responsibility for the destiny of the world and of mankind." It says that the Soviet Union "strives for peace and co-operation with the United States, realizing that Soviet-American relations are the primary thing in contemporary world politics and in the question of war or peace."

Then will aggression against Vietnam by U.S. imperialism, its bombing of the socialist Democratic Republic of Vietnam and massacre of the Vietnamese people interfere with Soviet-U.S. relations? No, according to this book, they will not. Even in these circumstances, there is no conflict whatsoever between the Soviet Union and the United States. The book stresses that an "extremely important feature in Soviet-American relations" is the so-called "community of national interests of the two countries." It says, "Except for the black spot — the U.S. participation in the military intervention against Soviet Russia from 1918 to 1920 — Russian-American and Soviet-American relations have not been clouded by any military conflicts or wars." "At the present time, too, no territorial or economic disputes or conflicts exist between the two countries, and their national interests do not clash either on a world scale or on any regional scale."

All-Round Soviet-U.S. Co-operation

The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. — Their Political and Economic Relations was published in 1965 on the authorization of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. It deals with the history of Soviet-U.S. relations from the October Revolution to the time of World War II. It cannot very well omit the historical facts of U.S. aggres-

sion against and hostility towards the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, its underlying objective is Soviet-U.S. collaboration, and it stresses "the immutability of the Soviet policy directed towards all-round co-operation with the United States."

In its efforts to defend the policy of "all-round co-operation" between the Soviet Union and the United States as pursued by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., the book does not scruple to distort history. It asserts that "from its very first days, the Soviet state has immutably and consistently steered a course towards all-round co-operation with the United States" and that "the history of Soviet-American relations between 1917 and 1941 convincingly proves that peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. accord both with the interests of the Soviet and American peoples and with those of the people of other countries." It adds, "Soviet-American co-operation during the years of World War II created favourable conditions for the final termination of the unrealistic and short-sighted prewar policy of the ruling circles of the U.S.A. towards the U.S.S.R. and for the development of fruitful Soviet-American relations in the postwar period."

In its efforts to justify the policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration, the book spares no effort to create the impression that the present ruling clique of the United States is peace-loving. It says that at present "the more far-sighted and sober-minded representatives of influential circles in the United States are speaking out in favour of pursuing a more realistic foreign policy," and that "they clearly understand that in the contemporary international situation the only acceptable basis of co-operation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is peaceful coexistence and competition in the economic, scientific and technological, cultural and other fields."

The book emphasizes that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have always attached primary significance to the normalization of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and still do so." It cites one argument contained in the resolution on Khrushchov's report at the 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U.: "The normalization of the international situation could be helped to a decisive degree by an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, as the two great powers which shoulder special responsibility for the fate of general peace."

Khrushchovism Without Khrushchov

It is thus clear to all that the tune of these two books is the same as that of Khrushchov's statements. Khrushchov said that "the international situation as a whole depends to a large extent on the relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union,"² that "history has imposed on our two peoples a great responsibility for the destiny of the world,"³ that as regards the Soviet Union and the United States "our interests do not clash directly anywhere, either territorially or economically" and that "we can coexist very

well."⁴ The disciples and followers of Khrushchov are merely parroting their master.

Obviously enough, these two books were written in full conformity with the revisionist line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses and the Programme of the C.P.S.U. The statements in them are the very ones the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. would make themselves. Their publication is another proof that these new leaders are carrying on Khrushchovism without Khrushchov, that their conception of Soviet-U.S. collaboration is not fortuitous but consistent, and that their pursuit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration is no mere matter of a few isolated words or deeds but is their basic line. The two books are confessions concerning the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration pursued by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.

At first glance, the two books seem to devote a lot of space to describing U.S. imperialist aggression and to denouncing the U.S. reactionaries. But a careful perusal reveals that, while perfunctorily condemning U.S. imperialism, they laud the dominant group in the ruling circles of the U.S. to the skies. They say the Soviet Union is against the United States' acts of aggression, but for all their talk they are begging for Soviet-U.S. collaboration. This sort of minor attack but major help is simply trickery to deceive the people of the Soviet Union and the world, and to give better service to U.S. imperialism.

Fine Texts for Teaching by Negative Example

The two books have attracted public attention. They are fine texts for teaching by negative example. They expose all the different tricks the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are now playing.

These leaders claim that they are opposing U.S. imperialism. But what are the facts? It was precisely in the year 1965, when U.S. imperialism was frantically extending its war of aggression in Vietnam, that they published these books advocating Soviet-U.S. collaboration and proclaiming "the immutability of the Soviet policy directed towards all-round co-operation with the United States." On many occasions, they have personally made statements to this effect. L.I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., declared on May 8, 1965: "We are in favour of developing and improving our relations with the U.S."⁵ In the interview he gave to the *New York Times* reporter James Reston on December 6, 1965, A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., said that for the Soviet Union and the United States, "from the standpoint of these long-term concepts, the most important idea should be the mustering of all forces to oppose war" and that they must mobilize their own forces "for developing co-operation and solutions to various points at issue."⁶ Where is the opposition to U.S. imperialism in this? Are not these words all confessions by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. that they are clinging fast to Soviet-U.S. collaboration?

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. ostentatiously say that "the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed." But let people examine what they are really trying to prove in the books they have published. Like Khrushchov, they say that the dominant group in American ruling circles are "sensible," are "inclined to peaceful coexistence," have come to a "knowledge of the realities of the nuclear age" and understand that "only a suicidal person can resort to war as an instrument of policy." Does this not amount to saying that the representatives of U.S. imperialism are not pursuing policies of aggression and war and that U.S. imperialism is no longer the main force of aggression and war? Are these not arguments brazenly proclaiming that the nature of imperialism has already changed?

How to Appraise the Squabbling in U.S. Ruling Groups

Although there are groups with different interests within the monopoly capitalist class in the United States and although there are acute conflicts of interests among these groups, they are completely at one in their fundamental interest, the enslavement of the people at home and abroad; they are all reactionaries. Although the U.S. ruling groups hold different views with regard to the methods of counter-revolution and frequently quarrel among themselves, one preferring this counter-revolutionary method and another that, they are completely at one in their basic policy of maintaining reactionary rule at home and of committing aggression abroad. There is no such thing as supra-class "sensibleness." If the representatives of U.S. monopoly capital are "sensible" at all, they are "sensible" only in safeguarding the fundamental interests of their own class, in oppressing the American people at home and plundering other peoples abroad, and in executing their policies of aggression and war. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are keen on dividing U.S. ruling circles into the "sensible" and the "reactionary," but what other interpretation of their real intention is possible except that it is to provide a cover for U.S. imperialism and help the U.S. imperialists lull the people of the world?

Sometimes the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. mouth a few phrases attacking Johnson. This is only a smokescreen. These books of theirs demonstrate that, like Khrushchov, they portray the presidents of the United States as angels of peace and absolute representatives of the American people. The reason is very simple. It is that the Khrushchov revisionists invariably put their stakes on the chieftain of U.S. imperialism. They always do their utmost to prettify the president of the United States whoever he is.

Facts have given the Khrushchov revisionists one slap in the face after another. Of all the contemporary U.S. presidents, has any single one not been the tool of monopoly capital? Johnson himself does not conceal this. He told the U.S. monopoly capitalists at the 1964 annual conference of the American Chamber of Com-

merce, "You are stockholders in this government," and spoke of doing "the things that you have hired me to do." From Truman and Eisenhower to Kennedy and Johnson, they have been following the same policies of aggression and war for world domination. These policies, moreover, have become more and more articulated and rampant. The "Johnson Doctrine" is contemporary fascism. It blatantly proclaims that force will be used for intervention in all parts of the world and for the overthrow of every government which is not to the liking of the United States. The Johnson Administration is escalating its war adventures. The "Johnson Doctrine" is a manifestation of the increasingly bellicose and adventurist nature of U.S. imperialism. By trying desperately to beautify the U.S. imperialist chieftains, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. only reveal their own ugly features.

C.P.S.U. New Leaders Betray Lenin

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. say that they "strictly follow Lenin's behest." But how do they present Lenin? In these books of theirs, they have gone so far as to describe Lenin as the initiator of the policy of "all-round co-operation" between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the history of Soviet-U.S. relations as that of "all-round co-operation." What is this if not a betrayal of Lenin and a distortion of history?

After the victory of the October Revolution, U.S. imperialism took an active part in the imperialist crusade of armed intervention against the new-born Soviet state. After the failure of this intervention, it attempted to prevent the growth of the Soviet Union by resorting to "the noose of famine." In the period of Lenin's and Stalin's leadership, Soviet-U.S. relations were filled with acute and complex struggles, which were an expression of the fierce worldwide conflict between the international proletariat and the international bourgeoisie. In trying to erase class struggle from the history of Soviet-U.S. relations, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. adulterate history and insult the Soviet people.

Lenin pointed out that the U.S. imperialists were acting "as the hangmen of Russian freedom, as gendarmes,"⁷ and that they were "the throttlers and executioners of the world revolution."⁸ Lenin called on people to be "uncompromising enemies of American imperialism—the freshest, strongest and latest in joining in the worldwide slaughter of nations for the division of capitalist profits."⁹ How fresh these words of Lenin sound to us even today! The Khrushchov revisionists are trying to hide themselves behind the flag of Lenin. But it is precisely Lenin's words which most powerfully expose them for what they are.

They Are Lying

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. say that they are loyal to the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of

1960. But these books give them the lie. The Declaration and the Statement point out that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the world. But these books prate about Soviet-U.S. friendship. The Declaration and the Statement point out that the people throughout the world must form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. But these books actively boost Soviet-U.S. co-operation. These leaders are still loyal to the Khrushchov revisionist general line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." When they wave the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are merely repeating the old tactics of the revisionists of the Second International—to emasculate the revolutionary principles of a document while paying lip-service to it, to cover up their own anti-revolutionary essence with fine phrases.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. say that they recognize the role played by the people of all countries in the struggle against imperialism. But in these books, they undisguisedly advocate power politics and shamelessly flaunt their big-power chauvinist arrogance. In their eyes, the destiny of the world should be decided by the rulers of the Soviet Union and the United States, the more than one hundred countries on this globe should revolve round the Soviet-U.S. axis, and the very existence of the people of the world must depend on the mercies of the ruling circles of the Soviet Union and the United States. Doesn't this show that what the Khrushchov revisionists hanker after is nothing but Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination?

Soviet-U.S. "Common Interests"

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. hypocritically declare that the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of all countries have "a common aim" and "common interests." They have repeatedly professed loyalty to proletarian internationalism and support for the revolution of the people of all countries. But what they play up in these books are the "common interests" of the Soviet Union and the United States. How can these two kinds of "common interests," which are as diametrically opposed to each other as fire and water, be mixed together? U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the socialist countries and all other lands. The Khrushchov revisionists' eager pursuit of "common interests" with the U.S. imperialists merely testifies that they have gone over to the side of U.S. imperialism and pitted themselves against the people of the socialist countries and the world who are opposing U.S. imperialism.

In the very nature of things, there are irreconcilable contradictions between the socialist Soviet Union and the imperialist United States. As a socialist country, the Soviet Union should support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, and sharp struggles between it and U.S. imperialism both

on a worldwide scale and in particular regions are inevitable. Today, however, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. stress that between themselves and U.S. imperialism there are no clashes "either on a world scale or on any regional scale." This only shows that the worldwide contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution, as well as the duty of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, have long since ceased to exist for them. They have sunk in the mire of bourgeois national egoism, and not a trace of proletarian internationalism can be found in them.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. stress the "common interests" of the Soviet Union and the United States in order to cater to the needs of U.S. imperialism. Kennedy long ago exhorted the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to "merely seek to protect its own national interests" and to reach agreement with the United States on "protecting the interests of our two great countries."¹⁰ Both Khrushchov and the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have readily responded to the call of U.S. imperialism. For they do indeed have common interests with the U.S. imperialists; these are the common interests shared by the privileged Soviet bourgeois stratum, whom they represent, with the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups and the common interests of Soviet-U.S. partnership against world revolution.

The ideas guiding the policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration as expounded by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. in these books have long been put into practice. Recently, in pursuit of their "common interests" with the United States, they have greatly accelerated their ganging up with U.S. imperialism.

What Does the Soviet-U.S. Talk in New Delhi Boil Down to?

The tripartite Soviet-U.S.-Indian meeting in New Delhi in January 1966 openly strengthened the united front against China. U.S. Vice-President Humphrey made no secret of his satisfaction after his long talk with Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. In a television interview Humphrey said that the talk was "frank and candid," and that he had explained the U.S. Government's positions and "had a response from Mr. Kosygin." He said that "the Soviet is attempting to build a containment wall, so to speak, around communist China" and that "the Government of the Soviet Union is much more concerned today about its relationships throughout the entire world vis-a-vis communist China than it is over anything that the United States may be doing in any part of the world." Humphrey held that "looking ahead for the next few years . . . the contacts between ourselves . . . and the Soviet Union will expand, that the relationships can and should improve."¹¹

Humphrey's comments show how chummy the Soviet Union and the United States have become in their collaboration. It is because they have confided

to each other what they have in mind that Humphrey is so very sure of the policy of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. and has dared to make these comments publicly. The policy of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. is to unite with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries in forming a counter-revolutionary ring of encirclement against China. This policy fully meets the desires of U.S. imperialism and it is only natural that the U.S. imperialists should acclaim it and give it their support and encouragement. This is what the Soviet-U.S. talk in New Delhi boils down to. This is a most flagrant betrayal on the part of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. If this is not how things stand, why haven't the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. repudiated Humphrey's allegations?

Finding a Way Out for U.S. Imperialism on The Vietnam Question

Soviet-U.S. collaboration has been further stepped up on the question of Vietnam. While the United States was making a "pause in the bombing" and raising a hue and cry about "peace talks," Shelepin took pains to visit Hanoi in close co-ordination with this U.S. "peace talks" plot. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have also reached a tacit understanding with the United States on the European situation, so that the United States can transfer more and more troops from Europe to expand the war in Vietnam. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have uttered some words of support for Vietnam and given her some aid, but their aim in all this is to get more of a say for themselves on the Vietnam question, sow dissension in Sino-Vietnamese relations and help the United States to realize its "peace talks" plot. In the final analysis, they want to find a way out for U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam question, enable it to occupy south Vietnam permanently and strike a political deal with it.

The U.S. imperialists are very well acquainted with this stand of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to the U.S. president, said: "It has been made clear to us over a long period of time that the Soviet Government hope there can be a peaceful settlement."¹² One American paper stated, "Evidence is piling up that the Soviet Union and the United States are, in fact, moving on parallel tracks toward certain objectives they hold in common."¹³ Another American paper said that if the Soviet Union would "ultimately help an acceptable Vietnam settlement," the United States could "extricate itself from a critical situation." "The fundament of present Soviet-American relations in this complex situation is that they must be tacit. . . . The conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. must remain explicit; agreement must remain implicit." They "are simultaneously thus both explicit enemies and implicit allies."¹⁴

The line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration pursued by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. has recently been extended to include Soviet-Japanese collaboration. U.S.

imperialism has accelerated the fostering of Japanese militarism as its major war accomplice in Asia, directed the Japanese reactionaries and the south Korean puppet clique to conclude the "Japan-ROK Treaty," and thus in effect rigged up a Northeast Asia military alliance. Instead of condemning these grave war moves by U.S. imperialism, spearheaded against China, Korea and other Asian countries, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have done their utmost to please and woo the Japanese reactionaries. High-ranking Soviet and Japanese officials have exchanged frequent visits. Recently, the Japanese Foreign Minister made an official visit to the Soviet Union. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have, in fact, recognized the Japan-U.S. military alliance, and what is more they want to contribute their share to rigging up a Soviet-U.S.-Japanese alliance to oppose China, Korea and the people's revolutionary struggles in other parts of Asia.

Whom Are the C.P.S.U. New Leaders Taking United Action With?

After all these events, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. still claim that all Communist Parties and socialist countries should put aside their differences and take "united action" in the anti-imperialist struggle. How can their words be trusted? Isn't it clear enough whom they are uniting with and whom they are against?

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are taking united action with the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese reactionaries, the Indian reactionaries, and all the lackeys of U.S. imperialism. Since they are so enthusiastic about taking counter-revolutionary united action, how can Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people take united action with them? In the contemporary world the greatest difference, the fundamental difference, between Marxist-Leninists and Khrushchov revisionists, between genuine revolutionaries and pseudo-revolutionaries, is whether to oppose U.S. imperialism or unite with it. How can this vital difference be put aside?

We will never take any united action with the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. so long as they do not abandon the Khrushchov revisionist line, do not change their line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration and do not abolish the Soviet-U.S.-Indian-Japanese alliance.

The Khrushchov revisionists have thrown in their lot with U.S. imperialism. In order to oppose U.S. imperialism, Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people must inevitably oppose Khrushchov revisionism. Only by drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation between oneself and the Khrushchov revisionists and by carrying the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the end can one wage a successful struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Expanding the United Front Against U.S. Imperialism

Since the Khrushchov revisionists are spreading the idea of worshipping the United States, we must

foster the idea of scorning U.S. imperialism and see through its decadent essence. Since the Khrushchov revisionists are spreading the idea of toadying to the United States, we must foster the idea of hating U.S. imperialism and clearly identify it as Enemy Number One of the people of the world. Since the Khrushchov revisionists are spreading the idea of fear of the United States, we must foster the idea of despising U.S. imperialism and see it for the paper tiger it is. Since the Khrushchov revisionists are spreading the idea of uniting with the United States, we must foster the idea of striking down U.S. imperialism, and strengthen and expand the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a series of theses on the question of how to appraise and deal with U.S. imperialism, which have creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and become a powerful weapon in the hands of the people of the world in their anti-U.S. revolutionary struggle. He has called for the formation of the broadest united front by relying on the workers and peasants, and uniting with the masses of the people who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population, as well as with all the forces subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying, so as to isolate U.S. imperialism, the main enemy today, to the maximum extent and concentrate our attacks on it. All forces that can be united must be united, all contradictions that can be utilized must be utilized, and all positive factors conducive to the struggle against U.S. imperialism must be brought into play. This great strategic concept of Comrade Mao Tse-tung points to the correct way of defeating U.S. imperialism. Its correctness has been proved by the whole process of international class struggle in the postwar period. Not only has this strategic concept armed the Chinese people, but it is exercising an increasingly far-reaching and profound influence throughout the world. It is what U.S. imperialism fears most and what most upsets the Khrushchov revisionists; but it is most warmly welcomed by the people of the world.

The domination of the world through Soviet-U.S. collaboration is nothing but a wild dream. The real masters of the world are the people. It is absolutely impossible for the ruling circles of any country, be they imperialists or revisionists, to ride roughshod over the people of all lands and dominate the whole world.

A new and great revolutionary storm against U.S. imperialism will soon sweep across the world. The anti-popular policy of the Khrushchov revisionists, which proceeds from the motive of harming others, can only end by hurting themselves. Those who are against the people will be overthrown by the people and those who run counter to the tide of history will be submerged by it. Whatever the struggles and the twists and turns, there is only one future for the world — U.S. imperialism and its accomplices will certainly perish

and the revolutionary cause of the people throughout the world will certainly triumph.

(“Hongqi,” No. 2, February 11, 1966.)

NOTES

- ¹ *Pravda*, November 16, 1965.
- ² N.S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Soviet-Indian Friendship Rally, September 8, 1961.
- ³ N.S. Khrushchov and L.I. Brezhnev, New Year Greetings to U.S. President Kennedy, December 30, 1961.
- ⁴ N.S. Khrushchov, Interview With Gardener Cowles, an American publisher, April 20, 1962.
- ⁵ L.I. Brezhnev, Report at the Rally in Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of Victory in the Soviet People's Great Patriotic War, May 8, 1965.

⁶ A.N. Kosygin, Interview With the American Correspondent James Reston, December 6, 1965.

⁷ V.I. Lenin, “Moscow Party Workers’ Meeting,” *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. XXVIII, p. 209.

⁸ V.I. Lenin, “Extraordinary Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers’, Peasants’, Cossacks’ and Red Army Deputies,” op. cit., p. 159.

⁹ V.I. Lenin, “Letter to American Workers,” op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁰ John F. Kennedy, Interview With A.I. Adzhubei, Editor-in-Chief of *Izvestia*, November 25, 1961.

¹¹ Hubert Humphrey, Television Interview With American Correspondents, January 16, 1966.

¹² McGeorge Bundy, Television Interview With American Correspondents, January 16, 1966.

¹³ *Christian Science Monitor*, January 13, 1966.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, January 17, 1966.

The Face of an Accomplice

by “RENMIN RIBAO” COMMENTATOR

NEW TIMES, the Soviet weekly, in an article entitled “Geneva: The Disarmament Committee” published in its No. 6 issue this year, provides fresh evidence showing how anxious and impatient the Soviet leaders are in seeking co-operation with the United States to dominate the world.

Though the leaders of the Soviet Union declared that the United States could not hope to improve U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations while launching armed attacks against Vietnam, the Soviet delegate sang another tune when the 18-nation disarmament committee resumed its session in Geneva. He said that the Soviet Union “does not want to make our discussions dependent on Vietnam.” This is nothing less than saying that the Vietnam question can be brushed aside and that an agreement can be reached on the so-called treaty on prevention of nuclear proliferation. Now, the *New Times* article goes a step further. It takes the view that the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam does not hinder U.S.-U.S.S.R. co-operation; on the contrary, precisely because of the “heightening” of tension as a result of the Vietnam situation, it is “especially necessary” for the United States and the Soviet Union to conclude a deal on the prevention of nuclear proliferation.

What does this show? It shows that all the Soviet leaders’ talk about “opposition to U.S. aggression” and “support for the Vietnamese people’s struggle” is just so much ballyhoo. **When U.S. imperialism is taking a further step to expand the war of aggression against Vietnam and is madly massacring the Vietnamese people, the Soviet leaders have gone so far as to believe**

that they can fraternize with the No. 1 world gangster and murderer and have openly expressed the wish to conclude a deal with U.S. imperialism on the question of nuclear weapons on the ground of the “heightening” of tension as a result of the Vietnam situation. Can this be called opposition to U.S. aggression? Can this be called support for the Vietnamese people’s struggle? No, definitely not. This is a gross betrayal of the Vietnamese people, of the people of the whole world!

What do the leaders of the Soviet Union have in mind and what role do they want to play in regard to the Vietnam question? Some remarks in the *New Times* article are again worth noting. The article says that “in this day and age, no problem can be solved by armed force, by weapons, no matter how powerful. The key to settlement of pressing and acute issues can be found only at the conference table. Vietnam and Tashkent symbolize two diametrically opposed concepts in world affairs. And everyone can see which of these concepts benefits mankind.”

At whom do the Khrushchov revisionists direct these remarks? At U.S. imperialism to persuade it to renounce violence? Of course not. For the Johnson Administration is itself energetically peddling its “peace talks” swindle and showing eagerness to “sit at the conference table” in a futile attempt to gain what it cannot get on the battlefield and to continue its occupation of south Vietnam. So these remarks of the Khrushchov revisionists are only intended to play up to Johnson. Is it not then clear enough whose armed force they really want to see renounced?

(Continued on p. 21.)



Unit of the south Vietnam liberation army

Salute Heroes Who Punctured The U.S. Paper Tiger

— China Greet's Unification Day of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces —

FEBRUARY 15 this year is the fifth anniversary of the unification of the south Vietnam liberation armed forces.

To resist the bloody suppression and attacks of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and to safeguard their own right to live, the people in various parts of south Vietnam before 1961 had already organized self-defence groups, guerrillas and other small armed units. But it was not until February 15, 1961, that the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation unified these scattered armed groups into the south Vietnam liberation armed forces which, since then, have steadily grown from strength to strength.

Celebrating this anniversary, the Chinese Ministry of National Defence sent a warm message of greetings to the south Vietnam liberation armed forces, and the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army held a meeting in Peking on February 14. Besides publishing news and reports on the valiant struggle of the south Vietnam liberation armed forces, *Renmin Ribao* and *Jiefangjun Bao* (*Liberation Army Daily*) carried editorials on February 15 to mark the anniversary.

Small Beginnings

As the message of greetings from the Chinese Ministry of National Defence points out: "Under the

leadership of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the liberation army and people of south Vietnam in the past five years have armed themselves with weapons captured bare-handed from the enemy and have grown from scattered guerrilla units into a strong people's armed force."

"The embattled army and people of south Vietnam are growing stronger and stronger and are scoring one outstanding victory after another," the message declares. "This inspires the revolutionary people of the world and strikes terror into the hearts of U.S. imperialism and its followers. Your heroic struggle has set a brilliant example for all oppressed people and nations, an example of daring to struggle and daring to win.

"We are convinced that the heroic people and liberation army of south Vietnam will drive all the U.S. aggressors out of their territory and finally fulfil their sacred task of reunifying their fatherland."

Renmin Ribao's February 15 editorial also expresses the conviction that the people of south Vietnam are sure to win and the U.S. aggressor forces and their flunkies will certainly lose. This, it declares, is now a foregone conclusion. Analysing the reasons for this, the editorial writes:

"Are the liberation armed forces equipped with aircraft, heavy artillery and tanks? No, they are not.

They began the struggle with only knives, home-made guns and bamboo spikes. Are the liberation forces staffed with military academy graduates? No, they are not. They are formed by ordinary villagers. Were the liberation armed forces well-trained before they went into action? No, they were not. They learnt to fight in the school of war right after they laid down their hoes. It is precisely these armed forces of the people with primitive weapons who have defeated the imperialists equipped with up-to-date arms. It is precisely these tillers of the soil with legs caked in mud who have beaten the generals from the U.S. military academy, West Point. It is precisely these common people toiling on the good earth of south Vietnam who have battered the well-trained American aggressor troops.

A Miracle — And Why

“The resounding victories of the liberation armed forces would appear to be a miracle at first glance. Yet they are in fact manifestations of the simplest of truths.

“One of these truths is that the liberation armed forces represent the people. . . . They are loved and supported by the 14 million south Vietnamese people and thereby acquire great and invincible might.

“Another of these truths is that they follow a whole set of strategy and tactics of people’s war. . . . They rely closely on the people, give them weapons and develop diversified forms of struggle against the enemy. In this way every locality in south Vietnam becomes a battlefield and every person becomes a fighter, and the whole land is turned into a tempestuous sea that engulfs the enemy.



Women guerrilla fighters of south Vietnam

“The third of these simple truths is that the liberation armed forces have high political consciousness and courage. . . . With this, they are provided with the best weapon — the spiritual atom bomb and all-conquering fighting strength.

What the Record Proves

“The record of the heroic struggle of the south Vietnam liberation armed forces shows that in order to attain independence and emancipation, the oppressed people and nations of the world must build up revolu-

tionary people’s armed forces to combat the counter-revolutionary armed forces of the imperialists and their flunkys. Without the people’s armed forces, there will be no liberation and freedom for the people, there will be no national independence and unification, there will be nothing for the people.

“The Vietnam war is the focus of the present-day struggle of the world’s people against U.S. imperialism. This great struggle waged by the liberation armed forces and people of south Vietnam is not only for the liberation and reunification of the Vietnamese nation, it also has a vital bearing on the international class struggle as a whole. It is a powerful support for and a great contribution to the cause of liberation of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.”



Guerrillas make good use of the waterways of south Vietnam

Johnson's Honolulu Conference With South Vietnamese Puppets Denounced

- The conference has once again exposed the features of the Johnson Administration as an aggressor pursuing the policy of sham peace and real war.
- The 650 million Chinese people firmly support and aid the Vietnamese people in their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation until final victory.

RECENTLY, U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson held a conference in Honolulu with the south Vietnamese puppets. They have issued a joint "declaration" and a "joint communique," proclaiming that together with the south Vietnamese puppets the United States will "see this thing through" in its war of aggression against Vietnam. On February 10 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued a statement sternly condemning U.S. imperialism for calling the Honolulu conference to hatch a new plot of expanding its war of aggression and firmly declaring: "The Vietnamese people are determined to exercise their sacred right of self-defence, to unite like one man, and to fight to the end, whatever the hardships and sacrifices may be, and to smash all military schemes and deceptive tricks of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets." The Chinese Government and people firmly support this just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people.

U.S. imperialism is the arch criminal who launched the war of aggression against Vietnam. The Vietnam question will remain unsettled so long as the U.S. aggressor troops are not withdrawn from southern Vietnam. But the "Declaration of Honolulu" begins by announcing the determination of the United States and its south Vietnamese puppets in "joint" "defence against aggression." In order to cloak the U.S. aggression against Vietnam with "legality," the United States and its south Vietnamese lackeys have together sung the tune that U.S. troops have entered southern Vietnam at the "invitation" of the Saigon puppets and for the purpose of "resisting aggression." According to this assertion by U.S. imperialism, the Vietnamese people are the "aggressors," whereas the United States, which is thousands of miles away, is the "victim." This is truly gangster logic. As soon as the conference was over, Johnson declared at a press conference on February 11 that, as requested by Westmoreland, he would send more U.S. troops to Vietnam for aggression. All this shows that U.S. imperialism wants to hang on in south Vietnam and insists on expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam.

The 1954 Geneva agreements are the only foundation for solving the Vietnam question. The four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic

of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation are the concentrated embodiment of the Geneva agreements, and the crucial thing is that all U.S. and satellite military forces must be withdrawn from southern Vietnam and that the United States must recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole legal representative of the south Vietnamese people. When putting forward its "14-point plan" not long ago, the Johnson Administration still pretended that "the Geneva accords would provide an adequate basis for peace in Southeast Asia." But now the United States has made no mention at all of the Geneva agreements in the "Honolulu Declaration" and "Communique," while its lackeys the south Vietnamese puppets openly denied the existence of the Geneva agreements, saying that "south Vietnam did not sign these agreements" and that "it was only a military agreement for a ceasefire." This shows that puppets are puppets. It clearly and unequivocally proves that they are outside the scope of the Geneva agreements. And it demonstrates that U.S. imperialism and its lackeys do not have the slightest respect for these agreements. As a matter of fact, U.S. imperialism long ago tore the Geneva agreements to shreds. In occasionally waving the Geneva agreements, it is simply trying to cover up its criminal aim of aggression against Vietnam and deceive the people of the whole world.

The Honolulu conference has once again exposed the features of the Johnson Administration as an aggressor pursuing the policy of sham peace and real war. The declaration and communique of the Honolulu conference are fine texts for teaching by negative example for the people throughout the world. They tell us that U.S. imperialism persists in its war of aggression in Vietnam and recklessly wants to seize southern Vietnam and perpetuate the division of Vietnam. This is what the people of Vietnam and the whole world will never permit. Together with all other peace-loving countries and peoples, the 650 million Chinese people are determined to resolutely support and aid the Vietnamese people in their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation until they defeat the U.S. aggressors and win final victory.

(February 12, 1966.)

What Was Johnson Up to in Honolulu?

THE just ended Honolulu conference between U.S. President Johnson, with his civilian and military aides, and the chieftains of the south Vietnamese puppet regime was a conference to cover up U.S. imperialism's manoeuvres for further escalation of its war of aggression against Vietnam.

In its February 10 statement on the conference, the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam strongly condemned U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for their latest plot and illegal collusion to widen the war of aggression against Vietnam. The statement expressed the determination of the Vietnamese people to fight through to the end and smash all military schemes and deceptive tricks of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets. The Chinese people fully support the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

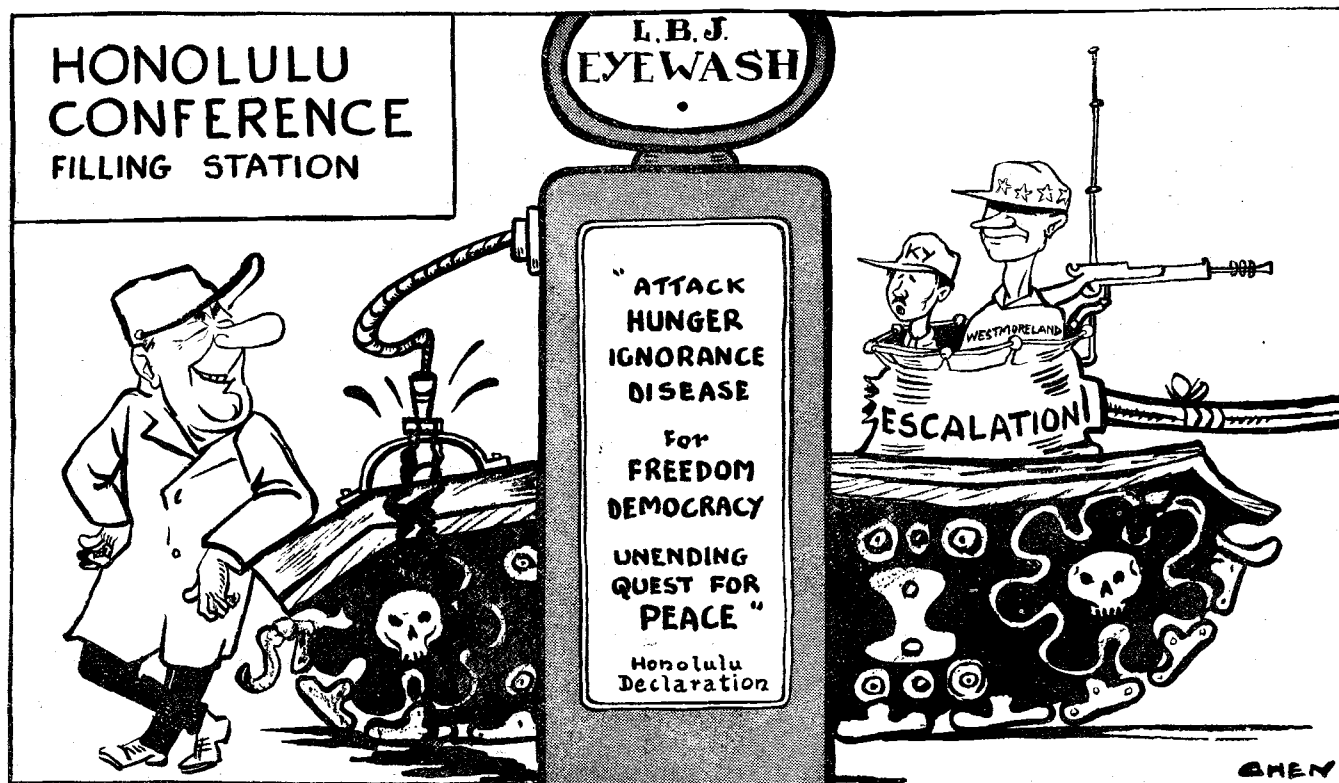
A Conference to Find Way Out of Impasse

The Honolulu conference came at a time when the 200,000 U.S. aggressor troops were suffering one disastrous defeat after another on the south Vietnam battlefield and when large-scale U.S. "peace offensive" had

failed ignominiously. The Johnson Administration's policy of aggression against Vietnam not only met with strong opposition from the world's people but also with mounting opposition from the American people. A violent quarrel has even broken out within U.S. ruling circles. Many were expressing dissatisfaction and anxiety over the consequences of the Johnson Administration's expanding military venture. It was precisely to find a way out of the impasse at home and abroad that Johnson personally went to Honolulu for the conference.

Vain Attempt to Raise Puppets' Standing

Since U.S. imperialism launched its "special war" in south Vietnam in 1961, American political and military chieftains have held ten conferences in Honolulu. Every one discussed plans for the expansion of the war of aggression against Vietnam. The latest was no exception. The only difference this time was that Johnson summoned the south Vietnamese puppet heads to Honolulu and pretended to treat them as equals by sitting with them around the same table and ostentatiously issuing a joint "declaration" and a joint com-



Fuelling Up

Cartoon by Jack Chen

muniqué with them. By doing this, the Johnson Administration hoped to raise the standing of the south Vietnamese puppets and wanted others to believe its claim that there really was an independent "government" in Saigon and that the U.S. aggressors had gone to south Vietnam at the invitation of that "government" to fulfil what they call their international "commitment." Johnson imagined that this would legalize U.S. imperialist aggression against south Vietnam.

But the Honolulu farce cannot be of any help to Johnson. The bunch of puppets in south Vietnam represent nobody except themselves. They are only lackeys of U.S. imperialism who have been disowned by the south Vietnamese people and repudiated by people throughout the world; even the U.S. imperialists themselves treat them with disdain. They are merely underlings to be slain or kicked away by their American masters at will. They are merely tools to be picked up when they are useful and discarded when they have outlived their usefulness. They are merely a pack of U.S. imperialist running dogs, traitors whom the south Vietnamese people are determined to wipe out. Johnson was only wasting his time when he tried to deck them out as something else by a joint "declaration."

In trying to make believe that the puppet clique is the "legally constituted government" in south Vietnam, the Johnson Administration also vainly tries to deny the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation its legitimate status. But it is the south Vietnamese people, not the U.S. imperialists, who have the final say as to who should represent them. The authority exercised by the Front was conferred on it by the south Vietnamese people. For more than five years now, the Front has been leading the south Vietnamese people in their heroic struggle to resist the U.S. aggressors and save the country. Under its leadership, the armed forces of the south Vietnamese people have grown steadily and liberated four-fifths of south Vietnam's territory with a total population of more than 10 million. The Front is the sole legitimate representative of the south Vietnamese people and the staunch defender of their interests. It has endeared itself to the 14 million south Vietnamese people and enjoys their support. This is a fact which the Johnson Administration cannot erase. The Vietnam question can only be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. The south Vietnam question must be settled by recognizing the National Front for Liberation as the sole legitimate representative of the south Vietnamese people and in accordance with its programme. There is no other way.

Exposure of Fraudulent "Peace Talks"

The U.S.-puppet "Honolulu Declaration" once again tried to peddle Washington's discredited "peace talks" hoax. It stated that "with the understanding and support [of the south Vietnamese puppet regime], the [U.S.] peace offensive . . . will continue until peace is secured." The nature of the "peaceful settlement" of the Vietnam question as trumpeted by the Johnson

Administration is already well known. The "Honolulu Declaration" itself once again exposed the fraudulent character of the U.S.-proposed "peace talks."

Not so long ago, the Johnson Administration, in its "14-point" plan, ostentatiously declared that "the Geneva accords would provide an adequate basis for peace in Southeast Asia." It solemnly vowed that the United States respects these international agreements. However, neither the "Honolulu Declaration" nor the U.S.-puppet joint communique even so much as mentions the Geneva agreements. This is surely no sudden oversight.

In the eyes of the Johnson Administration, the Geneva agreements are just scrap paper. It pays lip-service to them now and again when it needs to embellish itself and hoodwink world public opinion. When it feels no such need, it simply throws these international agreements overboard.

In fact, U.S. imperialism has long ago torn the Geneva agreements to shreds. By establishing a puppet regime in south Vietnam, the United States undermined Vietnam's unification. In the name of its "commitment" to its own quislings, the United States first dispatched "military advisers" to direct the south Vietnamese puppet army to massacre the south Vietnamese people in cold blood; then it sent out an expeditionary force of 200,000 to launch a large-scale aggressive war of unprecedented savagery. Whether the Johnson Administration talks about the Geneva agreements or not, it is doing nothing else but trying to subjugate the Vietnamese people by brute force and occupy south Vietnam permanently, so as to use it as an advance base for pursuing its policies of aggression and war in Southeast Asia.

Cloak for War Moves

Johnson has repeatedly declared that the purpose of the Honolulu conference was to discuss "war," "peace" and "reform." As a matter of fact, "peace" and "reform" were nothing but a cloak to conceal the chief item on the conference's agenda—the intensification and expansion of the war.

In the very first paragraph of the "Honolulu Declaration," the United States and the puppet Saigon regime jointly proclaimed their "determination in defence against aggression." It is quite clear what U.S. imperialism meant by this. It was under the same slogan that the United States poked its nose into south Vietnam and started its "special war." It was also under this slogan that the number of U.S. aggressor troops was boosted from tens of thousands to 200,000, and the war of aggression was escalated again and again. Now this slogan is being trotted out again. This means that, instead of being ready to withdraw the U.S. aggressor troops, the Johnson Administration wants to turn the whole of south Vietnam into its colony, and that it will not only continue the war but expand it further. Both the declaration and the communique of the conference

(Continued on p. 25.)

"Akahata" Condemns Radio Moscow's Prettification of Sato Cabinet

"Akahata," organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, published an article on February 1, condemning Radio Moscow for prettifying the foreign policy of the Sato government of Japan.

The article points out that, in calling for Soviet-Japanese "united action" on such international issues as "general and complete disarmament," "non-intervention in internal affairs," and "prevention of nuclear proliferation," Radio Moscow's commentaries, like Khrushchov's embellishments of U.S. imperialism, stem from the line of revisionism and opportunism and from unprincipled toeing of the U.S. imperialist line of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration" and "containment of China."

The article declares that by painting in glowing colours the Sato cabinet — the subservient ally of U.S. imperialism, the representative of reviving Japanese militarism and the consistent advocate of the policy of war — acclaiming "its efforts for peace" and decking its foreign policy out as "a policy of peace," Radio Moscow "is throwing cold water directly on the struggle of the Japanese people."

The article concludes that the prettifying of the Sato cabinet and the reactionary Japanese ruling class by Radio Moscow shows that it is imperative to step up the principled struggle against international modern revisionism in order to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia and correctly develop the struggle against the revival of Japanese militarism.

Following is a summary of the article.

SINCE last year, Radio Moscow has repeatedly embellished the Sato cabinet's foreign policy. With Foreign Minister Shiina's recent visit to Moscow, this glorification of the Sato cabinet has become more systematic.

"In general, the Sato cabinet's Asian policy faithfully lives up to the U.S. imperialist expectations that Japan will play the most active role in the policy of 'containing China.' In its policy towards the Southeast Asian countries, Japan makes peaceful gestures of 'economic co-operation' and 'mediation' in disputes. This is aimed at strengthening U.S. imperialist domination and at paving the way for overseas expansion of Japan's monopoly capital, first of all at strengthening the 'contain China' system by making use of Japan's position as the only developed capitalist country in Asia and its name and prestige."

Radio Moscow commentators say that one "cannot but approve" the Asian policy of the Sato cabinet.

They welcome Japan's efforts to "restore" its "name and prestige" among Asian countries as a "praiseworthy phenomenon in international life." "In this way they have undisguisedly shown their stand of all-round support for the Japanese Government's Asian policy."

Japan is playing the role of a faithful mouthpiece of U.S. imperialism in the United Nations. At the 20th U.N. General Assembly session last December, Japan consistently took an active part in Washington's anti-Chinese plot to exclude China from the United Nations. This shed further light on Japan's role in the United Nations as one which is primarily to serve U.S. imperialism in controlling that international organization.

Radio Moscow praises and blesses Japan's role in the United Nations at a time when the Japanese Government's role of tailing after the United States in conducting the anti-China campaign in the United Nations should have been condemned in the strongest terms. "This again highlights the unprincipled stand of subservience and accommodation towards the Sato cabinet adopted by commentators of Radio Moscow."

Since taking office, the Sato cabinet has consistently supported the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam. "But Radio Moscow has continually described the Sato cabinet as a 'peace-loving' government resisting the U.S. policy of aggression." Radio Moscow commentators "even distort facts, stand truth on its head and whitewash the Sato cabinet (an accomplice of aggression against Vietnam) as the spokesman of the Japanese people against that aggression."

International modern revisionism represented by Khrushchov has always prettified U.S. imperialism. Now it is singing the same old tune with regard to the reactionary Japanese ruling class and government with monopoly capital as the core. Such action is aimed at helping the Sato cabinet toe the U.S. line and revive militarism and imperialism, to the delight of U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary ruling class.

"While prettifying and catering to the Sato cabinet and the Japanese ruling class in an unprincipled manner, international modern revisionism continues to crudely interfere in and split Japan's peace and democratic movements, especially by its support for and collusion with Yoshio Shiga, Shigeo Kamiyama and other anti-Party renegades in a continued effort to harass and sabotage the Japanese Communist Party which stands at the forefront of the Japanese people's struggle. This, too, pleases U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary forces."

Refuting Radio Moscow's Absurd Argument in Calling for Soviet-Japanese "United Action." Radio Moscow has gone further in its unprincipled glorification of the Sato cabinet. With extraordinary enthusiasm it recently advocated "united action" between the Japanese and Soviet Governments for world peace.

A glance at the themes advanced by Radio Moscow for "united action" will help people understand more clearly the fallacy of the theory of Soviet-Japanese "united action." **The first theme is disarmament.** On this question, Radio Moscow paints the Japanese Government as a "peace-loving government desiring and struggling for general and complete disarmament."

"The very idea that a monopoly capitalist country wants general and complete disarmament, that is, the complete abolition of armaments, is an illusion of the modern revisionists who are blind to the oppressive and aggressive nature of the monopoly capitalist class. The Sato cabinet, a government seeking to revive militarism, has outdone all previous Liberal Democratic cabinets in advancing aggressive military alliances and arms expansion and has made the revision of the Constitution the order of the day to facilitate sending troops abroad and introduce conscription, all under U.S. dictate. Radio Moscow has degenerated to such depths as to depict such a cabinet as a 'peace-loving' government favouring general and complete disarmament and openly defend and absolve it from its crime of reviving militarism."

Another theme is non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. To be exact, this question is one of opposing all aggression and intervention by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and supporting the struggles of the people of the world for safeguarding sovereignty and winning national liberation. The policy and action of the Sato cabinet in Asia fully reveal that this government not only does not "oppose the intervention in the internal affairs of other countries," but has even grossly undermined the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs. It is a reactionary and aggressive government.

Yet Radio Moscow commentators advocate Soviet-Japanese "united action" on the grounds that Japan and the Soviet Union voted for the declaration prohibiting intervention in the internal affairs of other countries at the 20th U.N. General Assembly last year.

"Following this logic, there is also the basis then for 'united action' with U.S. imperialism which voted for the resolutions on 'general and complete disarmament' and 'non-intervention in internal affairs' at the U.N. General Assembly."

The argument put up by Radio Moscow for "united action" with the Japanese Government, like that of Khrushchov in prettifying U.S. imperialism, not only renounces the struggle against the Sato cabinet's policy of toeing the U.S. line and carrying out aggression. It also greatly helps the Japanese ruling class in its dual tactics of deceiving the people of Japan and other Asian countries under the cover of such pious words as "peace"

and "independence" while embarking on the road of reviving militarism and engaging in aggression.

Among the themes of "united action," the commentators of Radio Moscow attach the greatest importance to the question of "prevention of nuclear proliferation."

Having stressed the prevention of the emergence of new nuclear powers—meaning the prevention of "spreading" nuclear weapons—as the most urgent task in preventing nuclear war and defending world peace, Radio Moscow spreads the idea that Japan and the Soviet Union share common interests on the question of "preventing nuclear proliferation."

U.S. imperialism stands for "nuclear non-proliferation" because it places no restriction on the U.S. policy of nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail while helping to divert the people's attention from their demand to prevent nuclear war, prohibit nuclear weapons and defend peace so that they may not struggle against the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war, the real danger and source of nuclear war. At the same time, U.S. imperialism attempts, through the conclusion of a treaty on the "prevention of nuclear proliferation," to enlist, under the pretext of "protecting the security of non-nuclear countries," more countries to the nuclear military alliances under its control, so as to strengthen its nuclear war system and realize its plan for world domination. The Sato cabinet's policy on "nuclear proliferation" differs not a bit from that of U.S. imperialism and it is most loyal to the U.S. attempt to use "nuclear proliferation prevention" as a political weapon to strengthen its nuclear war preparations and its plan to "contain China."

Since the Sato cabinet's attitude towards the "prevention of nuclear proliferation" is to faithfully defend the U.S. imperialist policy, then the "united action" adopted by the Japanese and Soviet Governments for the "prevention of nuclear proliferation" referred to by Radio Moscow "can only be a kind of 'united action' within the framework of not conflicting with toeing the U.S. imperialist policies of nuclear war and aggression in Asia. Actually, it can only be in the nature of a form of 'united action' with U.S. imperialism."

"It must be pointed out that it is completely revealed that beginning last year, Radio Moscow's prettification of the Sato government and its arguments for Japan-Soviet 'united action,' just as Khrushchov's arguments in prettifying U.S. imperialism, are the product of the revisionist and opportunist line and are linked with the line of 'U.S.-Soviet collaboration' characterized by tailing after U.S. imperialism in an unprincipled way."

This trotting behind and prettifying of the Sato cabinet has made the Japanese ruling class arrogant. It has boosted its reactionary and aggressive policies and spread erroneous views among the Japanese people. At the same time, using the Japanese Government—a follower and loyal ally of U.S. imperialism—as a medium, it has supplemented and strengthened the un-

principled line started by Khrushchov of trailing behind and compromising with U.S. imperialism.

"Especially worth noting is the fact that, objectively, this theory of Japan-Soviet 'united action' completely coincides and fits in with the current orientation of the U.S. ruling class' policy towards the Soviet Union."

"What is even more important, the Sato cabinet's policy of 'rapprochement with the Soviet Union' is formulated and pursued with active support and direction from U.S. imperialism, as an important tactic in its current 'containment of China.' "

The newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun* on December 12, 1965, quoted a "prime minister's confidant" who said that "Japan should play the role of a channel between the United States and the Soviet Union" when giving the reason for the Sato cabinet's "rapprochement with the Soviet Union." What is stated with perfect frankness here is the policy of using "Japan-Soviet collaboration" to strengthen "U.S.-Soviet collaboration." Under this policy, Japan is to support and reinforce the U.S. policy of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration" by exploiting the disunity of the socialist camp for the purpose of "containing China," widen the split in the socialist camp, isolate China and other Asian socialist countries, and re-establish the system for strangling and crushing the national-liberation movements one by one.

Radio Moscow has persistently stated that "good neighbourly relations" between Japan and the Soviet Union are "an important factor contributing to the stability of the Far Eastern situation and maintaining peace" and will help ease tension in the Far East. However, if Japan-Soviet "rapprochement" and "col-

laboration" are to be realized under the premise of unprincipled following and prettifying of the U.S. and Japanese ruling classes' policy of "containing China," it certainly cannot become a positive factor contributing to peace and relaxation of tension in the Far East. On the contrary, such "Japan-Soviet collaboration" can only encourage Japanese monopoly capital to serve the United States and revive Japanese militarism, enhance U.S. ambition to commit aggression in Asia and "contain China," and further aggravate tension in the Far East.

The fact that Radio Moscow prettifies and tails after the Sato cabinet and the Japanese ruling class makes clear again the increasing importance of waging a principled struggle against international modern revisionism in order to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia and correctly develop the fight against the revival of Japanese militarism.

At the same time, it is also necessary to resolutely and persistently oppose the revisionist, opportunist line peddled everywhere by international modern revisionism and its disrupting and splitting activities against Japan's democratic forces and the Japanese Communist Party.

"Only such a line of action can meet the urgent demands of the people of Japan and other countries of the world and unite the world's anti-imperialist forces in the most correct manner to fight against the forces of war and aggression headed by U.S. imperialism. Only such a line can defeat modern revisionism without fail and ensure the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism."

Soviet Revisionists Are Agents of U.S. Imperialism

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

The Soviet leaders connive at the transfer of U.S. troops from Western Europe for stepped-up aggression in Vietnam. In the Johnson Administration's "peace offensive," they have even degenerated to the extent of acting as messengers for U.S. imperialism.

IN an article published in a Ceylonese newspaper, the *Daily News*, on January 29, N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Ceylon, condemned the Soviet modern revisionists for having become more and more open agents of U.S. imperialism.

Sanmugathasan also denounced the Soviet revisionists for taking steps in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union.

"Some people," he said, "thought that, with the fall of Khrushchov, the new leadership of the Soviet Union would return to correct Marxist-Leninist positions. But the new leadership of the Soviet Union has in fact gone further along the road started by Khrushchov. They are practising Khrushchovism without Khrushchov."

"Nowhere is this illustrated better than in respect of their treacherous policy towards Vietnam."

"No less a person than Dean Rusk has stated openly that there is agreement between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union not to create tension in Europe."

It was because of this Soviet-U.S. understanding that the U.S.A. had dared to shift a part of its troops

from West Germany for aggression in Vietnam, Sanmugathasan said. "It does not need much intelligence to know that the United States would never have taken such a step if it was not reasonably sure that the Soviet Union would play ball with it in Europe."

"The United States feels sure of Europe. What a commentary on the practical application of revisionism! The Soviet Union does not have to send arms all the way to Vietnam to support it. It has only to growl in Berlin and not a single American soldier will be taken out of West Germany. But that is not to be."

"The most spectacular form in which Soviet-U.S. co-operation has exhibited itself is the way in which the Soviet revisionists have helped to sow ideological confusion about the 'peace offensive' carried out by the United States in respect of its war in Vietnam. They have even degenerated to the extent of acting as messengers for American imperialism." "The pause in the bombing of north Vietnam ordered by Johnson on December 24 was to permit Shelepin, Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, to visit Hanoi to persuade the Vietnamese to accept the U.S. proposals."

It was not only in respect of Vietnam that the Soviet revisionists were acting as agents of imperialism. They performed the same role at Tashkent, trying to form a united front against China, Sanmugathasan said.

The Soviet Union did so "because its efforts were in the interests of the imperialist powers and that their interests coincided with those of the Soviet Union.

namely that they all were anti-Chinese. Johnson from the beginning approved Kosygin's efforts to get India and Pakistan together. It could not have escaped people's notice that when there was a conflict between India and China over a less complicated issue than Kashmir the Soviet Union never offered its services for mediation.

"The Soviet-U.S. co-operation has been expressed in other spheres too. In November 1965, at Bangkok a conference took place to establish an Asian Development Bank under the U.S. auspices. Participating along with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the puppet clique in south Vietnam and the puppet clique in south Korea was the Soviet Union.

"In the United Nations itself a number of deals have been struck between the U.S.S.R. and the United States. They co-operated and voted for sending a U.N. force to suppress the struggle of the people of the Congo (L). They co-operated in having the United Nations adopt a 'ceasefire' resolution in the Dominican Republic. They co-operated in warmly applauding Harold Wilson's handling of Southern Rhodesia. They collaborated to set up a permanent U.N. force to serve as a ready tool for the suppression of wars of national liberation.

"One could go on. But what has been stated should be sufficient to convince anyone that the Soviet modern revisionists have now emerged as open and direct agents of U.S. imperialism, and in all spheres are carrying out its dictates."

(Continued from p. 12.)

In fact, the leaders of the Soviet Union have consistently run errands for the Johnson Administration's "peace talks" plot. If the Soviet leaders are often evasive and are wary of committing themselves openly to the question of "peace talks," the *New Times* article has shown their hand.

The *New Times* article holds that there exist in the world today "two diametrically opposed concepts," the "Tashkent and Vietnam" concepts, and that the former benefits mankind while the latter does not. This shows up more clearly the true features of the Khrushchov revisionists. One would like to ask, how can it be said that the Vietnamese people's armed resistance to U.S. imperialist aggression runs counter to the interests of mankind whereas to connive at U.S. imperialist aggression and permit the U.S. gangsters to occupy and devastate Vietnam's territory accords with the interests of mankind? Can it be that, in order to conform with your so-called "interests of mankind," the Vietnamese people in face of U.S. imperialist armed aggression should lay down their arms and stop fighting? What difference is there between this logic and the gangster logic of U.S. imperialism?

The Soviet leaders and the Soviet press energetically advocate application of the so-called "Tashkent spirit" to the Vietnam question. This is merely an attempt to substitute the "Tashkent line" for the Vietnamese people's revolutionary line of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the country, thereby putting the Vietnam question into the orbit of U.S.-Soviet co-operation for world domination.

There do exist two diametrically opposed lines on the Vietnam question. One is the Vietnamese people's revolutionary line of persisting in armed struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country, and the other is the Soviet leaders' line of capitulationism betraying the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people. **These two lines are absolutely irreconcilable. The Soviet leaders are stepping up their united action with U.S. imperialism in their vain attempt to stamp out the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people. They play a role which U.S. imperialism cannot possibly play and serve as an accomplice in U.S. imperialist aggression.** No matter how much the Soviet leaders may try to disguise themselves, their shameful features will be continuously exposed, and the *New Times* article provides further evidence of this.

(*Renmin Ribao*, February 15.)

China Self-Reliantly Develops Its Textile Industry

by LI CHU-PING

Vice-Minister of the Textile Industry

FOR the textile industry, as was the case in all other branches of our national economy, 1965 was a year that saw a vigorous growth in revolutionary spirit and a year of fresh, great victories along the road of self-reliance.

One Year Equal to 28 in Old China

Last year, China installed 1.4 million spindles and a corresponding number of looms. Most were in mills in hinterland areas producing raw materials, including some national minority regions where there were few or no mills before. It took old China 28 years to accumulate slightly more than 1.4 million spindles from the time the first modern cotton mill was set up in Shanghai in 1890. And the majority of those were installed by the imperialists to serve their own aggressive purposes.

During 1965, the nation built a number of chemical fibre plants and put them into operation by its own efforts. Products include viscose pulp, viscose staple fibre, viscose filament and synthetic fibres (capron and vinylon). Through actual operation quality and production of these plants have all reached fairly advanced standards.

Production made the best overall progress last year since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The cotton, woollen, silk and bast fibre textile industries and the textile engineering industry all fulfilled the state plans at least 15 days ahead of time and raised their output by wide margins. More than 3,600 new varieties and patterns were trial produced in 1965, many of them up to advanced international standards.

Besides traditional fabrics for export, China also made and exported many high-quality textiles popular on the international market, including man-made fibre blended fabrics and high-grade finished fabrics. Chinese textiles are now well received by consumers in more than 90 countries and regions all over the world.

Branches in the textile industry fulfilled their plans in providing economic and technical assistance to socialist and nationalist countries during last year.

Why could we achieve so much in 1965? What is the basis for our overall success?

Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts."¹ "We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people."² He also said: "We rely entirely on our own efforts, and our position is invincible. . . ."³

In the final analysis, all of our textile industry's achievements since liberation are derived from this guiding principle and represent a victory of this great Marxist-Leninist thinking on construction. From the very beginning we have based all work on self-reliance, which becomes the foundation of our advance and a big motive power to gain new victories.

But, how did we travel this road? Where did we stand yesterday?

Historical Lessons of Semi-Colonial China

The textile industry is one of the oldest branches of China's modern industry. Between 1890 and 1949, however, this best-developed industry in old China had steadily declined and become a typical example of a semi-colonial industry. Its golden age came during an interval in imperialist aggressions.

World War I found the imperialist countries involved in their aggressive war and slackened their aggression against China. It was under such circumstances that the textile industry had a breathing spell and made some rapid advances. In the four years 1918-22, the number of spindles owned by national capital increased by 860,000, almost twice as many as was accumulated in the previous 23 years. But this prosperity was short-lived. Soon after World War I was ended, the imperialist powers were back. Japanese imperialism, though a late-comer, took the lead in expansion. Between 1921 and 1925, it built 33 textile mills in Shanghai, Tsingtao and other cities. Thereafter, faced with the aggressive forces of imperialism, our textile industry became increasingly dependent on foreign capital. Its growth, no matter how insignificant, was held back by the imperialist forces. In 1933 a total of 670,000

spindles run by national capital, one-fourth of the total in China, were forced to close down.

After the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), U.S. imperialism replaced the Japanese and other imperialist forces. Seeing the close relation between the textile industry and the national livelihood, it tried by every means to control this industry and put it further on a colonial basis. Large amounts of U.S. surplus cotton were rushed into China; old machinery from U.S. mills were imported and Chinese mills even depended on the United States for machine parts.

Historical lessons in semi-colonial China proved that the absence of a socialist system and a government serving the people's interests was the basic reason why China's textile industry was under imperialist control and hampered in its growth. Economically speaking, all the means for developing this industry were controlled by foreign capital. Apart from exporting capital, dumping cotton yarn and piece goods, and establishing mills in China, the imperialists used raw materials, machinery and techniques to control, weaken and strangle China's textile industry.

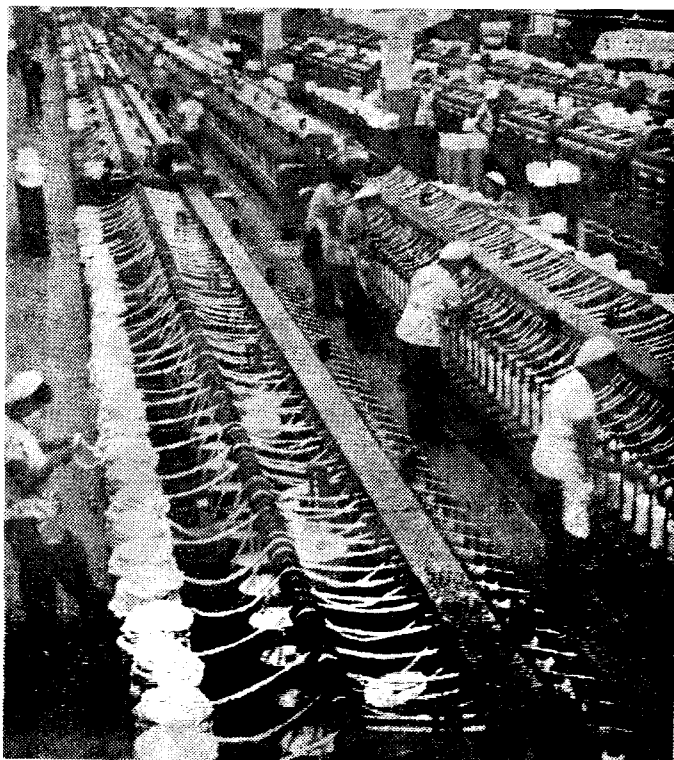
The imperialists regarded China as the largest market for dumping their surplus cotton, which brought serious damage to the country's cotton production and farm economy and cut off agriculture from industry. Though old China was an agricultural country, it had an unfavourable balance in its cotton trade in 56 years out of the 60 years prior to liberation. In 1946, China imported 280,000 tons of cotton, about one half of all that consumed by the nation's cotton mills. Shanghai's mills at that time got 80 per cent of their cotton from the United States.

The imperialist countries tried all sorts of devices to prevent China from building its own textile engineering industry. At the same time they supplied China with textile machines of miscellaneous specifications. From whole sets of equipment to single machines, from machine parts to accessories, China had to get them from foreign countries. This dependence continued right up to the time of liberation.

"Without Agriculture There Can Be No Light Industry"

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the People's Government decided to make vigorous efforts to restore and develop the textile industry. Where should transforming a semi-colonial industry into a completely independent one that is able to develop self-reliantly start from?

"Without agriculture there can be no light industry."⁴ This is an important conclusion drawn by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his speech *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. It profoundly reveals the relations between the textile industry and agriculture, and points out the necessary road of self-reliance to be followed by our textile industry.



A cotton textile mill in Urumchi, Sinkiang; Chinese designed and equipped throughout

As a result of the damage imposed by U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, China's farm production had fallen drastically at the time of liberation. Compared with annual pre-liberation peaks, output of cotton in 1949 was 52 per cent as much, bast fibres for gunny bags 27 per cent and silkworm cocoons 14 per cent. Because production of raw materials was on the verge of bankruptcy, textile output had dropped considerably. In 1949, China produced only 1.8 million bales of cotton yarn, 74 per cent of the previous annual peak. Gunny bags were even less than one-third of the previous highest annual figure. Clearly, the problem of raw materials first had to be solved before production could be restored and developed. Soon afterwards, U.S. imperialism began its blockade and embargo against China. In an attempt to strangle our textile industry, it put cotton on the list of strategic materials. At that time, Chairman Mao said: "Let them blockade us! Let them blockade us for eight or ten years! By that time all of China's problems will have been solved."⁵

It did not take long before that great prediction was realized. The textile industry now gets all its raw materials from domestic sources. In 1964 cotton output increased by more than 30 per cent compared with the previous year, and it again recorded considerable increases last year.

An important means in expanding the production of textile raw materials lies in getting the peasants organized, adhering to the socialist road and fully mobilizing the peasants' initiative for production. Following the establishment of the people's communes,

their advantages in managing agriculture on a large scale opened new and broader prospects for growing more cotton and other textile raw materials. At the same time, the state has also adopted a series of correct policies towards their production and given all kinds of necessary assistance.

Another important means in solving the problem of raw materials is to simultaneously develop natural and chemical fibres. Vigorous development of our chemical fibre industry has enabled the textile industry to get more and more raw materials from a new source, and lightened the burden on agriculture. The production of both viscose and synthetic fibres has been stressed. In the light of the resources available, we have developed the varieties which are technically advanced and economically reasonable in a planned way.

In building our modern chemical fibre industry, we started practically from scratch. In line with the policy of self-reliance, we mobilized the technical forces of the textile engineering plants, designing and research institutes and colleges to tackle this job. One difficulty after another was overcome in the course of designing and manufacturing of the equipment and the selection of the best technological processes. By learning and grasping the objective laws through practice, we mastered complex techniques in building the chemical fibre industry. Practical work enabled us to accumulate a rich fund of experience and train a contingent of builders who are politically advanced and technically proficient.

Making the Equipment by Our Own Efforts

From getting machine parts and accessories from abroad to making complete sets of equipment and equipping our mills, China's textile engineering industry has passed over an arduous path. Today we are producing more than 1,000 kinds of textile machines. Among these are complete sets of equipment to make cotton, woollen, bast fibre and silk textiles, printing and dyeing equipment, and equipment to produce knitwear, viscose fibre, capron and vinylon. Besides, we have exported complete sets of equipment and machines to more than 30 countries and regions.

Our textile engineering industry has been built on what was a broken down and very poor foundation. In the early days of liberation, China only had a few small repair and assembly plants with out-moded equipment and a weak technical force. What we did first was to rearrange these plants and make use of the available technical strength for further expansion. Step by step these plants started to make complete sets of equipment and went in for specialized production according to their original basis and features. For instance, plants repairing spinning-frames were turned into ones manufacturing such machines; plants producing parts for looms were converted to make looms. Plants making different equipment in various parts of the nation were co-ordinated through a unified plan. This method of development has greatly saved on in-

vestment, raised productivity and gained time. As early as the period of economic rehabilitation, our textile engineering industry was able to supply the country with complete sets of equipment.

Another important step in building the textile engineering industry is to use state fund for constructing modern textile engineering plants in the hinterland where textile raw materials are produced. This changed the irrational geographical distribution of such plants, which were concentrated in the coastal cities in old China. The new plants received all-round support from old ones, which provided them with equipment, tools and technical personnel. Consequently the new plants have grown up rapidly.

In boosting production, expanding the range of varieties and studying or adopting new equipment, technological processes and techniques, both the old and new plants have tried their best to bring man's initiative into full play. Proceeding from China's specific conditions and displaying a spirit of self-reliance, they are bold enough to break with outdated foreign experience and work out their own ways. They have adopted the two "three-in-one" methods in production and technical work. One such method includes co-operation among workers, technical personnel and leading cadres within the plant, and another involves the textile engineering plants, textile mills and research institutes (including colleges).

By relying on these two forms of co-operation, they have solved a series of key problems in production and construction and reached many advanced levels. For instance, the casting production line with multi-position moulding machines, designed and made by the China Textile Machinery Works in Shanghai, increased labour productivity more than tenfold, compared with existing production lines. Besides greatly lowering labour intensity, it can also radically improve working conditions.

The quantity, variety and quality of our textile engineering products have all entered a new stage and are going to reach and surpass world advanced levels.

"People Are the Most Precious"

"Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed."⁶ All the achievements in our textile industry can be attributed to the fact that we have given serious attention to the role of man and encouraged his maximum initiative.

Throughout the course of developing the textile industry, we have put the work of training qualified persons and placing them in the proper posts in first place. After the founding of the People's Republic, we retained all the technical and management personnel of the old plants and adopted a policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding them. According to their abilities, we put them in suitable positions so that they could display their maximum initiative. By studying Chairman Mao's works, taking part in political move-

ments and keeping in close touch with production, they have steadily raised their political consciousness and vocational skill and made valuable contributions to the country. A good number have been promoted to leading posts and some have become deputies to the National People's Congress or members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Our basic measure to train qualified personnel is to discover, train and promote cadres in the course of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Therefore, we have paid close attention to the education of the broad masses of workers and employees. By providing them with political, cultural and technical education in a planned way, we are able to turn them into a reserve army for all kinds of cadres. Spare-time primary schools, middle schools and special training courses have been set up in the plants. Besides, there are also spare-time colleges and technical schools in the textile centres. Training and educating veteran workers and turning them into a core of cadres is one of the tasks that has received our special attention. Over one-third of all the technical personnel has been promoted from the ranks of the workers. Possessing a higher political consciousness, production experience and exceptional drive in work, many of them have distinguished themselves in the technical revolution.

Another important step in training technical personnel is the establishment of specialized colleges, secondary technical schools and the introduction of part-work and part-study schools. The nation now has six textile colleges and eight secondary textile schools. There are also textile courses in some colleges and technical schools. More than 1,000 students graduate each year from these institutions to reinforce the ranks of

the textile industry. According to the arrangements made by the state, they are required to take part in the three great revolutionary movements (class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment) and physical labour, in order to become a new type of intellectual, who are equally at home in theoretical knowledge and production and are able to do mental as well as physical labour.

All these achievements and experience in the textile industry clearly show that the basic guarantee leading us from victory to victory is to guide ourselves by Mao Tse-tung's thinking, persevere in the policy of self-reliance and take a road adapted to our own conditions. During the Third Five-Year Plan (1966-70), workers and staff in the textile industry will continue to develop the spirit of self-reliance, learn the best experience from all the world, turn out products for the revolution and the people, and make still greater contribution to the Chinese and world revolutions.

¹ "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 20.

² "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 241.

³ "Smash Chiang Kai-shek's Offensive by a War of Self-Defence," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, p. 91.

⁴ *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, p. 52.

⁵ "Farewell, Leighton Stuart!" *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, p. 438.

⁶ "The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History," *ibid.* p. 454.

(Continued from p. 17.)

disclosed that the two sides discussed "military plans and programmes" and reached "full agreement" on "still closer co-operation" in promoting the war. According to A.F.P., Westmoreland, commander of the U.S. aggressor forces in south Vietnam, requested that 200,000 more U.S. troops be dispatched to south Vietnam. This is acid proof that the Johnson Administration had already laid out at the Honolulu conference concrete plans for expanding the aggressive war against Vietnam.

Prelude to New Military Venture

U.S. imperialist chieftain Johnson, whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Vietnamese people, yelled after the conference that the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam would be prosecuted "to a successful conclusion." This proves beyond all doubt the criminal intention of U.S. imperialism to launch

a bigger military adventure in Vietnam and Indo-China. The Honolulu conference is a prelude to this.

However, the great and valiant Vietnamese people are not to be deceived or cowed. Nor will they bow before pressure. They have already inflicted heavy defeats on the American bandits. Time and again, the 31 million Vietnamese people have demonstrated their determination to carry through to the end their sacred cause of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and drive the U.S. aggressors out of south Vietnam. The Chinese people firmly support their Vietnamese brothers in their just struggle against aggression. Wherever the Johnson Administration may expand the war to and whatever price the Chinese people may have to pay, they will continue to give all-out and unflagging support to the Vietnamese people till the latter's complete victory.

(*Renmin Ribao* editorial, February 12.)

ACROSS THE LAND

"Relay Racing"

RELAY racing" is not just a sports term in China. It has become a catchy way of referring to laboratory-factory co-operation, a movement that is gaining momentum. Close co-operation between research institutes or colleges and factories makes for the rapid application of the results of scientific research and in turn adds a boost to production and research.

"Relay racing" is speeding along in the three industrial northeast provinces of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang, as well as in industry-packed Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin. Much valuable experience has been obtained in concentrating technical forces to solve specific key problems by establishing flexible relations and close co-operation between scientific institutes and factories.

There are many kinds of co-operation. Apart from long-term co-ordination, there are various short-term forms. For example, a research institute works with a factory, or a number of factories, on a project right through to final production. Sometimes, it hands over the results of a single piece of research to be applied to production. If necessary, researchers go into the factory to help solve crucial production problems.

Numerous medium and small factories have overcome lack of technical ability and facilities to develop new products by co-operating with colleges or research institutes. (The latter sends staff members to a factory to assist in making new products.) In the process, new techniques, tools and industrial operations are evolved and factory personnel are trained. In short, the factory makes new products and technological advances simultaneously.

One example of how this works out can be seen in the manufacture

of the scintillation spectrometer. After Tsinghua University in Peking developed a prototype, it joined forces with a co-operative making mechanical and electrical repairs in Yingkow, a town in the northeast. This polytechnic university sent a special team to help workers, already experienced in electrical equipment, to understand the principles of nuclear electronic instruments, and also to help solve problems arising in making this spectrometer.

The pooled know-how and experience of teachers, students and workers soon turned out equipment and samples, and mass manufacture was under way before long. The co-operative has now become a specialized factory making nuclear electronic instruments. Two dozen other factories in Yingkow are co-operating with scientific institutes and colleges with equally rewarding results.

In applying the results of their research in factories, researchers discover and solve many problems that are difficult to foresee in the laboratory. Integrating research with production also gives them a better understanding of problems in industry. In addition, taking part in practical work enriches the researchers' production knowledge and their own technical abilities, which in turn improves research efforts and teaching.

The People's Police

NEW China's policemen are people's policemen. No one is surprised to see the man on point duty helping to sweep streets in the early hours or patiently lecturing jaywalkers. Policemen of this country regularly visit the old people in their locality to lend a hand when needed and every year they have a "Love the People Month." This generally begins around the time of the lunar New Year, or Spring Festival. Dur-

ing the month, policemen make an extra special effort to help the people whom they serve wholeheartedly throughout the year. They hold meetings then to review work over the past year and plan to give better service. In personal house-to-house calls they solicit ideas for improving their work.

At a Shenyang city get-together with policemen at Shengli Street Police Station, 60-year-old Kang Yincheng, who has lived in that street over a score of years, said: "When the Kuomintang were here, they squeezed everything they could from us, so we gave the station a wide berth. Today, I feel like dropping in for a chat every time I pass." Incidentally, the policemen at this station at a busy crossroads by the railway station, spend a Sunday each month visiting various families to see if they can be of any help.

In Shanghai, during the "Love the People Month," groups of policemen went around helping elderly people without close relatives to spring clean their homes. They also lent a hand to families of revolutionary martyrs and of P.L.A. men on active service. They helped municipal sweepers give the city's main streets a thorough cleaning before the daily, holiday-rush of shoppers and also worked as porters, helping crowds of holiday travellers getting off ships and trains. Well-known, well-liked policeman Chang Chun-ho on the Nanking Road beat went the rounds with a bag of tools to fix faulty locks before the holidays.

Village School Teacher

IN 1953, just graduated from a teachers' training school, 20-year-old Wu Tse-hung set off in high spirits to set up a school in Pokaotun village in the mountains of multinational Kwangsi, south China. The inhabitants of this village were of the Yao national minority.

When he arrived and was shown his mat-shed school house, he was taken aback. But he was so moved by the welcome the Yao villagers

gave him — the first “man of letters” to come to settle in their mountain village — that he managed manfully to hide his disappointment. From a family of poor peasants himself and a member of the formerly oppressed Chuang nationality, Wu well knew how much the Yao working people had suffered from feudal exploitation and national oppression and how much they craved for education. If not for the People’s Government, where would he himself be today? With these thoughts, he set his mind to making a success of the school.

No one in the 49 village households could read or write. Wu got classes going right away. With the villagers he made desks and chairs for the school and fixed up an oil lamp for himself out of an ink bottle so that he could work in the evenings. The villagers took an instant liking to this unassuming and rather reticent intellectual.

The village was a poor one and at Wu’s suggestion a small farm and orchard were established to make the school self-supporting. The income earned allowed adults and children to attend school free and covered all costs including subscriptions to newspapers and magazines for the library.

When a people’s commune was formed, a new brick school was built. The people’s incomes had risen steadily but teacher and students agreed to keep the school farm and orchard going. They had found that the combination of classroom education and physical labour helped to develop a collective spirit and educate all-round, self-reliant students.

Of the 105 pupils who have been through Pokaotun village school, some have gone to work as industrial workers, soldiers or teachers. The others have become the first generation of “educated peasants” in this formerly backward, isolated village.

Teacher Wu, now aged 32 and a member of the Communist Party, is still at the school; the Yao villagers refused to let him be transferred. He has been named a model teacher six

times and elected a deputy to his commune’s congress.

Winter Work in Heilungkiang

Hunting. There will be more furs this year for the people and the export trade. About ten thousand hunters a day are out after sable, mink, weasel, muskrat and other fur-bearers in the northeastern province of Heilungkiang. Since the start of the hunting season in November, when these animals grew their thick, soft winter coats, to the end of January, 250,000 pelts have been sold to the state.

Such good hunting has been made possible by several protective measures taken by the People’s Government: indiscriminate hunting and hunting during the breeding season is ruled out; certain areas have been turned into game reserves; the numbers of animals that preyed on the fur-bearers have been reduced. Animals hunted almost to extinction have thus had a chance to replenish their numbers. Such animals as the sable, marten and tiger have again become relatively plentiful in areas where they were becoming scarce at the time of China’s liberation. Today, Heilungkiang has minks with six different shades of coat, including the rare sky-blue and snow-white varieties. Another step was the setting up of breeding farms.



by Chou Chien-fu

With more skins to sell at better prices, life is getting better for the hunters, particularly for the hunting Olunchun nationality whose numbers were dwindling before the country was liberated.

Fishing Under Ice. Rivers and lakes in Heilungkiang Province freeze over hard from early December until late March. But it is under these unlikely conditions that its inland fishermen haul up half their year’s catch.

As soon as the water freezes a metre thick, holes are drilled through the ice. Nets are let down and teased out under the ice to fill with fish. Large nets — some 800 metres long — are dragged up with the aid of tractors. A single haul of common and silver carp can weigh as much as a hundred tons. In the old days of individual enterprise such a catch would be a real fisherman’s tale.

Fresh winter frozen fish on the tables in Heilungkiang’s cities and farms has been ample and assured for the past dozen years due partly to conservation measures and partly to the growth of fish breeding in the many new reservoirs and in 49 big natural fish-ponds and shallow lakes adapted for this purpose.

BRIEFS

Over a thousand peasants, men and women, took part in the 3rd Bumper Harvest Cup basketball tournament for rural people’s communes in the 10 counties of Shanghai. Peasant basketball tournaments were also held in Chinghai, Kwangtung, Chekiang and other provinces.

* * *

New air compressors needing no oil for lubrication are being made in Shenyang. Their pistons and rings are of a special material that is self-lubricating and stands up well to abrasion and high temperatures.

Pure compressed air can be had directly from the new compressors without additional gas purification equipment because, unlike standard air compressors, no admixtures of lubricating oil enter the compressed gas during the operation.

CULTURE

Ex-Serfs' Theatrical Troupe

Don't Forget the Whip of Losalling was staged for the first time in a small village near Lhasa after the 1963 harvest. But audience as well as actors knew the material on which the plot was based. All had been exploited and oppressed by the serf-owner Losalling. As a work of dramatic literature it was a beginner's attempt, but it was acted with a passion and spirit that welled out of the young actors' own living experience and hatred of the past. There was no doubt of its effectiveness. When the serf on the stage was whipped and robbed of his last mouthful of grain, every member of the audience recalled the feel of the lash and the bell on the horse of Losalling's rent collector which had warned them of the imminent plundering of the fruits of a year's back-breaking toil. In the scene where the child of a serf is beaten to death simply for picking up a few grains of wheat dropped by the roadside, the actor who played the serf wept real, uncontrolled tears and the audience wept with him. Life and stage merged.

The Whip was staged by the village's spare-time troupe. The success of that first play strengthened the troupe's confidence. From the

initial 13 members in 1963 it has grown to 22, 21 of them former poor serfs and slaves. In 1963 every member of the troupe was illiterate. In the two years, 1964-65, they wrote and staged nearly 30 plays, operas, folk songs and dances.

Although the village is not far from Lhasa, except for the serf-owner's agent, its population was illiterate before the democratic reforms of 1959. It had no school, let alone a theatrical troupe. The democratic reforms emancipated the serfs politically and economically, yet the only stage entertainment the villagers had was old traditional Tibetan operas by a troupe managed by ex-serf-owner's agents in a neighbouring village. Dissatisfied with this situation, local Communist Youth League members and young activists in 1963 decided to form a theatrical troupe themselves to express the thoughts and sentiments of the labouring people in their own contemporary ways.

The 13 enthusiasts who staged *The Whip* that year, in addition to learning to act and much else, had to learn to read and write. They studied hard. Now after two years, 14 of the troupe of 22 can read newspapers and the works of Chairman Mao. Close collective work makes up for many deficiencies. They jointly compose dialogue, and a primary school teacher, who joined them after finishing a teachers' training

course in Lhasa in late 1963, takes it down and organizes it into dramatic form. They link their repertoire with urgent problems of the day. In this way they wrote *Show Him Without His Religious Cloak* that exposes the intrigues of the serf-owners to stage a come-back; *The Girl Who Ploughs* that ridicules the feudal custom preventing girls from using a plough; and *The Red Banner Competition* that criticizes selfishness. Other plays and songs expose and criticize the selfish, spontaneous capitalist tendencies among the peasants, so as to encourage love of the collective and respect for collective property.

The success of the troupe rests on this militant, up-to-the-minute drive and its quality of speaking for and to the people in their own language.

SHORT NOTES

Lhasa's industrial workers staged their First Drama Festival recently at their new Working People's Palace of Culture. Most plays, written by themselves in colloquial Tibetan, dealt with themes taken from their own life.

* * *

In 1965, China printed five times as many copies of scientific and educational films as in 1964. More than half were on agricultural subjects—seed selection, planting green manure crops, transplanting cotton seedlings, protecting frogs, animal husbandry and so on. Popular scientific and educational film weeks held in urban areas helps the workers' innovation movement.

* * *

An ancient folk art—carving lanterns out of ice—has blossomed into an annual winter ice lantern show in a park in Harbin in the northeast. Here the weather is so cold that ice lanterns can be lit by a candle inside and still not melt. In the form of strings of translucent pearls, ice palaces, flowers, fish and other animals, lighted from inside with coloured bulbs and placed amid snow-covered trees and shrubbery, they make an entrancing show at night.



A Tibetan Ulanmuchi-style theatrical troupe performing for the peasants

ROUND THE WORLD

Franco-West German Talks

New Colours on a Cracked Pot

West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard visited Paris on February 7-8 for the summit talks which take place every six months between the two countries. No "spectacular results" were reached, says the French press, because "nobody had expected such results."

No official communique was issued on the talks but events showed that at their end sharp differences remained between Paris and Bonn although both wanted to ease their deteriorating relations. A French commentator has likened such relations to a cracked pot which needs care to prevent it from falling to pieces.

On "German reunification," Erhard failed to enlist real support from President de Gaulle who merely said that during his forthcoming Moscow visit in June, he would bring up the question from the French point of view.

The talks did not even touch on West German nuclear armament. Today, West Germany's bid, with Washington's blessing, for a finger on the nuclear trigger has given rise to much misgiving in Paris. The French paper *Le Figaro* noted on February 4 that France today "opposes not only the multilateral nuclear force, but also all forms . . . of [West] German participation in the nuclear strategic structure of the Atlantic alliance."

The two sides, however, discussed "political co-operation" of the Common Market Six which both agreed should be given "a new impetus," and, in the words of the French President, studied "in a practical spirit." This was described by *Le Figaro* as "a new coloration of Paris-Bonn relations."

The fundamental difference between the two countries lies in their relations with the U.S. Paris is now finding that Bonn is no longer its fellow-traveller in achieving its strategic aim of "a Europe for the Europeans" but a rival backed by Washington for domination in Western Europe. The Bonn government, at the same time, has found France of decreasing value as an instrument for strengthening its international position. In fact, Paris has become a stumbling block to the realization of West German ambitions.

There is, however, no prospect of open opposition or a break between the two in the foreseeable future for this would mean France's isolation — which Washington is working assiduously to bring about — and a weakened West German position in bargaining with the U.S. Moreover, both need to work together to deal with the Anglo-U.S. bloc in the international monetary struggle. But it is safe to say that in present-day Franco-West German relations, the struggle for hegemony has now outweighed their need to co-operate.

South Korea

Strikes and U.S. Atrocities

Heavy taxation and monetary inflation in U.S.-occupied south Korea are bearing down ever harder on the people. Workers, even when employed, are hardly able to make ends meet. The masses are carrying on a bitter struggle against tyrannical U.S.-Pak Jung Hi rule.

Despite the puppet government's reign of terror — Pak Jung Hi's gendarmes arrested 5,000 people on New Year's Day alone — strikes are nowadays commonplace in Seoul and other cities. They have recently involved bus workers, dockers, staff

and stevedores in customs godowns and some 30,000 workers employed by the U.S. occupation forces. The fight of the latter is directed against both their U.S. employers and the puppet government.

In Euijungboo and Pajoo, members of the "Korean Service Corps" went on hunger strike early this month. In Pajoo, 1,100 workers of the "Service Corps" began their strike for an indefinite period on February 5, with a demonstration in front of a U.S. army engineers' headquarters demanding a pay increase and reinstatement of their dismissed union leader. U.S. military policemen were called in, fired four tear-gas shells and attacked the strikers with bayonets and rifle butts, wounding eight of them, four critically. On February 7, the workers on strike held a rally and organized a committee in protest against these U.S. atrocities and putting forward five demands, including punishment of the guilty American military policemen.

In the northern part of the country, where the workers are masters in their own house, a meeting was held in Pyongyang, the capital, voicing support for their brothers in the south and condemning the U.S. outrages.

The Philippines

A Crime Against the People

Opposition is mounting in the Philippines to President Marcos' decision, under U.S. pressure, to feed the U.S. war of aggression in south Vietnam with Filipino "engineers" and "security troops." More than 2,000 students and other youths demonstrated in protest before the U.S. Embassy on February 11.

Holding placards reading "Leave the Vietnam war alone!", the demonstrators first went to the Congress building, where the proposal for sending Filipinos to south Vietnam was being discussed. They distributed pamphlets describing the proposal as a crime against the people

THE PASSING SHOW

of the Philippines. One organization taking part in the demonstration denounced the U.S. for wanting "to destroy Vietnamese independence in the same way that our [the Philippines'] own independence was crushed in the Filipino-American war of 1898." The demonstrators added that if there was freedom to be defended, it was the national freedom of the Filipinos.

According to the *Manila Chronicle*, the Philippine University Student Council, which stood in the van of the demonstration, also protested against the entry of American nuclear-powered warships into Philippine waters. It expressed concern that "Americans may soon be setting up nuclear bases and stockpiles on Philippine soil thus further heightening the possibility of a nuclear war involving the Philippines."

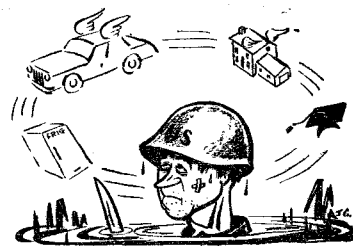
In recent days, Manila papers have carried comments against the sending of Filipinos to south Vietnam. Rejecting Washington's carrot of "increased U.S. aid if the Philippines sends troops to Vietnam," the *Manila Times* said that soldiers of the country should not needlessly shed blood for U.S. "aid." The Philippines could go on living "even supposing that [it] had no other source of foreign assistance."

The Manila *Sunday Times* described the government's proposal to send "engineers" to south Vietnam as a "grave deception" because "every spot in Vietnam is the front" and any Filipino sent to south Vietnam would actually have to take part in combat.

To "internationalize" its aggression in south Vietnam, the U.S. began trying to force the Philippine Government early in 1964 to contribute 2,000 to 5,000 men. Lately, as the war has escalated, it has increased its pressure. This American intrigue has been opposed by Philippine public opinion from the very outset. In the first half of 1965 when the Philippine Congress was discussing the matter, no less than six anti-U.S. demonstrations were staged demanding the abrogation of all unequal treaties with the U.S. This public outcry prevented the Senate from agreeing to the U.S.

Tantalization

To boost the sagging morale of American troops in south Vietnam, the U.S. House of Representatives has approved a "G.I. Bill of Rights" which entitles servicemen to benefits in employment, higher education, housing and medicare upon their return home. The \$64 question, however, is how to get home alive to claim the benefits. The English word for all this comes from Tantalus, of Greek mythology, condemned in Hell to stand up to the neck in water that recedes whenever he stoops to drink.



proposal at the last Congress session. A recent Manila report said that of the 24 Senators 14 were opposed to it.

In the meantime, the Manila City Councillors Board passed a bill on February 8 to ban the entry of "holiday-making" G.I.s from south Vietnam who may have contracted jungle diseases or syphilis there.

Latin American Uproar

Grave-Diggers of Yankee Imperialism

Latin America is seething with the struggle against local tyrannies and U.S. imperialism which supports them. Two forces are opposed. There are those few who are Washington's flunkies; opposed to them are the vast majority—workers, peasants, intellectuals and other progressives. That majority, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung puts it, are the grave-diggers of imperialism.

In Brazil, the biggest country on the continent, Washington engineered the April 1964 coup to overthrow the Goulart government, with the aim of suppressing the growing national-democratic movement in Brazil and maintaining its domination there. But, after less than two years in office, the Castelo Branco dictatorship with its pro-U.S. fascist rule is facing stiffening opposition from the 80 million Brazilian people.

Workers, peasants and intellectuals are on the move. There has been

a succession of workers' strikes; armed struggle broke out in southern Brazil, and students, university professors, journalists, writers, poets, jurists, artists and architects are coming out in open and widespread opposition. Last August, students of Minas Gerais University threw out two Yankee "students" from their campus. They were Washington spies planted under the notorious "Camelot Plan" to gather intelligence for use against the national-liberation movement.

From March to November last year, intellectuals in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo issued six successive joint statements denouncing the government's reign of terror and subservience to Yankee imperialism. So many arrests have been made by the regime that at one stage, ships in harbour had to be used as make-shift prisons. Among those who signed a mid March declaration were Oscar Niemeyer, chief designer of the new capital Brasilia, and other members of Brazil's academic elite.

In late October, students in Rio de Janeiro demonstrated in protest against the so-called Institutional Act No. 2, which empowers the President to declare a state of siege, deprive persons of their political rights and adopt various other fascist measures.

In mid November, many noted journalists, poets and former diplomats demonstrated outside the conference hall in Rio de Janeiro against the second special inter-

American foreign ministers' conference. The arrest of eight of them sparked a series of protest meetings involving wide sections of the population. In Sao Paulo, 700 professors, stage players, film workers and journalists passed a resolution expressing sympathy for the eight detainees.

In December, noted lawyer Dr. Sobral Pinto, who refused to assume any of the official posts offered him, publicly denounced violation of the

Brazilian constitution by the Branco regime. He charged the government with spreading "terrorist threats through the press, radio and television."

Students in Peru, Brazil's northwestern neighbour, are fighting valiantly alongside the peasants in the struggle for land seized by the latifundists. Trekking to the mountains to mobilize the masses for the struggle, they have taken with them Mao Tse-tung's writings, reports the

British weekly *Economist*. It adds that Chairman Mao's "words are natural winners among Latin American students" because his theories "are more appealing to the restless young" and do not "need long hours in libraries to set alight the mystique" of guerrilla warfare, agrarian and social revolution. The same journal notes that students of the universities in Cuzco and Ayacucho "had key roles" in the guerrilla operations launched in Peru in the middle of 1965.

NEWS NOTES

Demonstrations Against Johnson's War . . . Ignorance Is Not Bliss . . . "Welfare State" . . . The Importance of Being Hypocritical . . . Tarded With the Same Brush . . . Cart Before the Horse

Americans from every walk of life came out on the streets on February 12 in 15 cities, including New York, to oppose Johnson's war in Vietnam and demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Vietnam. Similar demonstrations took place the same day on the other side of the Atlantic, in England, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and in Denmark and Finland at an earlier date.

* * *

While Prime Minister Wilson egged on M.P.s in the House of Commons to carry on a "peace lobby on Vietnam outside the Chinese Embassy," Lord Walston, his parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said in the House of Lords that "as long as the Chinese stay in their own boundaries, Britain would do all she could to help them in their economic and cultural progress." This was a demonstration of sheer ignorance of both Chinese policy and their own country's home affairs — or worse. China has made it clear many times before that it will never commit aggression against any country, but if war is imposed on its people, it will use every means to defeat

the aggressor and by then, the war will have no boundaries. As to the "offer" of help, Britain might as well first set in order its own house, where the economy is in the doldrums and capitalism in its final crisis ever more savagely attacks the masses and corrupts British culture.

* * *

Mental illness has become a disturbing social problem for Britain; 190,000 mental patients are now detained in homes. A growing phenomenon in capitalist countries, mental breakdown, under stress primarily due to social injustice, affects one in every nine women and one in every 14 men in that country. There is also a "hospital crisis" in that "welfare state," where, according to the *Daily Sketch*, "the shortage of beds, staff and equipment has passed crisis point, and is now 'turning into a scandal.'" Half a million patients are waiting for hospital beds, that paper reports.

* * *

Another batch of American "Peace Corps" members has arrived in Thailand. At a welcome to them, Deputy Prime Minister Praphas Charusathien wasn't the soul of discretion when he pleaded with his guests "not to be-

have like masters." If the Americans are not his masters, why this request? If they are, and the Deputy Prime Minister knows it, he's begging the "Peace Corps" members to behave hypocritically — in that too they'll be quite in their element — wolves in sheep's clothing.

* * *

"The Thais may be our allies," said an American official in Thailand, "but they're crooked as hell and I detest them for it." When *Newsweek* quoted this and concluded that corruption thrived in the Thai Government, Deputy Prime Minister Praphas complained that the American magazine should not be so "impolite" to an ally so keen on serving Washington's "cause" in Indo-China. A Thai Foreign Ministry official added that as far as the practice of corruption was concerned, Thailand was far less experienced than the Americans who "have made themselves practically experts on corruption in the free world." Like master, like servant.

* * *

Nguyen Van Thieu, Saigon's puppet "Head of State," recently hit on a brilliant idea to "belittle" the significance of the Geneva agreements. He declared that "south Vietnam did not sign these agreements." This is historically true for, it may be mentioned in passing, the Saigon puppet government then simply did not exist: it was the product of U.S. wrecking of the agreements.

Now's the time to think about it

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