

PEKING REVIEW

18

April 30, 1965

Asian-African People, Unite And Support Viet Nam!

Premier Chou En-lai's farewell speech in Djakarta
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"Escalation" Means Getting Closer to Grave

Renmin Ribao editorial (p. 13).

C.P.S.U. 20th Congress—Root of Evils of Khrushchov Revisionists

Publisher's Note to "Statements by Khrushchov," Vol. V (p. 15).

Welcome Home to Nine Chinese Victimized in Brazil

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To Be Published Soon

The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement

English Language Edition

This collection of important documents of the Communist Party of China combating Khrushchov's revisionism is of great political and theoretical significance.

It contains "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," put forward by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 14, 1963, and the ten important articles written by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) and *Hongqi* (Red Flag), namely:

1. "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves";
2. "On the Question of Stalin";
3. "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?";
4. "Apologists of Neo-Colonialism";
5. "Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace";
6. "Peaceful Coexistence — Two Diametrically Opposed Policies";
7. "The Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are the Greatest Splitters of Our Times";
8. "The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchov's Revisionism";
9. "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World"; and
10. "Why Khrushchov Fell."

The Appendices to the book comprise "The Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the C.P.C." dated March 30, 1963, and the "Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Party Organizations, to All Communists of the Soviet Union" dated July 14, 1963.

The publication of this book at the present moment is of special significance. It deals with the history of the struggle against Khrushchov's revisionism and serves as a weapon to help the reader recognize and criticize "Khrushchovism without Khrushchov" and so carry on the battle against modern revisionism to the very end.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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NEWS AND VIEWS

April 30, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 18

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Premier Chou En-lai left Indonesia on April 26 to visit Burma after attending celebrations marking the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference.

In his farewell speech over Radio Indonesia, Premier Chou said that U.S. aggression against Viet Nam constituted a challenge to Asian and African countries. He called on all Asian and African peoples to unite closely and assist the Vietnamese people to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

- *Renmin Ribao* on April 22 published an editorial "On the 17-Nation 'Appeal.'"

- Commenting on U.S. plots at the recent Honolulu conference to extend the war in Viet Nam, *Renmin Ribao* on April 24 carried an editorial "Escalation' Means Getting Closer and Closer to the Grave."

- Under the headline "The C.P.S.U. 20th Congress Is the Root of All the Evils Done by Khrushchovian Revisionists," *Renmin Ribao* on April 28 carried the publisher's note to the fifth volume of *Statements by Khrushchov* just published in Peking.

- Chinese men and women players captured five titles at the 28th World Table Tennis Championships.

- Chinese youth held a mass rally in Peking to mark Anti-Colonialism Day (April 24) and the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference.

- The nine Chinese unjustifiably arrested and persecuted in Brazil for more than a year received a rousing welcome from 10,000 people at a Peking mass rally.

Premier Chou En-lai in Indonesia

Premier Chou En-lai visited Indonesia between April 16 and 26 to attend the tenth anniversary celebrations of the First Asian-African Conference.

Before he left Djakarta for Rangoon, he gave a farewell dinner at the Chinese Embassy which was attended by leaders of the Indonesian Government, the Provisional People's Consultative Congress, the Co-operation Parliament and the Supreme Advisory Council. At the reception, Premier Chou En-lai spoke highly of President Sukarno, referring to him as "a leader with creativeness and revolutionary spirit." Declaring that the Bandung Conference anniversary celebrations were a big success, Premier Chou added that what made

people even happier was President Sukarno's speech at the commemoration ceremony. He said that all the world's revolutionary people were inspired and encouraged by this speech, in which Indonesia's President not only summed up the experiences of the anti-imperialist struggle in the last decade but also made a profound analysis of the current world situation and pointed out the future developments, thus laying a good foundation for the Second Asian-African Conference.

Premier Chou told his guests that the Chinese Government and people were proud of having such a great Indonesian revolutionary leader as their comrade-in-arms. He expressed the hope that all the foreign delegates would convey that speech

to their people, adding that the Chinese delegates would do so.

During his brief stay, Premier Chou held talks with many Asian-African leaders who had also come to Indonesia to hail the Bandung Conference anniversary.

On April 17, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen Yi held talks with President Sukarno, Prince Sihanouk, the Cambodian Head of State, and the Cambodian Prime Minister Norodom Kantol.

In the evening, Premier Chou En-lai had a meeting with Korean Premier Kim Il Sung. The next day he met with the Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong.

On April 20, talks were held between President Sukarno and First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Subandrio of Indonesia, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi of China and Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

In the company of President Sukarno, Premier Chou visited Bandung, arriving in that city on April 21 by helicopter. That same day, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi met with Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat. On that day Mohammedi Said, Vice-Premier of Algeria, called on Premier Chou, and the Chinese Premier also met with Madame Sekou Toure, wife of the Guinean President.

On April 22, Premier Chou En-lai arrived by air in Denpasar on the beautiful island of Bali for a visit.

The next day, in Denpasar, the Chinese Premier called on Cambodian Premier Prince Norodom Kantol and Crown Prince Birendra and Kirti Nidhi Bista, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Education of Nepal. The Chinese Premier also had separate meetings with Mohammed Anas, Minister of Education of Afghanistan; Somali Defence Minister Adan Issak Ahmed; and Tassos Papadopoulos, Minister of Labour and Social Insurance of Cyprus. The Chinese leader separately met Ditton Nwiinga, Minister of State of Zam-

China Wins Five World Table Tennis Titles

After winning the men's and women's team titles on April 19 at the 28th World Table Tennis Championships held in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, the Chinese players captured the men's singles and doubles and the women's doubles titles on April 25, the last day of play. They also came second in the men's and women's singles, the men's doubles and the mixed doubles.

In the finals of the five individual events, Chuang Tse-tung again successfully defended his title in the men's singles. He partnered with Hsu Yin-sheng to win the men's

doubles. Lin Hui-ching and Cheng Min-chih captured the women's doubles.

Renmin Ribao in its editorial hailed these remarkable achievements of the Chinese players as another victory for the revolutionary thinking that inspired them. **The players held high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and displayed unmatched determination to "scale great heights." This, combined with hard training, gave them the morale and technical mastery to gain victory after victory and win honours for their country.**

bia; Mburumbakerina, Chairman of the National Unity Democratic Party of South West Africa, and Carlos Hamatui, its Secretary for Communications.

Premier Chou was back in Djakarta on April 24. That day he had a meeting with the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the North Kalimantan Unitary State Azahari. Premier Chou also paid separate calls on Indonesian Government leaders and leaders of a number of Indonesian political parties: Second Deputy Prime Minister Leimena; Third Deputy Prime Minister Chairul Saleh; Ali Sastroamidjojo, General Chairman of the Indonesian Nationalist Party; Idham Chalid, General Chairman of the Indonesian Muslim Scholars' Association. The next day Premier Chou called on D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia at the P.K.I. headquarters.

The same day, the Chinese Premier paid a call on Arudji Kartawinata, Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament.

In the evening, the Chinese Premier gave a television interview to Australian journalist Wilfred Burdett and French journalist Roger Pic.

Premier Chou left Djakarta on April 26. He was seen off by leaders of the Indonesian Government and other prominent figures,

including Leimena, Chairul Saleh, Ali Sastroamidjojo and Aidit.

Visit to Rangoon

Coming to Burma for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Burmese Government, Premier Chou arrived in Rangoon by special plane on the afternoon of April 26. Welcoming him at the airport was General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma.

Anti-Colonialism Day

April 24, Anti-Colonialism Day, is the day the First Asian-African Conference ended 10 years ago. Now, when U.S. imperialism is stepping up its war of aggression in Viet Nam, this day dedicated to world solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism is of special significance.

China's youth, at a mass rally marking Anti-Colonialism Day in Peking's Great Hall of the People, again demonstrated their determination to support the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. imperialism. Among the 10,000 present on the afternoon of April 23 were Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping; Liu Ning-I, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and guests and students from many Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Presiding over the rally was President of the All-China Youth

Federation Wang Wei; speakers included the Federation's Vice-President Wang Chao-hua and youth representatives from north Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Indonesia, Portuguese Black Africa, Haiti and Kenya. All of them denounced aggression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, particularly the war of aggression in south Viet Nam.

Wang Chao-hua told the gathering that Chinese youth had responded to the call of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to give their resolute and unreserved support to the Vietnamese people in their patriotic struggle to resist U.S. aggression. "We will go to Viet Nam whenever our Vietnamese brothers need us," he declared.

Hearty applause greeted two of the speakers who came from the front-lines in the anti-U.S. struggle. Phan Thi Phuoc, leader of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam youth delegation, and Tran Van An, South Viet Nam Liberation Youth Federation delegation leader, listed the victories of the Vietnamese people in rebuffing the U.S. aggressors' attacks. Both expressed unshakable confidence in the final victory of their just cause.

Rumanian Women's Delegation Visits Peking

A five-member Rumanian women's delegation led by Suzana Gidea, Chairman of the National Women's Council of Rumania, Deputy Rector of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, and Member of the State Council, arrived in Peking on April 22 for a visit at the invitation of the National Women's Federation of China.

At a banquet welcoming the Rumanian guests the next day, Tsai Chang, President of the Women's Federation, warmly praised the profound friendship between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. She expressed confidence that, in the common struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, the Chinese and Rumanian peoples

would march forward shoulder to shoulder.

Anniversary of Lenin's Birth

The anniversary of the birth 95 years ago of V.I. Lenin, great teacher of the proletarian revolution, was commemorated in Peking on April 22 at a meeting jointly sponsored by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the Peking Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Chang Chung-shih, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party for the Editing and Translation of the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, made a report on learning from Lenin's revolutionary spirit.

Commemorative activities were also held by Sino-Soviet Friendship Associations in Shanghai, Canton, Shenyang, Wuhan and other cities.

Afro-Asian Journalists' Day

On the eve of the second anniversary of Afro-Asian Journalists' Day (April 24), the All-China Journalists' Association gave a reception in Peking at which Chinese journalists and colleagues from more than 20 countries in Asia and Africa celebrated their own festive day of solidarity and militant struggle.

Messages greeting the anniversary were sent by Premier Chou En-lai and the All-China Journalists' Association to the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.

Sino-Uganda Co-operation

China and Uganda signed an economic and technical co-operation agreement in Peking on April 21. Fang Yi, Chairman of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, and William Wilberforce Kalema, head of the Uganda friendship delegation, signed the document for their respective governments. The Uganda delegation arrived in Peking on April 18 and later visited Shanghai and Canton before leaving for home.

Tanzania's National Day

The first anniversary of the founding of the United Republic of Tanzania was greeted on April 25 by

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai in a joint message to President Julius K. Nyerere.

A.I. Lugimbana, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Tanzanian Embassy, held a National Day reception in Peking on the evening of April 26. Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien were among the guests.

At the reception, Charge d'Affaires Lugimbana hailed the development of Sino-Tanzanian friendship and co-operation and pledged Tanzania's continued support to the nationalist movements in Africa.

Vice-Premier Li, in his speech, denounced U.S. imperialism's aggression in Viet Nam and suppression of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the Congo (Leopoldville).

Sato Government's Hostility To China Condemned

The Sato government of Japan has recently been making a show of wanting to improve relations with China, repeatedly proclaiming that Shojiro Kawashima and others would take advantage of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference to contact the Chinese delegation in order to improve Sino-Japanese relations. Yet, just at this time the Sato government refused entry to Chinese and Vietnamese delegations which had been invited by the Japanese National Peace Committee to attend the Japanese Congress for Peace in Asia which opened in Kawasaki, Kanagawa Prefecture on April 24.

Condemning this hostile act by the Sato government, a spokesman of the China Peace Committee on April 21 said that none of the Sato government's intrigues would be able to undermine the unity and militant friendship between the Chinese, Vietnamese and Japanese peoples. "These underhand tricks," he said, "will never be able to thwart the just struggle of the Japanese people against the Sato government and its subservience to U.S. imperialism's aggression in Viet Nam."

People of Asia and Africa, Unite And Support Viet Nam

— Premier Chou En-lai's Farewell Speech in Djakarta —

Following is a translation of Premier Chou En-lai's farewell speech he made over Radio Indonesia on the evening of April 25. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

Dear brothers and sisters of Indonesia,

Having taken part in the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference in your great country with friends from 40 Asian and African countries, we are now about to say good-bye to you. I would like to take this opportunity once again to extend sincere thanks to President Sukarno and to the Indonesian Government and people.

As soon as we stepped on your soil, we were moved by the rousing revolutionary enthusiasm of the Indonesian people. You have done a tremendous amount of work for the commemoration of this historic occasion, and you have decked out Djakarta in great beauty and splendour. Thousands upon thousands of people have given a warm welcome to friends from Asian and African countries, and everywhere there pervades a militant spirit of fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Whether it be in Djakarta, Bogor, Bandung or Bali, we have seen moving spectacles of celebrating this common festival of the Asian and African people. The Indonesian people are not unworthy of the name of a revolutionary people.

Like the Bandung Conference ten years ago, these celebrations were excellently organized and highly successful. **President Sukarno made an important speech at the commemorative ceremony. This speech made a profound analysis of a whole series of major international problems of the present day, and powerfully demonstrated the truth that the defeat of imperialism and all reactionaries and the victory of the revolutionary people are alike inevitable. President Sukarno's speech developed the Bandung Spirit and is an embodiment of the revolutionary will of billions of Asian and African people. Leaders of a number of other Asian and African countries also demonstrated in their speeches the determination of the Asian and African people to unite in their struggle against imperialism. We met many old friends and made many new ones, and we enhanced our mutual understanding and friendship. We reviewed the**

struggles and victories of the past ten years, expressed our preparedness for new struggles and readiness to strive for new victories with even greater determination and solidarity, and demonstrated our resolve to make common efforts for the success of the Second African-Asian Conference.

The Bandung Conference was an epoch-making creation of the Asian and African people. During the past ten years, earth-shaking changes have taken place in Asia and Africa. The positions of imperialism have been weakened, and the people's forces have grown. Asian and African countries have one after another won independence, and the Asian and African people's cause of unity against imperialism is continuously advancing. The more than 2,000 million Asian and African people have become a powerful force defending world peace and promoting human progress. The Asian and African people and all oppressed nations and people throughout the world want revolution and liberation. This is an irresistible current of history.

While celebrating the great victories of the past ten years, we have not forgotten that we are still faced with arduous tasks. The call of the Bandung Conference to put an end to the evil of colonialism in all its manifestations has not yet been fully realized. Just as President Sukarno has said, imperialism is not yet dead, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has not yet ended, and there can be no talk of peaceful coexistence with imperialism.

Our brothers and sisters in a number of Asian and African countries have not yet liberated themselves from colonialist rule.

The Asian and African countries which have already won independence are still faced with the threat of imperialist intervention, subversion and aggression.

In the heart of Africa, the Congo (L) is suffering from intervention and aggression of imperialism headed by the United States. The people of South, Central and some other parts of Africa are still suffering from the cruel oppression and armed suppression of the racists and colonialists.

In West Asia and North Africa, imperialism is making more energetic use of Israel, its tool for aggression,

to threaten the independence and security of the Arab countries.

In Northeast Asia, U.S. imperialism is rigging up a new military alliance to threaten Korea, Japan and the people of other East Asian countries.

In Southeast Asia, the U.S. and British imperialists have created "Malaysia," the product of neo-colonialism, to enslave North Kalimantan and threaten Indonesia.

What is particularly grave is that in Indo-China U.S. imperialism is engaged in frenzied aggression and military adventures against Viet Nam.

The question of Indo-China, and particularly the question of Viet Nam, has very naturally become the focus of attention of Asian and African leaders.

The United States has torn up the Geneva agreements, obstructed the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam and engaged in the barbarous "special warfare" in south Viet Nam, yet it slanderously accuses the Vietnamese people of committing aggression against their own country, and, using this as a pretext, it expands the war to north Viet Nam. Who can accept such logic?

U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam is a challenge to the Bandung Spirit and a challenge to the peoples of Asia and Africa. Since the United States has committed aggression against Viet Nam, we Asian and African countries have the unshirkable duty to support and assist the Vietnamese people to fight U.S. aggression.

In its war of aggression in south Viet Nam, the United States is the loser and not the victor. It has spent some billions of American dollars, sent some tens of thousands of troops, and fought several years of "special warfare"; but the more it fights, the more wretched its position becomes. The people in south Viet Nam are getting stronger and stronger in the course of battle. Under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the Liberation Army of South Viet Nam has liberated three-fourths of the land and two-thirds of the people. The puppet regime in Saigon is totally unqualified to represent the south Vietnamese people. The defeat of the U.S. aggressors in south Viet Nam is a matter of certainty. Like the struggle of the Korean people some ten and more years ago, the struggle of the south Vietnamese people has once again proved that it is entirely possible to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Precisely because it has run into an impasse, U.S. imperialism is seeking a way out by expanding its war of aggression while at the same time striking up the tune of false peace. This is an indication of the weakness and impotence of U.S. imperialism.

Can an expansion of the war settle the Vietnamese question? The more the war is expanded, the quicker and more disastrous will be the U.S. defeat. **The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is prepared, and so is China. The United States cannot even deal with the 14 million people in south Viet Nam, how can it deal**

with the 30 million Vietnamese people and the 650 million Chinese people?

What about peaceful negotiations? The true purpose of the U.S. proposal for so-called "unconditional discussions" is to cover up the facts of its bloody aggression by empty talk about peaceful discussions so as to enable it to continue its forcible occupation of south Viet Nam. This plot can deceive no one. This time Premier Pham Van Dong has reiterated in Djakarta the consistent stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for a settlement of the Vietnamese question in strict accordance with the Geneva agreements, and that is: the basic national rights of peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people must be recognized; all U.S. armed forces must be withdrawn from south Viet Nam and acts of war against north Viet Nam must be stopped; the affairs of south Viet Nam must be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves; and the reunification of Viet Nam must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. This is the only way to a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question. This just stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has won broad sympathy and support from Asian and African countries. Asian and African questions must be settled by the Asian and African people themselves, the Vietnamese question must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. The United States must stop its aggression against Viet Nam, and the U.S. forces must withdraw from south Viet Nam. Failing this, there can be no talk about a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question.

The struggles of the Asian and African peoples have always supported and assisted each other. The facts of the past ten years show that so long as the Asian and African peoples persist in their struggle, and extend support and assistance as far as possible to each other, they will be able to win victory.

In the fight of the Egyptian people against imperialist armed aggression and to defend the Suez Canal, the Asian and African people supported the struggle of the Egyptian people. The Egyptian people persisted in their struggle and won victory.

In the national-liberation war of Algeria, the Asian and African people supported the struggle of the Algerian people. The Algerian people persisted in their struggle and won victory.

In the struggle of the Indonesian people to recover West Irian, the Asian and African people supported the struggle of the Indonesian people. The Indonesian people persisted in their struggle and won victory.

And now, in the face of the frenzied attacks of vicious U.S. imperialism, the brave Vietnamese people are engaged in a heroic war of resistance. The victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people has held down large U.S. imperialist forces. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is a support to the people of Asia and Africa. In supporting the Vietnamese people, the Asian and African people are supporting themselves.

In order to safeguard the Bandung Spirit and defend peace in Asia and the world, we Asian and African people should further unite and carry out a common struggle to firmly halt the intervention and aggression of the imperialists headed by the United States against the African, Arab and Asian peoples and thoroughly smash the criminal U.S. imperialist plot to expand the war in Indo-China.

Dear brothers and sisters of Indonesia! It has been ten years since we last met. During the past ten years, great changes have taken place in Asia and Africa, and great changes have taken place in Indonesia. Under the leadership of President Sukarno, your country has persisted in the revolutionary line of opposing imperialism and colonialism, consolidating national independence and developing the national economy. You have suppressed counter-revolutionary rebellions supported by the imperialists. You have recovered West Irian. You are confronting "Malaysia," the product of neo-colonialism. You have withdrawn from the United Nations Organization which is under U.S. manipulation. You have put forward the revolutionary idea of the confrontation of the new emerging forces with the

old established forces, and have adopted many specific measures for its implementation. You have strengthened your national unity with "nasakom" as its core. You have gradually wiped out the colonialist forces in your country. You are determined to follow the policy of self-reliance in building your country. The difficulties are numerous. But by relying on the people, you have overcome one obstacle after another on your road of progress. The Chinese people rejoice at and are encouraged by every step forward taken by the Indonesian people along the revolutionary road. The strength of the people is boundless. I sincerely wish the great Indonesian people, under the leadership of President Sukarno, continuous new achievements and victories in all their undertakings in the days to come. **You may rest assured that no matter what happens in the world, the Chinese people will for ever stand by your side.**

Long live the Bandung spirit!

Long live African-Asian solidarity!

Long live Chinese-Indonesian friendship!

Hidup persahabatan Tiongkok-Indonesia!

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Johnson Administration's War Blackmail Will Never Work

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" April 21 editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

U.S. PRESIDENT Johnson delivered another statement on the Viet Nam question on April 17. On his heels came Rusk and McNamara with statements of their own. Thus, within the short span of two days, the U.S. President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defence all issued statements on the same question, Viet Nam. This is something very rare indeed. One cannot help asking: what has caused such a flurry among the chiefs of the Johnson Administration? This is really a thought-provoking question.

In his April 17 statement which from beginning to end is a refurbished version of his own April 7 address, Johnson continued to use counter-revolutionary dual tactics. On the one hand, he peddled his old theme of "unconditional discussions," and on the other he brazenly clamoured for stepping up the U.S. efforts to extend the war. If there is anything new, it is that the hangman suddenly pretended to be kind-hearted, mouthing not a few such words as "sadness" and "regret" and shedding crocodile tears over the dead American and

mercenary soldiers he himself sent to south Viet Nam as cannon-fodder, and over the victims of U.S. bombing. In order to play up his "unconditional discussions," Johnson used such expressions as "the window to peace is still open"; "we are ready to begin discussion next week, tomorrow, or tonight"; and "come to the meeting room. We will be there."

However, despite this verbosity, the central theme remains the same. Johnson insisted on the so-called "independence of south Viet Nam" being "surely guaranteed" as a condition for U.S. withdrawal from south Viet Nam. He said, "There is no human power capable of forcing us from Viet Nam. We will remain as long as necessary, with the might required, whatever the risk and whatever the cost."

Thus, to the demand of the people of the world for the withdrawal of the U.S. aggressors from Viet Nam, Johnson's answer is that the United States will remain in occupation of south Viet Nam at whatever cost. This is the most essential point in his April 17 statement.

Evidently by prior arrangement, some things which he found not very suitable for him to say openly in

his own statement were left out for Rusk to clarify in his. The U.S. Secretary of State in his statement issued on the same day declared that the United States would "order immediately" the "suspension, for a period, of raids on north Viet Nam," if this could advance "the cause of an honourable peace." For fear that these words might be misunderstood, McNamara declared on the following day: "We have no indication that a cessation of the bombing would move the north Vietnamese to discussions leading to a termination of their aggression against the south."

Indeed, this trio has, beyond any doubt, made clear the U.S. intention to resort to war blackmail, to use bombing to enforce a peace negotiation and make the Vietnamese people stop their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation.

Let the whole world see the shameless tactics of the U.S. aggressors! Like a bunch of murderous house-breakers, they seize the spoils in one hand, hold a torch in the other and threaten the victim: If you admit it is legal for me to take things away from you, I may not burn down your house. If you are afraid I may burn it, you must docilely "go to the meeting room" through the "window to peace."

It is clear that, in resorting to such tactics, U.S. imperialism wants to subdue the Vietnamese people by force and make them surrender to their bombing. It wants the Vietnamese people to cease their struggle and abandon halfway their sacred cause of resisting U.S. aggression and fighting for national salvation. It wants them to accept the kind of "peace" that would permit U.S. occupation of south Viet Nam and reduce the south Vietnamese people to permanent slavery. This is something no self-respecting nation, no one who cherishes national independence and honour, can tolerate.

It must be pointed out that the Johnson Administration is not only conducting undisguised war blackmail but is also trying to cover up its crime of flagrant aggression against the socialist Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of the unscrupulous extension of the war in Indo-China behind the smokescreen of seeking an "honourable peace."

We have pointed out long ago that every time the Johnson Administration spreads the smokescreen of "seeking peace" it goes a step further along the path of war escalation. Now, people have seen more clearly that since Johnson put forward his proposal for "unconditional discussions" on April 7, the United States has quickened the tempo of escalation.

Of late, the United States has thrown fresh ground forces and more air force units into the south Viet Nam battlefield and madly pushed ahead its war of aggression. It has carried out massive, barbarous bombing on the liberated areas in south Viet Nam. The U.S. aggressors admitted that on April 15 alone hundreds of U.S. aircraft dumped more than one thousand tons of bombs on a jungle area less than four by two miles. U.S. bombing of north Viet Nam, far from being stopped, has been intensified round-the-clock. What war-

rants particular attention is that after Johnson issued his April 17 statement, the United States officially announced that an emergency meeting to be presided over personally by U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara would be held in Honolulu with the participation of U.S. military chiefs to discuss "the current status of the war and possible plans for escalation." U.S. "ambassador" to south Viet Nam Maxwell Taylor and commander-in-chief of the U.S. aggressor troops in south Viet Nam William Westmoreland have rushed to the Honolulu meeting. Can all this be called a "policy of responding appropriately, fittingly and measured" as Johnson claimed once and again? It is just the opposite. What the Johnson Administration has done shows that the steps it has taken for war escalation are frantic, barbarous and unbridled. However many crocodile tears Johnson may shed, whatever "deep sadness" he may feign, he cannot conceal the gangster features of the U.S. aggressors.

For Johnson, Rusk and their like, the tragedy is that, obsessed by aggression mania, they have lost the minimum *sense* of reality. Have they not carried out war blackmail and war escalation for several months now? The more they have done so, the more intense the hatred of the Vietnamese people for the U.S. aggressors has become and the greater their determination to carry through their cause of resisting U.S. aggression to achieve national salvation. The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has issued a communique reiterating the resolve of the south Viet Nam army and people to fight against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The communique said: "We shall never relax our hold on our guns so long as one U.S. aggressor remains on our beloved fatherland. The U.S. imperialists must clearly understand this. However perfidious and cunning, they decidedly cannot shake our banner of victory." The Viet Nam News Agency pointed out in an authorized statement on the "17-nation appeal": "Johnson's speech is only a smokescreen to cover up the U.S. imperialists' new military adventures in Viet Nam, directly jeopardizing the peace and security of the peoples in this area." The statement reaffirmed the determination of the Vietnamese people to struggle to the end to defend their legitimate rights.

The heroic Vietnamese people will not be deceived or frightened. Neither the peace talks schemes of the Johnson Administration nor its war blackmail has worked in the past, nor will they ever work in the future. U.S. gradual extension of the war has met and will continue to meet with increasing rebuffs from the Vietnamese people and encounter mounting opposition from the people of the whole world, including the American people. This will continue till the Johnson Administration finds it impossible to hang on in Viet Nam.

The Johnson Administration is now trying its utmost to make believe that its so-called "honourable peace," "unconditional discussions" and actions for extending the war are all aimed at guaranteeing the

"independence of south Viet Nam." It also insists on the so-called guarantee of the "independence of south Viet Nam" as a condition for U.S. withdrawal. But the realities in south Viet Nam provide the best illustration as to the true nature of this "independence" which the United States wants to see guaranteed.

For ten years the United States has imposed its puppets on the people of south Viet Nam, calling it a hundred per cent "independent country." In the name of defending this "independent country," the United States has gradually turned south Viet Nam into a colony and military base and clamped a most brutal fascist rule on the region. The "government" of this so-called "independent country" is wholly controlled by the United States. Finding Ngo Dinh Diem not to its liking, the United States murdered him; finding Nguyen Khanh not to its liking either, it removed him from office. Saigon has become an endless merry-go-round, with a reshuffle every day and a coup d'etat every other day. Nobody is clear what sort of people constitute the present government of this so-called "independent country." President Sukarno recently emphasized that "no one regards the Saigon regime as a government" and that "it is America that is now occupying Saigon." Obviously this handful of "independent" puppets in south Viet Nam are only toys in the hands of their U.S. overlord. **The very purpose for which the south Vietnamese people are advancing wave upon wave and fighting at great sacrifice is to destroy completely this so-called "independent country," a product of U.S. imperialism, and to realize the reunification and complete liberation of their father-**

land. So long as this so-called "independent country" created by the United States exists, there can be no complete reunification nor a completely independent country for the Vietnamese people. There can be no compromise between the Vietnamese people and the U.S. aggressors on this question.

Johnson is obdurately putting up the worn-out signboard of "independent country," claiming that U.S. troops are staying in south Viet Nam to defend its "independence." To put the matter bluntly, Johnson seeks the permanent occupation of south Viet Nam and the perpetual division of Viet Nam and wants to extinguish the raging flames of the south Vietnamese people's struggle. Johnson's statement, in fact, amounts to a declaration that the aim of U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam is unalterable and that the United States is determined to hang on in south Viet Nam and carry on its war of aggression against Viet Nam.

The peoples of Viet Nam, Indo-China, Asia and the whole world understand that so long as the United States hangs on in south Viet Nam and continues its aggression against Viet Nam, there will be no independence and national reunification for the Vietnamese people and no peace for Indo-China and Asia, and world peace will be gravely threatened.

The Vietnamese people have long made up their minds to fight the U.S. aggressors as long as the latter want to fight. The Chinese people and the peoples of Asia and the world over will support the Vietnamese people as long as the Vietnamese people fight. If the U.S. aggressors refuse to pull out of their own accord, then let us throw them out!

On the 17-Nation "Appeal"

Following is a translation of an April 22 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

AT a time when the whole world, particularly the countries and peoples of Asia and Africa, are strongly condemning and opposing U.S. imperialism's intensified aggression against Viet Nam in pursuance of its adventure of a wider war, a so-called 17-nation "appeal" on Viet Nam suddenly cropped up in Belgrade on April 1.

Concerning this "appeal," the Viet Nam News Agency has been authorized to state that the four points laid down by Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on April 8 constitute "the basis for the soundest political settlement of the Viet Nam problem. If this basis is recognized, favourable conditions will be created for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam problem and it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Viet Nam. The Government of the Democratic Re-

public of Viet Nam declares that any approach contrary to the above-mentioned stand is inappropriate, any approach tending to secure a U.N. intervention in the Viet Nam situation is also inappropriate."

The Chinese Government and people fully support this just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

It may be recalled that many countries of Asia and Africa have expressed their concern over the Viet Nam question and have put forward reasonable proposals urging the United States to abide by the 1954 Geneva agreements. But the United States has turned a deaf ear to these proposals. To this 17-nation "appeal," however, the U.S. authorities have reacted quite differently.

As soon as the "appeal" came out, the Johnson government jumped at it as a godsend.

Johnson opened his April 7 "stick and carrot" address with remarks on the "appeal." The following day, the U.S. Government issued a statement praising the "appeal," saying that "the declaration is a constructive

contribution to the effort for peace," and "we fully agree with the general principles expressed in that declaration."

Why did the Johnson Administration heap praise on the 17-nation "appeal" and consider that it struck the right chord?

The correct answer can be found without difficulty by a serious, objective analysis of the 17-nation "appeal."

Let us see first of all what the "appeal" regards as the root cause of the current tension in Viet Nam. It says that it is "the consequence of foreign intervention in various forms, including military intervention." This is an intolerable distortion of the truth about the Viet Nam issue.

One would like to ask: what does it mean by "foreign intervention in various forms"? Is it intervention by the people in south Viet Nam against themselves? Is it intervention from the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam? Is it intervention by some countries of Asia or Africa? Anyone who has the slightest respect for objective fact can only reply: certainly not.

As everybody knows, it is U.S. imperialism that is intervening in Viet Nam and subjecting it to aggression; it is U.S. imperialism that unleashed a "special war" in south Viet Nam; again it is U.S. imperialism that is extending the war from south Viet Nam to the north.

Indisputable facts show that the source of tension in Viet Nam is none other than U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression there. But it is precisely this most important and fundamental fact that the 17-nation "appeal" has dodged.

The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism is caused by U.S. intervention and aggression. At a time when their beloved are being massacred, their homes are being devastated and their country is being overrun and trampled on, the Vietnamese people have no alternative but to take up arms and wage a life-and-death struggle against the U.S. aggressor. Every oppressed people has the right to resist foreign aggressors, why not the Vietnamese?

The 17-nation "appeal" makes no mention at all of the U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression in Viet Nam, but instead, makes general and vague charges against "foreign intervention in various forms." What can this be if not a deliberate attempt to absolve U.S. imperialism, the arch criminal, from its crime?

Since the 17-nation "appeal" has purposely evaded the fundamental fact of the U.S. intervention and aggression in Viet Nam and distorted the truth about the tension there, it cannot put forth any correct suggestion for solving the Viet Nam question. The "appeal" calls for the parties concerned to start negotiations "as soon as possible without posing any preconditions." On the surface, this seems to be impartial, fair and reasonable, but in fact it makes no distinction between right and wrong and puts the aggressor on a par with his victim.

It may be asked: what are negotiations "without any preconditions"? **At a time when the United States is continuing its occupation of south Viet Nam and wantonly bombing north Viet Nam, to preach negotiations "without any preconditions" actually amounts to legalizing the U.S. imperialist aggression and compelling the Vietnamese people to recognize that U.S. imperialism has a right to scrap the Geneva agreements at will, to enslave and slaughter the south Vietnamese people and to expand the war to north Viet Nam.**

The Vietnamese people will never agree to negotiations "without any preconditions." On more than one occasion they have made their stand clear.

The statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has pointed out that "all negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw from south Viet Nam all their troops and all kinds of war materials and means and those of their satellite countries, if they still refuse to dismantle all their military bases in south Viet Nam, if the traitors still surrender the south Vietnamese people's sacred rights to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists and if the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the 14 million south Vietnamese people — does not have its decisive voice."

Answering questions by a correspondent of the Japanese paper, *Akahata*, President Ho Chi Minh declared: "To settle the south Viet Nam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from south Viet Nam, let the south Vietnamese people decide for themselves their own affairs, and stop its provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The carrying out of these basic points will bring about favourable conditions for a conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference."

In ignoring such a firm and unequivocal stand by the Vietnamese people and advocating so-called negotiations "without any preconditions," the "appeal" can only have the effect of enabling U.S. imperialism to make use of this document of the 17 countries as a pretext for further expanding the war and shifting the responsibility completely onto the Vietnamese people.

This was borne out by the facts. Soon after the issuance of the "appeal," Johnson proposed "unconditional discussions" on the Viet Nam question. The U.S. "unconditional discussions" and the negotiations "without posing any preconditions," as proposed in the 17-nation "appeal," are essentially the same thing.

Frankly speaking, the 17-nation "appeal" completely caters to the interests of U.S. imperialism and has become a shield in the hands of the Johnson Administration to ward off worldwide condemnation of and opposition to the U.S. crimes of aggression.

Why has the 17-nation "appeal" catered so greatly to the needs of U.S. imperialism? Credit should be given to the Tito clique of Yugoslavia.

It is common knowledge that the document was master-minded and created from beginning to end by the Tito clique. As early as March 2 this year, Tito wrote to Johnson urging "negotiations" with "neither party putting forward any preconditions," and stressing that this would "directly benefit" the United States. Johnson immediately replied, bestowing high praise upon Tito and adding that "in your conversations and communications with the leaders of other countries, you will reflect this understanding." These instructions from the U.S. boss sent the Titoites scurrying everywhere, and the "appeal" was soon produced.

For years the Tito clique has pretended to uphold peace and maintain neutrality under the mask of "non-alignment." In practice, it has been working as a trojan horse for U.S. imperialism to undermine the struggle of the peoples for winning and safeguarding national independence. Once the guns of U.S. imperialism boom, the bugle of the Tito clique immediately begins to blare. Many facts have proved this.

In 1958 when troops were sent by U.S. imperialism to occupy Lebanon and by British imperialism to occupy Jordan, and when a wave of protest swept the world, the Tito clique immediately came forth to plead for the aggressors, saying that "it is not a question of whether we insist on condemning or approving the actions taken by the United States and Great Britain."

In 1960 when U.S. imperialism suppressed the national liberation movement in the Congo (Leopoldville) in the name of the United Nations, the Tito clique asserted that U.N. intervention was necessary for safeguarding peace.

In 1961 when U.S. imperialism intensified intervention in Laos, the Tito clique spread the view that the United States "is really concerned for the peace and neutralization of Laos."

During the Caribbean crisis in 1962, the Tito clique defended U.S. imperialist aggression, saying that "the difficulties started when the Cuban revolution trod on the corn of the U.S. companies."

On the Viet Nam question, the Tito clique has always spoken for U.S. imperialism. It calls the south Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. imperialism a "riot." When the Johnson Administration engineered the so-called Bac Bo Gulf incident to start armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Tito clique said that the United States was "adequately executing its right of defence."

If one reviews the damning record of what the Tito clique has done in the past, one will not be surprised to see that by contriving this "appeal," this detachment of U.S. imperialism wants to help its master.

As never before, U.S. imperialism is at the end of its tether in Viet Nam. It is not the laureate of triumph, but the halter for the doomed that is awaiting the aggressors there. Like a hounded beast, the Johnson Administration is struggling desperately in Viet Nam and is exerting its utmost to wriggle out of just condemnation by the people of the world. And monsters and

freaks of every description have hastened to the rescue of their overlord. The Tito clique is only one of them. There are quite a number of others who have placed themselves at the service of U.S. imperialism. Some have been busying themselves openly such as the Labour government of Britain; others have been playing confederate to Washington on the sly, such as those who, while loudly professing "support" for the Vietnamese people, behind their back flirt and even gang up with the United States for "peace talks" in a vain attempt to sabotage and betray their revolutionary struggle. But it is certain that however shamelessly they may haggle and whatever tricks they may resort to, these monsters and freaks cannot help the U.S. aggressors in the least, but will only reveal their own ugliness still more clearly.

We are happy to see that an increasing number of Asian and African countries have come to see through the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism as well as the slavish character of the Tito clique. The majority of the Asian and African countries did not take part in the Belgrade "discussions." Some of the countries which participated in the "discussions" refused to sign the "appeal"; of those which signed it some did so because they did not know what it was actually about, others have changed their attitude after they came to know it, while still others have explicitly declared their support for the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against the U.S. aggressors. **The Tito clique will not succeed in its plot.**

The struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the revolutionary struggle of the people throughout the world form an integral whole and they support and help each other. The Egyptian people's struggle to recover the Suez Canal and the Algerian people's struggle against the French colonialists had the support of the Asian and African peoples and other people of the world. **The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, like the struggle of the Egyptian and Algerian peoples in the past, is entirely just. There is no reason whatever for the governments and peoples of the Asian and African countries not to support the Vietnamese people.** In fact the governments and people of many Asian and African countries have realized from the experience of their struggles that the victory of the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. imperialism is a powerful support for the Afro-Asian countries in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence and also a great contribution to the defence of peace in Asia, Africa and the world. The Asian and African countries and other peace-loving countries and peoples of the whole world are supporting themselves when they support the Vietnamese people's just struggle.

The common interests of the Asian and African countries and the people throughout the world lie in uniting more closely and staunchly supporting the Vietnamese people's just struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and force them to get out of Viet Nam.

"Escalation" Means Getting Closer And Closer to the Grave

Following is a translation of an April 24 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

EACH time the Johnson Administration chants from its "peace" script, it pours oil on its war of aggression in Viet Nam. This has become a rule.

On April 19, two days after Johnson in his new statement declared that "the window to peace is still open," U.S. military chieftains called an emergency meeting in Honolulu to plot further expansion of the war.

The U.S. officials tried their utmost to describe the conference as "routine," declaring that the chief subject under discussion was nothing more than the expansion of their puppet troops in south Viet Nam. But who will believe this? If this were true, why did the U.S. Defence Secretary and the Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff take the trouble to attend the meeting? Why did the chiefs of the U.S. navy, army and air force in the Pacific region find it necessary to take part? In fact, as the Western press reported, there was "an examination of the whole spectrum of Vietnamese war" at the meeting, and "the conference aims to put into effect various decisions designed to 'escalate' military operations in Viet Nam." According to initial disclosures, the United States will continue to send more ground forces to south Viet Nam, extend air raids against north Viet Nam, dispatch more aircraft carriers to the Pacific and increase air reconnaissance flights over China. McNamara even openly announced after the conference that the United States will step up its blockade of Viet Nam's coastline.

There are many indications that the Honolulu conference was called by the United States to plan an even bigger military adventure after its war blackmail and peace hoax had failed, and that the conference represented the desperate struggle of the U.S. aggressors at a time when they face a more and more unfavourable situation.

The U.S. imperialist war machine is operating at an increased tempo. It can be predicted that the Johnson Administration will continue to lay down its peace smokescreen. War expansion, peace fraud and then war expansion again — these two tactics will be employed

alternatively in a pattern of cyclical repetition. This is the customary practice of the Johnson Administration on the Viet Nam question.

Let us take a look at the Johnson Administration's record over more than the past two months.

On February 7 big U.S. air raids against north Viet Nam started when the White House was trying strenuously to show that the United States "seeks no wider war." At about the same time, a U.S. battalion of Hawk missiles was introduced into south Viet Nam.

On February 18, the U.S. State Department declared that the United States was exploring "all avenues of peaceful settlement." Immediately, Washington ordered the direct participation of the U.S. air force in the assault against the south Vietnamese people's armed forces and decided to increase the number of puppet troops by another 100,000 and send several hundred more U.S. military "advisers." Shortly afterwards, the United States announced the dispatching of two battalions of marines, the first contingent of marines to be sent to south Viet Nam. What the United States was exploring turned out to be an avenue to war expansion.

On March 7 Rusk spread the speculation that for the United States the "political channels" to the solution of the Viet Nam question "remain open." Four days later, U.S. planes began to extend their bombing deeper into the interior of north Viet Nam. Then, six days afterwards, 2,000 south Korean mercenaries all arrived in south Viet Nam. In fact, the United States was widening the channel to war further.

On March 25, Johnson issued a statement boasting that the United States "will never be second in seeking a settlement." Right after these high-sounding words were mouthed, U.S. air strikes against north Viet Nam went farther than the 20th Parallel.

On April 7, Johnson, in his Baltimore address, expressed his willingness to conduct "unconditional discussions" on the Viet Nam question in order to achieve a "peaceful settlement." But only three days later, the United States sent its second contingent of two battalions of marines and a squadron of naval jet planes to south Viet Nam. U.S. planes even carried out provocation

against China by intruding into the airspace over Hainan Island.

In face of this series of iron-clad facts, even the most slow-witted person will not believe that the Johnson Administration is really concerned about peace rather than expanding step by step its war of aggression in Viet Nam. **By its own increasingly truculent military actions, U.S. imperialism has torn off its "peaceful settlement" mask and slapped those who have made Herculean efforts to describe the U.S. Government as "restrained" and "prudent" in the face.**

Therefore, when Johnson in his April 17 statement talked glibly about "window to peace" and "come to the meeting room — we will be there," we knew what U.S. imperialism was up to. Sure enough, into the "war room" of the U.S. Pacific military command two days later walked McNamara, the U.S. Defence Secretary, followed by a group of top-ranking military officers. The subject discussed was an even more adventurous step to expand the war.

For more than two months, the Johnson Administration has professed repeatedly that its military action of aggression against Viet Nam is "appropriate," "measured" and "carefully limited." But the actual facts are that the United States, from sending "advisers" to south Viet Nam, has gone on to taking a direct part in the war; from aggression in the south to attacks on the north; from bombing raids south of the 18th Parallel to bombing raids north of the 20th Parallel; from day raids to round-the-clock raids; and from bombing of military targets to bombing of civilians. All this shows that what the Johnson Administration called "appropriate," "measured" and "carefully limited" military action is a planned gradual expansion of the war.

A so-called theory of "escalation" on the unleashing of an aggressive war is now prevalent among U.S. ruling groups. They divide a war into a number of thresholds, each consisting of a number of rungs. They have advocated strengthening and expanding the use and threat of force according to these methods. **The tactics used by the Johnson Administration are very similar to Hitler's gradual expansion of aggression before World War II. The aim is nothing less than to slacken the vigilance of the world's people, so that they will be faced with a fait accompli by the U.S. aggressor before they know it. While taking "escalation" steps, the Johnson Administration continuously waves its olive branch in a vain attempt to demoralize its victims, hoodwink public opinion and conceal its crimes of deliberately expanding the war. This is precisely what it is doing in Viet Nam.**

This theory of "escalation" demonstrates that the Johnson Administration is more adventurous than its predecessors. Johnson is so obstinately placing blind faith in force and so feverishly using it that he puts Eisenhower, Kennedy and their kind to shame. This theory also reflects the weakness of the Johnson Administration. Not daring to rashly launch a big war of aggression,

Washington waits to see the response of its victim and world opinion as it measures every step it takes. The Johnson Administration's image is a mixture of gangster and swindler.

This theory of "escalation" owes its existence to the bankruptcy of the U.S. imperialist strategies of "massive retaliation" and "flexible response." Dulles dreamt of forbidding all the oppressed nations and people to rise in revolution by intimidating them with the use of nuclear weapons for "massive retaliation." But faced with the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary struggle which have shaken the five continents, U.S. imperialism is at its wit's end. Learning a lesson from the failure of Dulles, Kennedy formulated the strategy of "flexible response." He resorted to "special warfare" in a futile attempt to suppress the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary struggle. He chose south Viet Nam as his testing ground. The result of almost four years' trial of strength is the complete defeat of this "warfare." **Foundering in this impasse, U.S. imperialism has cooked up the theory of "escalation" in order to push forward with policies of war and aggression.**

Embarking on the military adventure of "escalation," the Johnson Administration is attempting to save itself from defeat in south Viet Nam. But confronted by the people of the world, who are daring to struggle and to win, any use or threat of force by U.S. imperialism is futile, no matter what force, what threat of force is used, or on what rung it takes place. This theory has been tested in Viet Nam for months. The result is that U.S. imperialism is faring worse, not better, there. Even the noted U.S. bourgeois commentator Lippmann has admitted that U.S. imperialist bombing of north Viet Nam, far from "doing what it is supposed to do," have greatly strengthened the Vietnamese people's "will to fight on." **The U.S. imperialist road of "escalation" is one gradually leading to the grave. Lying ahead is not an arch of triumph, but a dark hell of death.**

"The window to peace" opened by Johnson in his April 17 statement has been shrouded in the dark clouds of war rising from Honolulu. Facing U.S. imperialism, teacher by negative example, the world's people know that when the Johnson Administration goes out of its way to preach "peace," this only demonstrates intensified efforts to press ahead with steps to expand the war. They know even more clearly that it is completely reasonable for the Vietnamese people to insist on their four-point proposition. If U.S. imperialism refuses to withdraw all its armed forces from Viet Nam, there will be no peace in Viet Nam and Indo-China, no matter how many times Johnson may repeat his words of "peace." The most important task of the people of Asia and the rest of the world today is to give resolute support to the Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to shatter Johnson's peace talks schemes completely, curb his plans for escalating the war and drive the U.S. aggressors out of Viet Nam.

C.P.S.U. 20th Congress—Root of All Evils of Khrushchov Revisionists

— Publisher's Note to "Statements by Khrushchov" Vol. V

- Khrushchov's successors are really following in his footsteps.
- The so-called general line of foreign policy which the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. has vowed to uphold, consisting of "peaceful coexistence" and "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the solution of the problems of the world," has gone bankrupt in actual practice.
- However much they collaborate, the Soviet Union and the United States can never stamp out the just struggles of the great Vietnamese people and the revolutionary peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism.
- Khrushchov's successors are placing themselves in opposition to the people of the world (including the people of the Soviet Union). Their class position conditions them to place the noose left by Khrushchov around their own necks.
- Imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism are nearing their end and life gets more difficult for them day by day.

The fifth volume of the collection of "Statements by Khrushchov" in Chinese translation has come off the press and is now on sale throughout China.

Compiled and published by the "Shijie Zhishi" (World Culture) Press, the volume contains 34 speeches, reports, and interviews by Khrushchov that were made public in 1956, including the full text of the general report made by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. The volume comes to some 230,000 Chinese characters.

A publisher's note prefaces the volume. It reads in full as follows:

BEGINNING with volume five, the collection of *Statements by Khrushchov* will carry public statements made by Khrushchov from 1956 onward.

In volume five, the general report made by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in February 1956 merits particular attention. It is a typical product of modern revisionism and is greatly treasured by all Khrushchov revisionists. It is indispensable reading for those who wish to understand and study the history of the development of Khrushchov revisionism.

What did the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., held under Khrushchov's auspices, do? What sort of a congress was it?

History has given an adequate answer.

That congress made a frenzied attack on the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin; essentially it defamed the party of the proletariat and its leader, defamed the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, attacked Marxism-Leninism and attacked the Soviet Union, communism and the people.

The congress postulated so-called peaceful transition to socialism "by parliamentary means"; essentially it negated the road of the October Revolution, opposed proletarian revolution and national-democratic revolution and opposed every kind of revolutionary armed struggle.

The congress postulated so-called peaceful coexistence as the "general line" of the foreign policy of socialist countries; essentially it advocated class collaboration on an international scale, capitulationism and the betrayal of proletarian internationalism; they themselves did not want revolution and forbade it for others, they themselves did not support revolution and forbade others to support it.

The congress postulated so-called "friendly cooperation" between the Soviet Union and the United States, and it prettified U.S. imperialism and its chieftain; essentially it propagated the notion that the nature of U.S. imperialism had changed and that two great

powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, should dictate to the whole world.

The congress postulated "combating the personality cult"; essentially this was intended as an attack on the Marxist-Leninists of all countries, so that buffoons of the Khrushchov variety "who speak at random and talk sheer nonsense" could become the "new leaders," and as a catch-word for purposes of subverting and controlling fraternal Parties and fraternal countries and thus paving the way for the introduction of Khrushchov revisionism.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was the most significant sign of the emergence of Khrushchov revisionism. It was at that congress that Khrushchov first put forward the Khrushchov revisionist line in opposition to Marxism-Leninism. In the article "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves" we pointed out that "the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was the first step along the road of revisionism taken by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. From the 20th congress to the present, the revisionist line of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. has gone through the process of emergence, formation, growth and systematization. And by a gradual process, too, people have come to understand more and more deeply the revisionist line of the C.P.S.U. leadership."

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is the root from which stems all the evils done by the Khrushchov revisionists. In that congress we can find the origin of all such things as the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., the Programme of the C.P.S.U., the "three peacefuls" and "two entires" ("peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition," and "the state of the entire people" and "the party of the entire people"), and the "four alignments with and four againsts" (alignment with imperialism against socialism, alignment with the United States against China and other revolutionary countries, alignment with the reactionaries everywhere against the national-liberation movements and the people's revolutions, and alignment with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism).

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is the origin of the split in the international communist movement. From the moment it took place, confusion arose within the international communist movement and within the ranks of many Communist Parties. In the final analysis, all the current differences in the international communist movement stem from that congress. And they are becoming deeper with each passing day because the C.P.S.U. leadership persists in pursuing and developing the revisionist line of that congress and insistently seeks to impose it on the fraternal Parties of other countries.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. has greatly helped imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries by providing them with weapons against revolu-

tion, against communism and against the socialist camp. After the congress, the imperialists and reactionaries seized the opportunity to stir up great waves of opposition to the Soviet Union, to communism and to the people, most prominent among which was the counter-revolutionary rioting in Hungary. Those enemies of communism, the Trotskyites, also seized the opportunity to move into action. In the past nine years, imperialism and its stooges have consistently made use of the revisionist line, formulated at this congress and later developed and systematized, in order to undermine the international communist movement and to disintegrate the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries.

What Khrushchov and company did during and after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. has shown that they have thoroughly betrayed the international proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world, and have degenerated so far as to collude with imperialism and world reaction and work from within in collaboration with the outside enemy to oppose the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of all countries.

No matter how the Khrushchov revisionists try to justify the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., it will go down in the history of the international communist movement as an anti-Marxist-Leninist congress which proclaimed the birth of Khrushchov revisionism; a congress that betrayed the proletarian world revolution and served imperialism and world reaction; a congress that split the international communist movement and undermined the great unity of the revolutionary peoples of the whole world; a congress that denigrated the C.P.S.U. which Lenin founded, and put it on the path of degeneration from a proletarian political party to one going in the direction of a bourgeois political party; a congress that defamed the great Soviet state and put it on the path of degeneration from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to one going in the direction of a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. will go down in the annals of history as one that will leave a stench for all time.

From the very beginning, the Chinese Communist Party had a different estimate of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. from that of the Khrushchov revisionists. At the time, we repeatedly conveyed our views to the leadership of the C.P.S.U. through inner channels and advanced principled criticism of their errors on the question of Stalin and on the question of so-called peaceful transition. We also openly published the two articles, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in which we expounded our views in a positive way. At that time, of course, it was still impossible to see the essence of Khrushchov revisionism as clearly as we did later, because Khrushchov revisionism was then only beginning to take shape.

According to Marxist-Leninist dialectics, the essence of a thing manifests itself through phenomena, and phenomena unfold gradually. It is only after a process

has gone on for a certain time and the contradictions are fully revealed that it becomes possible for people to comprehend the essence of the thing and arrive at correct judgments on the basis of a large number of phenomena and, in particular, the test of practice. Khrushchov revisionism has gone through a process of development. It was camouflaged under layer after layer of "Marxism-Leninism" and its true features revealed themselves step by step. One's comprehension of it has of necessity to undergo a process. However, it is not too difficult to distinguish between the pretensions and the real intentions found in the statements and actions of the Khrushchov revisionists if a Marxist-Leninist class analysis of the numerous objective facts is made and the essence of Khrushchov revisionism is grasped.

This is the way to deal with Khrushchov and, of course, it must be the way to deal with Khrushchov's successors. The experience gained in coping with Khrushchov makes it easier for people to see the essence of Khrushchov's successors and prevents them from being confused by superficial, transient and spurious phenomena.

Very clearly then, the problem of one's approach to the 20th and 22nd Congresses and to the Programme of the C.P.S.U. is the most important, the essential question in the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and Khrushchov revisionists. Whether one thoroughly exposes and criticizes the revisionist line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and of the Programme of the C.P.S.U. or whether one persists in it and propagates it energetically—here rests the most fundamental difference between Marxist-Leninists and Khrushchov revisionists.

Inasmuch as they are persisting in the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and of the Programme of the C.P.S.U., Khrushchov's successors have shown that they have not in the least changed their revisionist, splittist and great-nation chauvinist nature, no matter how many fine words they utter. Their flowery talk about anti-imperialism, revolution and unity is only protective colouring designed to deceive people. Their most important, revealing words, their soul, their true essence, are to be found in their avowals of adherence to the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses and the Programme of the C.P.S.U.

It has become increasingly clear that Khrushchov's successors are really following in his footsteps. They are really placing themselves in opposition to the more than 90 per cent of the people of the world (including the people of the Soviet Union). Their class position conditions them to place the noose left by Khrushchov around their own necks.

The so-called general line of foreign policy which the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. has vowed to uphold, consisting of "peaceful coexistence" and "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the solution of the problems of the world," has gone bankrupt in actual practice. Today the U.S. imperialists' wild aggression in Viet Nam once

again shows up the absurdity of this revisionist general line. Johnson, ring-leader of U.S. imperialism, like Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy before him, is no "sober" or "sensible" person as Khrushchov and his successors have alleged, but a hatchet man who does not scruple to commit every imaginable crime. Subjected to aggression, the Vietnamese people, in dealing with the utterly vicious U.S. aggressors, have no alternative but to resist to the end, to resist until they have completely defeated them, and there can be no question whatever of "peaceful coexistence" with them. Collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States to dominate the world did not work in the past, does not work now and will not work in the future. However much they collaborate, the Soviet Union and the United States can never stamp out the just struggles of the great Vietnamese people and the revolutionary peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism; this simply reveals more and more fully how Khrushchov's successors are still transposing their relationships with friend and foe, aligning themselves with the chief enemy of the people of the whole world while directing the spearhead against the revolutionary peoples.

Now that volume five of *Statements by Khrushchov* has come off the press, we make a point of recommending to our readers Khrushchov's report of nine years ago. We suggest that they use the method of comparison to see what Khrushchov paid lip service to and what he actually did at the time, how his works compare with those of his successors, and how he tampered with Marxism-Leninism and what criticisms Marxist-Leninists have made of him. By reviewing the history of the past nine years and making such contrasts, one can better analyse and compare and arrive at correct conclusions.

Khrushchov is finished. Khrushchov revisionism, too, is bankrupt. Yet to this very moment, Khrushchov's successors are still clinging to the shattered hulk of Khrushchov revisionism. How can this help them? Battered by the storm of the revolution this lone craft is falling to pieces; how then can they hope to save it from destruction by patching it up with a few planks?

"A thousand sails skim past the shipwreck; a forest thrives beside the withered tree." These two lines of poetry superbly describe the present situation of revolution in the world. In the process of triumphing in the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism, revolutionary theory and the revolutionary ranks of Marxism-Leninism are ceaselessly developing and gaining strength. In the struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the reactionaries of all countries, the revolutionary people of the whole world are breaking through all the obstacles erected by modern revisionism, one after another, and are advancing like a great fleet of ships riding the waves in full sail. Like forests of trees burgeoning in spring, the great cause of proletarian world revolution is thriving, while, like a sinking ship, like a withering tree, imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism are nearing their end and life gets more difficult for them day by day.

Welcome Home to Nine Chinese Victimized in Brazil

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THOUSANDS thronged Peking Airport on April 21 to give a rousing welcome home to the nine Chinese who were imprisoned and victimized for more than a year in Brazil. Waves of cheers from the crowd greeted the nine as they alighted from the plane. Then, in a surge of admiration and respect for their courage and steadfastness in face of torture and threats by the Brazilian reactionaries and U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents, the people rushed forward to shake their hands and embrace them, put garlands round their necks and hold them shoulder-high. Foreign friends from over 30 countries were among the welcomers. There was a moving reunion of the nine with their families and relatives, many of them grey-haired parents who had travelled great distances to receive back their sons.

So a year of ordeal ended. The nine had gone to Brazil gladly for the purpose of promoting friendship and economic and cultural exchanges between the Chinese and Brazilian peoples, but the enemies of friendship between the peoples soon got busy. Arrested on trumped-up charges in April last year, the nine were subjected to the most intolerable persecutions by the Brazilian authorities on orders from the U.S. imperialists. But they fought back courageously, defying threats and coercion. Indomitably upholding the truth and defending the honour of their motherland, they set an example for all who are battling imperialism and colonialism. Their return, as Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, said in his speech of welcome at the airport, "is a victory for them in their fight against political persecution, a victory for the Chinese people in their struggle against the anti-Chinese plots of U.S. imperialism, and a victory for fair-minded people throughout the world in upholding justice." "With the heroism of Chinese Communists and the Chinese people," said Vice-Premier Li,

"they defied torture by the Brazilian reactionaries. With the staunch will of revolutionary fighters of the proletariat, they defeated threats and enticements by the U.S.-Chiang agents. They demonstrated the lofty spirit and integrity of revolutionaries. They are truly worthy of the name of good Communists and good cadres trained by our Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung." When Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, received them the next day, he also commended them for their heroic and unremitting struggle against U.S. imperialism, Brazilian reaction and the Chiang Kai-shek gang.

The victory of the nine Chinese against persecution by U.S.-Brazilian reaction was won with the support of the world's people whose pressure in upholding justice helped to compel the Brazilian authorities to free them. Upon their return, the three organizations to which the nine belong — the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the All-China Journalists' Association and the Hsinhua News Agency — issued a statement expressing deep gratitude to Sobral Pinto, their defending counsel, to the international lawyers' group headed by Kunisuke Nagano, and to all governments, organizations and individuals that had raised voices to defend them and demand their immediate release. The statement also condemned the U.S.-Brazilian reactionaries for persecuting innocent people in contravention of all norms and principles governing international relations.

At a press conference for Chinese and foreign correspondents in Peking on April 23, Wang Wei-chen, speaking on behalf of the nine, gave details exposing and arraigning the Brazilian authorities for the atrocities committed. Dismissing the order of "expulsion"



Welcome home!



The victimized Chinese in prison in Brazil

issued by the Brazilian authorities as only a fig-leaf to cover up their crimes, Wang Wei-chen said: "The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have utterly failed in their conspiracy. They have completely miscalculated. They did not expect that the world's people would launch such a mighty movement of protest and drive them into isolation. They did not expect that the broad masses of the Brazilian people would, even under the fascist rule of terror, step forward to expose and oppose their plot. And they did not expect that we nine comrades would be so firm and unyielding in the face of torture and persecution."

Mass Rally

More than 10,000 people of the capital held a mass rally of welcome on April 24 in the Great Hall of the People. When the nine mounted the rostrum in the company of Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien and Lu Ting-yi, the hall burst into thunderous applause. A group of Young Pioneers ran up to present them with bouquets and tie red scarves around their necks.

In his speech at the rally, Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi said that the nine comrades, demonstrating the lofty, revolutionary spirit of unbending struggle against political persecution, had proved themselves worthy sons of the Chinese people and staunch fighters of the proletariat. "By their deeds," he said, "they have shown that, in the storm of international class struggle, the members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking can stand all tests and are invincible."

Pointing out that the persecution of the nine was part of the anti-China plot engineered by U.S. imperialism, Vice-Premier Lu stressed: "The most urgent task

now confronting the people of China and the rest of the world is to exert the utmost efforts to assist the Vietnamese people in their great patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. We must universally establish, both among the Chinese people and people of the whole world, the idea of hating, despising and holding U.S. imperialism in contempt and resolutely defeating it. We must enhance the spirit of the people and deflate the arrogance of the enemy and eliminate all illusions about U.S. imperialism. On this question, we are diametrically opposed to the modern revisionists who are pro-American, worship everything American and fear the United States, an attitude which really amounts to capitulation to U.S. imperialism and attempting to dominate the world in collaboration with U.S. imperialism. We must resolutely oppose these despicable ideas and mobilize the people of China and the rest of the world to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and lead this struggle to still greater victories."

Speaking on behalf of his colleagues, Wang Yao-ting exposed in detail the political frame-up organized by U.S.-Brazilian reaction and their struggles both in prison and before the military tribunal. His words were often interrupted by applause from the packed hall. "In the darkest days," he said, "when we thought of our great Party and our motherland, and remembered the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, we gained fresh strength for our struggle."

Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, also spoke at the rally. He denounced the U.S.-Brazilian reactionaries for the frame-up and took the opportunity to express his thanks to all who had helped to bring about the release of the nine comrades.

The Nine Chinese Expose Atrocities At Press Conference

The nine Chinese who have triumphantly returned to China after more than a year of illegal imprisonment in Brazil gave a press conference on April 23. Following is a summary of Wang Wei-chen's speech at the press conference. — Ed.

WANG WEI-CHEN said that in the early hours of April 3, 1964, armed police of the State of Guanabara Police Bureau forced their way into the premises of the Brazil branch of Hsinhua News Agency in Rio de Janeiro. He and three other Chinese — Chu Ching-tung, Ma Yao-tseng and Su Tzu-ping — were living there at the time. Pointing guns at them, the policemen threatened to kill them, and then savagely set on them, punching, kicking and hitting them with the

butts of their tommy guns and with steel-lined rubber truncheons.

The four were taken to the police station and placed in a room filled with an atmosphere of terror. They were again manhandled and forced to undress although there was a Brazilian woman in the room. They were made to stand at attention and stretch out their arms, holding heavy weights. When their strength failed, the police twisted their arms, seized them by the throat, threw them to the ground and stamped on their stomachs with boots. Chu Ching-tung was trampled on so heavily that excrement exuded from his bowels, and the police then disgustingly tried to force him to eat it. But this was vigorously resisted. They also burnt his right leg with lighted cigarette ends. All four men

were tortured from the early hours of the morning of April 3 until two o'clock in the afternoon.

Three of the other five Chinese, who were arrested by the Brazilian police at the same time, were also beaten.

The Brazilian police authorities often interrogated the Chinese in secret early in the morning. Some were kept in isolation, each locked up in a dark, narrow cell measuring only one metre 20 centimetres by 60 centimetres. The weather in Brazil at that time of the year was still cold at night, but the Chinese, injured all over, were denied blankets or even straw. The food handed out by the prison authorities of the Guanabara state police was so filthy that, according to Brazilians in the prison, even dogs would have refused to eat it. During the day the air in the prison cells was stifling because the little opening that served as a window to each cell was not allowed to be opened. The conditions in which the Chinese were kept were so atrocious that one of the jailors said regretfully: "Sir, it's not my fault. I'm doing what I'm ordered to do!"

The Brazilian police carried out numerous searches where the Chinese lived, and took the opportunity to enrich themselves. They shamelessly robbed the Chinese of their cameras, watches, nylon socks, neckties, handkerchiefs, clothes, transistor radios and other personal belongings.

"The purpose of all the various forms of torture used against us by the Brazilian authorities was to make us give in and then, on instructions from the U.S. imperialists, to drag us off to Taiwan.

"The Chinese people are not people who can be pushed around. None of the threats could ever weaken the determination of any of us and we persisted in standing up for the truth. We went on a hunger strike in protest against the political persecution and physical torture. Honest-minded people in Brazil and in other parts of the world also exposed this kind of criminal torture and interrogation and lodged protests with the Brazilian authorities. What the Brazilian authorities did only served to expose to the world their own barbarous and ugly countenance."

Kidnap Plot Failed

Various attempts were made to break the spirit of the nine, extract information and get them to forsake their motherland.

On the evening of April 4, the day after their arrest, a Brazilian general turned up in the prison together with a group of bullies and proclaimed, in the presence of the Chinese and a number of Brazilian political prisoners, that the nine Chinese would be sent to Taiwan on April 6 and that a special plane had been prepared for that purpose.

"This was a shameless scheme to kidnap us. It aroused us to fury. **We told him straight out that we are patriots. We would rather die on our feet than live on our knees. If he insisted on sending us under escort**

to Taiwan, he would have to drag us there as corpses, not living men. We shouted protest slogans and immediately went on a hunger strike. We told the authorities plainly that we would not end our hunger strike until they abandoned their scheme to kidnap us. By April 6, the Brazilian authorities had to announce that they would not send us to Taiwan."

On the evening of April 6, Gustavo Borges, one of the police bosses of the Guanabara State Police Bureau, presented the nine Chinese on a television programme as "subversive elements." Seizing the opportunity, Chang Pao-sheng, who spoke Portuguese, told the television audience some of the facts about the persecution and the plot to abduct them to Taiwan.

A leading Brazilian police official who was involved in this scheme rushed to the screen and demanded: "Who said that you were to be taken to Taiwan?" Pointing directly at the policeman's nose, Chang Pao-sheng answered: "You yourself!" The policeman was thus shown up on television as a complete fool before the Brazilian people.

Kuomintang agents came and went freely while the nine were in the police bureau or in the prison. One of them, who went by the name of "Chang Hsing-chih," sought to hold "conversations" with the arrested Chinese and admitted that he was "trusted" by the Brazilian authorities. He told them: "Why go back to China? The Brazilian authorities will welcome you heartily if you stay here." This creature also said that American friends had told him they would be highly honoured if the nine sought asylum in the United States. In any case, he said that "Taiwan still wants you to go there."

To all these special agents we replied that "we will go to Taiwan, not now but when it is liberated," that they were daydreaming if they thought they could bully us into betraying ourselves, and that our heads could roll but our will could never be broken.

The Kuomintang agents had Brazilian guards to protect them while they carried out such activities in the prison. **"All these facts show very clearly that the persecution to which we nine Chinese were subjected was a political plot pure and simple."**

"Incriminating Evidence" — A Farce

Shortly after their arrest a campaign was started which vilified them as being engaged in "subversion" and "espionage," and which spread rumours that "an espionage ring" had been discovered in Brazil.

The acupuncture needles, which Wang Wei-chen had taken with him to Brazil, were described as "poisoned needles which can kill a man in five minutes." Some Chinese herb pills for curing colds and others for use against sun-stroke or to prevent travel sickness were described as "poison" intended for killing the new Brazilian president and other leaders. The picture of an ancient Chinese rocket, which had been released by "China Features" and printed in many foreign papers

and magazines, was represented as the design of a Chinese "bird-shaped guided missile" to be used to "devastate" Brazilian cities.

"When these preliminary objects of 'evidence' were proved to be too ridiculous to incriminate the Chinese detainees, the Brazilian authorities brought in some Hsinhua photographs of Chinese and Cuban men and women militia. These were alleged to be 'evidence' proving our pursuit of armed struggle in Brazil. The maps of Brazil they brought in were supposed to be 'evidence' of our 'guerrilla warfare' and 'subversive activities.'"

The false evidence on which the Brazilian authorities pinned most of their hopes consisted of a forged letter and a pistol with a silencer, alleged to belong to the Chinese. But they could not substantiate their charges. "The Brazilian authorities declared at a news conference that the pistol was Russian-made. Later during interrogation, they asked me whether it was made in China. At one time, they said it had been found in my car, but at another they said it had been found where I lived. They said that the pistol was found 35 days after I was arrested. But in fact my car had been taken away by them on the day of my arrest."

Throughout the secret interrogations, the nine Chinese put up an unremitting fight and sent the Brazilian authorities into a hopeless quandary, forcing them to bring the interrogations to a hurried close.

It was precisely because of the absence of evidence that the Brazilian authorities took some six months to work out some sort of a report on the findings of the investigation.

Referring to the hearing of testimony, Wang Wei-chen recounted how the case before the military tribunal was turned into a farce. The evidence of most of the witnesses summoned by the plaintiffs in fact was in favour of the defendants.

One witness was a charwoman of the Hsinhua office. She said that she was free to enter the office at any time without giving prior notice. Another witness, from the premises used by the Hsinhua office, admitted that he had found nothing on the part of the Chinese that could imply "subversive activities" although he had kept an eye on them for a long time on police orders. Another witness was a man who had visited China and had written an article slandering China. The Brazilian authorities called him in to prove the Chinese guilty. He said that during his trip to China some time ago, he had been told that China tried to carry out "subversive activities" by trading and that once it sent a trade delegation to Albania to "subvert" the government. "My goodness! Why am I summoned here to give testimony. I did not know them at all. I did not know that these Chinese were here until I read of their arrest in a newspaper," this witness burst out amid the laughter that immediately followed in court.

There were more than ten witnesses for the defence. Among them were congressmen and high-ranking offi-

cial of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Industry and Commerce, including one who is now Brazilian Ambassador to Israel. As a matter of fact, we had not had much contact with them, yet they came to give evidence, running the risk of losing their posts and even arrest.

"The people of Brazil got a good idea of the case as the testimony was made public. The prosecutor Rubens Pinheiro Barros was reported to have said privately that the case was very difficult but had to be carried on, at any rate in order to defend the honour of the army."

Prosecutor: "I Forgo the Right to Debate."

At the final hearing, the prosecutor produced as "evidence" six cases of books. Most of them had belonged to the Brazil-China Cultural Association which had nothing to do with us. They were so apprehensive about this "evidence" that they did not dare to open the boxes. Our lawyer Sobral Pinto opened them for all to see. Even an American reporter who was present said that the evidence was "too weak."

The prosecutor spoke incoherently for more than three hours during the final hearing, during which those present lost interest. What aroused interest were the questions put to the prosecutor by Sobral Pinto and other lawyers for the defence. When Sobral Pinto challenged him, saying: "Do you dare to come forward and take up the debate now that we have demolished the items of evidence one by one?" The prosecutor publicly declared: "I forgo the right to debate."

After they retired for three and a half hours, the judges had to withdraw the charge of "espionage activities" against us, and they sentenced us to ten years' imprisonment for the so-called crime of "subversive activities." This sentence was so unreasonable and crude that one of the five judges—the presiding civilian judge—had voted against it during their retirement and openly noted in a postscript to the written sentence that the charges against the accused did not contain sufficient evidence to prove them guilty of subversion.

"We had solemnly issued a statement at the beginning of the trial saying that 'we are here not to be judged but to accuse.' " In the end defence counsel Sobral Pinto pointed out indignantly in court: "This is a colossal farce."

"The ultimate decision of the Brazilian authorities to 'expel' us was a fig-leaf to cover up their embarrassment. They dared not admit their error and acquit us, though they had been discredited politically and morally with the frame-up which had backfired."

The Brazilian Minister of Justice was quoted as saying that if the nine Chinese stayed in prison, "the case would become a source of dispute and concern!"

After all their tricks had failed the Brazilian authorities came to realize that "we were like an iron pill which they could neither chew nor swallow. Finally they had to let us go," Wang Wei-chen said.

China's Trade Unions

May 1, International Labour Day, 1965 marks the 40th anniversary of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Below we give a brief account of the history of China's trade union movement, the nature and tasks of trade unions in China, their structure and organizational principles. — Ed.

CHINA'S trade unions were formed and developed under the direct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Soon after its foundation in 1921, the Communist Party set up the Chinese Trade Union Secretariat to lead the working class movement. The secretariat was in fact the earliest national leading body of China's trade unions. The First All-China Labour Congress held in Canton in 1922 by the representatives of 270,000 members recognized it as the liaison centre for trade unions throughout the country. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions (A.C.F.T.U.) was formally set up at the Second All-China Labour Congress held in Canton in 1925 where 540,000 members were represented.

Early Role

From the beginning, the Chinese trade union movement played an important part in the Chinese people's democratic revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party. The first wave of strikes took place between January 1922 and February 1923. In a little over a year more than 100 strikes were called in the major cities and industrial centres. These included the well-known Hongkong seamen's strike which began in January and ended victoriously in March 1922; the successful Anyuan coalminers' strike in September 1922; and

the February 7 strike of Peking-Hankow railway workers in 1923 which shook the whole country. During this wave of strikes trade union organizations sprang up one after another. Soon after its founding, the A.C.F.T.U. led the great "May 30" strike of 1925 against the Japanese and British imperialists, and the Canton-Hongkong strike which lasted 16 months from June

1925 to October 1926. These strikes gave a powerful impetus to the Chinese people's struggle against imperialism.

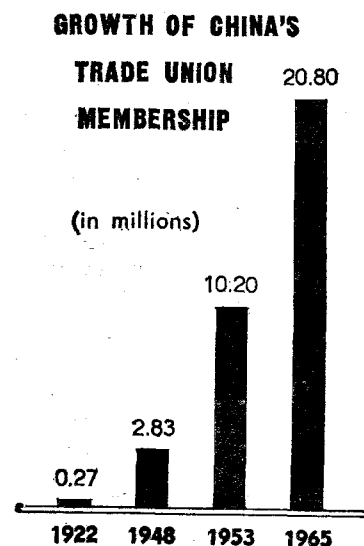
In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek collaborated with the imperialists and the domestic feudal forces, betrayed the revolution, and began massacring workers and peasants and brutally suppressing the working-class movement. The A.C.F.T.U. was forced to go underground.

In the long years from 1927 to 1949, the Chinese people fought against the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries in order to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. During that period, the Chinese working-class movement and trade unions led by the Communist Party were active in two different areas: in the enemy-controlled areas they co-ordinated their work with the armed struggle in the countryside, carried out both legal and illegal, open and secret, economic and political struggles to win over the bulk of the working class, build up their strength and make preparations for the final decisive battle. In the revolutionary base areas they rallied and educated the workers to raise their level of class consciousness and labour enthusiasm and strengthen labour discipline so as to ensure the fulfilment of production tasks, develop industry, consolidate and expand the revolutionary base areas, and give substantial support to the fighting front.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), the trade unions organized the broad masses of workers to carry out with other sections of the population anti-Japanese activities. After Japan's surrender, the trade unions waged struggles against the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique and took an active part in the patriotic democratic movement of the Chinese people.

In 1948, on the eve of liberation, the Sixth All-China Labour Congress was held in Harbin and the A.C.F.T.U. resumed open activities. In response to the call of the congress, workers in the liberated areas launched a vigorous campaign to boost production; those in Kuomintang-controlled areas waged patriotic anti-U.S. struggles together with people of other strata and protected their factories and mines from Kuomintang sabotage in anticipation of liberation.

With the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese working class became the leading class of the state, and the workers masters in their own house. This created most favourable conditions for developing the working-class movement and trade union work. The A.C.F.T.U. rallied all sections of work-



ers and became the broadest mass organization of the working class. When the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions was held in 1953, the federation had 10,200,000 members; the number rose to 16,300,000 at the time of the eighth congress in 1957. Today, the federation boasts more than 20 million members. Its organizations at all levels are active in many fields and play an important part in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Nature and Tasks Under Socialism

China's trade unions are mass organizations of the working class led by the Communist Party. They are the Party's assistant in mass work and a link through which the Party keeps in touch with the masses, a social pillar of the people's democratic state power, and a school of communism for the workers.

In the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the central task of the trade unions is to educate the workers in the spirit of communism, encourage them to work hard to boost production, and, on the basis of production growth, work to improve their material and cultural life.

The prime task of the trade unions at the present time is to continue to hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, take class struggle as the key and build their work round production and construction. It is to go to the grass-roots and mobilize the workers to take an active part in the socialist education movement, help revolutionize their ideology further, and develop and deepen the movement to "compare with the advanced, learn from and catch up with them, and help the less advanced" — a movement to increase production and practise economy. The aim is to bring about a new upsurge in production, fulfil and overfulfil the 1965 state plan, and prepare for the implementation of the Third Five-Year Plan which is scheduled to begin in 1966.

Political and Ideological Work. Trade union work in China is work dealing with man. First place is given to political and ideological work. Workers and their families are educated in socialism and especially in the class struggle. The purpose is to acquaint them with the situation in the class struggle both at home and abroad and the Party's principles and policies, continuously raise their level of class consciousness, and in this way bring their initiative and creativeness into play to fulfil the tasks in production and construction assigned to them by the state.

The trade unions help the workers study the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung by the method of "studying to find a solution to a particular problem on hand, integrating study with application, studying and currently applying what has been learnt."

In every field of work, the trade unions adhere to the principle of the "four firsts." This means: giving first place to man in handling the relationship between

China's 16 National Trade Union Committees

- The National Committee of Heavy Industry Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Coalminers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Petroleum Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Water Conservancy and Electrical Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Machinery Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Textile Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Light Industry Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Building Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Geological Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Railway Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Road Transport Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Seamen's Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Post and Telecommunications Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Financial and Commercial Workers' Trade Union
 - The National Committee of Educational Workers' Trade Union
-

man and material things; giving first place to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; giving first place to ideological work in handling the relationship between ideological and routine tasks in political work; and giving first place to living ideas in handling the relationship between ideas in books and living ideas in ideological work. This principle is applied in work to help boost production, in welfare work, and activities among the workers' families, and in carrying out other tasks of the trade unions. In this way, the trade unions closely integrate their political and ideological work with their routine work. Attention is focused on ideological work at the basic level — the work teams and shifts.

Work to Help Boost Production. All trade union work is designed to help enhance the workers' political con-

sciousness and boost production. The trade unions undertake to organize enterprises and workers to take part in the movement to "compare, learn, catch up and help" so as to enable more enterprises and workers to achieve the goal of "five goods." For enterprises, this means good political work, fulfilment of production plans, efficient management, good living arrangements for workers, and a good working style of cadres. For individual workers it means a high level of political consciousness, competent fulfilment of tasks, strict observance of labour discipline, persistence in studies, and unity and mutual help with others.

The trade unions actively assist the managements in mobilizing the workers to take part in the technical revolution and the introduction of technical innovations. Trade union organizations help to organize extensive technical co-operation among workers and get the workers, technical personnel and leading cadres to co-operate closely to solve key problems in production. Efforts are made to spread experience that has been tested and proved in practice. Trade unions also help to organize inter-plant emulation and co-operation.

Welfare Work. The trade unions work constantly to improve the material and cultural lives of the workers and to educate them correctly to link their immediate interests with the long-term interests of the working class, and to combine their personal interests properly with those of the collective.

The administration of the labour insurance fund is entrusted to the trade unions by the state. China's workers today enjoy the benefits of a very comprehensive system of labour insurance with all the expenses borne by the managements. The system gives wide assistance in relation to childbirth, old age, sickness, injury, disablement and death. Workers who may have financial difficulties are helped out with grants from trade union funds.

There are more than 2,800 sanatoria, rest homes and overnight sanatoria with a total of 90,000 beds run by the trade unions, factories, mines and other enterprises.

The trade unions assist the managements in running collective welfare establishments such as workers' housing estates, canteens, medical and health centres, public baths, nurseries and kindergartens. This is done by organizing the workers to take part in the democratic management of these undertakings.

Educational Work. In co-operation with the managements and other departments concerned, the trade unions organize workers' spare-time education to extend general knowledge and raise technical levels. In many large and medium-sized enterprises, a comprehensive spare-time educational system has been established, ranging from literacy classes to spare-time study at the university level.

The trade unions help to organize workers' recreational activities as a means to educate them in socialism and enrich their cultural life.

International Activities. True to the spirit of proletarian internationalism, China's trade unions actively support the revolutionary struggles of workers in other countries and strive to strengthen workers' unity throughout the world. Together with workers the world over and progressive mankind, China's trade unions wage struggles against imperialism headed by the United States, and for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

Structure and Organizational Principles

China's trade unions are organized on both an industrial and regional basis. This means that all members of the same enterprise, government office, or educational institution, irrespective of their specific jobs, are organized in the same primary trade union. These primary organizations at places of work are the foundation of China's trade unions. Today, there are 160,000 of them. The bigger primary organizations may set up workshop or department committees to guide the activities of the trade union groups under them.

Industrial unions are organized on national and provincial levels. There are today 16 national trade union committees (see box on p. 23). The number of provincial industrial unions in a province (or autonomous region, or municipality directly under the central authority such as Peking and Shanghai) depends on the distribution of industry in that province and the actual needs of trade union work.

There are also provincial, autonomous regional, municipal and county trade union councils not organized on an industrial, but on a regional basis. These give unified leadership to all trade union organizations in their respective areas, including the local industrial unions at the same level. There are today 21 provincial, two municipal (Peking and Shanghai) and five autonomous regional trade union councils, the last of which — for the Tibet region — was set up last December. Its formation reflects the rapid growth of industry and a working class in Tibet.

The primary trade unions are led in the first place by the local trade union councils as indicated above. But they are also led by the corresponding industrial trade union committee at a higher level where there is one. Both local trade union councils and national industrial unions are led by the A.C.F.T.U. which is the national leading body of China's trade union movement. Trade union organizations at all levels are led by the Communist Party committee at the same level.

The executive committee of the A.C.F.T.U. is elected at the national trade union congress. When the committee is not in session, the presidium of the A.C.F.T.U. is responsible for carrying out the decisions of the national congress and the executive committee and gives leadership to trade union work throughout the country. Guided by the presidium, the secretariat has charge of A.C.F.T.U.'s day-to-day work.

The A.C.F.T.U. has under it a general office and departments for production, education, propaganda, sports and physical culture, workers' living conditions,

labour insurance, organization, women workers, international liaison, and other work. It also runs a training school for cadres and publishes the newspaper *Gongren Ribao* (Workers' Daily).

The basic organizational principle of China's trade unions is democratic centralism — centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized guidance. Its main content is:

1. The leading bodies of the trade unions at all levels are democratically elected.
2. The leading bodies of the trade unions at all levels observe the principle of integrating collective leadership with personal responsibility. All matters of importance are discussed and decided upon collectively.
3. The trade unions at all levels carry on their work in accordance with the Constitution of the Trade

Unions and decisions of trade union organizations. They submit reports on their work at regular intervals to the membership and give heed to criticisms and opinions voiced by members or lower organizations.

4. Every member must carry out trade union decisions. The minority abides by the decisions of the majority, and the lower trade union organizations abide by the decisions of the higher bodies.

This principle of democratic centralism makes it possible correctly to handle the relationship between unions and their members, among members, and between higher and lower trade union bodies. It enables the leaders to follow the mass line in every field of work, thus bringing the trade union organizations closer to their membership, and bringing the initiative of trade unions at all levels and of their members into full play to accomplish trade union tasks successfully.

Document

China-Mali Friendship Treaty

Following is a translation of the Treaty of Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Mali which came into force on April 20, 1965. The treaty was signed in Peking on November 3 last year and was published on April 22, 1965. — Ed.

THE Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the Head of State and Government of the Republic of Mali,

Desiring to consolidate and further develop the profound friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Mali, and

Being convinced that the strengthening of friendly co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Mali conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, helps strengthen the friendship and solidarity of the peoples of the two countries, and of Asia and Africa and conduces to peace in Asia, Africa and the world,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty.

Article I

The Contracting Parties shall maintain and develop the peaceful and friendly relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Mali.

Article II

The Contracting Parties decide to take the Five Principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence as the principles guiding the relations between the two countries.

Article III

The Contracting Parties agree to develop the economic and cultural relations between the two countries in the spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly co-operation.

Article IV

The Contracting Parties undertake to settle any issue that may arise between them by means of peaceful consultation.

Article V

The present Treaty is subject to ratification, and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Bamako as soon as possible.

The present Treaty shall come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification and shall remain in force for a period of ten years. Unless either of the Contracting Parties gives to the other notice in writing to terminate the present Treaty one year before the expiration of this period, the present Treaty shall be automatically prolonged for another period of ten years; and the validity of the Treaty shall thereafter be extended accordingly.

Done in duplicate in Peking on November 3, 1964, in the Chinese and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

(Signed)

LIU SHAO-CHI

Chairman of the People's Republic of China

(Signed)

MODIBO KEITA

Head of State and Government of the Republic of Mali

ROUND THE WORLD

where is with the victim and not the perpetrator of aggression.

American Ferment

Protest Movement Grows

James Reston's article in the *New York Times* of April 22 sheds some light on the growing opposition in American universities to Johnson's war of aggression in south Viet Nam. Said Reston: "Since the U.S. bombings of north Viet Nam the protest movement against the Johnson Administration's policy has swept the campuses." He cited many examples to show that not only the students but professors as well have been stirred to speak out against this war which the organization known as the Students for a Democratic Society characterizes as "a losing war . . . a self-defeating war . . . a dangerous war . . . a hideously immoral war."

Reston, who has his own pipeline to the State Department and the White House, writes with concern and reflects the alarm and frustration of the Johnson Administration at this more and more articulate opposition. Now even the big names in the American academic world—Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Michigan—are involved in the protest movement. Reston reported that at Harvard University, which by no stretch of the imagination can be called radical, "over 2,000 students took part for most of one whole night last week in a teach-in. . . . Most of the speakers protested against Administration policy." He added that what is happening in the United States has been rarely seen in the past ten years. "Now the mood is swinging from indifference to violence. . . . The zeal of the civil-rights movements is being transferred in some places into a get-out-of-Vietnam campaign," Reston noted with apprehension.

Confronted with this political ferment in the educational world, Secretary of State Rusk berated the American professors who criticize the U.S. policy of aggression in Viet Nam for talking "nonsense." He sent

Universal Demand

U.S. Must Withdraw From Viet Nam

Both by word and deed the Johnson Administration shows it has no intention of withdrawing from south Viet Nam. Yet that is what the people of the world are demanding. Growing more vocal because the U.S. forces have begun bombing the north by day and night and have used gas in addition to napalm in the south, opposition to the U.S. war of aggression has assumed the proportions of a worldwide campaign.

Responding to the appeal of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, the youth of many countries have volunteered to fight alongside the Vietnamese people. In Djakarta the enthusiastic response took a dramatic turn during the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Bandung Conference when thousands of Indonesian youths and students marched to the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to be reviewed by Pham Van Dong, the D.R.V. Premier, who was visiting Indonesia for the celebrations.

Conveying his country's gratitude in an address to the marchers, Premier Pham Van Dong said that the volunteers campaign launched in Indonesia is a powerful manifestation of the comradeship between the two nations and a symbol of the immortal Bandung spirit which unites all the Asian and African peoples.

Solidarity with the Vietnamese people is indeed very much in evidence on the two continents of Asia and Africa, from Djakarta to Conakry, from the jungles of the Congo to the rubber plantations in Cambodia. In Brazzaville Congo, for instance, at a mass rally to observe Anti-Colonialism Day on April 24, Boukambou Julien, Member of the Political Bureau of the ruling National Revolutionary Movement and

Vice-President of the National Assembly of the Congo (B), declared that the only solution to the Viet Nam question is for the United States to withdraw its forces, respect the Geneva agreements and recognize the National Front for Liberation.

Demonstrations demanding that the United States get out of Viet Nam have been increasing. Cambodia which is a next-door neighbour of Viet Nam has spoken through its Head of State. In his letter of reply to President Nguyen Huu Tho of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, Prince Sihanouk threw the entire support of the Cambodian people behind the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle. A measure of the anger of the Cambodian people can be gauged by the 20,000-strong demonstration before the U.S. Embassy in Phnom Penh on April 26. The window panes on three stories of the embassy building were broken by the stones, ink bottles and rotten potatoes thrown by the demonstrators. And the walls were plastered with slogans "Down with Yankees!" "Yankee go home!"

Censure and condemnation reverberate round the world despite the barrage of propaganda and the string of "special envoys" sent out by Washington to explain the need for a continued "American presence" in south Viet Nam, the need for devastating Vietnamese fields and forests with phosphorous bombs and toxic chemicals, the need to kill Vietnamese women and children to defend the "free world," and the need for non-stop bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in order to bring about what the American President called in his Baltimore speech "unconditional discussions." For sympathy and support every-

State Department officials to universities and colleges to mollify opinion and "explain" the Government's Viet Nam policy. But it is doubtful if the fast talkers from the State Department can head off the growing popular resentment by turning black into white.

The wave of protest is sweeping not just America's higher institutions; it has reached all sections of the American people, from coast to coast and from the Great Lakes to the Deep South. Blue and white collar workers, doctors and artists, Negroes and whites, churchmen and housewives, as well as students and professors have raised their voice—they are in fact speaking for all Americans who refuse to see their sons, husbands or brothers shed their blood or sacrifice their lives for the benefit of Wall Street's moneybags. They are no mere "conscientious objectors" who oppose war in general; they denounce and oppose this particular war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. "Hands off Viet Nam!" and "Get out of Viet Nam—now!" have become clarion calls in the United States itself.

Anti-U.S. Struggle in S. Korea

Road to Peaceful Reunification

In an interview with the correspondent of the *Nippon Keizai Shimbun* of Japan during his recent visit to Indonesia, Premier Kim Il Sung discussed the situation in south Korea and the question of unification. He said that the peaceful reunification of Korea will be achieved through the struggle for liberation waged against U.S. imperialism by the people in the south.

The Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic has consistently adhered to the position that Korea, following the withdrawal of the U.S. army and all other foreign troops from the south, should be unified peacefully through a countrywide general election held on a democratic basis without outside interference. This, however, has always been prevented by the United States which wants to keep Korea

divided for aggressive purposes of its own.

In recent months Washington has further encroached on the rights of the Korean people by stage-managing and stepping up pressure for the conclusion of the odious and long-drawn-out talks between the U.S. stooges in Seoul and the Japanese Government. Premier Kim Il Sung has pointed out that these talks "are aimed at hampering the peaceful unification of Korea and pushing the overseas expansion of the Japanese militarist forces."

With reference to the questions affecting the relations between Korea and Japan the Korean Premier said that these are matters handed down from history and should be settled in a fair and reasonable manner after a united government of the Korean people that can represent their general will has been set up. But in the meantime the Japanese Government must make amends for its hostile policy towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea if it desires better relations between the two countries. It must terminate the "ROK-Japan talks" and abrogate all the agreements already initialled.

Premier Kim Il Sung warned that no matter how the U.S. imperialists and Japanese militarist forces may gang up together, they cannot prevent the collapse of colonial rule in south Korea. Twenty years of bitter experience have taught the people in south Korea that their present plight can only be ended through the peaceful unification of the country. This, he said, is why the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation is surging forward with such force in south Korea today.

Soviet Antics at Algiers

Post-Conference Resolution

It takes revisionists (of Marxism-Leninism) of the deepest dye to behave as did the Soviet delegation to the 4th International Teachers' Conference at Algiers. The conference was convened by the World Federation of Teachers' Unions. It met from April 8 to 16 and was attended by

67 delegations from countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Oceania. After a 9-day sitting it adopted resolutions giving expression to the common aspirations of teachers the world over—to fight "colonialism, neo-colonialism and international imperialism headed by the United States."

This was not to the liking of the Soviet revisionists. The day after the conference ended, they rail-roaded through an ordinary meeting of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, which was subject to the manipulations of Soviet Secretary Romanov, a fresh resolution contravening the spirit of the General Resolution. This so-called resolution talked of many things but not of fighting imperialism.

Throughout the conference the Soviet delegates and a handful of their hangers-on tried to confine discussion exclusively to questions of a professional and technical nature instead of relating these questions to social conditions and, in particular, to the struggle against imperialism. This was opposed by the delegations of China, Indonesia, Syria, the Sudan, Albania and other countries. When sophistry failed, the Soviet delegates and their friends did not scruple to use undemocratic methods like restricting the number and duration of speeches or indulging in such rowdy tactics as thumping desks and stamping their feet in order to disturb speakers.

But in the end the obstacles put in the way of the conference by the Soviet delegation and others were overcome thanks to energetic efforts of the Algerian, Chinese, Korean and other delegations. The conference adopted the General Resolution and among others a resolution on Viet Nam. This denounces the U.S. imperialist aggression, demands that all troops and arms of the United States and its accomplices be withdrawn from south Viet Nam, pledges full support for the March 22 Statement of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front and the stand taken by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and calls for efforts to defeat the false U.S. appeals for "peace and discussion without any preconditions."

ACROSS THE LAND

Paotow Breakthrough in Coking Technology

THE Paotow Iron and Steel Works in Inner Mongolia has succeeded in producing first-rate coke using mainly coal with a high volatile content — of which it has abundant local supplies — in place of ordinary coking coal which it had to bring in over distances, in some cases, of hundreds of kilometres.

China has vast reserves of coal but known deposits of coking coal are rather limited. The Paotow breakthrough in coking technology therefore is of immense importance for the growth of China's coal, coking and iron and steel industries.

The Paotow Works was built near a big lode of iron ore and though local reserves of coal are also big they mostly contain a high proportion of volatile matter. They were therefore considered unsuitable for coking, so coking coal was brought in to Paotow from Shansi and Hopei Provinces and even from as far afield as the northeast.

So matters might have remained. But Paotow too felt the winds of change of revolutionary thinking and a determined effort was initiated in 1963 by its leaders, technicians and workers to find out how to make use of local coal for coking. In patient investigations and some 200 tests they eventually found a way. One year's trial use of the coke produced has fully proved its suitability. Using the new method of coking, the works can supply 70 per cent of its coking ovens' needs from local sources as against the previous 10 per cent or less. Reduced transportation costs alone helped to save several million yuan last year. But there are other gains as well. Coke from local coal is in many respects better than that made from the usual coking coals. It is less liable to crumble. There are less adverse effects from coke ash during smelting, and more by-products can be extracted for the farm chemical industry.

Citing these achievements as a model to emulate in the revolution-

ary movement for scientific experimentation, *Renmin Ribao* calls editorially on all to follow this lead in "opposing metaphysics and persisting in dialectical materialism," that is, not considering things fixed for all time but subject to change.

It writes: "Fetishism and science are two opposing ideas. Under certain conditions, scientific ideas can turn into fetishes. . . . To develop science, it is necessary to break not only with what is obviously outmoded and backward, but also with what may be suitable to others but is not, or not entirely, suitable to oneself." This is what the Paotow Works has done. By taking a second, keen look at its actual situation and developing a novel process to make use of locally available resources, it has set an example of building socialism in a spirit of dialectical materialism and self-reliance.

University Worker-Students Graduate

THE first group of worker-students has graduated from the workers' course of the Shanghai University of Science and Technology.

All 74 of them were outstanding workers before they entered the university. Nearly half of them are veterans with 10 to 16 years of factory experience. After their four and a half years of systematic study, they will now go to industrial research institutes or to reinforce the technical cadres of factories.

Few of them received any regular education in the old society. Only after liberation were they able to get a middle school education in sparetime study courses. At the university they specialized in electrical engineering

and machine-building and some of them learnt foreign languages. They studied hard and overcame many difficulties in their studies due mainly to their late start. A typical example is Wang Ling-ho, who became known five years ago for making a high-voltage Schering bridge, an instrument for measuring the power factor of dielectrics or cables. From the first day of his studies he was a careful, diligent student. Whatever he learnt he put into practice as soon as possible, testing out new ideas at the workshop bench.

Over 90 per cent of the worker-students received good marks for their studies. Before graduating, all 74 did a spell of practical work in factories and, working in groups, completed diploma projects linked with this work. Kan Wei-liang, formerly a maintenance worker in a cotton mill, worked with six classmates at an electric meter factory and finished a diploma work on "group machining." This new technology gives a big boost to efficiency by enabling an automatic lathe to process dozens of different pieces of work simultaneously. Wang Ling-ho, mentioned above, designed a high precision instrument for measuring radio components which can be used



Kan Wei-liang (standing, right) and his classmates at an electric meter factory

in scientific research and in industrial production.

The Shanghai University of Science and Technology was set up in 1958 and has eight regular departments with a dozen specialities. It set up its workers' course in 1960 in answer to the call to train an army of working-class intellectuals for socialist construction, one of the goals of China's cultural revolution. Nearly 500 workers direct from the factories are enrolled in the course.

Not Food or Cotton, But Both

A COUNTY just north of the Yangtse estuary is pointing the way to higher cotton and food crop yields for cotton-producing districts all over China. A rich cotton harvest plus excellent yields in food — grain and pulses — have been the reply by Chitung in Kiangsu Province to the perennial question: should only cotton be planted in cotton-growing centres?

For years the problem of cotton versus food remained unresolved — Chitung consists of densely populated farmland which averages only 1.3 *mu* per capita — and there was a constant vying for land, fertilizer and manpower. Before 1959, cotton held the field and large quantities of grain, almost 50,000 tons, had to be brought in yearly to feed the population. Cotton yields, to make matters worse, were low.

How to increase cotton output and at the same time become self-sufficient in food was the question which the county leadership talked over with the peasants in 1960. Existing advantages were summed up: water control works had been built, rivers and gullies had been deepened, and they had a considerable fund of farming experience. All this, it was agreed, could be put to good use if inspired by bold thinking and revolutionary determination — the decisive elements.

The county leadership went into the fields; investigated, and outlined various measures that could help secure bumper crops of both cotton and food. These included: an ingenious system of crop rotation and interplanting of cotton, wheat, pulses, and maize; scientific use of fertilizer;

reasonably close planting; and effective pest control. Together, leadership, technicians and peasants set up demonstration farms which spread the most advanced area's experience to all areas and resulted in a fresh boost to the drive for bigger output. They also went to other cotton-growing centres to learn from them.

From these endeavours came a *per-mu* yield of 131 *jin* of ginned cotton last year. Half of Chitung's farmland was planted to cotton — 590,000 *mu* — but with food crops giving a record yield of 832 *jin* per *mu*, this one-time receiver of grain from the outside sold 28,250 tons of surplus grain as well as 38,250 tons of ginned cotton to the state.

Briefs

In Canton on the Pearl River estuary, a naval militia school is giving middle school students about 100 hours of basic training in navigation, naval armaments, signalling, how to operate and repair marine engines, and electrical engineering.

Self-Checking in a Textile Mill

BUILDING socialism means, among other things, those many changes in ways of thinking and doing things that are often small, but deeply significant. Two letters that recently arrived at the *Renmin Ribao* office from workers of the Jinzhou Cotton Textile Mill describe how the weavers there began to mark themselves the places where the cloth they weave has defects. They started this because they were worried that the checker might not notice the flaws which they could see as the cloth was woven. They did not care that this "self-criticism" might bring their work record down a few points or reduce their good work bonuses. What they want is better cloth for the people.

Chang Chin-yu, who has worked in the industry for 14 years, frankly relates his hesitation when the idea first cropped up. He knew, he writes, that the mill was the people's and so was the cloth; but the work was his. He took a pride in his work and sometimes did not quite like it when the checkers spotted flaws in it. One

As with other militiamen, their basic course is a study of Mao Tse-tung's concept of the strategy and tactics of people's war.

The salt-making season has begun in Hopei, Kiangsu and Shantung, China's major producing provinces where salt is made by solar evaporation from sea water. Hopei's Changlu saltfield now has in full use 80 thousand hectares of crystallizing pans.

Special after-midnight services are being run on 32 bus and trolley-bus routes in Peking. This is for the convenience of night shift workers. With the new upsurge of industrial production more and more of the capital's factories are operating three shifts.

More than 6,000 articles were displayed at a recent handicraft exhibition in Canton. They included ivory carvings, glazed pottery and fine needlework, as well as articles of everyday use, such as farm tools and small metalware products.

of the factors that helped him make up his mind was that he had recently been reading the passage in Chairman Mao's article "Serve the people" which says: "If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and subjected to criticism, because we are serving the people."

This impressed on him once again that the people's interests were his interests; a flaw was a flaw for all. And he resolutely marked the places where his cloth did not come up to standard. In good communist fashion, moreover, he coupled this with an added and successful drive to make better cloth.

Another worker, Wei Hsing-cheng, deals in his letter with this latter aspect of this new workers' initiative. While weaving, he found he was able to spot and mark more of the repairable defects in his cloth than the regular checker. In this way more defects were repaired, and so the quality of his cloth was improved. This was a gain not only in productivity but in a finer socialist morality.

China Scores Big Successes

China's players carried off five titles at the 28th World Table Tennis Championships held from April 15 to 25 in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia. This was New China's biggest victory since participating in the World Championships for the first time in 1953. The men retained the team championship and the singles and doubles titles. The women for the first time captured the team championship and doubles title. Chinese players were runners-up too in the men's and women's singles, men's doubles and mixed doubles. The results for the seven contested events are:

Men's Team Championship: 1. China, 2. Japan, 3. the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and 4. Yugoslavia.

Women's Team Championship: 1. China, 2. Japan, 3. England, and 4. Rumania.

Men's Singles: 1. Chuang Tse-tung (China), 2. Li Fu-jung (China), 3. Chou Lan-sun (China) and Eberhard Schoeler (West Germany).

Women's Singles: 1. Naoko Fukazu (Japan), 2. Lin Hui-ching (China),

3. Li Li (China) and Noriko Yamanaka (Japan).

Men's Doubles: 1. Chuang Tse-tung/Hsu Yin-sheng (China), 2. Chang Hsieh-lin/Wang Chih-liang (China), 3. Li Fu-jung/Wang Chia-sheng (China) and Chou Lan-sun/Yu Chang-chun (China).

Women's Doubles: 1. Lin Hui-ching/Cheng Min-chih (China), 2. Masako Seki/Noriko Yamanaka (Japan), 3. Liang Li-chen/Li Honan (China) and Li Li/Feng Meng-ya (China).

Mixed Doubles: 1. Koji Kimura/Masako Seki (Japan), 2. Chang Hsieh-lin/Lin Hui-ching (China), 3. Chuang Tse-tung/Liang Li-chen (China) and Ken Konaka/Naoko Fukazu (Japan).

Men's and Women's Singles

The five individual events were keenly contested after the team events ended. (China took both the men's and women's team titles. See P.R., No. 17, p.29 for details.) In the finals, all matches, except the men's doubles, went up to the full five games before the winners were known. China's Chuang Tse-tung showed excellent form as he fought

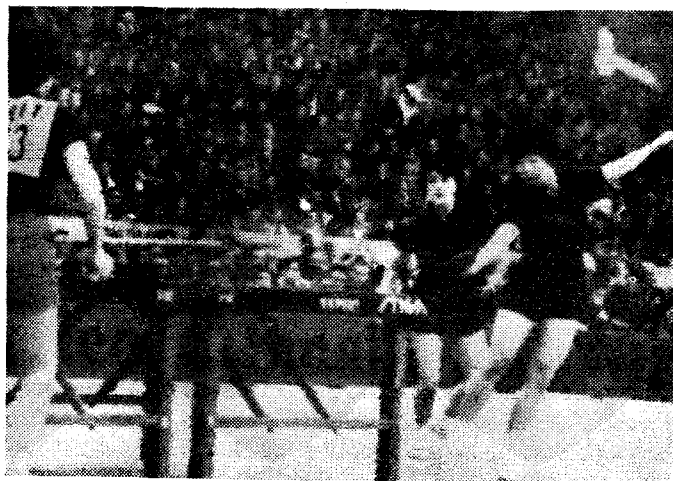
his way to win the singles title for the third time running. China thus captured the title for the fourth time in succession. With dazzling speed, Chuang overwhelmed Japan's Hiroshi Takahashi 3:0 in the quarter-finals. Takahashi had defeated him earlier in the men's team finals 2:0. But Chuang Tse-tung rose to the

occasion in the singles and proved himself a worthy champion in a contest of determination, speed and powerful smashes. He defeated his opponent in a little more than 20 minutes (21:18, 21:8, 21:15). A highlight of this encounter was in the last game when the score stood at 13:12 in Takahashi's favour. Chuang Tse-tung delivered eight smashes in succession to equalize the score. From then on he added point after point to win, dropping only two more points to his opponent. In the semi-finals Chuang Tse-tung went on to defeat Eberhard Schoeler of West Germany 3:0.

The finals saw Chuang Tse-tung pitted against his compatriot and old rival Li Fu-jung, runner-up in this event in both the 26th and 27th World Championships. In a match typical of Chinese all-out attacking players, Chuang Tse-tung beat back Li Fu-jung's challenge for the world title. Both players traded smashes and in four minutes Chuang Tse-tung took the first game 21:18. Attacking for all he was worth, Li took the next game 21:14 to make the games' score 1-all. Chuang then won the next game 23:21 to take the lead but Li still had plenty of fight in him and took the fourth game 21:19 to level the score. In the fifth and decisive game Chuang's lightning attack gave him a slight edge over Li and he won the game and the match 21:15.

Competition in the women's singles was every bit as keen as that in the men's. The finals of this event was between Naoko Fukazu of Japan and Lin Hui-ching of China, two players using contrasting styles. Fukazu who is making her debut at the World Championships, uses a pen-holder grip and favours an attacking game while Lin uses the handshake grip and relies mainly on chopping returns. The Japanese girl won the first two games 21:12 and 21:17 but Lin Hui-ching, unruffled, took the third and fourth games 21:15 and 21:13. However, in the fifth and deciding game Fukazu's steady drives and heavy smashes won her a 21:16 victory and the women's singles title.

China's 19-year-old Li Li, another player making her first appearance



Lin Hui-ching (returning the ball) and Cheng Min-chih winning their 3:2 victory over Japan's Masako Seki and Noriko Yamanaka in the finals of the women's doubles

at the World Championships, did extremely well. She eliminated the European champion Eva Foldy 3:0 (22:20, 21:17, 21:16) in the fourth round and Japan's Masako Seki, seeded No. 3, 3:0 (21:15, 21:17, 21:15) in the quarter-finals.

Men's and Women's Doubles

In the men's doubles, the semi-finals had four pairs of players from the same country — China. This was something that has never happened before in this event at the World Championships. The finals saw Chuang Tse-tung and Hsu Yin-sheng defeat the reigning world doubles champions Chang Hsieh-lin and Wang Cih-liang 3:0 (21:15, 21:13, 21:13).

The steady, spin returns of China's Lin Hui-ching and Cheng Min-chih in the finals of the women's doubles proved effective against Masako Seki and Noriko Yamanaka of Japan. The Chinese girls gave heavy spins to the ball as they chopped it back to their opponents who tried their best to press home with forceful attacks. The Chinese



Chinese men and women players with the five cups they won at the World Championships

girls won a hard-fought match 3:2 (21:15, 6:21, 21:11, 16:21, 21:19). This was the first time that Chinese players took the W.J. Pope Trophy.

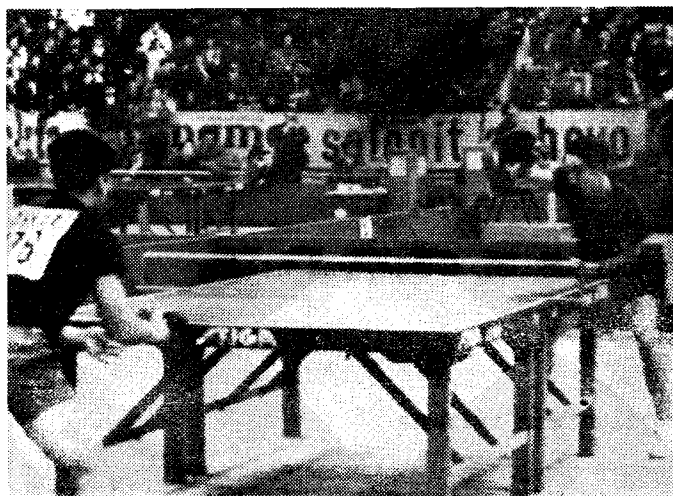
The finals of the mixed doubles was another encounter between Chinese and Japanese players. Despite her strenuous matches in the finals of the women's singles and doubles, Lin Hui-ching played a magnificent game with Chang Hsieh-lin against Japan's Koji Kimura and Masako Seki who were fully extended to five games to win the match 3:2 (21:13, 18:21, 21:23, 21:12, 21:18).

ships, their men's team defeated such strong opponents as Yugoslavia, Sweden, England and Hungary to finish third in the men's team championship. In their match against the Japanese men's team, Kim Yung Sam defeated Japan's Hiroshi Takahashi 2:1 and Pak Sin Il defeated Ken Konaka 2:0. In the men's singles contests, Pak Sin Il caused a major upset when he eliminated Japan's former world champion Ichiro Ogimura 3:0 in a duel of forehand drives.

The 28th World Championships witnessed a high level of play and the rapid progress that has been made by all the participating teams. As Jung Kao-tang, leader of the Chinese teams, pointed out after the contests, the pen-holder grip players showed greater speed, power, accuracy and more varied tactics. The handshake grip players, on their part, had a steadier defence, with a greater variety of spins and ability to mount counter-attacks with both forehand and backhand drives. Jung Kao-tang praised the players of Japan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other countries for their outstanding progress which would ensure a still higher standard of play in the forthcoming championships.

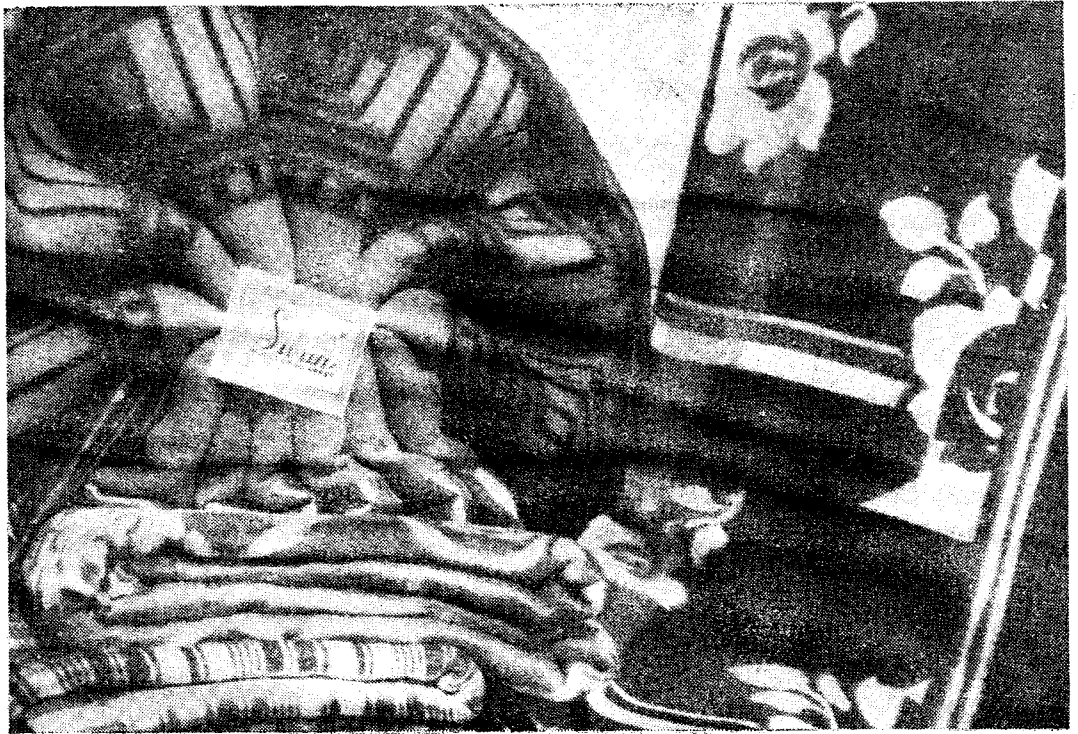
High Level of Play

Though the top honours went to China and Japan, players from other lands gave a good account of themselves. The performance of the players from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea deserves special mention. Though it was only the third time that they were taking part in the World C h a m p i o n -



World singles champion Chuang Tse-tung (facing camera) in action against Japan's Takahashi whom he defeated 3:0 in the quarter-finals

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