

PEKING REVIEW

6

February 4, 1966

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報

Chairman Liu Shao-chi Replies To President Ho Chi Minh

To whatever extent the U.S. may expand the war and whatever the cost, the Chinese people will stand by the Vietnamese people in a joint struggle to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Whom Is the Soviet Leadership Taking United Action With?

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

February 4, 1966 Vol. IX No. 6

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February 4, 1966

THE WEEK

U.S. Persecution of Negro Leader Protested

William Epton, Vice-President of the U.S. Progressive Labour Party, was sentenced by the New York State authorities on January 27 to one-year imprisonment for his part in the Negro struggle against police violence. Earlier, after being arrested in July 1964, this American Negro leader was convicted on charges of "conspiring to advocate criminal anarchy and conspiring to riot" and was thrown into jail last December (see *Peking Review*, No. 1, p. 25).

Commenting on this ruthless persecution, *Renmin Ribao* on January 29 denounced the sentencing of Epton as "another fascist crime against the American people" which "once again shows that the Johnson Administration is a wholehearted defender of the American system of racial oppression."

Renmin Ribao's commentary went on to say that Johnson always looked pious and pretended to be sympathetic to the American Negroes whenever he touched on the Negro question. But his real policy was one of intensified persecution and suppression of the Negro people. While Johnson was speaking hypocritically about the elimination of racial discrimination in his State of the Union Message, a leader of the American Negro movement was put in jail. "This," the commentary said, "reveals Johnson as a most cynical and shameless hypocrite." The commentary said that Washington would be disappointed if it thought that, by persecuting Epton, it could check the American Negroes' struggle for liberation and the American people's movement against the aggressive war in Vietnam. It declared: "Such a fascist act can only add fuel to the wrath of the American Negroes and all progressive people in the United States."

Chinese Jurists Protest. The Political Science and Law Association of China issued a statement on January 26 strongly protesting against the framed-up trial and jailing of William Epton. It expressed the Chinese jurists' resolute support for the struggle of the American Negroes and demanded Epton's immediate release.

The statement said that Johnson's "Civil Rights Bill" and American "democracy" and "freedom" were out-and-out frauds. It hailed the American Negroes now rising to fight back and struggle for equality and democratic rights. It predicted that the American people would become stronger as they were tempered in struggle. "They are not alone. A great new storm against U.S. imperialism is rising throughout the world."

Afro-Asian Solidarity Unbreakable

The All-China Journalists' Association, in a statement made by its spokesman on January 26, refuted the unwarranted attack by the Indonesian Journalists' Association concerning the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association's withdrawal from Djakarta and its secretaries' coming to Peking. The spokesman said that the attack was part of the Indonesian Rightists' anti-Chinese activities but it could never undermine the solidarity between the Asian and African peoples.

The A.A.J.A. headquarters, located in Djakarta for more than two years, was unable to carry out its daily work since last October because of growing obstacles and interference by the Indonesian Right-wing forces and was compelled to temporarily withdraw from Indonesia. As a result of help given by the Chinese journalists' association, the A.A.J.A.'s permanent secretaries came to Peking where

Strong Protest to British Government

China has again lodged a strong protest with the British Government for offering Hongkong as a base of operations to the United States for expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and for making war threats against the People's Republic of China. The protest was contained in a note handed to the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking on February 1.

The note says that two nuclear-powered U.S. naval vessels — the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* and the warship *Bainbridge* — taking part in the war of aggression against Vietnam, arrived in Hongkong on January 26. By January 31, there were assembled in Hongkong nine U.S. warships which will again proceed to the seas off Vietnam to join in operations. The note drew attention to the fact that the frequent visits to Hongkong by U.S. naval ships took place at a time when the United States is steadily expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam, brazenly declaring on January 31 the resumption of its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and wildly clamouring for an attack on China. Henry L. Miller, commander of U.S. Carrier Divi-

sion 3, who is stationed on the *Enterprise*, met correspondents in Hongkong and shouted about war and made nuclear threats. "All the facts show," says the note, "that the United States is more unscrupulously using Hongkong as a base of operation in its war of aggression against Vietnam and attempting further to use Hongkong as a spring-board for its future attack on China's mainland."

The note recalls that on September 1, 1965, the Chinese Government lodged a stern protest with the British Government against the latter's allowing the United States to use Hongkong as a base for aggression. The British Government equivocated in its reply note, but the fact is that, instead of taking effective measures to check various U.S. war preparations in Hongkong, it has since gone further to allow the United States to use Hongkong as a base for expanding its aggressive war and for threatening China's security. According to reports, in 1965 U.S. aggressor warships entered Hongkong more than 300 vessel/times, and in the period between November 1965 and January 1966 the number was more than 100 vessel/times.

The Chinese note stresses: "U.S. activities of war preparation in Hongkong involve grave consequences for Hongkong. In the circumstances in which China's security is being increasingly menaced, the Chinese Government wishes once again to advise the British Government to weigh carefully the advantages and disadvantages, the gains and losses. The British Government must immediately take effective measures to stop all U.S. activities of war preparation in Hongkong and prevent Hongkong from serving as a base for U.S. aggressive activities any more. If the British Government refuses to come to its senses, but willingly acts as an accomplice of the U.S. aggressors and insists on being hostile to the peoples of Vietnam, China and the Southeast Asian countries, it will certainly eat the bitter fruits of its own making."

Renmin Ribao published an article by Commentator on January 31 warning the British Government for putting Hongkong at the disposal of the U.S. aggressors and for becoming more deeply involved than ever in the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

they have a temporary office (see *Peking Review*, No. 4, 1966).

The spokesman of the All-China Journalists' Association refuted the Indonesian Journalists' Association's vicious slanders on China's so-called "unilateral action in moving the headquarters of the A.A.J.A. from Djakarta to Peking." Reiterating that the All-China Journalists' Association, as one of the secretaries of the A.A.J.A., fully supported all the decisions and recent statements by the A.A.J.A. Secretariat, he said: "It is our duty to provide all facilities for the normal functioning of the Secretariat." He went on to say that the Indonesian Journalists' Association, reorganized last November, had in the first place alleged that the A.A.J.A. Secretariat was under the control of the "September 30 Move-

ment" and that it had adopted a decision demanding that the Secretariat re-examine the choice of secretary-general and acting secretary-general. This amounted to putting pressure on the Secretariat to accept someone specially appointed by the Indonesian Journalists' Association as the acting secretary-general. "This," the spokesman said, "completely revealed its desire to control and dominate the A.A.J.A."

The spokesman also said that the new leadership of the Indonesian Journalists' Association, which had seized control at a time when many progressive newspapers were closed down and a large number of progressive journalists were arrested and massacred, would never be able to sabotage the great traditional friendship between the Chinese and In-

donesian peoples or undermine the unity between the Afro-Asian journalists, no matter what anti-Chinese activities it might resort to.

Chinese Leaders Greet India's National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai on January 25 sent messages to Indian President Sarva-palli Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Mme. Indira Gandhi respectively, congratulating them on India's National Day (January 26). The Chinese leaders wished the Republic of India prosperity and its people happiness.

On the same day, Premier Chou sent another message to Mme. Indira Gandhi greeting her on the assump-

(Continued on p. 22.)

China Resolutely Supports D.R.V.'s Just Stand

— Chairman Liu Shao-chi Replies to President Ho Chi Minh —

- U.S. aim is to turn southern Vietnam into its colony and military base and perpetuate the partition of Vietnam. So long as the United States does not give up its aim of occupying southern Vietnam, it will only be playing tricks to hoodwink people, no matter how many points it may put forward for a "peaceful settlement" of the Vietnam question.
- If the Vietnam question is to be settled, the United States must act in accordance with the four-point stand of the Government of the D.R.V., stop its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw its own forces and those of its vassal countries from southern Vietnam, recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the only genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people and let the Vietnamese people settle their own problems by themselves.
- To whatever extent U.S. imperialism may expand its war and whatever may be the price we have to pay, the 650 million Chinese people will stand by the fraternal Vietnamese people in a joint struggle to thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Peking, January 30, 1966

**Comrade Ho Chi Minh,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
Hanoi.**

Respected and Dear Comrade President,

I have received your letter of January 24 in which you strongly condemn the barbarous war of aggression waged by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, thoroughly expose the peace plot of the Johnson Administration, reiterate the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for a settlement of the Vietnam question and express the Vietnamese people's determination to fight resolutely to the finish and never to submit to the U.S. imperialists' threats. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam set forth in your letter.

U.S. imperialist aggression is the root cause of the present grave situation in Vietnam. It is clear to all that, according to the 1954 Geneva agreements, the Vietnam question should have already been settled. But the United States has thoroughly trampled underfoot the Geneva agreements under which it has assumed obligations. It has fostered its puppet regimes in southern Vietnam, obstructed the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, slaughtered or imprisoned hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese patriots and launched an inhuman "special war" against the south Vietnamese people. As it failed to win the "special war," it has sent

over huge forces for direct aggression in southern Vietnam and employed its air force units to bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Obviously, the aim of the United States is to turn southern Vietnam into its colony and military base and perpetuate the partition of Vietnam.

Recently, while escalating and intensifying its aggression against southern Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has suddenly assumed a posture of loving peace, "temporarily" stopped its bombing of northern Vietnam, put forward its 14 points for the "peaceful settlement" of the Vietnam question and sent a large number of officials to advertise everywhere the U.S. "sincere desire for peace." However, empty talk about peace can in no way conceal the facts of aggression. The Johnson Administration has on many occasions proclaimed that the United States will never abandon its policy of aggression against Vietnam, and that it "will stay" in southern Vietnam. It is clear that so long as the United States does not give up its aim of seizing southern Vietnam for itself, it will only be playing tricks to hoodwink people and using different means to achieve this aim, no matter how many points it may put forward and what stuff it may put into its "basket of peace."

If the Vietnam question is to be settled, the United States must truly abide by the Geneva agreements. The four-point stand for a settlement of the Vietnam question set forth by the Government of the Democratic

Republic of Vietnam is a concentrated expression of the essence of the Geneva agreements. If the U.S. Government really has any sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question, it should act in accordance with this four-point stand, stop its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all its own forces and those of its vassal countries from southern Vietnam, recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the only genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people and let the Vietnamese people settle their own problems by themselves. But so far there has been no indication that the United States is ready to do so. On the contrary, it is continuing to send aggressive reinforcements to southern Vietnam, pursuing there the still more barbarous "scorched earth" policy of "burn all, destroy all, kill all," and extending the flames of its war of aggression against Vietnam to Laos and Cambodia step by step. This shows that the United States does not really want a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question but is using these "peace offensives" to cover up its designs of intensified expansion of its war of aggression.

Respected and Dear Comrade President! The great struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggres-

sion and for national salvation is perfectly just. Your heroic deeds have inspired all revolutionary peoples, and your struggle has won the extensive sympathy and support of the peace-loving countries and people of the whole world. It is certainly not the Vietnamese people fighting for independence and freedom, but the U.S. imperialists persisting in policies of aggression and war, who are really isolated. The facts will prove that the farther U.S. imperialism goes along its path of war expansion, the nearer it will approach the day of its thorough defeat. China and Vietnam are neighbours closely related like the lips and the teeth; our two peoples are brothers sharing weal and woe. The Chinese people always unswervingly stand together with the Vietnamese people and wholeheartedly support and assist them in their just struggle. To whatever extent U.S. imperialism may expand its war and whatever may be the price we have to pay, we 650 million Chinese people will stand by the fraternal Vietnamese people in a joint struggle to thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Liu Shao-chi

Chairman of the People's Republic of China

President Ho Chi Minh Writes to Chairman Liu Shao-chi

President Ho reaffirms the stand of the D.R.V. Government: so long as the U.S. army of aggression still remains on Vietnamese soil, the Vietnamese people will resolutely fight against it. He exposes Washington's "search for peace" as a manoeuvre to cover up its schemes for intensified war of aggression. Washington's 14 points mean nothing more than that the United States intends to hang on in south Vietnam. He strongly protests against the Johnson Administration's extremely barbarous methods of warfare and calls on all peace-loving governments and peoples to stay the hand of the U.S. war criminals. He firmly believes that the fraternal Chinese people and Government will give increased support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's just struggle and resolutely condemn the U.S. Government's peace tricks.

Hanoi, January 24, 1966

**Comrade Liu Shao-chi,
Chairman of the People's Republic of China,
Peking.**

Dear Comrade Chairman,

I have the honour to call your attention to the war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists in our country, Vietnam.

As is known to you, over the past 11 years and more, the U.S. imperialists have been seriously sabotaging the 1954 Geneva agreements and preventing

the peaceful reunification of Vietnam in an attempt to turn south Vietnam into a U.S. new-type colony and military base. They are now waging a war of aggression and barbarously repressing the patriotic struggle of our fellow-countrymen in the south. At the same time, they try to draw experiences from this war to repress the national-liberation movement in other countries.

In an endeavour to get out of the quagmire in south Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have massively increased the strength of the U.S. expeditionary corps and sent in troops from a number of their satellites

to wage direct aggression in south Vietnam. They have also launched air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country and a member of the socialist camp.

While intensifying and extending the war of aggression in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are clamouring about their "desire for peace" and their "readiness to engage in unconditional discussions," in the hope of fooling world public opinion and the American people. Recently, the Johnson Administration has initiated a so-called "search for peace," and put forward a 14-point proposal. As an excuse for its war of aggression in south Vietnam, it claims that it is "keeping its commitments" to the Saigon puppet administration. It slanders the patriotic struggle of the people of south Vietnam, calling it "an aggression by north Vietnam." This deceitful contention can in no way rub out the solemn declaration made by the United States in Geneva in 1954 that "it will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them (i.e., the Geneva agreements)." Still less can President Johnson's hypocritical allegations conceal the U.S. crimes in Vietnam.

The United States talks about respecting the Geneva agreements. But one of the main provisions of the said agreements bans the introduction of foreign troops into Vietnam. If the United States really respects the agreements, it must withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from south Vietnam.

It is crystal clear that the United States is the aggressor who is trampling underfoot Vietnamese soil. The people of south Vietnam are the victims of aggression and are fighting in self-defence. If the United States really wants peace, it must recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of the people of south Vietnam, and engage in negotiations with it. In accordance with the aspirations of the people of south Vietnam and the spirit of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, the National Front for Liberation is fighting to achieve independence, democracy, peace, and neutrality in south Vietnam, and to advance towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. If the United States really respects the right to self-determination of the people of south Vietnam, it cannot but approve this correct programme of the National Front for Liberation.

The 14 points of the United States boil down in essence to this: the United States is trying hard to cling to south Vietnam, to maintain there the puppet administration rigged up by it, and to perpetuate the partition of Vietnam.

In his January 12, 1966 message read before the U.S. Congress, President Johnson affirmed that it was the policy of the United States not to pull out of south Vietnam, and he forced the Vietnamese people to choose between "peace and the ravages of a conflict." That is an impudent threat, an attempt to impose on the Vietnamese people the conditions of the so-called U.S. "unconditional discussions."

The Vietnamese people will never submit to the U.S. imperialists' threats.

At the very moment when the U.S. Government puts forward the so-called new "peace efforts," it is frantically increasing the U.S. strength in south Vietnam. It is stepping up the terrorist raids, resorting to the "scorched earth" policy, burning all, destroying all, killing all, using napalm bombs, poison gases and toxic chemicals to burn down villages and massacre the civilian population in vast areas of south Vietnam.

I strongly protest against such extremely barbarous methods of warfare. I earnestly call on all peace-loving governments and peoples the world over to resolutely stay the hands of the U.S. war criminals.

The United States keeps sending its planes on espionage flights in preparation for new air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On the other hand, it is launching air attacks on many areas in the Kingdom of Laos, and multiplying armed provocations against the Kingdom of Cambodia, thus posing an even more serious menace to peace in Indo-China.

Obviously, the U.S. "search for peace" is only designed to conceal its schemes for intensified war of aggression. The Johnson Administration's stand remains: aggression and expansion of the war.

To settle the Vietnam question, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has put forward the four-point stand which is an expression of the essential provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam. This is a stand of peace.

Having gone through over 20 years of war, the Vietnamese people desire peace more eagerly than anyone else to build their life. But real peace can by no means be dissociated from genuine independence. So long as the U.S. army of aggression still remains on our soil, our people will resolutely fight against it. If the U.S. Government really wants a peaceful settlement, it must accept the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and prove this by actual deeds: it must end unconditionally and for good all bombing raids and other war acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Only in this way can a political solution to the Vietnam problem be envisaged.

Dear Comrade Chairman,

So far, in the spirit of international solidarity, the people and Government of the fraternal People's Republic of China have been giving wholehearted support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for the defence of their independence and freedom. On behalf of the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I wish to express our deep gratitude to the people and Government of the fraternal People's Republic of China.

In face of the extremely serious situation brought about by the United States in Vietnam, I firmly believe

that the people and Government of the fraternal People's Republic of China will extend increased support and assistance to our people's just struggle, resolutely condemn the U.S. Government's sham peace tricks, and check in time all new perfidious manoeuvres of the United States in Vietnam and Indo-China.

I take this opportunity to renew to you, Comrade Chairman, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Ho Chi Minh
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Appendix :

The Four-Point Stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

IT is the unswerving policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to strictly respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, and to correctly implement their basic provisions as embodied in the following points:

1. Reaffirmation of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. In accordance with the Geneva agreements, the U.S. Government must withdraw all U.S. troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds from south Vietnam, dismantle all U.S. military bases there, cancel its "military alliance" with south Vietnam. The U.S. Government must end its policy of intervention and aggression in south Vietnam. In accordance with the Geneva agreements, the U.S. Government must stop its acts of war against north Vietnam, cease all encroachments on the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

2. Pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, while Vietnam is still temporarily divided into two zones, the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, and there must be no foreign military bases, troops and military personnel on their respective territory.

3. The internal affairs of south Vietnam must be settled by the people of south Vietnam themselves, in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation without any foreign interference.

4. The peaceful reunification of Vietnam is to be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones, without any foreign interference.

This stand unquestionably enjoys the approval and support of all peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples in the world.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is of the view that the above-expounded stand is the basis for the soundest political settlement of the Vietnam problem. If this basis is recognized, favourable conditions will be created for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem and it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares that any approach contrary to the above-mentioned stand is inappropriate; any approach tending to secure a U.N. intervention in the Vietnam situation is also inappropriate because such approaches are basically at variance with the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam.

(From the Report of Premier Pham Van Dong at the session of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on April 8, 1965.)

Johnson Resumes Bombing of North Vietnam

The Biggest Hypocrite and Butcher Of Our Times

THE Johnson Administration has resumed its savage bombing of north Vietnam after completing its war expansion deployment.

Nobody was surprised at this action by U.S. imperialism. Clear-sighted people saw through Washington's "peace offensive" long ago as nothing but a smokescreen to cover up the further expansion of its war of aggres-

sion in Vietnam. It was only a matter of time before the whole scheme was revealed. Now, by its own action, the Johnson Administration has completely exposed its "peace talks" fraud which it tried so hard to sell.

Long ago Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "When we say 'imperialism is ferocious,' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will

From Aug. 5, 1964
to Jan. 31, 1966,
the D.R.V. shot down

857 U.S. planes



never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom." Today, the developments in the Vietnam situation once again prove this truth.

Simultaneous with the resumption of its bombing of north Vietnam, the Johnson Administration has launched "five major operations" in south Vietnam to expand its war of aggression in Vietnam still further.

The hideous features of the aggressors have once again been fully brought to light. U.S. imperialism is the biggest hypocrite and butcher of our times.

The heroic Vietnamese people have been well tempered and steeled in their long years of struggle against imperialist aggression. They are neither frightened by the U.S. imperialist colossus, nor are they taken in by the honeyed words of the Johnson Administration. As soon as Washington's "peace talks" fraud was trotted out, the Vietnamese people sternly exposed it for what it was and stood waiting in full battle array, ready to give the aggressors a firm rebuff. The first day the Johnson Administration resumed its bombing, the people of north Vietnam shot down five enemy planes. This fresh victory of the Vietnamese people is a forceful punishment for the U.S. aggressors.

The resumption of bombing shows that U.S. imperialism is at the end of a blind alley on the question of Vietnam and that it is vainly hoping that it can get out of its difficulties by expanding the war. However, this can only bring about a bigger defeat for the U.S. aggressors. No matter how the Johnson Administration may struggle, it cannot change the situation that the Vietnamese people will win and U.S. imperialism will be defeated.

Since U.S. imperialism is determined to fight a large-scale war in Vietnam, what should the peoples of the world do? There can be only one answer from them: Resolutely support the Vietnamese people and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors! The Chinese people have always stood together with the Vietnamese people. To whatever extent U.S. imperialism may expand the war and whatever may be the price we have to pay, we will resolutely support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to the end, until this struggle wins final victory.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, February 1.*)

U.N. Has No Right Whatsoever to Discuss Vietnam Question

WHILE U.S. aircraft are raining bombs on north Vietnam, U.S. aggressor troops have gone on a rampage in the south. At this time, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations has again shamelessly dished up the "unconditional discussions" proposal which smells to high heaven and presented it as a "draft resolution" to the U.N. Security Council.

Whom can U.S. imperialism deceive by asking the United Nations to discuss the Vietnam question at this

moment, putting up a front of "upholding international peace"? No amount of sophistry can cover up its crime of quickening the pace for a widening war of aggression against Vietnam.

The Vietnam question has nothing to do with the United Nations. No country in the world has the right to ask the United Nations to discuss this question, still less U.S. imperialism whose place as the chief culprit in aggression against Vietnam should be in the dock.

The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has pointed out that "on the international plane, consideration of the U.S. war acts in Vietnam falls within the competence of the 1954 Geneva conference on Indo-China, and not of the U.N. Security Council. Any resolution by the U.N. Security Council intervening in the Vietnam question will be null and void." The Chinese people resolutely support this unshakable stand of Vietnam. Should anyone, disregarding this solemn affirmation of the Vietnamese people, continue to make eyes at U.S. imperialism or even join up with it, he will only succeed in revealing even more clearly his evil nature.

The Vietnam question can only be solved in accordance with the principles and spirit of the Geneva agreements. Under present conditions, these principles and spirit find their concentrated expression in the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. All U.S. aggressors must quit S. Vietnam without exception; Vietnam's affairs must be settled by the Vietnamese themselves. The United States will never succeed in its attempt to use the United Nations to help it in its war of aggression against Vietnam!

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, February 2, 1966.*)

Whom Is the Soviet Leadership Taking United Action With?

by OBSERVER

WHAT sort of ware is the Soviet leaders' much-advertised "united action"? This time the answer was provided by U.S. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey in his television talk on January 16.

Accompanied by U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Humphrey recently conferred in New Delhi with Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers. This was one of the most important contacts between leaders of the Soviet and U.S. Governments since the fall of Khrushchov. Humphrey disclosed that his meeting with Kosygin was "frank and candid. It was polite, reasonable." Such talks were "always helpful to the common cause of peace," he said. "Looking ahead for the next several years," he added, U.S.-Soviet relations "can and should be improved."

Capitulationist Line

"Responsible Citizen of the World Community." If Humphrey's remarks are a bit guarded about the true state of U.S.-Soviet collusion and the capitulationist line of the Soviet leaders, statements by other high-ranking U.S. officials are much more outspoken. Back on December 7, 1965, Rusk said: "We can take seriously the discussion of peaceful coexistence by the Soviet Union." On December 9, Averell Harriman said that the United States and the Soviet Union had been brought "closer together" and they would "work in parallel together." Earlier, on October 21, 1965, U.S. chief delegate to NATO Harlan Cleveland went even further. He praised "the Soviet Union's conversion

from ambitious outlaw to responsible citizen of the world community."

Indisputable facts prove that the new Soviet leadership has gone further than Khrushchov along the road of U.S.-Soviet collaboration. U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary global strategy has the active support of the Soviet leaders.

"Parallel" Actions. The United States and the Soviet Union have lately taken a series of steps in Asia which the Western press has described as "parallel" actions. The new items in the collusion between the Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialists in Asia include the vigorous peddling of Johnson's "unconditional discussions," the much-vaunted Tashkent talks, and the fast-developing "Japanese-Soviet amity."

The Soviet Leaders' Stand on the Vietnam Question

On the Vietnam question, the Soviet leaders have been steadily going hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, busily running errands on behalf of Johnson's "peace talks" intrigues.

Background to Shelepin's Visit to Vietnam. The Soviet delegation to Vietnam headed by A.N. Shelepin arrived in Hanoi amid the fanfare of "peace offensive" trumpets blown loudly by the Johnson Administration. What was Shelepin's attitude to this gigantic fraud, this monstrous conspiracy of U.S. imperialism? He did not expose it, still less did he condemn it. But on the other

hand the Soviet press, for obvious ulterior purposes, went out of its way during this period to extol the so-called "Tashkent spirit," advocating "the settlement of questions through negotiations." The "Tashkent spirit," it proclaimed, "far exceeds the confines of the Indian subcontinent"; it even said that it was also "of great importance" to the whole of Southeast Asia. This kind of propaganda in the Soviet papers had the clear implication that the Vietnamese people ought to sit down at the conference table with the U.S. aggressors while allowing the latter to continue their occupation of south Vietnam.

"Events in Vietnam Constitute a Menace to Peace"? If Shelepin felt it inconvenient to echo the Johnson Administration's "peace offensive" openly in Hanoi, the Soviet leaders felt no such restraint in the Soviet-Japanese talks in Moscow. The joint Soviet-Japanese communique said not a single word about U.S. imperialism's aggression against Vietnam; instead, it declared in general terms that the two sides "stressed that the events in Vietnam constitute a menace to peace." There is nothing surprising in the Japanese reactionaries saying this. The surprising thing is that the Soviet leaders should join the Japanese reactionaries in saying it. People may well ask: Since it is clearly U.S. aggression that constitutes the "menace to peace" on the Vietnam question, how can the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation in any way "menace" peace? Without distinguishing between the aggressor and its victim, between the just and the unjust, the Soviet leaders have joined with the Japanese reactionaries in charging that "the events in Vietnam constitute a menace to peace." This provides fresh proof of their effort to extinguish the Vietnamese people's raging, fiery struggle by putting up a pretence of "defending peace," and thereby to bring the Vietnam question within the orbit of U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

The U.S. imperialists, to say the least, understand and appreciate the Soviet leaders' intentions. Following the Kosygin-Humphrey talks, McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to the U.S. President, was frank when he said on January 16: "It has been made clear to us over a long period of time that the Soviet Government hopes there can be a peaceful settlement [in Vietnam]." Humphrey also openly expressed the desire that the Soviet Union would exert "a moderating influence" on the Vietnam question. The nature of the shady deal the Soviet leaders are trying to make with the U.S. imperialists is as clear as daylight.

The So-Called "Tashkent Spirit"

Tashkent Talks — Product of Joint U.S.-Soviet Plotting. The Tashkent talks, which were initiated by the Soviet leaders, were also a product of joint U.S.-Soviet plotting. As soon as Moscow put forward the proposal for such a conference, Washington voiced approval. And the Johnson Administration lost no time in acclaiming the "Tashkent Declaration" when it was signed. Hum-

phrey said without any reservation over television: "That was well done . . . I expressed the commendation of our Government to Mr. Kosygin."

Attempt to Weaken the United Struggle Against Imperialism in Asia and Africa. During the India-Pakistan conflict, both the United States and the Soviet Union instigated and encouraged the Indian aggressors, and crudely pressured Pakistan which was acting in self-defence to safeguard its sovereignty. Why did they work hard in close co-ordination afterwards to bring the Indian and Pakistan leaders together to "make peace"? The truth is the Soviet leaders went to all that trouble to conjure up a "Tashkent spirit" for the simple reason that they wanted to continue backing up the Indian reactionaries and to use that "spirit" to publicize their general line of "peaceful coexistence," in order to weaken the united struggle against imperialism in Asia and Africa. As far as U.S. imperialism was concerned, its purpose was to make common cause against China and push ahead with its global strategy, utilizing the Soviet leaders' intervention in Asian affairs. The *New York Times* has pointed out that the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union "seem to coincide" on the India-Pakistan question. This remark pinpoints the reason for their united action.

"Japanese-Soviet Amity"

An Important Step in Pursuit of the Policy of U.S.-Soviet Collaboration for World Domination. The Soviet leaders' stepped-up collusion with the Japanese reactionaries is an important step in pursuit of their policy of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination.

In the past year, the Soviet leaders have shown a special eagerness to express "friendship" towards the Sato government. The recent Soviet-Japanese talks were a great demonstration of the Soviet leaders' eagerness for "Japanese-Soviet amity." Ignoring the rapid revival of Japanese militarism under U.S. sponsorship, ignoring the fact that the "Japan-South Korea Treaty" is an instrument of aggression directed against the Korean Democratic People's Republic and China, the Soviet leaders went so far as to praise the Japanese reactionaries as "a stabilizing force in Asia" and as occupying "a leading position in Asia." They even expressed the hope that the Japanese reactionaries would "act in close co-ordination [with the Soviet Union] in the international community." As a result of the Soviet-Japanese talks in Moscow, a number of agreements have been signed. One American paper wrote: "A warm zephyr is wafting between Moscow and Tokyo."

U.S.-Soviet-Japanese Triangle. The Soviet leaders' burning desire to co-operate with the Japanese reactionaries is closely related to the U.S. imperialist policy of accelerating the revival of Japanese militarism. Gromyko admitted this in so many words when he said that "to work for the amicable development of Soviet-Japanese relations will do no harm to [Japan's] relations with third countries." He went further and made it

clear that "by third countries is meant the Western powers." In other words, the collaboration between the Soviet leaders and Japanese reactionaries will be carried out in the context of recognizing the "U.S.-Japan security set-up." This makes it clear that Soviet-Japanese collaboration is in fact an extension of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

Serving U.S. Imperialist Policy of Encircling China

The course taken by the Soviet leaders on the Vietnam, India-Pakistan and Japan questions completely conforms with the requirements of U.S. imperialism, and especially with the latter's policy of encircling China.

U.S. "Cordon" and Soviet "Containment Wall." For a long time, U.S. imperialism has been unsparing in its efforts to build an arc as a "cordon" around China, stretching from India in the west to Japan in the east. The occupation of China's Taiwan, the formation of the SEATO bloc, the revival of the Japanese militarist forces, the signing of the "Japan-South Korea Treaty," the efforts to rig up a Northeast Asia military alliance, the fostering of the Indian reactionaries, the dispatch of massive forces to occupy south Vietnam and the armed intrusions into the various countries of Indo-China — all these are directed towards this same end. However, China's steadily growing strength and international prestige and the vigorous development of the national-independence movements in Asia have been causing cracks and breaches in this U.S. imperialist "cordon." Therefore the Khrushchov revisionists have come forward to help patch it up. Hence Humphrey's remark that "the Soviets are trying to build a containment wall around communist China."

The loving care lavished by the Soviet leaders on the Indian reactionaries is intended to make India an instrument of joint U.S.-Soviet opposition to China, and a flank in the encirclement of China.

Their exertions in hawking the "peace talks" swindle of the Johnson Administration are aimed at compelling the Vietnamese people to cease their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country and turning Indo-China into a sector of the joint U.S.-Soviet effort to "contain" China.

Likewise, the "amity" the Soviet leaders are showing the Japanese reactionaries stems from the requirements of opposition to China. The Japanese reactionaries understand this perfectly. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed the opinion that the special goodwill recently shown by the Soviet Union to Japan was a "link in the strategy to isolate communist China." It is no accident that Japan has now shifted the emphasis of its military deployment from the north to the west, which is nearer to China, and has stepped up the establishment of missile bases in Kyushu.

To help U.S. imperialism consolidate its positions for encircling China, the Soviet leaders have gone to the lengths of sending delegates to sit side by side at the conference table with its lackeys, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, and the south Vietnamese and south Korean puppet groups, and to discuss what they call the "cause" of "Asian development."

L.I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, recently led a large delegation to Mongolia. It is not hard to see what they were up to.

In a word, the Khrushchov revisionists are ready to do anything in order to co-ordinate with U.S. imperialism in its opposition to China.

Policy of Appeasement in Europe

Simultaneously with their stepped-up collusion with U.S. imperialism in Asia, the Soviet leaders are pressing further ahead with their policy of appeasement in Europe.

One Retreat After Another on European Question. On the European question, Khrushchov on several occasions fired blank shots about "the conclusion of a German peace treaty" and he made some empty gestures on the West Berlin question. But since taking office the new Soviet leaders have hauled down the flag and muffled the drums in an effort to "freeze" the European status quo. After visiting the Soviet Union in July last year Averell Harriman said confidently: "The status quo, at least for the foreseeable future, is what the Russians want in Europe. I don't believe Moscow will be interested in discussing a German settlement in the next five or six years." At the beginning of November last year, the headquarters of the U.S. Army in Europe officially declared: "The Berlin crisis has ended and no new Eastern threat is expected soon." In fact, the U.S. policy of fostering West German revanchist forces remains unchanged. There is no real relaxation in the situation in Europe. The temporary shelving by the United States of the multilateral nuclear force plan, the central aim of which is to arm West Germany with nuclear weapons, is only a gesture. Yet the Soviet leaders have made one retreat after another on the European question. This is of great service to U.S. imperialism in its global strategy. It is under these conditions that U.S. troops in Western Europe are being constantly transferred eastward to south Vietnam.

Accomplices of U.S. Imperialism. Whatever flag the Soviet leaders may wave, whatever signboard they may put up, they cannot, in the face of this weight of evidence, hide the fact that they have long degenerated into accomplices of U.S. imperialism in its opposition to the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to the revolutionary people all over the world.

Is the United States completely satisfied with the Soviet leaders who are so hard at work serving its global strategy? No, not quite. At present, what U.S. imperialism feels particularly dissatisfied with is that the Soviet leaders have not accomplished their mission on the Vietnam question. They resorted to both pressure and deception but failed to make the Vietnamese people lay down their arms and agree to Johnson's "unconditional discussions." Therefore, while praising the Soviet leaders, U.S. imperialism also complains about them. In this respect, Hubert Humphrey's remarks are typical. He said that the Soviet leadership "still is not exactly a loving partner of the United States of America."

Capitulationist Line Meets a Host of Difficulties

The Soviet leaders have failed to give the United States complete satisfaction not because they are unwilling, but because they are unable to do so. Their line of capitulation to U.S. imperialism violates the interests of the people throughout the world, including the Soviet people, and they cannot but therefore come up against a host of difficulties.

Vietnamese People Not to be Taken in by "Peace Talks"

Fraud. How can the Soviet leaders compel the Vietnamese people to surrender and give up the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation? The Vietnamese people refuse to be slaves in a subjugated nation, they are determined not to be taken in by Johnson's "peace talks" fraud. In his recent letter to heads of state, **President Ho Chi Minh** declared: "So long as the U.S. army of aggression still remains on our soil, our people will resolutely fight against it." In the face of the persevering struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people, the Munich scheme of the Soviet leaders will inevitably be seen through by increasing numbers of people.

Revolutionary Struggles Cannot Be Stamped Out. How can the Soviet leaders possibly stamp out the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world? So long as imperialism and the reactionaries exist in the world, the oppressed peoples and nations are bound to rise up in revolution. This is the mighty current of world historical development which cannot be stemmed by U.S. imperialism or the Soviet leaders, or by the two acting together.

China Perseveres in Marxism-Leninism. How can the Soviet leaders succeed in helping U.S. imperialism to encircle and "contain" China? China today is no longer the old China of pre-liberation days, nor is it the China of the immediate post-liberation period; it is an increasingly powerful socialist country which is persevering in Marxism-Leninism. China has a growing number of friends, its international prestige is rising higher and higher, and it is playing an ever greater role in international affairs. China is the greatest obstacle to

the U.S. imperialists' counter-revolutionary strategy for world domination, as well as to the Soviet leaders' general line of U.S.-Soviet collaboration to dominate the world.

The Soviet People Won't Approve. It is difficult for the Soviet leaders to get their line of U.S.-Soviet collaboration approved by the great Soviet people. It is inconceivable that the Soviet people, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition and who for a long time had Lenin and Stalin as their teachers, will permit the Soviet leaders to unscrupulously push through to the end a line of capitulation to U.S. imperialism detrimental to the interests of the world's people and the Soviet people themselves.

Two-Faced Tactics

Because of the reasons mentioned above, the Soviet leaders, in the course of pushing ahead with their line of capitulation to U.S. imperialism, are forced by circumstances to make increasing use of two-faced tactics and offer some anti-imperialist gestures to deceive the people of the world. This shows the cunning of the Soviet leaders, and also their weaknesses.

Praise and the Lash. U.S. imperialism has seen through the weaknesses of the Soviet leaders. The U.S. imperialists express understanding towards the two-faced tactics of the Soviet leaders, but at the same time feel somewhat uncertain about them. At times, they lavish a few words of praise on the Soviet leaders and at times they use the lash a bit. The whole purpose is to make the Soviet leaders serve them better and co-ordinate with them better.

Past and recent events show that cunning as the **Soviet leaders are, they have to dance to the tune of the U.S. imperialists.** They do not scruple to betray the interests of the people of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, and the interests of the people of the whole world; they do not scruple to sell out Vietnam, to unite with the United States to oppose China; and they have gone further and further down the road of betrayal.

Humphrey Reveals Soviet Leaders' True Colours. Hubert Humphrey's television remarks once again unmask the Soviet leaders. They have been prattling about "united action" but with whom, after all, do they unite? They are not uniting with the Marxist-Leninists or with the revolutionary people of the world but with U.S. imperialism, the greatest aggressor of the present era. In so doing the Soviet leaders are simply revealing themselves still further in their true colours as renegades. The people of the world will never forgive them, and the Soviet people will never forgive them. They cannot escape the punishment of history.

(*"Renmin Ribao," February 2, 1966.*)

The Soviet Government Once Again Exposes Itself

JUST when the Johnson Administration is speeding up the pace towards a wider war of aggression against Vietnam, the Soviet Government is ready to make a new deal with U.S. imperialism.

In his "7-point programme" to the 17-nation disarmament conference which resumed its meeting on January 27 in Geneva, Johnson called for agreement on "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." The representative of the Soviet Government, Semyon Tsarapkin, openly told reporters that "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" was one of the issues "that are ripe for solution" and that there was a possibility of agreement. The Soviet Union, he said, was "prepared to sign a non-proliferation agreement as soon as possible."

The U.S. Administration declared that the "differences among the members of the conference on Vietnam . . . make our common interest in preventing nuclear spread and curbing the nuclear arms race all the more important to pursue." And the Soviet government delegate said: "I do not want to make our discussions dependent on Vietnam."

The United States and the Soviet Union join in a duet—all very harmonious and chummy!

U.S. imperialism is right now running up increased military expenses, calling for more draftees and stepping up its armament supplies. It is transferring troops from Western Europe and the Atlantic to Asia and the Pacific. It is continuing to "escalate" its war of aggression against Vietnam and trying to expand it to the whole of Indo-China and even to China. Obviously the Johnson Administration thinks that its plan for a wider war in Vietnam and Asia in general makes its "common interest" with the Soviet leaders "all the more important to pursue."

The Soviet leaders, it would seem, are no less eager than Johnson to pursue their "common interest" with U.S. imperialism. This is putting things mildly. **Indeed, it is shocking to find the leaders of what is said to be the most powerful socialist country deserting another socialist country which is being subjected to ruthless aggression, and seeking agreement with U.S. imperialism, even declaring that, in doing so, the Vietnam question can be set aside. But it is a fact. This clearly shows to what depths the Soviet leaders have sunk in their quest for American-Soviet co-operation.**

The speech by the Soviet government delegate in Geneva is another self-exposure. It shows that the high-sounding utterances made in the past by the Soviet leaders are not worth a brass kopeck. It may be recalled that the Soviet Government had issued a statement telling the United States that it could not expect to improve American-Soviet relations when it was making armed attacks on Vietnam. And yet the delegate of the same government said in Geneva that the Vietnam question could be set aside and agreement could be reached with the United States on what he called "measures facilitating the easing of international tensions." What can this volte-face be if it is not deliberate betrayal?

It cannot be that the Soviet leaders have forgotten what they said. The fact is they never suit their actions to their words. Once action is to be taken, whatever fine words they have uttered are of no consequence.

The struggle now being waged by the great Vietnamese people to resist U.S. aggression and save their country is the focus of all the struggles of the peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism. How to treat the Vietnam question is the touchstone by which to test whether one is truly against U.S. imperialism or only pretending, and whether one wants genuine peace or sham peace. It is inconceivable that one can speak of "the easing of international tensions" at a time when U.S. imperialism is further expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and wildly slaughtering the Vietnamese people. What Johnson wants to achieve at the Geneva disarmament conference is merely to benumb the people of the world and gloss over the sinister designs of the United States to expand its aggressive war. In their eagerness to reach agreement with the United States for the sake of "common interest," the Soviet leaders are, in reality, helping U.S. imperialism to deceive the peoples and conniving with it in its attempt to widen the war and slaughter still more people in Vietnam.

Aren't the Soviet leaders crying for "united action" day in and day out? It should be noted with whom they are taking united action! They must be told frankly that so long as they take united action with U.S. imperialism, no Marxist-Leninist, no revolutionary people in the world will take united action with them.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, January 30, 1966.)

Further Remarks on the Sino-Cuban Trade Question

—By a responsible official of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade—

- The Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade failed to answer the crucial question: Why did Prime Minister Castro, suddenly on the eve of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference, unilaterally and untruthfully make public the contents of the preliminary Sino-Cuban trade negotiations for 1966 which were still going on?
- Cuba began rice rationing in 1962 but there has been no increase in the ration for the Cuban population even when China increased exports to Cuba. It is true China's export of rice to Cuba in 1966 will be less than in 1965 but it will exceed 1962 and equal 1963 and 1964. This being the case, how can the Cuban side arbitrarily connect the cut in the Cuban rice ration with the question of Sino-Cuban trade?

On January 12, "Granma," organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, published the reply of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade to the remarks made by a responsible official of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade in an interview with a Hsinhua News Agency correspondent on January 9 (see "Peking Review," No. 3, 1966). In its reply the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade tried in many ways to defend Prime Minister Fidel Castro's statement on trade between China and Cuba in his January 2 speech and declared that the remarks of the responsible official of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade were "incomprehensible."

In this connection, a Hsinhua correspondent has again interviewed the responsible official of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade, who made the following remarks ("Renmin Ribao," while publishing these remarks on January 31, also reprinted the full text of the reply by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade as released by "Granma" on January 12):—Ed.

WE have carefully studied the reply of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade and we think that it has failed to answer the crucial question raised in my remarks on January 9, namely, why did Prime Minister Castro unilaterally and untruthfully make public the contents of the preliminary Sino-Cuban trade negotiations for 1966 suddenly on the eve of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Conference when the negotiations were going on and when the Cuban Government could very well raise its differing views and demands, if any, to the Chinese Government? Instead of answering this key question, the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade expatiated on minor details, but even on these its arguments are unreasonable and completely untenable.

For instance, the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade asserted that according to the volume of trade for 1966 discussed in the preliminary negotiations by the delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Trade of the two countries, the value of China's exports to Cuba would be below that of any of the years since 1961. This is completely groundless. It is clear that the volume of trade for 1966 discussed by the two delegations in the preliminary negotiations can only be rationally compared with the annual volume of trade decided upon by the two Governments for the previous years, if any comparison is to be made; comparison on any other basis will be irrational. According to the imports and exports listed in the annexes to the trade protocols signed by the two Governments each year, the annual volume of trade (in million pesos) between China and Cuba as from 1961 are as follows:

| Year | China's Exports to Cuba | Cuba's Exports to China | Total Volume of Trade |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1961 | 108.00 | 98.00 | 206.00 |
| 1962 | 62.00 | 80.00 | 142.00 |
| 1963 | 77.61 | 70.77 | 148.38 |
| 1964 | 95.11 | 81.11 | 176.22 |
| 1965 | 127.00 | 97.00 | 224.00 |
| 1966 | (84.50) | (84.00) | (168.50) |

(The 1966 figures are those discussed in the preliminary negotiations.)

It can be seen from the above figures that even according to the volume of trade discussed by the two delegations in the preliminary negotiations, the value of China's exports to Cuba in 1966 will be above that of 1962 or 1963, although it will be below that of 1965; it will in no way be below that of any of the years since 1961. This is well backed by facts, and the Cuban

Ministry of Foreign Trade could have got the same figures just by referring to the annexes to the trade protocols signed by the representatives of both Governments in the past years. But it compiled a table of statistics with figures of three different categories. Those for 1961-64 are the actual annual values of Cuba's imports and exports vis-a-vis China, that for 1955 is the figure in the annex to the trade protocol of the same year, while that for 1966 is the volume of trade discussed in the preliminary negotiations by the delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Trade of the two countries. How can one present a correct concept of the increase or decrease in the volume of trade between the two countries by comparing figures of three categories, each calculated on a different basis?

Secondly, the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade spent much effort in compiling some nondescript figures to prove that what Prime Minister Castro affirmed about the exchange of two tons of Cuban sugar for one ton of Chinese rice was "absolutely true." This attempt at justification is quite absurd. As a matter of fact, in the trade between China and Cuba there has never been any exchange of two kinds of commodities in direct ratio with each other. The more than a thousand kinds of commodities traded between the two sides every year, including sugar and rice, have each been priced on its own. The question of exchange between one individual kind of commodity and another simply does not exist. It was only after Prime Minister Castro proposed on October 1, 1964, to exchange sugar for rice that there appeared the term "rate of exchange between sugar and rice." At that time Prime Minister Castro expressed the hope of Cuba to exchange one and a half kilogrammes of sugar for one kilogramme of Chinese rice, but China did not accept the proposal. This is a matter of record. No matter how the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade may argue, it cannot change the fact that the Cuban side has never proposed to the Chinese side to exchange two tons of sugar for one ton of rice.

Thirdly, the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade said that it was not necessary for the Cuban side to "try to secure a credit" since the delegation of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade had indicated that the Chinese-proposed volume of trade for 1966 was the maximum and that there should be a balance between the two sides in the volume of trade. This assertion is spurious. The negotiations between the delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Trade of our two countries are of a preliminary nature. These delegations naturally can only propose the maximum volumes within the terms of reference of the preliminary negotiations. As for balance in trade, it is a principle guiding the trade between our two countries, which has been explicitly stipulated in the Sino-Cuban trade protocols of the previous years. But this does not prevent the use of loans to make up for the imbalance which may actually appear in the trade between the two countries. This has been done by Cuba throughout the past years. In the current preliminary negotiations,

the delegation of our Ministry has mentioned the principle of balance in trade on the one hand and on the other suggested that the Cuban side consult the Chinese authorities concerned on the use of the economic co-operation loan. But instead of doing so, the Cuban side tried to shift the responsibility on to us. This does not carry conviction. People cannot help asking: This year why doesn't Cuba do the same as it did in the past few years?

The Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade further said that as the amount of rice China preliminarily agreed to supply had decreased, the Cuban Government had to explain to the Cuban people that it would be necessary as from January 1966 to reduce the per capita rice ration from six to three pounds per month. The amount of the monthly rice ration for the Cuban population is, of course, entirely an affair of the Cuban Government. However, since the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade has linked up this issue with Sino-Cuban trade, we cannot but clarify the matters which involve us.

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

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

* * *

Finally, the responsible official of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade said: In the trade negotiations between China and Cuba in the past few years some questions cropped up each year, but results satisfactory to both sides were always attained. We sincerely hope that the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Trade, treasuring the friendship between the peoples of China and Cuba, will facilitate the smooth progress of the trade negotiations for 1966 through friendly consultations.

Britain's Shaky Labour Government

by TUNG FANG-HSIANG

Clinging to office by a wafer-thin majority in the Commons, the Wilson government has had few balmy days in its 15 months of existence. As monopoly capital's watch-dog and U.S. imperialism's accomplice, the Labour government has been described as the weakest and most unpopular administration in postwar Britain. Mounting political uncertainty, a balance of payments crisis and unending financial and economic difficulties — all of which keep Wilson on a razor's edge and may force him to go to the country at any time — offer his administration small prospects of a breather in 1966.

MORE than 15 months have gone by since Labour scraped home in Britain's general elections and became Whitehall's new tenant. As head of the third Labour government since World War II, Harold Wilson came into office at a time when British imperialism faced an ever deepening crisis. After 13 years' rule, the failure-ridden Tories had been forced to step down and Labour took over running the British establishment.

Since that time, the struggles of the revolutionary people of the world against U.S.-led imperialism and its stooges have grown in momentum and the contradictions between the imperialist countries themselves have become more acute. This has had inevitable repercussions on Britain where the political situation has been in a state of flux, the clash of interests between the ruling and the oppressed classes has sharpened and the economy has stagnated. All these, together with the worsening sterling crisis and the rapid disintegration of its colonial system, spell out tough going for the Labour government which is the weakest, most unstable and most unpopular administration Britain has had since the end of World War II.

The Wilson government is British monopoly capital's faithful watch-dog. Its ruthless exploitation and oppression of the working people at home have reduced their living standard and, as a result of intensified armament expansion and war preparation efforts, many have been forced to leave Britain and serve as cannon-fodder in colonial wars or wars of aggression. Wilson and his men have been active accomplices of U.S. imperialism, worked hand in glove with the modern revisionists and fostered the reactionaries of various countries in trying to suppress the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But these anti-communist

and anti-popular policies, which point up the truculence of the British imperialists, have come home to roost with the Wilson administration and have plunged Britain into deeper trouble.

Unstable Political Situation and a Vulnerable Government

Paper-Thin Majority. Wilson formed the government after Labour won the general elections in October 1964 with a small majority of five seats, which was later reduced to three. By the first week of November last year it dropped to one as the result of the deaths of Labour M.P.s. At present, of the 630 seats, Labour has 315, Conservatives 302, Liberals 9, three go to the Speaker, the Chairman (Deputy Speaker) and the Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means who do not vote in the House of Commons, and the remaining seat is vacant. Labour's precarious position could lead to total collapse at any time. In May last year, it barely managed to scrape through with a majority of one when the vote was taken on an Opposition's amendment to the Finance Bill. In early July when the same bill was debated, the Conservatives tabled three amendments and defeated the Labour government by 13, 14 and 15 votes in quick succession. Only behind-the-scenes consultations between the two parties saved Wilson from surrendering office. That the Labour government has managed to cling to office under the strains of a paper-thin majority makes a great mockery of the bourgeois two-party system's sham democracy.

In its desperate effort to hold on to a majority in votes and thus to better meet the Opposition's attacks in the Commons, the Wilson government has resorted to all kinds of gimmicks. It has prescribed that its ministers should attend every session of Parliament. Eight Labour M.P.s have asked to retire because of old age or failing health. Their requests were turned down, however. To guarantee that sick M.P.s attend every session, beds were installed in the lobby. When the time came to vote, some of them were carried in on stretchers, thereby giving Parliament the air of a hospital ward. No Labour M.P., it was also prescribed, should absent himself from the House of Commons on pain of disciplinary action without first "pairing" with a Tory who has also promised not to be present. As another precautionary measure against a crisis that may result from the absence of Labour M.P.s, vote by proxy has recently been proposed.

"Hilson" and "Weath." How did the Wilson government manage to last so long in view of its shaky position? The answer is that Labour, following virtually the same domestic and foreign policies as the Conservatives, has become an obedient servant of big monopoly capital. Making no bones about the fact that Labour and Tory are birds of a feather, the British press calls Wilson "Hilson" and Heath, the Tory leader, "Weath." To keep itself in power, Labour tries to enter into a de facto alliance with the Liberal Party or, failing this, to prevent an alliance between the Conservatives and the Liberals in Parliament. Exploiting to the full the present situation of a small majority in the Commons, Labour's Right-wing leaders are doing everything to force the so-called Left-wing back-benchers into line, warning them not to "rock the boat" or commit "political suicide." Wilson has invited several leaders of the party's former "Bevan faction" to join his government and has appointed Shinwell, an elder Labour statesman, to be the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. In order to silence mounting criticism of the government's handling of home affairs, Wilson reshuffled his cabinet on December 22. All this was done to keep the Labour M.P.s under his thumb. Wilson even appointed monopoly capital bigwigs top advisers to his cabinet. On major questions of policy, he has never failed to consult with Tory leaders Heath or Home behind the scenes. In this way, the Labour government has temporized and tided over the crises.

Day-to-Day Viability. Notwithstanding all these devices, the Wilson government will be forced to dissolve Parliament and announce general elections at any time if any one of the following arises: a combined non-confidence vote by Conservatives and Liberals; defeat of Labour's important bills; loss of an overall majority in the Commons resulting from further setbacks in by-elections; an emergency crisis which Labour cannot surmount. This clearly indicates the government's vulnerability, Britain's internal instability and the utter bankruptcy of the Labour Party's rule. Wilson himself would have liked to have held another general election at an opportune moment in order to secure a greater majority in the House of Commons. But since taking office, he has had a difficult time coping with the situation both at home and abroad. Beset with difficulties for which he has only makeshift solutions, he has to content himself with a day-to-day viability.

Worsening Economy and Sharpening of Class Contradictions

Sterling Crisis. The pound has been in the throes of a crisis and on the verge of devaluation several times. Britain's international financial position has never been as weak as it is now. Though there have been signs of a slight turn for the better since last September, the sterling crisis is far from ended.

Contributing factors to this include: long-time stagnation in industrial production and Britain's weakened

position as a result of cut-throat inter-imperialist competition for markets. The total value of Britain's national output, down from one-fifth to one-seventh that of the United States, has already been outstripped by West Germany. Britain's share in the export of capitalist world manufactures fell from 22 per cent in 1953 to 13.7 in 1964. Its share in the total volume of exports to the sterling area plummeted from 58 per cent in 1954 to 38 per cent in 1963; during the same period its exports to countries outside the sterling area also dropped from 13 to 11.9 per cent.

Large Deficits in Balance of Payments. At a time of a general decline in trade among the capitalist countries and when the major imperialist countries are restricting imports and increasing exports in dog-eat-dog competition with each other, Britain's economy has suffered a staggering blow. A large deficit in the balance of payments has brought with it the sterling crisis. The causes of this unfavourable balance are manifold. First, huge military expenditures. The military budget climbed from 1,700 million pounds in 1961 to 2,100 million in 1965. Well-informed sources claim that Britain spends 15 per cent of its national output, and not 7 per cent as announced by the British Government, on armaments and war preparations. Second, the crucial factor in the severity of the 1964-65 balance of payments crisis was increased government expenditures overseas, mainly for military purposes. Government expenditures abroad on current account totalled 695 million pounds in the three-year period 1953-55. In 1962-64 they totalled 1,304 million. This increase of more than 600 million alarmed the British rulers. Third, increase in overseas investment—200 million to 300 million pounds of private investment and some 150 million pounds of foreign "aid" per year in the postwar period. These huge expenditures and the widening trade gap account for Britain's serious deficits in the balance of payments in the past few years. In 1964, the deficit was 765 million pounds and last year it was about 450 million. It decreased by less than half, but the deficit is still the pound's Achilles' heel.

Helping Big Monopoly. To save the pound, the Labour government has adopted a series of reactionary measures favourable to big monopoly and unfavourable to the people. Last year, Britain had to ask for massive loans from the International Monetary Fund and other foreign creditors totalling more than 3,500 million dollars; it raised the bank rate to 7 per cent, resorted to two "little budgets" as stop-gap measures and introduced drastic measures in July. In addition, there were the credit squeeze, restriction on bank loans, increased taxation, cutting back of social services, reduction in local government housing mortgages, restraint on wages, cuts in public investment and government expenditures, premiums on exports, and a surcharge and restrictions on imports. All these are aimed at shifting the burden of the sterling crisis and financial and economic difficulties on to the people of Britain, its colonies and the Commonwealth.

Harming the Working Class. Labour has gone to great lengths to undermine the interests of the British working class. The main purpose of so-called industrial rationalization and automation is to use modern methods to wring bigger profits from the workers and to throw large numbers of workers out of employment. According to government figures, the number of unemployed in May-August of last year was 338,900. It dropped slightly to 331,892 in mid December, which is 1.5 per cent of the total labour force. The general estimate is that it will rise to 2.5 per cent this year. Reduction in production or shut-downs and the laying off of large numbers of workers in the motor-car, building, steel, textile, ship-building and coal industries have seriously threatened the working class. From October 1964 to October 1965, retail prices of consumer goods went up 5 per cent, while the index for wholesale prices also rose 3.5 per cent. The purchasing power of the pound sterling again decreased by 4.5 per cent during the same period. Sales by hire purchase last July reached 1,178 million pounds which, if divided among Britain's total population, meant 22 pounds per person. All this constitutes a sizable burden for the working people.

The Wilson government has introduced a so-called "incomes policy," putting a 3.5 per cent ceiling on increases in workers' wages. A royal commission was set up to allow the government to control the trade unions and to participate in talks, between capital and labour. While offering no objection to increases in profits and commodity prices, the commission has done its best to keep down the living standards of the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of Britain's population. These reactionary measures have contributed to the further sharpening of class contradictions and led to a series of strikes. In the first half of 1965, the year which saw the biggest trade union movement upsurge in Britain since 1960, 1,365 strikes took place. Most of these were in the motor-car, coal, machine-building and manufacturing industries and in the railway and air transport departments. Five hundred and sixty-six thousand workers were involved, resulting in a loss of more than 2 million work-days.

Deceptive Reformist Measures. The Wilson government has resorted to various reformist gimmicks to deceive the working people and take the edge off their mounting dissatisfaction: making pension increases, abolishing prescription charges in the National Health Service, introducing "security" for tenants threatened by the serious housing shortage and soaring rents, introducing a capital gains tax and publishing a so-called five-year national economic plan covering the period 1965-70. But such highly vaunted promises, followed only by measures giving meagre benefits, have been coldly received by the people.

Meanwhile, Labour has been doing everything possible to spread the fallacious idea of "labour and management partnership"; the big bosses controlling the industrial enterprises are euphemistically called "managers" and the working class is asked to "co-operate" with them

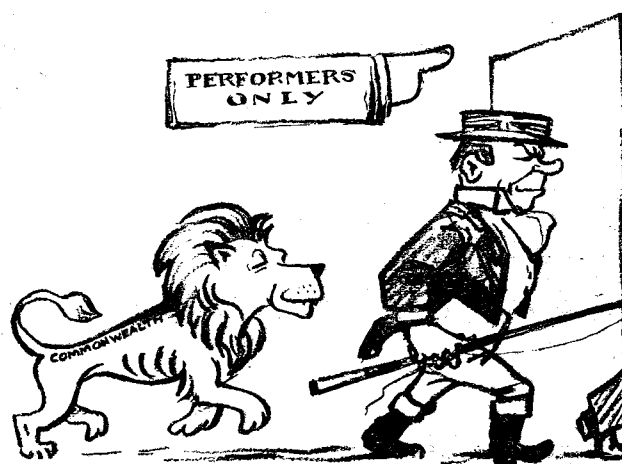
so as to enjoy an "equal share" of the "national cake" in "the interests of the nation." The "nationalized enterprises," which account for one-fifth of Britain's economy, have representatives from the huge monopoly enterprises, which make up four-fifths of the nation's economy, at the helm. Thus, the "nationalized" enterprises have been whittled down to satellites of monopoly capital. Wilson has departed farther than ever from the "nationalization policy" which Labour bragged so much about while still in the wilderness. In the Queen's speech on the opening of Parliament in November last year, there was no reference at all to steel re-nationalization — an omission designed to please both the Conservatives and the Liberals and, of course, the big monopoly capitalists whose interests will be left intact.

Many small and medium-sized enterprises have been forced to shut down or cut production owing to the tightening of bank credits, the suspension and calling back of loans and a tight money market. The credit squeeze has cut down the sales of hire-purchased cars, the number of which is 22 per cent lower than a year ago. This is a pressure on the small and medium-sized enterprises whose pent-up complaints against the government are often reflected in home politics.

In Britain, there have always been "two nations," one represented by Wilson and Heath and the other by the working class. Because of the deepening of imperialism's general political and economic crisis and the sharpening class struggle at home, Wilson and his partners are more isolated than at any other time.

Disintegration of the Empire

Widening Cracks in the Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth now consists of no less than 21 independent members. There is an increasing tendency among these countries to move away from Britain, and the Commonwealth's colonial system is rapidly disintegrating. To prevent the situation from getting out of hand, the Labour administration called a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference last June. A Commonwealth Secretariat was later formed to facilitate exchange of information, to co-ordinate views and to



(Continued on next page.)

strengthen the Commonwealth. A Commonwealth Foundation was also set up to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organizations in professional fields. Among other things, the Prime Ministers emphasized the need to encourage and expand trade between member states. But, within the Commonwealth, the colonialist and neo-colonialist countries have insoluble contradictions with the nationalist countries. The declaration of independence by Singapore which nearly brought about the break-up of the "Malaysian Federation," India's aggression against Pakistan and other important events in 1965 revealed the widening cracks in the British Commonwealth and added to Wilson's setbacks.

Seething Struggles in Colonies. Britain now has about 30 remaining dependencies, with only 7 million inhabitants. Under the hammer blows of seething revolutionary struggles, the Labour government had little choice but to promise to "grant" independence to British Guiana and Mauritius this year and to Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland in 1967. On the other hand, it is putting together mergers such as the "South Arabian Federation" and the "East Caribbean Federation," which are neo-colonialist products, to ensure British control. But where there is oppression there is struggle. The Wilson government is bound to run into disaster no matter how desperately it tries to turn back the wheels of history.

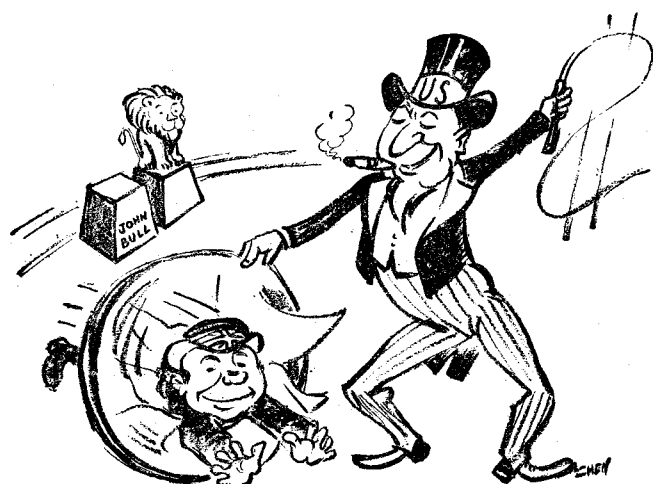
Labour Government — A Ruthless Colonialist. True to type, Labour has acted out the ruthless colonialist since assuming power. In December 1964 it succeeded in subverting the legal Jagan government of British Guiana and sent in troops to put down the people's opposition. During the rape of the Congo (Leopoldville) a month earlier, it placed its bases in Malta and Ascension Is. at the beck and call of the U.S. and Belgian aggressor troops for use as staging areas. When U.S. imperialism rushed in marines and airborne forces in the Dominican Republic last April to smash the

people's uprising, it supported U.S. aggression, saying that it was "necessary" and that it was "not aggression." Towards the end of 1964 and in the early part of 1965, it dispatched large reinforcements to Malaya and Singapore in an open threat against the people of Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries. In addition to these actions, it crushed the demonstrations of the students and workers on Bahrein Is. in the spring of 1965; it wantonly slaughtered, wounded and arrested the people of south Yemen and winked at the unilateral declaration of "independence" in November 1965 by the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia who have imposed a fascist-racist rule on the Zimbabwe people. These and other iniquities by the Labour government have met with firm resistance from the revolutionary people and severe condemnation by world progressive opinion. The claws of British colonialism, like those of U.S. imperialism, will be chopped off by the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world.

Cost of Toeing the U.S. Line

"East of Suez" Aggressive Policy. For years, British imperialism has been a junior partner of U.S. imperialism playing the inglorious role of an accomplice. The Labour government has outdone its predecessors in relying on the United States and collaborating with it. In its wild ambition to push British imperialism's policy of aggression, throttle the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary movements, support U.S. imperialism's war of aggression against Vietnam and abet the Indian reactionaries in their anti-Chinese manoeuvres, the Labour government went to the extent of declaring that Britain's frontier was "at the Himalayas." It has spared no effort to keep its military bases extending from Aden to Singapore under tight control and to plunder the Asian and African countries around the Indian Ocean. Discharging its duties as U.S. imperialism's active accomplice, the Labour government has strengthened its troop deployment for carrying out its "East of Suez" policy of aggression. It has concentrated a large number of troops, warships and military aircraft in the Indian Ocean region and, together with Washington, has undertaken war preparations directed against the people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. Slandering China as the "main threat to Asia and Africa," Wilson shouted about the need for a "close alliance" with the United States to cope with what he called the menace extending from the Red Sea to the South China Sea. The United States, on its part, has recently brought pressure to bear on Britain to take on a larger share of the military burden east of Suez and to provide its bases in this region for American use.

Subservience to U.S. on Vietnam Question. On the Vietnam question, the Labour government has slavishly backed the United States in escalating its war of aggression against Vietnam. It has done everything in its power to help push the Johnson Administration's "peace talks" hoax, viciously attacking the heroic Viet-



Hoop-lal

Cartoon by Jack Chen

Britain Through Washington's Eyes

TO maintain its semblance as a world power, in which the so-called British Commonwealth serves as a facade, Britain has cast its lot with U.S. imperialism and often harped on the Anglo-American "special relationship" and "interdependence."

The harsh fact is that while this "special relationship" is one between boss and junior partner and "interdependence" means greater dependence on U.S. imperialism, Britain's "professions of love" are seldom reciprocated. Washington and its spokesmen are not averse to calling a spade a spade. Dean Acheson once **twitted the British, saying that they had lost an empire but had not yet found a role. Two articles in the *New York Times* on January 23 openly urged Britain to hand over the British Commonwealth to U.S. imperialism.**

The British empire, wrote C.L. Sulzberger in one of the articles, "except for fragments, is already gone. Now it is time to abandon the legend that the Commonwealth exists." He added: "Pretending there is a Commonwealth when there isn't has both hampered Britain's freedom of diplomatic action and sapped its waning economic strength. . . . Is it not time for

Britain to adjust diplomatic, military and economic policies to the reality of a post-Commonwealth period?" Sulzberger suggested, as a substitute for the Commonwealth, a rearrangement on separate regional bases. "For example, in the Americas, Guiana and Honduras must find freedom and, together with Canada, should join the Organization of American States and continental defence arrangements. . . . Australia and New Zealand are already linked in Asia to U.S. defence through ANZUS. Together with Britain and other interested nations, they should join the U.S.A. in a grand Pacific alliance extending all the way up through the Philippines to Japan."

In the other article, Anthony Lewis ridiculed "the oversimplified view of the Commonwealth which prevails in British school syllabuses" and wrote sarcastically: "For Britain, the Commonwealth represents an avenue to world influence — a moral substitute for empire. A tiny island stripped of these imperial pretensions would just look much less like a world power." But, he warned, "politicians as well as school syllabuses may go on too long talking about rosy but non-existent dreams."

name people and persisting in its hostile attitude towards the Chinese people. While Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart said that U.S. bombing and aggression were "proper," Wilson had the audacity to speak up for the U.S. aggressors' use of poison gas in Vietnam. He alleged that it did not violate the 1925 Geneva Protocol or any other instruments, and he defended the United States by claiming that Washington's poison gas was "not poisonous." In a deliberate move against the people of China, Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries, the Wilson administration has allowed the U.S. imperialists to use Hongkong as a base for aggression against Vietnam. These and countless other acts add up to a disgraceful record of working cheek by jowl with U.S. imperialism in the latter's aggression in Vietnam. The Labour government's subservience to the United States on the Vietnam question has aroused strong opposition from the British people, and anti-government demonstrations have been frequent. At the annual conferences of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress, a third of the participants took Wilson's policy on this question to task. Among other prominent figures, well-known British philosopher Bertrand Russell, a Labour Party member for 51 years, recently tore up his membership card and declared his withdrawal from the party in an open protest against the government's support for U.S. aggression.

Greater Dependence on Washington. The Labour administration has resorted to greater dependence on the United States in order to prolong Britain's colonialist rule. Defence Secretary Denis Healey admitted that economic difficulties had made it impossible for Britain to continue its role as the policeman of the whole of Asia and Africa and he asked the United States to share the responsibility. He also hoped to make more use of the United Nations to stamp out the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American people. Regarding the question of nuclear weapons, the Labour government considers it impossible for Britain to have an "independent nuclear deterrent." It holds that the only basis for Britain's security in the nuclear age is Anglo-American "interdependence" and that the Anglo-American alliance is the anchor of British policy. The Labour administration has completely subscribed to the U.S. policies of aggression and war. This inevitably leads to a sharp decline in Britain's international position.

The Labour government's reactionary home and foreign policies have run up against strong opposition from the British people and world condemnation. Quarrels and complaints are loud even among the British ruling circles themselves. Selwyn Lloyd, former Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, made a blistering attack

on Labour's financial and economic policies, saying that the government had "arranged the toughest credit squeeze for 40 years, the biggest increases in taxation since the darkest days of the war, the biggest increase in prices since the last Labour government, and the worst drafted and most complicated Finance Bill of all time." Peter Thorneycroft, former Conservative Defence Secretary, censured the government for the cancellation of three British-designed aircraft and placing orders for American planes instead at the expense of the British aircraft industry. The government's "East of Suez" policy has also been under fire from Enoch Powell, Tory's "shadow" defence minister. Tory leader, Edward Heath, called on de Gaulle during his visit to Paris and had a tête-à-tête with him on the question of Britain joining the Common Market. Christopher Soames, chairman of the Conservative back-bench committee

on foreign affairs, stated that "the Conservative Party's desire to see Britain join the Community at the first favourable opportunity is clearly understood by the Governments of the Six. But where, they ask, does the British Government stand?" This statement in a letter to *The Times* revealed Soames' impatience to get the Wilson government to clarify its ambiguous attitude on this issue.

British imperialism, which once was, in Lenin's words, the "richest in colonies, in finance capital, and in imperialist experience," is on the skids as a result of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the British Government's increasing dependence on the United States. Under these circumstances, the Wilson administration, which serves the interests of monopoly capital, is now deep in a tunnel with no light in sight.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

tion of the post of Prime Minister of India.

Indian Intrusions Undeniable

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a January 27 note to the Indian Embassy to China, refuted the Indian Government's fabricated charges contained in its notes of November 26 and 27, and December 14, 1965.

The Chinese note pointed out that India had intensified its intrusions into China and repeatedly provoked armed conflicts during the past few

months and that China had lodged strong protests against three of the most outstanding cases in the western and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border and on the China-Sikkim boundary (see *Peking Review*, Nos. 39, 49 and 51, 1965). Instead of admitting its mistakes, the Indian Government sent notes of protest to the Chinese Government, and completely distorted the truth. "The Chinese Government expresses its indignation at this," the note declared.

Dealing in detail with the three cases mentioned above, the note refuted the Indian denials with conclusive evidence of the intrusions. It said that the Indian Government could never deny these debts which had all been placed on record.

The note pointed out that the Indian side had deliberately made intrusions and provocations against China, but had suffered one defeat after another and left behind irrefutable evidence of its crimes. That was why it had hastily cooked up lies in a vain attempt to shirk responsibility and to deceive world opinion. The note stated: "If the Indian Government continues its senseless haggling about the above-mentioned conflicts, the Chinese Government will pay no attention to it."

Indian Invaders Released. On January 28, Chinese troops handed over to an Indian representative two captured soldiers — Naik (sergeant) Kisorman Rai (No. 170087) and Sepoy

(soldier) Dalip Singh (No. 170316), together with the latter's medical case history.

The released Indian soldiers were captured on December 12 when they intruded into Chinese territory with more than 30 other Indian soldiers. The Chinese Government, considering that the captives had admitted the error of their intrusion and armed attack carried out under orders, acted in its consistent spirit of revolutionary humanitarianism and decided to hand them over to the Indian side. On leaving Chinese territory, the released Indian soldiers expressed their gratitude for the good, lenient treatment and medical care given them by the Chinese personnel.



Kisorman Rai (right) shakes hands with a Chinese frontier guard on leaving Chinese territory



Dalip Singh, seriously wounded before capture, receives careful medical treatment in a Chinese hospital

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Study Marxist Philosophy

Considerable space in newspapers and magazines today is being devoted to the philosophical writings of workers, peasants and soldiers. In vivid language that only people closely linked with practice can use, these writers impress the reader with their clear thinking, scientific analysis and direct approach. From the way this trend is developing it can be said that philosophy in China is entering a new historic stage.

THE movement among the workers, peasants and soldiers for the study of Chairman Mao's works is proceeding vigorously across the land. Coming in the midst of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, this is an important event in the political and ideological life of the nation. It already has made substantial contributions in all fields of work, and as the movement surges ahead, its far-reaching significance will be more readily seen.

Mastering the Laws Governing Every Sphere of Work

The working masses are not interested in study "for the sake of study." They study the works of Mao Tse-tung for the explicit purpose of learning from Chairman Mao — his Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method — to acquire the outlook of working for the revolution and to learn to do a better job in their revolutionary work. In China, Mao Tse-tung's thinking is compared to a telescope and a microscope which help to see things that are far off and things that are normally unobservable. People seek out Chairman Mao's works for answers to specific questions. They use the basic theories they learn from these writings to analyse and solve these problems. Thus, they find their jobs — such as operating a machine, ploughing or waiting on customers behind a sales-counter — full of meaning and they do them enthusiastically and creatively.

Among workers, peasants and soldiers there is great zeal to apply consciously what they learn from *On Practice*, *On Contradiction* and other philosophical writings by Chairman Mao in summing up their experience in practice, analysing the contradictions in objective reality, and in discussing the laws governing their own sphere of work so that they can put their everyday work on the basis of making full use of objective laws. This is popularly called "riding on the

back of the objective laws," and is capable of producing tremendous strength.

A Great Motivating Force

Marx has said: "Theory too becomes a material force as soon as it grips the masses." This truth has been borne out most vividly by what is taking place in China today. With Mao Tse-tung's thinking as their guide, many workers, peasants and soldiers go about their work with a scientific attitude backed up by great enthusiasm. This helps bring about an increase in the output of grain or industrial goods, successes in technical innovations and good results in political work. It enables workers to play their role as the leading class in the country better, and it enables the former poor and lower-middle peasants to assume leadership in their own villages.

It can be predicted that with the spreading and deepening of this movement, it will give rise to more and greater strength and material wealth. This is a great motivating force for transforming China from poverty to abundance, from technically backward to technically advanced. It is a powerful impetus for propelling the socialist revolution and construction.

Fostering a New Communist Generation

The present study movement also serves as a big school in which a new communist generation is being trained.

While using Mao Tse-tung's thinking to transform the objective world, the working masses find that a fundamental change has taken place in their own minds, in their subjective world.

In the course of exploring the possibilities for introducing technical innovations in the light of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, for instance, many workers and peasants have learnt to use materialist dialectics to analyse questions and have acquired the working style of following the mass line. This also provides a good opportunity for tempering the revolutionary will for wholehearted service to the people and strengthening tenacity in surmounting difficulties.

Many cadres at the grass-roots level — leaders of factory work groups and commune production teams, Party branch secretaries, and others — admit that by creatively applying Mao Tse-tung's thinking they have

learnt to do a satisfactory job of ideological and organizational work, to view people and things on the basis of the concept of the unity of opposites which is popularly called "the concept of dividing one into two," and to discover the laws in their own field of work so that they are able to transform the backward into the advanced and the advanced into the even more advanced.

In short, with Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command, all kinds of daily work are treated as a science whose laws can be discovered and mastered. This in turn helps to raise the ideological level of people in all kinds of work.

In studying Chairman Mao's works, workers, peasants and soldiers have further enhanced their communist consciousness, knowing that all work is for the revolution and that at their places of duty, no matter what they are, they are doing their share for China's socialist revolution and construction and for the proletarian revolution throughout the world. This is a process in which the working masses are gradually acquiring a communist world outlook, to become a new generation of communist fighters. This is more important than anything, because the fostering of a new communist generation is essential to guarding against revisionism and to carrying the revolution through to the end.

They Also Write Philosophical Articles

In the course of the study movement, thousands and thousands of workers, peasants and soldiers have taken up their pens and written philosophical articles. Applying the Marxist theory of knowledge and the methodology of Marxism learnt through their study of Chairman Mao's works, they deal with their problems in production and work and write in their own everyday language. Many of their writings are down-to-earth, lively and highly original, and stand out in sharp contrast to philosophical theses written by intellectuals divorced from practice. Principles that seem abstruse in many books on philosophy become easy to understand in these writings.

Thus, under the impact of the study movement, philosophy, which was long considered a subject for the classroom, academic circles and research institutes only, is taking root in factories, mines, villages, shops and army units in every corner of the country. Workers, peasants and soldiers have set foot in the domain of philosophy which for thousands of years was the monopoly of intellectuals. Their study and application of Marxist philosophy and their writings on it have proved that philosophy is no mystery and clearly show that as the philosophy of the proletariat, Marxist philosophy can and should be mastered by the masses of workers and peasants.

The movement among the workers, peasants and soldiers for the study of Chairman Mao's works is also proving to be a rich source of development of Marxist philosophy. Their writing in this respect is a spur to philosophical research. An additional important factor

is that people specializing in philosophy are put on their mettle and challenged to improve their work. Describing this as "giving a good shove" to our workers in philosophy, a recent editorial in the magazine *Zhexue Yanjiu* (*Philosophical Research*) called on all such workers to learn modestly from the workers, peasants and soldiers, from their attitude and method in the study of the philosophical writings of Chairman Mao and from their experience in applying his philosophical thinking. It urged them to break away from "force of habit," thoroughly emancipate themselves from the bookish atmosphere of libraries and studies, and make an earnest effort to integrate their research work more closely with reality.

"Renmin Ribao's" Call to Workers in Philosophy

In a similar vein, *Renmin Ribao* pointed out in a recent editorial: "The practice of class struggle and the struggle for production by the masses of the people is the greatest and richest source of philosophical ideas, indeed the only source. Anyone who cuts himself off from it and secludes himself in the library will never master Marxism however many books he reads. The only possible outcome will be dogmatism and revisionism." By recalling Chairman Mao's injunction about the need to be a student if one is to be a teacher, the editorial said that this is "the only way to solve the contradiction confronting workers in philosophy, the problem of theory divorced from practice." It also said, "In order that philosophy can better serve workers, peasants and soldiers, workers in philosophy must go into the villages, factories, shops and army units, take part in the class struggle and the struggle for production and earnestly learn from the masses."

Seeing the way ahead, our workers in philosophy are ready to answer the call of the times. They are determined to go to factories, farms and army units and stay there for a number of years, study living philosophy in the course of actual struggle, learn to write in the language of the labouring masses and produce philosophical articles that will be easily understood by the working people. They know that only by doing so will they be able to steel themselves into genuine Marxist philosophical workers. They are confident that by travelling on the right road they will be able to turn philosophy into a sharper ideological weapon in the hands of the people and make their contributions to the enrichment and development of Marxist philosophy.



A Revolutionary Outlook In Treating Burns

"Peking Review" will publish a series of articles describing how people in various fields of work in China today are learning to use Mao Tse-tung's thinking creatively to solve their problems. The following is the first of this series. It tells how a group of young surgeons dedicated to the ideal of serving the people, by consciously applying materialist dialectics, succeeded in catching up with and surpassing world levels in treating burns. — Ed.

THERE is a new hospital in Peking — the Jishuitan Hospital, with a new Department of Traumatology. No such department existed in China's hospitals before liberation. Furthermore this department has a new unit specializing in burns, a speciality which did not exist in pre-liberation China. When it was established in 1958, eight of the unit's ten surgeons were under 30 years of age. Three of the group had considerable experience in surgery but the other seven had only recently graduated from medical college. None of the ten had specialist training in burns. Yet since the unit was set up, the rate of recovery from burns covering more than 20 per cent of the body area has risen steadily from less than 70 per cent in 1958, to over 95 per cent in 1965.

Foreign medical literature agrees that few persons recover from burns covering over 80 per cent of the body area or from third degree burns (burns destroying the full thickness of the skin) exceeding 30 per cent of the body surface. China's young surgeons, however, have not been deterred by the difficulties involved. In 1958, the Shanghai Guangci Hospital, in collaboration with other medical units, successfully treated Chiu Tsai-kang, burnt over 89 per cent of his body, and thus set a new record in curing such cases in our country. Encouraged by this example, the Burns Unit of Peking's Jishuitan Hospital has cured 17 similar cases in the last few years. These included one with a total burn area of 96 per cent, another with third degree burns on 47 per cent of the body area. The quality of treatment for moderate and mild burns has also been markedly improved and the duration of treatment in such cases has been shortened by a third to a half. In this field of medicine China is now on a par with or ahead of the most advanced world levels.

How have these results been achieved? Have Chinese surgeons got any new techniques?

It is true that new achievements in medicine are often linked with new technique. Does this Burns Unit then employ any new technique? The answer can be: No, or yes. No, if by new technique is meant new equipment or drugs hitherto unheard of in the world. Yes, if it is taken to mean new ways of employing existing equipment and drugs. The unit has devised many new ways of doing things. Its success is the fruit of the application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking in medical practice, the fruit of new medical thinking consciously based on Marxist dialectical materialism applied to medicine. The endless vitality of materialist dialectics inspires medical workers to seek continually for new techniques.

Deal With a Part While Keeping the Whole in View

A concrete example may help to give some idea of what this involves. At a recent discussion, Dr. Wang Chang-yeh, head of the unit, put forward the idea of "grappling with a part while keeping the whole in view."

The antithesis of this idea is found in a common Chinese saying: "Treat the head when there's a headache, and the foot when there's a footache." This metaphysical approach exercised considerable influence in certain Chinese medical circles in the past and has not been thoroughly overcome even to this day. In treating burns, the doctor is often confronted by extremely complicated and ever-changing problems. A patient may be simultaneously beset by many ills. Initially, not knowing how to cope with such cases, they tried everything all at the same time. If the patient had a fever, they dosed him with antipyretic; they gave him medicine for his headache and prescribed tranquilizer to calm him down; if he had diarrhoea, they treated that. All these measures were taken at the same time. Now a dose of medicine, then an injection, and then something else. The patient became so fatigued by overtreatment that instead of getting better, he got worse. Such treatment seemed to have taken the "whole" into consideration, but actually it was a piecemeal approach. Then they began to understand that in treating a patient, as in everything else, it is necessary to seize and grapple with the key aspects of a case. In burns, the key problem is healing the burnt area but this must be tackled with a full understanding of the relation of this key aspect to the body organism as a whole and as a sum of parts. If some aspects of the case

are treated — shock or headache, for instance, this has to be done with the key aspects and the whole held in mind, not in isolation. Before they had fully understood this they had, for example, even administered a general anaesthetic in order to give the burnt area a thorough cleansing. This amounted to giving the patient two fresh blows in addition to the burn. The burnt surface was thoroughly cleaned but the case was aggravated. In such circumstances, a few remaining germs might prove to be formidable foes.

Learning lessons from such failures, the unit gradually came to see that it was simply impossible "to tackle the whole all at once," and that the correct approach could only be "to grapple with a part for a start." At every stage, the main therapeutic measure applied should be directed at one specific part. This is one side of the question. The other side is that while "grappling with a part," it is necessary to "keep the whole in view." Some parts have a decisive effect on the whole and some don't. In treatment, those parts that affect the whole should be brought under control first. Depending on circumstances, those that do not affect the whole, may either be treated or ignored. Whether or not a part has a decisive or important bearing on the whole depends on the given conditions and may change as conditions change. For instance, a needle puncture following an injection generally has no effect on the whole organism. But if the patient is extremely weak, germs might penetrate through the puncture hole and cause septicaemia, thus severely affecting the whole organism.

The metaphysical error in "treating the head when there is a headache and the foot when there is a foot-ache" does not originate from "grappling with a part." Quite often, to cure a "headache" or a "footache," one has to start with the "head" or "foot." But in treating the "head" or "foot," one must first of all have a clear understanding of the relationship of that "head" or "foot" ache to the other parts of the body. Otherwise one will be considering only individual parts and not the whole and so may either fail to cure the "head" or "foot," or may "cure" the part at the expense of the body as a whole.

Dialectics in Medical Work

The foregoing is only one instance of their conscious, creative application of materialist dialectics. The members of the unit discuss the dialectics of their work as a regular practice. Often a discussion of a therapeutic programme ends up in a discussion on dialectics. This reporter spent some two weeks interviewing all the ten doctors of this unit. I asked many kinds of questions as my interests were varied, but each time the conversation led quite naturally to the dialectics of the matter. So finally I asked to attend their philosophical seminar, which I did twice. The following gives an idea of what was said at such meetings:

Chang Chung-ming: The proper handling of burn eschar (tissue coagulated by the heat of the burn) is important to the healing of the burnt surface. Eschar

has a dual character. In the past, we paid too much attention to its negative aspect, being over credulous of what is said in some medical literature about eschar being dead matter and therefore very susceptible to infection. As a result of this we always tried to remove it as soon as possible. But later we saw the other side of the question: eschar has a protective value and, if properly sterilized and dried, can protect against infection. So later we turned to the method of protecting the eschar in treating extensive burns. Naturally, its timely removal is necessary when it becomes a hindrance to the growth of skin or granulation tissue.

Tsao Ta-hsing: To prevent or treat septicaemia, we use a lot of antibiotics which have proved to be efficacious. But if used improperly, antibiotics can be dangerous and even fatal. This is their dual character. In the past, we sometimes saw only the positive side and neglected the negative side. In one case, we gave the patient a series of heavy intravenous doses of antibiotics as a means of controlling septicaemia. This so overtaxed his kidneys that he did not have the strength to resist a subsequent bacterial invasion. This painful experience shattered our blind faith in antibiotics and now we always take their dual character into account.

Dr. Kao Chih-jen noted that doctors naturally want to protect and reinforce the power of resistance of the patient by giving him a high-calory, high-protein diet, but they soon learnt that not every patient can eat nutritious foods like meat, eggs or milk. Some seriously ill patients have no appetite for such foods, or cannot digest them. In such cases, in order to eat well, the patient should first eat less. That is, light food such as gruel should be given first and rich food later when the patient is well enough to digest it and has the appetite for it. Thus "eat less" can be transformed into "eat more," and "less nutritious" can be transformed into "more nutritious."

On several occasions Dr. Chang Chih-teh and his colleagues compared treating a disease to fighting a war. The situation is changeable and conditions vary from case to case, each having its own special features. The soul of materialist dialectics is the concrete analysis of concrete things. For instance, we have just mentioned that antibiotics have their harmful side. But if a patient is critically ill and it appears that he cannot possibly be saved without large doses of antibiotics, then the doctor naturally decides to save the life of the patient first and to treat his burns later. Mechanical uniformity is not dialectics. This Burns Unit scored a series of successes precisely because its workers have skilfully applied their knowledge of dialectics.

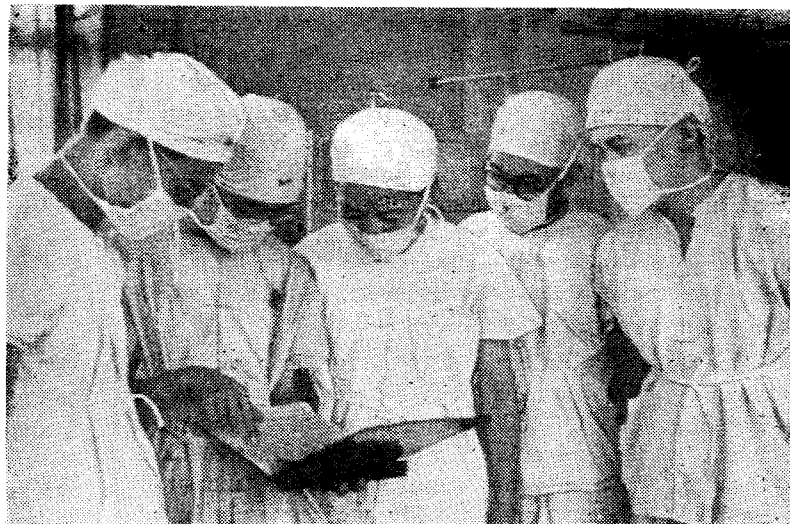
Bold in Medical Practice, Diligent in Reviewing Experience

How did these young doctors achieve so much so quickly? This also involves the question of their attitude to practice based on Chairman Mao's thesis that knowledge comes from practice. While learning from the experience of others, they pay very great attention to their own investigations and studies. Day and night

they are in attendance on their seriously ill patients, keeping a close watch, carefully weighing every new development and noting them down in the case history. Sometimes, within a few days, a case history can grow into a thick volume.

They are tireless in conducting experiments. One example is their investigation and study of *B. pyocyaneus*. This germ is a source of worry to doctors for it can cause septicaemia which is the main cause of death following burns. Patients must therefore be strictly protected against it. But how? Some foreign studies state that since 10 per cent of healthy people carry this germ in their faeces, infection may come from the patients themselves and that it is, therefore, difficult to prevent. At first no one in this Burns Unit doubted this conclusion. Then one of its surgeons went to northwest China as a member of a rescue mission. There he saw a big burn which had not been infected by *B. pyocyaneus* over a period of three months even in the absence of strict sterilization and isolation. This went against all expectations. Was this purely accidental? Knowing that necessity is inherent in chance, they decided to get to the bottom of the matter. After making cultures of the faeces of 1,270 patients, they found that only 1.1 per cent, not 10 per cent, carried *B. pyocyaneus*. This forced them to the conclusion that the main source of infection was not the patients themselves. The investigation therefore shifted to the patients' environment. They made 1,080 cultures and found large numbers of *B. pyocyaneus* on various articles, on the floors, walls or in the air of the ward and relatively heavy contamination with this germ on the hands, working clothes and shoes of personnel in the ward. Measures were immediately taken to sterilize these sources still more thoroughly and to prevent cross infection by the establishment of a special isolation ward and by the strictest sterilization of everything going into that ward. These measures, subsequently improved, have markedly reduced the incidence of *B. pyocyaneus* infection and *B. pyocyaneus* septicaemia which were largely responsible for the high mortality rate in cases of burns exceeding 50 per cent of the body area before 1960.

In early 1960, the hospital was still unable to cure patients with burns exceeding 70 per cent of the body surface or with third degree burns exceeding 40 per cent of the body area. It was the secretary of the hospital Party Committee, Jung Tsu-ching, who then raised the question of summing up past experience in order to find effective means of curing such cases. In preparation for this task all members of the unit once again studied Chairman Mao's works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*. This was followed by an analytical study of every important case treated and every important measure adopted. Many group discussions were held. All this was of great help in improving their understanding of burns and strengthening their



Young surgeons of the burns ward of Peking's Jishuitan Hospital study a case history

confidence that they could successfully heal these extreme cases. They soon had occasion to use the skill and knowledge they possessed.

Some months later, Ma Yuan, a kiln worker, was admitted to the ward; 90 per cent of his body surface had been burnt and of this area 22 per cent had suffered third degree burns. After emergency treatment, his case took a turn for the better.

Some three weeks later came another patient, Kao Teh-shan. He had an 85 per cent burn including 30 per cent third degree. The experience gained in treating Ma Yuan was applied to the new arrival.

Three months passed and the two had not yet fully recovered when two more patients, Chu Lien-jui and Yin Teh-lu, arrived, both with 87 per cent burns. With enhanced experience, the Burns Unit successfully treated the two newcomers. In the short span of seven months they had consecutively created four new records.

Meticulous and dedicated care of the patients, based on a wholehearted dedication to service to the people combined with skilful application of materialist dialectics, had achieved the desired results.

Service — Heightened Skill — Service

Discussing the development of the unit's new attitude to work, Chang Tung, the present secretary of the hospital's Party Committee, told us: "As in the past, so even now the formula 'Heightened Skill—Service—Heightened Skill' still influences the minds of some doctors in China. That is, starting from a desire to increase their skill and knowledge, such people actually use treatment (service) as a means to attain the end of raising their own qualifications. What actually lies behind this is the personal goal of becoming a 'famous specialist,' an author of important scientific papers, a noted researcher, and so on. For this reason, more often than not, such persons actually take a greater interest in the sickness than in the patient! But not all sicknesses, only those that are

useful to their scientific papers or research work, and those that are out of the ordinary. As to ordinary diseases, they would very much rather have others bother about them. This attitude to some extent found expression among the surgeons of this burns ward. But that is now a thing of the past. Now they work according to a new formula: 'Service—Heightened Skill—Service.' That is, proceeding from a desire to be of service to their patients, they try to improve their skill through work in order to be able to serve their patients still better."

They are waging a persistent struggle against the influence of the formula "Heightened Skill—Service—Heightened Skill" and forging ahead along the path charted by the formula "Service—Heightened Skill—Service." At a time when emergency measures were being taken to save the lives of severely burnt patients, Dr. Chang Chih-teh lived beside his patients for several weeks at a stretch; Dr. Wang Chang-yeh's wife gave birth to a baby, but knowing that his wife was well taken care of, it was more than a month before he took time off for a visit home. At the height of the battle to save the life of the kiln worker Ma Yuan, Dr. Tsao Ta-hsing stayed with him day and night, sleeping by his side. These doctors were in fact in attendance in the ward all round the clock. Thus they were able to take the correct therapeutic measures exactly when needed.

Imbued with the idea of service to the people, they have extended the scope of their work far beyond the bounds of the hospital walls. When emergency treatment is needed, no matter when or where, they are always ready to go. This wide ranging practice has enriched their experience and widened their horizons. This wealth of new, first-hand material has contributed to the laying of a solid foundation for the raising of the unit's standards in treatment and research work.

To Make Revolution, You Must Be Revolutionary

We should now give a general answer to the questions we touched on above. What makes it possible for the comrades of the Burns Unit to carry out so well in practice the formula of "Service—Heightened Skill—Service"? What accounts for their daring in medical practice, their diligence in reviewing experience and their steady advance in understanding the dialectics of their work? How has this group of young surgeons in a newly established unit of a new hospital achieved so much?

Underlying all this is the fact that they have learnt to dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to the revolution, to serving the masses.

Through the revolutionary movements of class struggle and scientific experiment, and through diligent study of Chairman Mao's works, the comrades of the Burns Unit have fostered in themselves the idea of "all for the revolution." Without this revolutionary outlook, all that we spoke about above would be inconceivable. Without being inspired by the idea of

"for the revolution," one can never "know how to make revolution."

The surgeons of the Burns Unit have studied revolutionary dialectics in the course of practice and in summing up their experience; they have become revolutionized and are able consciously and skilfully to use the dialectic method.

Dr. Wang Chang-yeh and his colleague said to me: "When we came to understand better the relation between the part and the whole in the person of a patient, we came to see more clearly the relation between the individual and the collective—to see the individual as a part of a whole. In relation to the individual, the Party, the state, the hospital, and the Burns Unit is the whole." In the case of the kiln worker Ma Yuan, it was the socialist state with its great concern for the working people that brought him swiftly to the hospital where it had established the burns ward; and it was the Party and Mao Tse-tung's thinking that had enabled the doctors in this ward to acquire a revolutionary outlook and so to master the laws of treating severe burns that they could save him. In the absence of all these conditions, the life of this kiln worker could not have been saved. Seeing the truth of this, the burns ward staff became more and more conscious that the collective must come before the individual. It is this consciousness and its practical expression in deeds that makes the difference between an individualist and a person wholly dedicated to the revolutionary cause.

When they saw how necessary it is to maintain a strict scientific approach towards all measures of treatment—that is, to understand the dialectical concept of the unity of opposites, they came to understand that it is equally necessary to have the same approach towards their own thinking and work; that in times of danger and difficulty, they should see the bright prospects and that when things are going well, they should give thought to possible difficulties. They learnt that it is precisely when a succession of successes has been achieved that the need to guard against being proud and self-complacent is greatest: that "pride comes before a fall." Experience has taught them that every step forward along the revolutionary path should be accompanied by a search for remnants of individualism in themselves; that when marked progress has been achieved in their work, it is especially important to boldly expose shortcomings and mistakes.

Dedication to the revolution knows no limits; there is no end to learning how to make revolution. As the revolution advances, the problems that arise in every sphere of activity are endless. There can be no resting on one's oars. The task of renovating medical knowledge and practice in the light of materialist dialectics is a formidable one. Inspired by Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the staff of the Burns Unit have pledged themselves to work on boldly in full recognition of the great responsibility of that task.

— KUO WANG-HO

PUBLISHING

Workers' and Peasants' Philosophical Writings

Zhexue Yanjiu (Philosophical Research), a nationally circulated magazine which is published every other month, devotes its recent issue—No. 6, 1965—to 20 articles by worker, peasant and soldier authors arising out of their study of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works. The articles were selected from thousands of philosophical writings contributed in recent months to newspapers and magazines in various parts of the country by factory and building workers, commune members, army men, shop assistants and others.

This special issue includes an article entitled "Holding the Reins of Objective Laws" by the cotton spinner Hsieh Yueh, who uses the example of her invention of a new spinning method to illustrate the relation between analysis and synthesis in cognition and practice. Tan Hsien-ping, a driver who has a record of ten years' safe driving, writes on "Dialectics in Motor Driving." In "Seeing People With a Living Eye," Lu Hsien-hsien, member of a rural people's commune and secretary of a Communist Youth League branch in a production brigade, describes her experience in helping backward comrades catch up with the activists. Other articles are "There Is Dialectical Materialism in Farming, Too" by the nationally known ground-nut planter Yao Shih-chang of Shantung; "What Stops a Man From Listening?" by Keng Chang-so, national model peasant and head of the Wugong Production Brigade of the Wugong People's Commune in Jaoyang County, Hopei Province; and "I Will Learn From Chairman Mao's Writings My Whole Life" by Li Su-wen, a shop assistant of Shenyang, Liaoning Province, who is a Deputy to the National People's Congress.

The editorial of the magazine and a recent *Renmin Ribao* review of the number point out that as the masses' study of Marxist philosophy is clearly aimed at practical application, at solving the problems they come up against, and as they are the people who have the richest experience in practice, they show immense vitality and creativeness in applying Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's fundamental philosophical ideas to their daily life and work. They base their daily work on a grasp and application of the objective laws involved in it. This generates fresh revolutionary energy and a scientific spirit; it helps produce more food and industrial goods, spark technical innovations and carry forward the class struggle in socialist society in the correct way. Their philosophical theses are fine examples of theory drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality.

In "Dialectics in Motor Driving," Tan Hsien-ping writes vividly of many contradictions in driving and the way he solved them. Especially interesting are his views on "driving in a reasonable and unreasonable way" which concern the dialectics of morality and law. To him, these are vital issues. "... Supposing an accident is imminent. If a driver can avoid it by giving the pedestrian violating the rule of the road more room or by stopping earlier, then he should do so. . . . It would seem that reason is on your side if an accident occurs while you have faithfully abided by the traffic laws; but, if you failed to do your best by stopping earlier or taking some other action to avoid an accident which was avoidable, and thus caused loss to the life or wealth of the people, then reason is not on your side and you have failed to do your duty."

"Seeing People With a Living Eye" by Lu Hsien-hsien illustrates the importance of considering people in the light of their development and not

statically. She generalizes this as "a thread through three stages." The thread is Chairman Mao's ideas on the thesis "one divides into two." In helping a youth who is still backward, one must first of all discover his good points, unite with him, and then persuade him to make use of his good points to overcome his weak points. That is the first stage. When he begins to wake up politically and shows actual progress, even though it may be but small, it is best to give him suitable encouragement to consolidate his progress. That is the second stage. But when a youngster has been praised for some reason, it is necessary to pay attention to his negative side and for his own sake give him a timely reminder about this. If this is not done, a "time bomb" is laid and some day it will explode to throw him back again.

Citing such examples, the editorial praises these writings for being vivid and down-to-earth, combining theory and practice and offering a host of fresh ideas. They are indeed easily understood and stand in sharp and striking contrast to philosophical research which is divorced from reality, or thesis writing which is swaddled in abstract thoughts. The emancipation of philosophy from the classroom and bookish knowledge will yield unprecedentedly rich material for the further development of dialectical materialism.

The last two pages of the magazine recommend to its readers' attention a wide selection of philosophical writings of the working people put out by national, provincial and regional publishers. Written either in Han—the main Chinese language—or in the languages of various minority peoples, these writings show how powerful an ideological weapon dialectical materialism is in the hands of the revolutionary people. Theory indeed becomes an immense material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.

ROUND THE WORLD

India

Pangs of Hunger

On January 28, there was a general strike in Kerala State because the food ration was so small that the people found it difficult to keep body and soul together. Factories, shops and schools closed as demonstrators cried on the streets: "Give us rice or shoot us!" The people blocked the roads, pulled down telephone wires and stoned trains to give vent to their indignation; in three cities they clashed with armed police who tried to disperse them. After the Indian authorities made some 100 arrests, including workers, students, trade unionists and political leaders, the strike continued for several days.

The general strike in Kerala has not come out of a clear sky. Time and again the Indian people have been compelled to tighten their belts because of acute food shortages. Recently, the Governor of Kerala went a step further by putting the local populace on still shorter commons: 40 grammes less rice for every adult, thus reducing the already meagre daily ration to a mere 120 grammes. In protest, some 4,000 students left their classrooms to demonstrate while



Reproduced from "Blitz" which captioned it: CITIZEN OF INDIA—1965!

scores of members of the ruling Congress Party staged a silent demonstration before a state government office. To cope with the situation, New Delhi, which has all along been counting on its U.S. friends to feed the people, could only promise to "increase" the ration in the state by 20 grammes—still 20 grammes less than the original below subsistence ration. Hence, the general strike.

The food shortage in Kerala State is, however, not the worst in India. According to the Indian press, there are no fewer than 30 million people in India in acute distress while more than 100 million do not have enough to eat. The *Hindustan Times* reported that in Madhya Pradesh, around 4,000 hungry people in Rewa recently demonstrated in front of the municipal government; about 50 of them were arrested and 150 more were beaten up by the police.

To explain away the serious food situation, the Indian Government has said that in India there are 2,400 million rats which eat up some 26 million tons of grain each year. It complained that but for these grain-devouring rats, India would not only avert a food problem but would even have a grain surplus. In the meantime, the Indian press has suggested men can live without food! According to a December issue of the Indian paper *Statesman*, "some experts are now working on the theory that man can live on light, air and water, giving up cereals." These modern pundits have certainly gone Marie Antoinette one better. Told that the people had no bread, this queen of 18th-century France said: If they don't have bread to eat, why, they can always eat cake!

Ecuador

National Dignity March

Despite a government ban, people of Quito, capital city of Ecuador, on January 28 held a "National Dignity March" near the U.S. Embassy and

the heavily guarded National Palace. They surged forth in the teeth of mounted police who used tear-gas bombs against them. The march was a protest both against the 1942 Rio de Janeiro Protocol imposed by the U.S. which arbitrarily delineated the boundary between Ecuador and Peru and against the U.S.-fostered military dictatorship.

In the last three months, demonstrations against the U.S. and the ruling military junta have broken out in Guayaquil, Loja, Cuenca and other cities. Workers, students and people from broad strata of the population have taken part in these demonstrations. Late last year, at the prompting of U.S. F.B.I. agents, the authorities in Loja tried to quell a demonstration by making arrests and by violence. They injured three of the demonstrators who, fighting with stones and clubs, counter-attacked the police and burnt two police vans.

In the face of the people's growing wrath against the U.S. and dictatorial rule, the military junta has been seriously divided. At the end of last November, Colonel Freile, one of its four members, was abruptly ousted. The Home Minister and Foreign Minister too were forced to resign. The military government which was reshuffled last July, was reshuffled again.

The ruling group has announced its fifth plan to restore "constitutionalism" to Ecuador. It has promised to hold elections on April 1 and hand over state power on September 1. But since it has refused to call a constituent conference and has made it clear that the April 1 voting will be held under its own control, the elections are nothing more than another trick of so-called "representative democracy."

Disarmament Conference

U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Deal

The eighteen-minus-one disarmament conference resumed its meetings in Geneva on January 27 after four months' recess. During this period, observed AP, the U.S. and the Soviet Union "seem to have moved a bit

closer to each other" on an agreement on "non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." This is true, considering the fact that both countries have badly wanted such an agreement to maintain their nuclear hegemony in order the better to prosecute their policy of nuclear blackmail.

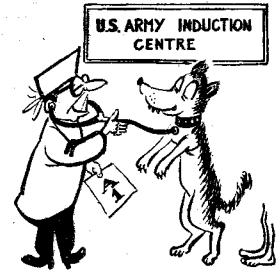
Before the meeting, U.S. delegate William C. Foster and Soviet delegate Semyon Tsarapkin met for about 45 minutes to discuss the procedure for the conference. They "settled everything they had to discuss," said a U.S. spokesman afterwards. At the opening meeting, Foster read out a message from the U.S. President asking the conference to consider a 7-point programme, the first point being to "seek a non-proliferation treaty." Among the other six points is the American plan to place non-nuclear countries under the U.S. "nuclear umbrella" and absorb them into the web of U.S. nuclear strategy. Johnson in his message also linked up the issue of "nuclear non-proliferation" with the Vietnam question. "Differences among the members of the conference on Vietnam," he said, "make our common interest in preventing nuclear spread and curbing the nuclear arms race all the more important to pursue."

THE PASSING SHOW

LBJ's Dumb Friends

The U.S. Defence Department wants more cannon-fodder for the war in Vietnam. "We are going to have to put the screw on the students," says Malone, a draft board director. With the induction rate running around 40,000 a month and the supply of 19-year-olds dwindling, the Pentagon has called on the nation to sell or give healthy German shepherd dogs to fill out the ranks. The dogs are being delivered by jet freighter to help guard U.S. military bases in south Vietnam.

Having doubled the dog recruiting quota of 1,000 last September, the Pentagon is training the recruited Alsations at Lackland Air Force Base in Texas. There, reports AP, "the dogs must pass a physical test and go through eight weeks of basic training — just like any other recruit."



Seeing eye to eye with the U.S. President, the Soviet delegate on January 25 told newsmen that he did not want to make "our discussions dependent on Vietnam," adding: "We are prepared to sign a non-proliferation agreement as soon as possible." Tsarapkin's remarks were welcomed by the U.S. and British delegates. Foster said: "It falls in line with our attitude." Lord Chalfont, the British delegate, noted: "I agree with him [the Soviet delegate]."

Commenting on Tsarapkin's statements, AP said "a unique attitude" on the part of the Soviet delegate was that "he carefully refrained from criticizing any Western government when he arrived in Geneva." AP also noted that "Tsarapkin carefully refrained from attacking or even criticizing the U.S. over the war in Vietnam," and quoted Tsarapkin as having said "the Soviet Union no longer considers the American presence in Vietnam as an obstacle to progress in the Geneva talks."

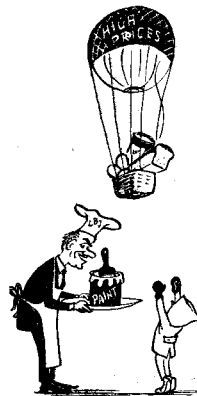
NEWS NOTES

Taking Words From Nehru . . . Living on Paint . . . Who Is the Boss?

The Khrushchov revisionists have found it convenient to use Nehru's words freely to vilify the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle and assail China. They have published selected speeches and writings of the late Indian Prime Minister entitled *Indian Foreign Policy*. Thus, the cause of the Vietnam war: creation of "trouble" for each other by the northern and southern parts of Vietnam. The normal relations between China and Pakistan which are based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are described as "purely for aggression against India." Tibet, which is part of China, is listed as a

country on an equal footing with Afghanistan, Nepal and Bhutan.

In his economic report, U.S. President Johnson cited prices for paint and fruit to prove "price stability" in the U.S. The Labour Department's consumer price index for last December, however, shows that prices are 11 per cent higher than average 1957-



59 prices. In December, the prices of nearly all major consumer goods went up, with bread, vegetables, meat and eggs registering the biggest increases. Other items that have gone up include rent, the cost of medical services and transport and barber shop charges.

Minoru Omori, a Japanese journalist who was head of the International Department of *Mainichi Shimbun*, was recently forced to resign for reporting U.S. atrocities in Vietnam — something not to the liking of Washington. A Tokyo message stated that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency had been wanting to purge several Japanese bourgeois newsmen for reports of this kind. Omori was the first victim.

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- Tuesday:** China in Construction
- Wednesday:** Culture in China
Lessons in Spoken Chinese (broadcast in transmissions marked ● in schedule below)
- Thursday:** In the People's Communes
Song of the Week
- Friday:** Fighting Vietnam
- Saturday:** Opinion in Peking
Music at Your Request
Quiz Programme—What Do You Know About China? (every fortnight, special to Asia)

北京周报第六期(一九六六年二月四日出版)邮政代号二一九二二

Daily English Language Transmissions

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