

PEKING REVIEW

50

December 11, 1964

Chairman Mao's Statement Acclaimed

Anti-imperialist people enthusiastically back his statement supporting the Congolese (L) people against U.S. aggression (p. 5).

Restoration of China's U.N. Seat: U.S. Obstruction Will Fail

Renmin Ribao editorial (p. 11).

Japanese C.P. General Secretary's Report To Ninth Party Congress

(p. 21).

How Industry Helps Agriculture

(p. 26).

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Revolutionize Our Youth!

(English Language Edition)

Published by the **Foreign Languages Press**, Peking, China

This is a report on the work of the Chinese Communist Youth League delivered at its 9th Congress on June 11, 1964, by Hu Yao-pang, First Secretary of its Central Committee. It sums up the experience gained by the Communist Youth League in the past few years, deals with the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism in youth work and maps out the tasks of the Communist Youth League in leading the revolutionization of China's youth.

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

December 11, 1964 Vol. VII No. 50

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December 11, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung's November 28 statement supporting the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) against U.S. aggression has been acclaimed in Asia, Africa and Latin America as a great inspiration to the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world.

- In its December 3 editorial, *Renmin Ribao* hailed the success of the Ninth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party.

- *Renmin Ribao* on December 4 published the editorial "U.S. Obstruction of Restoration of China's Legitimate Rights in the United Nations Will Definitely Fail."

- Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi returned home after visiting Indonesia and Burma.

- The Chinese Party and government delegation led by Li Hsien-nien returned to Peking after attending the Tirana celebrations for the 20th anniversary of Albania's liberation.

- The China Council for the Promotion of International Trade and the Italian Foreign Trade Institute agreed to set up commercial bureaux in Rome and Peking to promote trade.

- The China Peace Committee and the Italian Peace Committee issued a joint communique, calling for the strengthening of the forces of peace in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

- The Kezlesu Khalkhas Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang and the Nukiang Lisu Autonomous Chou in Yunnan celebrated their 10th anniversaries. Speakers at the celebrations in Artush, capital of the Kezlesu Khalkhas Autonomous Chou, pledged to carry the socialist revolution to the end and be ready to smash any subversive activity or sabotage by the imperialists and modern revisionists.

- On December 5, *Renmin Ribao* published the full text of the section on the international situation in Comrade Enver Hoxha's report delivered on November 28 at a meeting celebrating the 20th anniversary of Albania's liberation.

- The Chinese press published:

- Comrade Kenji Miyamoto's report to the Ninth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party on behalf of its Central Committee.

Solidarity With the Congolese People

The wave of anger and protest which was touched off by the U.S. imperialist armed aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) spread rapidly across the length and breadth of China. Mass rallies and demonstrations went on for five days in succession, expressing solidarity with the people of the Congo (L) and condemning the bloody crimes of U.S. imperialism there.

In his statement on November 28 Chairman Mao Tse-tung pledged the support of China's 650 million people for their Congolese brothers and

called on the people of the whole world to unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys (see last issue of *Peking Review*). On the next day and until December 3, eight million people came out in public demonstrations in various parts of the country. Backing Chairman Mao's militant call, they reaffirmed his pledge, plus the determination, in unity with the world's people, to rid the world of monsters.

Peking led the way with a mammoth rally of 700,000 people. Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai,

Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping, Tung Pi-wu and other Chinese leaders participated. For three consecutive days the capital seethed with anger. Well over two million turned out on the streets and roared out their protests against the rape of the Congo by U.S. imperialism.

The support-Congo campaign spread like a prairie fire. In Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, Sian, Chengtu, Urumchi and many other cities, people turned out in their hundreds of thousands, defying heavy rains or blizzards, and shouting "Down with U.S. imperialism!" This protest against U.S. imperialist aggression was a concrete manifestation of the great internationalist spirit of the Chinese people to give all possible support to the Congolese people and to back the revolutionary peoples the world over.

The support-Congo campaign embraced people of all sections. In rallies or demonstrations, they denounced the crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists in various parts of the world, and pointed out that U.S. imperialism was the most ferocious enemy of the world's people. Many emphasized that the Johnson Administration was the chief culprit in the massacre of the Congolese people.

The support-Congo campaign was also a powerful demonstration of international solidarity against U.S. imperialism, the international gendarme. Friends from African, Asian and Latin American countries, from socialist and other countries of the world joined the Chinese people in their mass demonstrations. They carried placards and shouted slogans in many languages. Together with their Chinese fellow demonstrators, they denounced U.S. imperialism and demanded that it get out of the Congo and every other place against which it was committing aggression.

China-Indonesia Joint Press Release

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi, after a friendly seven-day visit to Indonesia, left Djakarta on December 3. During his brief stay, he was received by President Sukarno and he met Members of the

Presidium of the Cabinet and other Indonesian leaders. They shared experience gained in the common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and exchanged information regarding the present-day situation. They also discussed various international problems as well as ways of carrying forward their common struggle.

A joint press release on these talks was issued on December 3. It states that both sides hold that the struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism in the world today are interrelated and cannot be separated one from the other. It declares that, in these struggles, the Asian and African peoples and all the new emerging forces must support each other and strengthen their solidarity and co-operation. China, the press release says, reaffirms its full support for the Indonesian Government and people in their struggle to crush "Malaysia," a tool of British neo-colonialism. The Indonesian side reiterates its strong support for the Chinese Government and people in their struggle for the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations.

With the Second Afro-Asian Conference scheduled to open in Algiers next March, Vice-Premier Chen Yi took the opportunity of his visit to discuss with Indonesian leaders various problems relating to its preparations so as to ensure its success. He also discussed with them the question of holding a world summit conference on the complete prohibition and total elimination of nuclear weapons. Both sides have expressed their determination to continue to struggle for the realization of this aim.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Visits Burma

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi returned to Peking on December 8.

He paid a visit to Burma, following his visit to Indonesia, at the invitation of the Burmese Government. During his three-day stay, he held talks with General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma. On December 5,

General Ne Win gave a banquet in his honour.

Chinese Delegation Returns From Albania

The Chinese Party and government delegation led by Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, returned to Peking on December 8 after attending the celebrations in Tirana for the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Albania.

During its stay in Albania, the delegation toured the cities of southern Albania and everywhere received the warmest of welcomes from the fraternal Albanian people. On December 4, Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, and Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the delegation and gave a banquet in its honour.

Chinese Peace Delegation to Italy Returns

The China Peace Committee delegation led by Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the committee, returned to Peking on December 8 after a visit to Italy at the invitation of the Italian Peace Committee. During its stay in Italy from November 18 to December 1, it held talks with the Presidium of the Italian Peace Committee on the international situation and problems of common interest to the peace movements of the two countries.

A joint communique issued after the talks points out that U.S. imperialism is the ringleader of the enemies of world peace and condemns U.S. aggressive action in south Viet Nam. It expresses opposition to the dangerous U.S. project of a multilateral nuclear force and supports proposals for a world summit conference and for nuclear powers to undertake first of all the obligation not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstance.

The communique protests strongly against the criminal actions com-

(Continued on p. 25.)

Clarion Call in Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung's statement supporting the Congolese (Leopoldville) people against U.S. aggression (see *Peking Review* No. 49) has met with warm response from people all over the world, particularly from the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The consensus is that the statement, which lashes out at Washington's insidious intrigues and inspires the oppressed people with confidence in their struggle, is a fresh blow to U.S. imperialism and its running dogs.

The National Council for the Liberation of the Congo (L) in a communique on December 7 said that it "is deeply moved by Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement issued after the massacre of our population of Stanleyville, victims of the armed aggression by the coalition of the U.S., British and Belgian imperialists." The communique said: "This statement by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, fortifying our people in the excruciating hours of their history, expresses the profound indignation of all the peoples of the world who cherish peace and justice, at the act of banditry perpetrated in the Congo by the imperialist coalition in total disregard of the sovereignty of a state."

Moumengi Felix, Representative of the National Council for the Liberation of the Congo, declared in Cairo on December 2: "We Congolese revolutionaries are very happy to hear Chairman Mao's statement in support of our struggle against U.S. imperialism. We are encouraged and will be constantly encouraged by it."

The Zanzibar and Pemba Afro-Shirazi Youth League declared in Zanzibar on December 7 that Chairman Mao's statement "has tremendously encouraged the fighting people of the Congo, the people of the world fighting against imperialist oppression; it has inspired these peoples with new dynamism and a powerful will to dare to struggle against the most hated enemy of the peoples of the world — U.S. imperialism."

Robert Resha, Head of the Mission of the African National Congress of South Africa in Algiers, said on December 1: "The African National Congress is in full agreement with Chairman Mao in his denunciation of the activities of the imperialists in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We are equally in complete agreement with him in his condemnation of the brutal military intervention by the U.S., Belgian and British imperialists in the Congo."

Raymond Kunene, the Congress representative in London, said that the statement "shows once again the great revolutionary insight into the manoeuvres and

danger of the U.S. imperialist schemes." He stressed: "The memorable words of Chairman Mao, 'All the Chinese people are with you,' ring true. This is because of the dedication shown by the Chinese people to the cause of the freedom struggle of all the oppressed people."

The Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa issued a statement in Dar-es-Salaam on December 1 hailing Chairman Mao's words. The determination of the Chinese people to support the Congolese patriotic forces "should be highly commended by the peoples of Africa." The Congress agreed with the Chinese leader's view that the U.S. imperialist policies of installing puppet regimes and waging war in foreign countries would eventually boomerang against U.S. imperialism itself, the statement added.

Peter N. Raboroko, Educational Secretary of the Congress, declared in Cairo on November 30: "All the people of the world wholeheartedly endorse Chairman Mao's assertion that U.S. imperialist armed aggression against the Congo is a very grave matter. The statement fully exposes the reactionary role of U.S. imperialism in Africa, especially in the Congo." The secretary concluded: "Chairman Mao's statement is clear, direct and forceful and clearly shows up U.S. imperialism at bay. It is a historic document that is sure to find a golden niche not only in the temples of the history of the African liberation movement but also in those of the world revolutionary movement. The statement is a significant landmark in the intensification of the struggle against old and new colonialism."

Louis Nelengani, Vice-President of the People's Organization of Southwest Africa (SWAPO), said in Cairo on November 30: "Chairman Mao's statement is a great document which encourages the fighting people of the Congo in particular and inspires the people in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world in general who are fighting against imperialism." Nelengani declared: "We admire this statement and are sure that it will result in new achievements in the struggle for liberation movements in those countries." It, he added, would particularly inspire the revolutionary forces of the Congo to crush the U.S.-Belgian imperialists and the forces of the imperialist agent Tshombe.

Andreas Zack Shipange, SWAPO representative in Cairo, shared the opinion of Nelengani and emphasized: "The significance of this statement lies in the fact that it comes from one of the greatest fighters against imperialism in the world, one who has himself led the Chi-

nese people to win the struggle against U.S. imperialism." He added that this statement was also significant because of its clarity in pointing out the connection between struggle in one part of the world and that in another.

Solomon Mifima, Head of the SWAPO mission in Algiers, said on December 1: "We fully agree with the statement of Chairman Mao on the Congo (Leopoldville) situation."

Godfrey Gauseb, representative of the Southwest African National Union in Dar-es-Salaam, said on November 30 that his union wholeheartedly welcomed Chairman Mao's statement because it clearly demonstrated the solidarity of the Chinese people with the struggling people of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Tunguru Huaraka, acting representative of the Union in Accra, said on December 2 that Chairman Mao's statement served as "a great blow to the U.S. imperialists who are riding roughshod over the Congolese people." He concluded: "The fact that the heroic people of the Congo are gaining victories over the mercenaries and the Tshombe gang, demonstrates once again the universal truth of the famous statement made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung that U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries are paper tigers."

Litsebe Matooane, representative of the Basutoland Congress Party in Dar-es-Salaam, said that on behalf of the president of the party he wholeheartedly supported the Chinese leader's statement. U.S. imperialism was the great enemy of the world as pointed out in the statement, he added.

Ramagela Tsinyane, representative of the party in Cairo, said on November 29: "Chairman Mao analyses the situation of the Congo so clearly that even those who did not know U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the whole world now realize this." The statement not only encouraged the fighting Congolese people but also called on the freedom fighters to unite and form a united front to crush U.S. imperialism in the Congo, Southeast Asia and other parts of the world, wherever the United States had extended its hand of aggression. As Chairman Mao had pointed out, he stressed, in perpetrating direct military intervention, U.S. imperialism intended not only to control the Congo but also to enslave the whole of Africa.

Thaele Mokhehle, a representative of the party in Accra, described the statement as of great significance. "So long as the people unite and fight resolutely against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, they are invincible."

Molapo Ghobela, representative of the party in London, said on December 3 that Chairman Mao's statement was "a clear exposition of colonialist intrigues in the Congo (L). It admirably links the Congolese freedom struggle with the struggling people of south Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Japan and other Asian, African and Latin American nations." He concluded that it "should convince all the people of the world of the urgent necessity of resolutely opposing global im-

perialism and daring to struggle for freedom and a lasting world peace."

Jason Ziyapapa Moyo, Treasurer-General of the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Southern Rhodesia, declared: "Certainly, the days of U.S. imperialism are numbered in Africa," when he expressed his full agreement with Chairman Mao's statement.

B.S. Madlela, representative of the Union in Dar-es-Salaam, said on November 30: "Chairman Mao is well known for his resolute stand against imperialism and for his support for the struggle for national independence and freedom." Hailing the statement, he called upon all peace-loving leaders in the world "to follow the example set by Chairman Mao in condemnation of the imperialist intrusion in Africa."

Stanley G. Parirewa, representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union in Accra, said: "Chairman Mao's statement shows once again that the Chinese people are genuine friends of the African people fighting for national independence."

The Union of the People of the Cameroon in a statement issued in Conakry thanked the great Chinese leader and the Chinese people for their strong support for the revolutionary struggle of the people of the Congo (L) and other African countries.

Ekwalla Robert and Ngoah Constantin, in the name of the **Bureau of the Steering Committee of the Union of the People of the Cameroon**, said: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement encourages all peoples who are determined to fight for the overthrow of imperialism, for lasting peace, genuine freedom, constant progress and democracy. That is why we fully back this statement."

Ndooh Issac, representative of the General Confederation of the Cameroon Workers in Accra, said on December 1 that Chairman Mao had given "great encouragement to the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for national independence." His statement had "enhanced the consciousness of the people on these continents and armed them with revolutionary ideology."

Williams Nguimbous, Vice-President of the Democratic Youth of the Cameroon, said: "The Democratic Youth of the Cameroon highly appreciate Chairman Mao's statement. We know this is not the first time that Chairman Mao has made a powerful statement which deals a telling blow to U.S. imperialism. But we feel very much encouraged when we hear his voice proclaiming that U.S. imperialism will certainly be defeated."

Valentino Rufu Sithole and Zarica John Sakuriana, representatives of the Mozambique National Democratic Union, expressed in Cairo their support for the Chinese leader's statement and their belief that with the support of the world's people, the heroic Congolese people would be successful in defeating imperialism.

The Swaziland Progressive Party on December 1 greeted Chairman Mao's call and said that it was now

time for all freedom-loving people of the world to unite and rise up against the imperialist aggressors.

Bobby Mack, representative of the Bechuanaland People's Party in Cairo, said: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung has stated that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people all over the world. Are we, the people of the world, going to watch the enemy devouring us with folded arms? No, we must unite and liquidate U.S. imperialism now."

Mohamed Khalal, Chief of the Palestinian Office in Algiers, declared on December 2 that the Palestinian people responded heartily to Chairman Mao's call to take part in the common struggle against the U.S. imperialists. Chairman Mao's call, he added, gave the world people confidence in their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Wijanto, Member of the Permanent Secretariat of the Executive Committee of Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference, said that Chairman Mao's statement "exerts great influence among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting the U.S.-led imperialism and neo-colonialism."

The Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit (People's Voice)* in its December 2 commentary declared that Chairman Mao's statement encouraged and bolstered the world's anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces. The Albanian people, it emphasized, welcome the statement issued by the leader of the great Chinese people, denouncing the blatant aggression against the Congo by the U.S. imperialists and other colonialists. This, it added, was a new proof of the vigorous support extended by the great People's China to the anti-imperialist liberation movement and the cause of national and social liberation of the people.

Hoang Quoc Viet, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, said at a mass rally in Hanoi on December 2 that the Chinese leader pointed out the warlike nature of U.S. imperialism, its insatiable desires and its inescapable defeat. The statement was an embodiment of the firm determination of the 650 million Chinese people to stand always on the side of the Congolese (L) people.

Nouhak Phonsavan, representative of the Neo Lao Haksat Central Committee, declared in Khang Khay on December 2 that the Laotian people fully supported Chairman Mao's statement which, he said, was the greatest and the most powerful support for the Congolese people and all other oppressed peoples in the world. The People's Republic of China, he said, was the most reliable supporter of the national-liberation movement in various countries.

Colonel Them, Acting Commander-in-Chief of the Laotian Genuine Neutralist Forces, expressed in Khang Khay on December 2 his firm support for Chairman Mao's statement, which, he emphasized, lighted the road of the Laotian people's struggle.

Premalal Kumarasiri, General Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party, read out Chairman Mao's statement at a meeting in Colombo on December 1. "Chairman Mao and China are the reliable and consistent friends of those people fighting against imperialism and for national liberation."

Poorna Bahadur, Chairman of the Nepalese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, said in Kathmandu on November 30 that the statement was an inspiration to the people fighting imperialism and old and new colonialism.

The Cambodian paper *La Depeche du Cambodge* in an editorial on December 1 said that Chairman Mao's declaration had profound meaning for all people united in a common anti-imperialist front.

The Pakistan paper *Hurriyat* in its December 1 editorial said that Chairman Mao's statement was not only the voice of the people of China but also the voice of the people of the whole world. It stressed: "No leader of any other state has ever made a statement against U.S. imperialism in such clearcut terms and in such a bold and direct manner."

Hector Villalon, National Secretary of the Argentine Peronist Revolutionary Movement, said in a statement issued on behalf of its Central Committee: "Let the call of Chairman Mao for international unity become the great call for all those fighting for the freedom of their people." Villalon said: "The words of Chairman Mao have evoked a keen response among us. We, from the southern part of Latin America, declare and proclaim our militant support, and call on all people to do likewise."

The Nicaraguan Sandino National Liberation Front, in a statement issued on December 2, said: "We support the call made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his statement on the Congo (L) for unity in action and struggle," adding that "we appeal to all anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the world to unite against imperialism and its lackeys."

The Cuban poet **Felix Pita Rodriguez** said in Havana on December 1 that it was evident that after thorough study of the innumerable cases of U.S. aggression the great leader of the Chinese people came to the conclusion that U.S. imperialism "adds a new noose around its neck every time it commits aggression anywhere."

Ilah Warner, Chairman of the Anti-Imperialist American Residents in Cuba, said in Havana on December 1: "We firmly support the recent statement of Chairman Mao Tse-tung." She added: "There is not the slightest doubt that the armed struggle of the Congolese people will lead to their liberation."

Noted Chilean painter Jose Venturelli said in Havana on December 1 that Chairman Mao's statement reaffirmed the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American people in the great liberation tempest of our era.

Embattled Congo (L) Is Marching Forward

Following is an abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" December 5 editorial. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE joint armed intervention launched by the U.S. and Belgian imperialists against the Congo (Leopoldville) has met with heroic and stiff resistance from the patriotic armed forces of that country. Confronted with the angry protests sweeping Africa and the whole world, U.S. imperialism has been compelled to withdraw the Belgian paratroopers from the Congo (L). But it is still directing Tshombe's puppet troops and white mercenaries to continue butchering the peaceful inhabitants of Stanleyville. The valiant sons and daughters of the Congo (L) are battling fiercely on both sides of the Congo River and hitting hard at the U.S. imperialist-reared puppet and mercenary troops.

The truth is now out. The Stanleyville invasion was a heinous crime masterminded by the Johnson Administration and committed jointly by the U.S. neo-colonialists and the Belgian-British old colonialists.

It is now very clear that the Stanleyville invasion was a serious war move taken by the Johnson Administration for naked armed intervention against the Congo (L). All the spouting by the aggressors about "rescuing white residents" is just so much humbug.

Johnson Administration's Three Objectives

The Johnson Administration evidently had the following aims in mind when it unleashed the bloody attack on Stanleyville:

1. To give the white mercenaries and Tshombe's puppet troops cover to enable them to capture Stanleyville, a strategic northern city in the Congo (L). The direct military intervention by the U.S. and Belgian imperialists was synchronized with the operation of the mercenaries and puppet troops.

2. To wipe out at one stroke the patriotic armed forces in the northeast and then embark on armed intervention on a larger scale to subdue the Congolese (L) people and stamp out their national-liberation struggle. Thus, U.S. imperialism's military operation was not confined to Stanleyville alone, but aimed at annihilating the patriotic forces in a much wider area.

3. To open up a "testing ground" for U.S. "special warfare" in Africa and threaten the African people with force in order to hold down the national-liberation

movement sweeping the continent. The recently unearthed subversive plot against Tanzania, hatched by U.S. imperialism in collusion with the Portuguese colonialists, and making use of the puppet Tshombe gang, is part of the U.S. neo-colonialist plan to intensify its aggression, intervention and domination of the continent.

But once again U.S. imperialism's wishful thinking has been proved wrong.

The bloody assault by the U.S. and Belgian imperialists has further roused the Congolese (L) people and heightened their will to fight. The Johnson Administration certainly did not anticipate the stern and powerful rebuff which the patriotic armed forces and the people in the Stanleyville area dealt the counter-revolutionary forces of U.S. and Belgian imperialism and their hirelings.

Instead of the counter-revolutionary armed forces of U.S. imperialism and its stooges—which are entrenched in cities and along key communication lines—surrounding the Congolese (L) revolutionary armed forces, the latter, deployed in the countryside, have surrounded the former. U.S. imperialism can never succeed in its attempts to suppress the Congolese (L) national-liberation movement by military intervention.

The sanguinary U.S.-Belgian invasion has also served to rouse the whole of Africa against U.S. neo-colonialism. The Johnson Administration certainly did not foresee that the armed aggression against the Congo (L) would touch off such unprecedentedly strong reactions among the African people. From north to central Africa, from the shores of the Atlantic to the coast of the Indian Ocean, people are fired by a common hatred for their enemy and raise their voices against the U.S.-Belgian imperialist aggression. African states and people have come closer together in a movement for stronger support to the Congolese (L) people.

The fact is that awakened and embattled Africa will never bend the knee before the bayonets of the imperialists. The African people will not tolerate the massacre of their Congolese (L) brothers and sisters by the U.S. and Belgian imperialists. Nor will they tolerate any attack by the colonialists or neo-colonialists on African independence and freedom.

Under the unflagging counter-attacks of the patriotic Congolese (L) armed forces and the powerful pressure of the onrushing anti-U.S. tide in Africa and the world, the Johnson Administration was compelled

to withdraw the Belgian paratroopers. This is a setback for military intervention in the Congo (L) by U.S. and Belgian imperialism.

Beware of New Tricks

The Governments of the United States, Belgium and Britain are doing their utmost to conceal the truth. They would have it believed that because the Belgian paratroopers have withdrawn, the possibility of military aggression against the Congo (L) by U.S. imperialism no longer exists and that the U.S.-Belgian imperialist crime of attacking Stanleyville and massacring the Congolese (L) people can now be written off. This is U.S. imperialism's evil design to paralyse the fighting will of the people of the Congo (L) and Africa and escape world public condemnation.

U.S. imperialism will never give up its efforts to suppress the national-liberation struggles in the Congo (L) and other parts of Africa. Events have clearly shown that it is collaborating with Belgian and other old colonialists in engineering renewed military intervention. At the same time, it is trying by every conceivable means to coax and coerce certain African countries in an attempt to involve them in its dirty business and pull off the trick of "making Africans fight Africans." U.S. Under Secretary of State George

Ball blatantly said after the withdrawal of the Belgian paratroopers that there were still whites "trapped," that some sort of new action was being considered by the United States and Belgium and that "it may mean land movements." This amounts to saying that U.S. imperialism may create a pretext at any time to extend its military aggression against the Congo (L).

Written in blood, repeated lessons have shown the Congolese people, and the African people in general, ever more clearly that U.S. imperialism is their sinister and mortal enemy. Now the Stanleyville bloodbath fortifies them in the view that they must not entertain illusions about U.S. imperialism and that the only way to ultimate victory in the national-liberation struggle lies in stronger unity and sustained struggle.

The Congo (L) is fighting on. It is marching forward. On the awakened African continent of the 1960s it is no longer possible for imperialism to put down by fire and sword the struggles of the oppressed nations. Congolese brothers, press forward with your fight! African brothers, unite and act! Continue your support for the Congolese (L) people's struggle! Chop off U.S. imperialism's talons of armed intervention in the Congo (L) and aggression against Africa! The 650 million Chinese people are with you. All the world's revolutionary people are with you.

Brilliant Successes of the Japanese Communist Party's Ninth Congress

Following is a translation of the December 3 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "Hail the Triumphant Conclusion of the Ninth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party."—Ed.

THE Ninth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party, a congress of major historic significance, closed victoriously on November 30.

This congress summed up the rich experience of the Japanese people in their struggles over the last three years and mapped out the line of future action on the basis of the correct programme and line formulated at the Eighth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party. It further cleansed and consolidated the Party's ranks. This was a congress of militancy and unity, a congress which raised high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. It is a great event in the history of the revolutionary struggles of the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese people. As Comrade Sanzo Nosaka said, this congress has become a milestone for further advancing the Japanese revolutionary movement. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people warmly congratulate the Ninth Con-

gress of the Japanese Communist Party on its brilliant successes.

The Ninth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party fully embodied the militant spirit of the Party and the people in opposing U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital and in striving for an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous new Japan. The Central Committee's report by Comrade Kenji Miyamoto, which the congress adopted, clearly points out that the central task of the Japanese Communist Party at present is "to promote . . . all the demands and struggles of the people against the war policy of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, against national oppression, the revival of militarism and imperialism, retrogressive political measures, exploitation and plunder, and in the course of this struggle, to build and develop on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, a national-democratic united front which unites the broad masses of the people."

The heroic Japanese Communist Party always stands in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its flunkies. Under its leadership and inspiration, the mass struggles of the Japanese people have developed vigorously and important victories have

been won in recent years. The united actions of the Japanese people opposing the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," demanding the removal of U.S. military bases and the return of Okinawa and Ogasawara, opposing the "Japan-R.O.K. talks" and the entry and stationing in Japan of U.S. nuclear submarines and nuclear-capable aircraft, and demanding the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and the prevention of a nuclear war have continued to surge forward wave upon wave. Millions of Japanese people have taken part in these struggles. At the same time, under the leadership and inspiration of the Japanese Communist Party, the Japanese people have carried out dauntless struggles against Japanese monopoly capital, against the revival of militarism and imperialism, against the revising of the Constitution, and for democratic rights and a better life for the people. The frequent outbursts of mass revolutionary struggle on such a gigantic scale in a country so tightly controlled by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys has dealt heavy blows at the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and enormously contributed to the defence of peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

The political report of the Ninth Congress emphasizes the need to hold aloft the banner of an international united front to combat imperialism headed by the United States and to strive for national liberation and peace. The Japanese Communist Party has all along been a staunch supporter of the national-democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all continents. The sympathy and support for the Congolese (Leopoldville) people's heroic struggle against U.S., Belgian and British imperialism expressed by the Ninth Congress vividly demonstrates the proletarian internationalism of the Japanese Communist Party.

The Japanese Communist Party has shown by its own struggles that it is not only the loyal defender of the interests of the Japanese proletariat and other working people but also those of the whole nation. This is precisely why it enjoys high prestige among the Japanese people and plays an increasingly important role in Japan's political life today.

The Ninth Congress firmly defended Marxism-Leninism and opposed modern revisionism—the main danger in the international communist movement—and modern dogmatism. In his report, Comrade Kenji Miyamoto condemned the international trend of modern revisionism and resolutely denounced Khrushchov's criminal activities to split the international communist movement. In addition, he exposed the modern revisionists' foul practice of great-nation chauvinism towards the fraternal Parties under the guise of "creative Marxism-Leninism." Proceeding from this firm and principled stand, the Communist Party of Japan has struggled indefatigably and contributed greatly to defending the solidarity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Through this congress, the Japanese Communist Party has become still more closely united under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The congress unanimously decided to expel Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and other renegades from the Party and thoroughly crushed their anti-Party revisionist group. This is a great victory for the Party in purifying and strengthening its ranks ideologically and organizationally.

Yoshio Shiga and his partners worked hand in glove with a foreign country to try to subvert and undermine the Japanese Communist Party from within. Violating Party principles of discipline and organization, they voted with bourgeois Diet members for the partial nuclear test ban treaty which is intended to deceive the people of the world. They collaborated with Right-wing Social-Democrats in sabotaging and splitting the peace movement in Japan. With the support of a foreign power they peddled revisionism and splittism in the country. Now their boss Khrushchov has fallen. Anybody who still tries to make use of such political scum as Yoshio Shiga and his like will come to the same ignominious end as Khrushchov.

The Ninth Congress has put forward the task of building up a powerful vanguard of a mass character for the Japanese proletariat. This completely accords with the needs of the development of the present revolutionary situation in Japan. For 42 years, the Japanese Communist Party has traversed a glorious and fighting path. The burning flames of the struggle have tempered the Party into an ever stronger vanguard of the proletariat. The magnificent victory of its Ninth Congress shows that the Party, by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the actual conditions in Japan, has independently formulated its own programme and line to push the revolutionary cause of the Japanese people steadily forward. With the further development of the revolutionary situation in Japan, the Japanese Communist Party will surely become ever stronger and lead the Japanese people to final victory.

The Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties have forged a profound comradeship-in-arms in the protracted struggles against imperialism. In the past, Japanese Communists gave strong support and encouragement to the Chinese people when, together with Chinese Communists, they took part in the common struggle of opposing the Japanese militarists' criminal war of aggression against China. In the postwar years the Japanese Communist Party, rallying the people of various circles in Japan, has made untiring efforts to strengthen the friendship and unity of the peoples of China and Japan. Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his message of greetings to the Ninth Congress said: "The Communist Party of Japan and the Japanese people may rest assured that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people will stand firmly and steadfastly by your side in support of your great and just struggles." The Chinese and Japanese Communists will for ever support each other and fight side by side in their common cause of striving for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

Restoration of China's U.N. Seat: U.S. Obstruction Will Fail

Following is a translation of the December 4 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "U.S. Obstruction of Restoration of China's Legitimate Rights in U.N. Will Definitely Fail." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE United Nations General Assembly opened its 19th session on December 1 by focusing attention on the question of restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in that international organization.

Before the session opened, nine countries—Cambodia, Albania, Algeria, the Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Mali, Indonesia, Cuba and Burundi—had requested the General Assembly to include this question in its agenda. This reveals that, with the triumphant advance of the worldwide revolutionary struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and the growth of the strength of the People's Republic of China which plays an increasingly important role in the preservation of world peace, the unreasonable acts of U.S. imperialism—arbitrary and prolonged opposition to the restoration to China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations—are meeting with strong opposition from more and more countries and peoples.

U.S. Counter-Revolutionary Policy of Hostility Towards China

For 15 years, the United States has been stubbornly obstructing restoring China's legitimate rights in the United Nations because it wants to keep China's territory of Taiwan under its occupation, and cling to its counter-revolutionary policy of hostility towards the Chinese people.

Taiwan has been Chinese territory since ancient times. Occupation by the Japanese militarists at the end of the 19th century did not at all alter the fact that it is Chinese territory. It was on this basis that the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation stated that Taiwan should be returned to China after World War II. Following Japan's surrender, China recovered Taiwan from the Japanese aggressors and made it a province of China. This was publicly acknowledged by the then U.S. President, Harry Truman, and the U.S. State Department. But to throttle the Chinese revolution and use the Chiang Kai-shek gang entrenched on Taiwan to subvert the Chinese Government, U.S. imperialism, while launching its aggressive war in Korea in 1950,

forcibly occupied Taiwan in an attempt to turn the island into a spring-board for aggression against China. Since then, year after year the United States has used its voting machine in the United Nations to reject, by a "moratorium," the just demand that China's seat be returned to the Chinese Government and that the Chiang gang be expelled.

However, with the international situation becoming more and more unfavourable to U.S. imperialism, and China's international prestige and influence ever in the ascent, the absurd stand and high-handed measures adopted by the United States on this question has met with opposition from more and more countries. No longer can the United States be assured that its "moratorium" can be used to obstruct the U.N. Assembly from discussing the question of Chinese representation. In these circumstances, it played a new trick at the U.N. General Assembly 16th session in 1961; hammering together a majority, Washington rammed through the decision that the question of Chinese representation is an "important question," the settlement of which required the approval of a two-thirds majority. In the past three years the United States has invoked this distorted procedure in its continued attempt to prevent the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

Vile Tactics

It is entirely illegal for the United States to assert that the discussion of China's representation is an "important question."

China is one of the founders of the United Nations and a Permanent Member of the Security Council. After the Chinese people overthrew Chiang Kai-shek clique's traitorous reactionary rule and founded the People's Republic of China, the representatives of the P.R.C. Government naturally became the sole legal representatives of China in all areas of international affairs. This is an internationally accepted principle. Therefore, the question of China's representation at the United Nations is by no means one of China being "admitted" to the United Nations and "acquiring" membership, as U.S. imperialism claims it to be, but a question of expelling the Chiang Kai-shek gang from all the U.N. organs where it has usurped China's seat and restoring to China its legitimate rights there. Since 1949,

revolutions or coups d'état have taken place in many of the U.N. member states, and the new regimes, irrespective of their character, have immediately and legally replaced the old regimes as representatives of their countries at the United Nations. No objection has ever been raised in the United Nations to such changes, nor indeed should any be raised, because otherwise it would be interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and violation of the U.N. Charter. But why should the question of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China be the only exception and even be described as an "important question" whose settlement requires a two-thirds majority vote? This is fantastic! As a matter of fact, this situation is entirely the result of the United States arbitrarily manipulating the United Nations, thrusting into China's seat a handful of Chiang Kai-shek elements whom the United States fosters and protects and who represents nobody, and by every possible means preventing the Government of the People's Republic of China from exercising its legitimate right of representing China at the United Nations. U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to distort the nature of the question of China's status in the United Nations in an attempt to confuse the public and deceive those who are not clear about the matter. Such vile tactics are doomed to bankruptcy.

Recently, Japan's Sato government openly declared that it would continue to "support" the U.S. scheme of considering China's representation as an "important question." The British Labour government also declared its intention of persisting in the old line of the Conservative government on this question. This only serves to expose once more their true colours as docile followers of the U.S. policy of hostility to China. Their stand will not do them any good.

"Two Chinas" Scheme Will Never Succeed

U.S. imperialism is also aware that it cannot for ever exclude China from the United Nations by the "moratorium" or by presenting China's representation as an "important question." That is why it has all along exerted all efforts to press ahead with its "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" scheme. Today the situation has become increasingly unfavourable to U.S. imperialism. The "important question" racket, it seems, will not work much longer. So the United States more barefacedly than ever is pushing the plot to create "two Chinas." It is doing everything possible to keep the Chiang Kai-shek gang in the United Nations for the sake of continuing its forcible occupation of Taiwan. The *New York Times* openly advocated on November 20 that the United States should withdraw opposition to the "seating" of China in the United Nations General Assembly — "always provided, of course" that Taiwan on which the Chiang Kai-shek gang is entrenched, is assured the "right to determine" its future, "including separate membership in the United Nations." Some people in the United Nations, obviously with the blessing of the United States, have repeatedly put forward various proposals in a vain attempt to drag China into U.N.

affairs and make the "two Chinas" a fait accompli. Prompted by the United States, some people are even trying to separate the restoration of China's seat from the eviction of the Chiang Kai-shek clique by proposing that each be voted on separately at the General Assembly when the motion regarding the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations comes up for discussion so that the clique can be retained in the event the General Assembly approves China's "admission."

We must seriously warn U.S. imperialism and its followers: Whatever formula you may try, the Chinese people will absolutely never tolerate the "two Chinas" plot which is interference in China's internal affairs, encroachment upon its sovereignty and an attempt to detach Taiwan; nor will they allow the plot to succeed.

There is only one China in the world and that is the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan is part of its territory. It is only the Government of the People's Republic of China which can legitimately represent China at the United Nations. Whatever name may be used, nobody else can occupy a seat in the United Nations as the representative of China or of part of its territory. Whether it be "two Chinas," or "one China, one Taiwan," or "U.N. trusteeship over Taiwan" or the sending of an "observer" to the United Nations General Assembly, or the "separate vote," invariably, none of them change the underlying theme: all are intended to realize the aim of keeping the Chiang Kai-shek gang in the United Nations. Not one of these will ever succeed. Restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations must go hand in hand with expelling the Chiang Kai-shek gang from all of that organization's organs. These are not two different matters, only two sides to one and the same question which must be settled at one and the same time. Some well-intentioned friends perhaps feel that China might as well recover its seat in the United Nations first and then have the Chiang Kai-shek gang evicted. We fully appreciate these feelings of friends who are anxious to see China play its proper role in the United Nations. But we must point out that this would achieve nothing except falling into the U.S. trap of "two Chinas." Under no circumstances will China accept this. If the United Nations does not evict the Chiang Kai-shek gang from all its organs, the Chinese Government will have nothing to do with it, nor will it undertake any obligations towards it. This firm and just stand of ours is absolutely unshakable. We are sure that all countries which are concerned about safeguarding their territorial integrity and sovereignty will understand and support our position.

U.S. Imperialism in Blind Alley

We would like to tell the U.S. imperialists quite plainly: Your unreasonable actions in obstructing by all possible means the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations have put an "increasing burden" on you, as admitted by the U.S. journal the *New Republic* in its editorial on May 2. It is up to you to decide how long you wish to carry this burden. Your

present insolence in the world and in the United Nations is but a passing phenomenon. History advances in accordance with the will of the people and not with your subjective wishes. Your painstaking but increasingly foolish schemes to create "two Chinas" are doomed to complete failure. This scheme will never be countenanced by the Chinese people, including the people of Taiwan. Nor will it be countenanced by the peace-loving people of the world. Not only does the Chinese Government oppose it, but even your own lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, in order to prolong its precarious existence, dares not openly agree to the scheme for fear of inviting universal condemnation. You have landed up a blind alley as a result of your efforts to seize China's Taiwan. If you regard this as a bed of roses, it only proves that you are the most stupid as well as the most shameless imperialists the world has ever seen.

Neither the steady growth of the might of the People's Republic of China nor its increasing influence and role in international affairs depends on whether it is in the United Nations or not. It is only the United Na-

tions which will suffer if the United States continues to exclude China from it.

The Chinese people would like to express their sincere gratitude to the peace-loving people of the world and to the friendly countries for their vigorous struggle for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. They can trust China. Whether China is in the United Nations or not, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, adhere to the general line of their foreign policy. They will firmly support the peoples' just struggle to combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence. They will staunchly carry on the just struggle to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, strive for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and uphold world peace. We steadfastly believe that truth will triumph. All the U.S. imperialist schemes of hostility to China will be thoroughly defeated. The day will certainly come when China's legitimate rights in the United Nations will be restored.

U.S. "Special War" in South Viet Nam

What Degree of Escalation Now?

by C.K. CHENG

For every one of the past ten years the United States has poured, on an ever increasing scale, men, money and military hardware into south Viet Nam to sustain what *Time*, the American weekly, bemoans as "a dirty, ruthless, wandering war." As the years drag on, hope of victory has turned into despair of defeat. To ward off a calamitous collapse, the United States has not scrupled to make its "special war" in south Viet Nam "dirtier," say, by killing off bungling stooges, "more ruthless" by widely using napalm bombs and toxic chemicals against human beings, cattle and crops, and "more wandering" by threatening and actually carrying the war beyond the 17th Parallel.

IN a December 7 statement a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam once again denounced the United States for plotting to expand the war in south Viet Nam. Referring to the discussions just concluded between President Johnson and "Ambassador" Maxwell Taylor and other senior officials in Washington, the D.R.V. spokesman said. "Because of the interventionist and aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and its scheme to turn south Viet Nam into a new-type colony and military base of the United States the situation in south Viet Nam has become more and more serious." He pointed out that the

slanders the United States hurled at the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam were a smokescreen to cover up the acts of war it was preparing against the D.R.V. and the liberated areas in Laos. The situation in Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China, already grave enough, has been rendered still more dangerous by the U.S. manoeuvres, and peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia are still more seriously menaced, he added.

Since the August 5 air strike, and particularly since the repeated sea and air raids in mid-October, the United States has flagrantly violated the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The latest act of aggression was the air attack on December 1. At 10:15 a.m. 12 U.S. military aircraft, including four jets coming from the direction of south Viet Nam, bombed and strafed several villages in the northern part of the demilitarized zone within the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Earlier, on the night of November 25, U.S. and puppet south Viet Nam warships steamed near and shelled Con Co Island off the northern part of the demilitarized zone.

These were acts of war and were condemned as such by a spokesman of the D.R.V. Foreign Ministry on December 2. China's *Renmin Ribao*, in a commentary on December 4, voiced the Chinese people's support for the D.R.V. statement. The U.S. imperialists, it said, could not hope to extricate themselves from their south Viet

Nam predicament by stepping up the "special war" or by extending the war of aggression to the north. The paper warned the Johnson Administration that fresh military adventures could have no other result than hastening its defeat. *Rodong Shinmoon*, speaking for the Korean people, condemned the U.S. provocations in a similar vein. Masaharu Hatanaka of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs opined that the new attacks signified U.S. reverses in south Viet Nam and bankruptcy of its policies in Asia and Africa.

Escalation a Sign of Desperation

Set back in its plan for subjugating south Viet Nam, a desperate Washington is now bent on expanding the war to the north. Let alone the severe losses inflicted on American forces at the Bien Hoa airbase a month or so ago — which were far greater than the Pentagon had admitted — the lightning raids carried out with such success by the guerrillas everywhere in south Viet Nam have struck terror in the hearts not only of the puppet troops but their American "advisers" as well.

These successes instanced the strength of the south Vietnamese people's forces which now can storm and overrun enemy-held territory of their own choosing and put American trained, equipped and paid-for troops and the Americans themselves to rout. Hammer blows meted out in the first ten months of the year were considerable: 148,764 enemy troops, including 1,987 American "advisers" and servicemen, were put out of action, and 754 enemy aircraft were shot down and as many more army vehicles were destroyed or damaged. Booty included artillery pieces, mortars, heavy machine-guns and other weapons which all went to arm the people's forces. A 15,000-ton U.S. aircraft carrier was blown up in Saigon harbour under the enemy's nose. Thousands of strongly fortified outposts and so-called "strategic hamlets," which formed the linchpin of the ill-fated U.S. Taylor-Staley Plan for winning the war, were demolished. Helicopters, the pride of the U.S. military by which their campaigns are waged became — Americans in Saigon said — just "lying ducks" for the sharp-shooting guerrillas. Thus the latest carefully devised U.S. scheme, tagged the "Pacification Plan," on which the Pentagon depended to stem the tide of the war lay in ruins.

Against this background of piled up reverses General Maxwell Taylor, U.S. "ambassador" in Saigon, was recalled to Washington by President Johnson in late November for emergency consultations to find a solution for avoiding total collapse of the American stance in south Viet Nam. This was accompanied by a fanfare of official and press speculation in America on how the Johnson Administration would try to get out of its south Viet Nam dilemma. On the eve of Taylor's return, there was ominous talk about measures to extend the war north of the 17th Parallel. The *Washington Evening Star* said on November 26 that Johnson's top-level advisers "all favour some de-

gree of escalation as necessary to prevent defeat in south Viet Nam."

According to this report, three degrees of escalation were proposed. The consensus now, it said, was a gradual increase by air strikes against a so-called Ho Chi Minh trail and training and supply bases in the north. If this failed, it went on, a second degree of escalation by air attacks on airfields and military bases in the north were envisaged. A third and final degree of escalation would deal out economic punishment to the north and planes would hit refineries, power plants, and factories. Hanson Baldwin, the *New York Times* military commentator, said much the same thing about Washington's thinking on expanding the war.

This was the underlying theme of General Taylor's interview with *Life* magazine, which received State Department clearance, shortly before he left Saigon. The "enlisted for the duration of the war" general plumped for "aerial assaults" on the D.R.V. as the only way for the United States to hold on to its crumbling position. The stumbling warhorse, who had gone down in defeat in Korea in the 50s, admitted as much when asked by the press in Washington if there had been discussion of bombing north Vietnamese "supply routes." Obviously referring to the degrees of escalation, he said: "We talked about all aspects of the situation — everything you can think of." U.S. policy (read aggression) "remains the same" but "the tactics and methods of reaching that objective" would be changed, Taylor added.

It is clear from the manoeuvres and statements by American officialdom that the U.S. air and sea intrusions into the D.R.V., growing in intensity and frequency over the last two months, were only a prelude to the "degrees of escalation" the Johnson Administration has been contemplating.

To give muscle to the escalation gambit which Taylor took back to south Viet Nam after his Washington talks, the U.S. aggressors have been rushing military reinforcements and increasing the number of American "advisers" from three to five in all puppet south Viet Nam army battalions, as well as war materiel, including 25 more Skyraider fighter-bombers to replace those destroyed or damaged at Bien Hoa. American dollars, according to one Western source, are now being shovelled into south Viet Nam at the rate of one million every nine hours, partly to finance the war and partly to prop up the crisis-ridden puppet regime of Tran Van Huong, the fourth change in yes-men by the U.S. imperialists in a little over a year. In addition, Washington is pressing again for "more flags" in its war of aggression, and Thailand, south Korea and the Philippines have been asked to take a bigger part or, more appropriately, to share the U.S. defeat in south Viet Nam.

But flinging in more men, money and equipment or dragooning its Asian strawmen into the escalation gamble will not save the United States from inevitable and complete defeat in south Viet Nam. Such a policy will only mean a still greater catastrophic defeat.

Documents Adopted at Hanoi International Conference

At its closing session in Hanoi on November 29, the International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace adopted a "Resolution on Viet Nam," a "Resolution on the Support for the Struggle of the World's People Against Imperialism and Colonialism," a "Letter to the South Vietnamese People" and an "Appeal to the American People." Following are the texts of these documents. — Ed.

Resolution on Viet Nam

THE International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace was held in Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, from November 25 to 29, 1964.

Participating in the conference were 64 delegations representing the people of 50 countries and 12 international organizations.

The conference heard and fully approved and supported two reports submitted by the Delegation of the People of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

Voicing the will of people all over the five continents, who love freedom, justice and peace, and progressive opinion in the world, the conference unanimously holds that:

For ten years now, the U.S. imperialists have been seriously sabotaging the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, carrying out their scheme for turning south Viet Nam into a U.S. new-type colony and military base for aggression, perpetuating the partition of Viet Nam, jeopardizing the security of the D.R.V., and checking the national-liberation movement which is powerfully developing in Southeast Asia.

The U.S. imperialists have illegally introduced into south Viet Nam tens of thousands of U.S. officers and men, hundreds of thousands of tons of weapons and other war materials, set up one puppet administration after another, and built a half million-strong mercenary army with a view to carrying out extremely ruthless repression against the south Vietnamese people, trampling underfoot their national independence, their right to live and their democratic rights.

Since 1961, the U.S. imperialists have openly carried out in south Viet Nam an undeclared war which they call "special war." In this war, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have resorted to terrorist raids, massacres and most barbarous tortures, have herded the population into fascist-type concentration camps dubbed

"strategic hamlets" and "prosperity zones," they have even used toxic chemicals as means of warfare to kill the people and destroy crops. These odious facts expose the U.S. Government's deceitful propaganda to the effect that the United States is taking action in south Viet Nam to "defend the independence of this area," "to safeguard the security of the United States," "to defend the free world," etc.

The conference holds that faced with this extremely serious situation, the south Vietnamese people have no other alternative than to resolutely take up arms against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their agents, and wage an armed struggle combined with political struggle for self-liberation.

The conference warmly hails and fully supports the south Vietnamese people's heroic struggle under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, to liberate south Viet Nam, to achieve independence, democracy, a better life, peace and neutrality, and eventual peaceful national reunification.

The conference greatly rejoices at, and expresses its admiration for, the great victories recorded by the south Vietnamese people in their just struggle. These victories have caused the U.S. imperialists setback after setback in their aggressive war, and the Saigon puppet administration to sink into an irretrievable state of continual crisis, while the U.S. imperialists are going further and further into a "tunnel with no end in sight."

The liberation struggle waged by the heroic south Vietnamese people is a shining example and a strong inspiration for the oppressed peoples, and also a great contribution to the safeguarding of peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world. It sheds further light on the following truth: in our time, an oppressed nation, however small, if it is closely united and determined to struggle according to a correct line, and enjoys the sympathy and support of the people of the socialist countries and of the peace-loving people of the world, is fully capable of defeating imperialism, be it U.S. imperialism, and of winning glorious victory in the cause of national liberation.

The conference points out with utmost indignation that to extricate themselves from their flounder, the U.S. imperialists are striving to intensify the aggressive war in south Viet Nam, to incite their allies to engage in armed intervention in south Viet Nam so as to share their burden, and are plotting to use the name of the United Nations to cover up their criminal aggression. On the other hand, they are stepping up their provocation and sabotage against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and plotting to extend their aggressive war to northern Viet Nam. On August 5, 1964, U.S. aircraft

bombed and strafed a number of coastal areas of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On November 25, U.S. warships shelled Tiger (Con Co) Island belonging to the northern part of the demilitarized zone (17th Parallel). These are most dangerous acts of war, a challenge not only to the Vietnamese people, but also to freedom- peace- and justice-loving mankind.

The U.S. imperialists have of late brazenly spurred and directed the pro-U.S. group in Laos to launch large-scale attacks on the areas controlled by the patriotic neutralist forces and the Neo Lao Haksat with a view to sabotaging the peace, independence and neutrality of Laos. They have used Laotian territory to provoke and attack the D.R.V., sent south Vietnamese puppet troops to repeatedly violate the borders and territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia, thereby seriously threatening her independence, peace and neutrality.

It is clear that the U.S. imperialists are plotting to spread the flames of war over the whole Indo-Chinese peninsula, thus seriously endangering peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world.

The conference energetically condemns the U.S. imperialists' impudent acts of sabotage of the 1954 Geneva agreements.

The conference energetically condemns and denounces to world opinion the dangerous character of recent statements by U.S. officials regarding the so-called "possibility of a wider action against north Viet Nam which might become necessary." The conference expresses its full support for the struggle of the people and Government of the D.R.V. to smash all provocative and aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists.

The conference warmly acclaims and fully supports the consistent position of the Government of the D.R.V. and the proposals it has put forward in accordance with reason and sentiment for the full implementation of the Geneva agreements. The conference holds that the correct solution to the south Viet Nam problem and the preservation of peace in Viet Nam, Indo-China and Southeast Asia, is:

1. The U.S. Government must stop at once all its acts of sabotage of the 1954 Geneva agreements and, together with the Governments of the other participating countries of the Geneva conference, strictly implement the Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, and refrain from interfering in its internal affairs.

2. The U.S. Government must put an immediate end to its aggressive war in south Viet Nam, withdraw all U.S. troops, military personnel and weapons from south Viet Nam, remove all U.S. military bases in south Viet Nam, and let the south Vietnamese people settle their own affairs themselves according to the Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

3. The question of the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam is the affair of the people of Viet Nam and must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves.

4. The U.S. imperialists must put an immediate end to all their provocative and aggressive activities against the D.R.V. and respect its territory, air space and territorial waters.

The conference makes an urgent appeal to the world's peoples to launch a widespread movement for the realization of the correct solution mentioned above, to give still stronger moral and material support to the fraternal Vietnamese people, above all the heroic south Vietnamese people now engaged in an arduous struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The conference appeals to the American people to further widen the movement for solidarity with the people of Viet Nam, actively struggle to demand that the U.S. Government end at once its aggressive war in south Viet Nam, and its dangerous aggressive and provocative activities against the D.R.V.

The conference appeals to the Co-Chairmen and the Governments of the participating countries of the 1954 Geneva Conference to take effective measures to compel the U.S. Government to respect and strictly implement the Geneva agreements.

The conference decides to observe every year the 20th of December, anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, as an international day for solidarity with the south Vietnamese people, until the south Vietnamese people's final victory.

The conference stresses that to support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression is the lofty international duty of the world's peoples, and one of the immediate objectives of the struggle for the maintenance of peace.

The conference is firmly confident that given the strength of over 30 million Vietnamese united in struggle and enjoying the ever stronger sympathy and support of the peoples of the socialist countries and the peace-loving people of the world, the people of south Viet Nam will defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war, the people of northern Viet Nam will smash all provocations and attacks of the U.S. imperialists, and the entire people of Viet Nam will build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, thereby contributing to the preservation of peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world.

Resolution in Support of Struggle of World's People

THE International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace comprising 64 delegations representing 12 international organizations and the people of 50 countries of all continents, and progressive personalities the world over, was held in Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, from November 25 to 29, 1964.

The conference warmly hails the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, which is

sweeping like a storm through Asia, Africa and Latin America, repeatedly gaining great victories, dealing hammer blows at colonialism, thus weakening, driving back step by step and overthrowing part by part imperialism headed by the United States and making an important contribution to the cause of world peace. The conference considers this an event of paramount significance in the development of the present international situation and in the common struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

However, the numerous crimes perpetrated by the imperialists and colonialists, especially the U.S. imperialists and their agents in south Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, the Congo, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, etc., show that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have not given up and will never give up of their own accord their cruel rule over the oppressed peoples. They are striving hard to counter the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and of those of newly independent countries by resorting to perfidious deceptive manoeuvres under the form of neo-colonialism, to barbarous forms of repression, and also to bloody war of aggression. As a result, the oppressed nations have risen, and are rising up to wage vigorous struggles in every form, armed struggle and political struggle, with a view to smashing all dark schemes and frenzied aggressive acts of colonialism and neo-colonialism whose mainstay is U.S. imperialism. The liberation struggle of the people of all countries will certainly end in victory although it must undergo a long and arduous process.

Therefore, the conference holds that to extend unreserved support to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, especially U.S. imperialism, to regain and consolidate national independence, is one of the lofty international duties of the world's peoples, one of the urgent objectives to be achieved if world peace and the security of all peoples are to be preserved.

The conference unanimously holds that:

1. Because of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy, the situation in Laos is becoming increasingly serious, and this further aggravates the danger of an extension of the war in Indo-China and poses a direct threat to peace in Southeast Asia. The U.S. imperialists are ever more brazenly violating the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos, sabotaging the peace, independence and neutrality of Laos, the Laotian tripartite National Union Government and the Laotian tripartite talks in Paris, and obstructing the reconvening of the 14-nation conference on Laos. Not only are they unwilling to withdraw all their military personnel and weapons from Laos, as stipulated by the Geneva agreements, but they have sent to that country additional weapons and military personnel from the United States and its satellite countries. They have carried out air raids, and launched large-scale attacks against the areas controlled by the Neo Lao Haksat and the genuine neutralist

forces. They have also used Laotian territory to carry out attacks and provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The conference energetically condemns these acts of armed aggression by the U.S. imperialists and the pro-U.S. groups in Laos.

The conference firmly demands that the U.S. imperialists immediately stop their air raids against Laotian territory and their attacks and encroachments on the liberated zones of the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces. The U.S. and the Right-wing group of Laos must observe the ceasefire order issued on June 24, 1962; they must withdraw all U.S. military personnel and weapons from Laos, put an end to their interference in the internal affairs of the Laotian people, and stop using Laotian territory for aggressive purposes against other countries. The conference fully supports the proposal of the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic and genuine neutralist forces of Laos for the convening of a 14-nation conference aimed at peacefully settling the Laotian problem on the basis of the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos, restoring the tripartite National Union Government, and ensuring respect for the peace, neutrality, independence, democracy and unity of Laos.

2. The frontiers and territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia have continuously been subjected to armed incursions by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration in south Viet Nam. The national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia are being seriously threatened. The conference fully approves and supports the firm stand taken by the Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the people and Government of Cambodia against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the reactionary administrations in south Viet Nam and Thailand. It demands that the U.S. imperialists and their stooges in south Viet Nam put an end to their armed incursions into Cambodia's frontiers and territory and give up their subversive activities against Cambodia and their plot to use the U.N.O. for intervention in that country; the conference demands the convening of a Geneva conference to guarantee the borders, sovereignty, territorial integrity, national independence, peace and neutrality of Cambodia.

3. An important cause of the tension in the Far East and in the world is the U.S. imperialists' illegal occupation of Taiwan which is part of China's territory. The conference voices its full support for the just struggle of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan. It demands the immediate restoration to the People's Republic of China of her rightful seat at the U.N.O.

4. The conference fully supports the just struggle of the Korean people against the introduction by the U.S. imperialists of missiles and weapons with nuclear warheads into south Korea, against the Japan-south Korea talks aimed at setting up a NEATO aggressive military bloc and against the U.S. imperialists' manoeuvres of perpetuating the partition of Korea. The conference demands that the U.S. aggressors withdraw

at once their troops from south Korea and let the Korean people settle by themselves the problem of peaceful reunification of their country.

5. The conference condemns with utmost indignation the U.S. imperialists who are menacing peace in the Caribbean, continuously indulging in provocation against Cuba, intruding into Cuban air space, territorial waters and territory, staging an economic blockade against Cuba, and making use of the Organization of American States to incite their agents in a number of Latin American countries to prepare for a collective armed aggression against Cuba. The conference strongly condemns the U.S. imperialists' acts of trampling underfoot the most elementary norms of international law and blatantly encroaching upon Cuba's independence and sovereignty. The conference unreservedly supports Premier Fidel Castro's five-point demand which it regards as the basic principles to guarantee Cuba's independence and sovereignty, and peace in the Caribbean. It firmly demands that the U.S. imperialists end their economic blockade, abandon their provocative and subversive activities and their armed intervention against Cuba, and restore the Guantanamo base to Cuba.

6. The conference fully supports the stand of the people of the German Democratic Republic on the German question, strongly opposes the attempts made by the U.S. imperialists and their followers to speed up the equipping of the West German revanchists with nuclear weapons; it vehemently protests against the demands of the West German revanchists for a revision of the boundaries in Europe and their schemes of aggression against other countries.

7. The valiant struggle of the Japanese people against U.S. domination, against the re-armament of Japan, and for complete independence, territorial integrity, democracy, peace and neutrality is an important part of the struggle of the world's peoples against imperialism and colonialism. The conference resolutely supports the Japanese people in their urgent demands for the abolition of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," in their opposition to the introduction by the U.S. imperialists of nuclear-capable aircraft and the dispatch of nuclear submarines to Japan, and in their demands for the return of Okinawa and Ogasawara, the dismantling of U.S. military bases and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Japan.

8. The conference unreservedly supports the Indonesian people and the people of North Kalimantan and Malaya who are stepping up their fight to dissolve "Malaysia" which is an offspring of British neo-colonialism and a tool of the U.S. and British imperialists to oppose the people of Indonesia and of the Southeast Asian countries. At the same time, the conference unreservedly supports the people of North Kalimantan in their struggle for independence and freedom; it supports the Malayan people's struggle for genuine independence.

9. The conference fully supports the liberation struggle of the peoples of Oman and South Yemen

against the British imperialists; it fully supports the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the U.S. imperialists' scheme for using Israel as a base of aggression against the Arab countries; it supports the legitimate right of the people of Arab Palestine to return to their native land.

10. The conference vehemently condemns the U.S. imperialists' armed aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) under cover of the U.N. flag; it energetically protests against their air-dropping of Belgian paratroopers on Stanleyville and their gross and illegal intervention in the Congo. The conference fully supports the Congolese people's just struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, for national independence; it demands that the U.S. imperialists and their followers withdraw their military personnel and arms from the Congo and immediately stop their acts of aggression against the Congo.

The conference hails and supports the armed struggle of the people of Angola, (Portuguese) Guinea, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Niger, etc., against colonialism and for national liberation. The conference supports the struggle of the people of the Cameroon, Somali, Chad, etc., for genuine independence and sovereignty. The conference voices its support for the struggle waged by the people of South Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Southwest Africa, etc., against racial discrimination, against fascist dictatorial regimes, for freedom and independence. The conference condemns the Verwoerd white administration's barbarous massacre of South African patriots.

The conference calls on all peoples to condemn the terrorist measures taken against Zimbabwe patriots by the administration of the white minority; it calls on all governments to refuse recognition to the "independence" unilaterally proclaimed by the white minority in Zimbabwe.

11. The conference voices its support for the people of the newly independent African countries who are struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the defence and consolidation of their national independence, and for the removal of the military bases of U.S. imperialism and other imperialist countries.

The conference strongly condemns the intervention and subversion of U.S. imperialism against the United Republic of Tanzania.

12. The conference warmly hails the armed and political struggles of the peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Santo Domingo, etc., against the U.S. imperialists and the dictatorial regimes set up by them, hails the struggle of the Panamanian people for the return of the Panama Canal, and hails the struggle of the people of (British) Guiana and other colonies in the Caribbean for democracy, freedom, and national independence. It warmly hails the national and democratic movement which is developing all over Latin America. These are hammer

blows dealt at the U.S. imperialists in the very places they have always regarded as their "backyard." The conference fully supports the Latin American peoples' struggle against the U.S. imperialists' domination and exploitation, for genuine independence and sovereignty, peace, democracy and social progress.

13. The conference warmly hails and supports the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination and racial oppression and exploitation, for freedom and equality, which is vigorously mounting and has become a mass movement throughout the United States, in spite of bloody suppression by the fascist U.S. Government which is pursuing a policy of racial discrimination. This struggle is exposing the deceitful character of the so-called "freedom" in U.S. society today.

14. The conference voices its full support for the struggle of the people of Oceania, Europe and Canada against U.S. military bases. The conference supports the people of all countries in their struggle against the aggressive military alliances of NATO, ANZUS, CENTO, SEATO, for the safeguarding of national sovereignty and the defence of peace. The conference unanimously supports the struggle of the Cypriot people to defend national independence and sovereignty against imperialism.

The conference stresses that colonialism and neo-colonialism must be eliminated, all imperialist military bases, particularly those of the U.S. imperialists, in foreign countries, should be removed, the national sovereignty of all countries should be respected. The conference firmly believes that all oppressed peoples will regain their freedom and independence. This is the irresistible trend of history. Closely united and resolutely struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the U.S. imperialists, and enjoying the support of the peoples of the socialist countries and of the freedom-peace- and justice-loving peoples the world over, the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries will certainly win final victory in their struggle for national independence, democracy and social progress and make great contributions to the preservation of world peace.

Letter to South Vietnamese People

Dear Friends,

The International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace was held in the capital city of Hanoi from November 25 to 29, 1964.

On behalf of the peoples of the five continents, we cordially extend to the heroic south Vietnamese people our warmest greetings.

The peace- and justice-loving peoples all over the world, including the American people, have been fol-

lowing with deep sympathy and ever more actively supporting your unyielding struggle against the U.S. imperialists the most wicked enemy not only of the Vietnamese people but of all peace-loving people all over the world.

Your patriotic struggle is shining with the just cause of a people determined to defend its sacred rights, to oppose the dirtiest and most ferocious aggressive war of our time.

Fighting with home-made arms and weapons captured from the enemy, against the armed forces of the U.S. imperialists equipped with the most modern weapons, you have shown extraordinary valiant fighting spirit. The immortal illustration of this spirit are the fighters at Ap Bac, Bien Hoa, hero Nguyen Van Tvoi and countless unknown heroes.

Relying on the solidarity and single-mindedness of the people from all walks of life, displaying the highest spirit of self-reliance, cleverly combining political struggle with armed struggle, you have been carrying out a national, all-sided and protracted war of resistance. Such a line of struggle is thoroughly correct. You have derived precious experience for the oppressed peoples in the world who are struggling for the complete elimination of colonialism, old and new, headed by U.S. imperialism.

You have repeatedly inflicted heavy defeats upon the U.S. imperialists and won victory after victory. In the vast liberated zones, democratic liberties are ensured, human dignity is respected and enhanced, living conditions have been gradually improved.

The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the organiser and promoter of all your victories, enjoys great prestige in the country and in the world.

Your ever greater victories have stimulated the oppressed peoples to fight resolutely for independence, democracy, peace and social progress. They are inspiring and encouraging the peace-loving forces to foil all schemes of war provocation of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and to defend peace and civilization.

Your just and inevitable victorious struggle is not only a bright example for the revolutionary movement of national liberation, but also a most important contribution to the cause of preservation of peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world.

The U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated in south Viet Nam as they will be defeated in Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and other places in Southeast Asia, in the Congo and other African countries, the Caribbean area, Latin America, Cyprus, and other parts of the world.

Dear friends,

We have followed with great interest the report on the situation in south Viet Nam presented by the Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. We are very happy at your resounding exploits and greatly moved by the sufferings inflicted on you by the U.S. imperialists. We could hardly

contain our emotion on seeing a boy covered with scars left by napalm bombs. We felt greatly indignant on learning that the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen had availed themselves of the terrible flood in the provinces of south central Viet Nam to intensify terrorist acts and to massacre the population in the submerged areas.

We have vehemently condemned the monstrous atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists in your beloved land. We wish to convey our deepest sympathy to the families of war dead and of flood victims.

The peoples of the five continents regard your struggle as their own. We are giving you support in different forms. In face of the extremely serious situation in south Viet Nam caused by the U.S. imperialists, we are resolved to organize people's movements in different countries to further increase our support for you, so that you may soon drive the U.S. imperialists out of south Viet Nam.

We have unanimously adopted resolutions on urgent measures to be taken in co-ordination with your efforts to struggle resolutely against U.S. imperialism and its henchmen and realize your legitimate aspirations, embodied in the Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, of independence, democracy, improvement of the people's living conditions, peace, neutrality, ultimate peaceful national reunification.

We assure you that the world's peoples will further spearhead their struggle against the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists, that the activities of the world's peoples in support of Viet Nam in the struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism will increase in intensity and scope.

Realities in Viet Nam have proved that the U.S. imperialists are unchangingly bellicose and reactionary. They are seeking at all costs to stay in south Viet Nam and will continue to cause many difficulties and sufferings for you. But it is our firm belief that with the solidarity and unity of purpose of the Vietnamese people, with your tradition of undaunted struggle and spirit of heroic sacrifice, with a correct revolutionary line, with the strong support of the socialist camp, of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, of the forces of peace and democracy all over the world, final victory will be yours.

U.S. imperialism must get out of south Viet Nam!

South Viet Nam will certainly be liberated!

Viet Nam will certainly be peacefully reunified!

Appeal to American People

THIS is an appeal to the American people to raise their voices and stop the undeclared war the U.S. Government is conducting against the people of south Viet Nam. It is the most cruel and murderous war going on anywhere in the world, where the casualties

of war and the victims of torture and imprisonment already number nearly one and a half million, not counting other millions who are being herded into the concentration camps known as "strategic hamlets." It is a war where innocent civilians are beheaded and disembowelled, bombed with napalm and sprayed with poisonous chemicals.

It is an unjust war of U.S. imperialist aggression against a people determined to be free. There would have been no war if the U.S. Government had abided by its promise not to use force or threat to hinder the carrying out of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam.

The U.S. imperialists are losing this war and the longer it continues the greater will be their defeat. Led by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the people of south Viet Nam, united and determined in their struggle, have smashed every war plan the U.S. command has devised, and overcome the most advanced weapons.

Now the Johnson Administration is threatening to carry the war to the north. Since the "Tonkin Gulf incident" engineered on August 5 by the U.S. imperialists to attack northern Viet Nam, acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have been steadily increased. The U.S. imperialists will never win such a war, either, but more people would suffer, including the American people. If the Johnson Administration continues on this reckless course, the danger to peace in Southeast Asia and the world will become more serious.

The International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace, comprising delegates from all five continents, fully approves the correct solution put forward by the Vietnamese people for ending the war, namely, the U.S. Government must:

1. Respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam;
2. Withdraw its troops and weapons from south Viet Nam, let the south Vietnamese people settle their own affairs;
3. Stop its acts of provocation and war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Is not this the very minimum that the American people demand for themselves—the right to settle their own affairs without the presence of foreign troops on U.S. soil? Then how can Americans refuse to support these legitimate demands of the Vietnamese people?

Americans, speak up. Protest resolutely against the U.S. Government's plot to widen the Viet Nam war. Demand that the U.S. Government withdraw U.S. troops and stop forthwith the criminal war of aggression against the people of south Viet Nam.

This is only your interest and your duty. Act now!

Kenji Miyamoto's Report to Ninth Congress of Japanese C.P.

Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Japan, made a 160,000-word report on behalf of the Party's Central Committee to the Ninth Congress of the Party on November 24. The report was published in "Akahata" on November 25. It consists of four parts: the domestic and international situation, the struggle of the Japanese people and the central tasks of the Party, the international communist movement and the tasks of the Party, and the building of a strong mass vanguard Party. Following are excerpts from the first two parts. Excerpts from the remaining two parts will appear in a subsequent issue. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

I. Domestic and International Situation

DEVELOPMENTS at home and abroad since the Party's Eighth Congress and the progress in the struggle waged by the Party and the people, the report points out, demonstrate that the analysis of the domestic and international situation—affirmed by the Party's Eighth Congress and again presented at the Fourth and Seventh Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee and in the resolutions of the subsequent Central Committee meetings—and the Party's general line, principles and policies formulated on this basis, are basically correct. The important thing is that the whole Party should henceforward continue to adhere firmly to this basic position, and, in accordance with new developments, make effective and develop this position more concretely, demonstrate its determination to wage tit-for-tat struggles against the two enemies of the Japanese people—U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital which is subservient to and forms an alliance with it—and guide the Party's and the people's struggle more correctly.

The report notes that the biggest imperialist country at present—the United States—is in a process of most serious decline and decay. In the face of the difficulties and crisis U.S. imperialism is encountering everywhere because of the policy of world domination which it pursues, it is intensifying its policies of aggression and war.

The establishment of an international united front against U.S. imperialism, particularly in Asia, has become an important and urgent matter, the report says.

U.S. imperialism, using Japan as a base for aggression against Asia, has launched flagrant military

action against the southern part of Viet Nam and other areas in Indo-China. Thus, the Japanese people's struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces is directly linked with the struggles of the Vietnamese and other Asian peoples against U.S. imperialist aggression.

The report continues that, as the Eighth Party Congress pointed out, the development of the whole international situation remains "unfavourable to U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital which is subservient to it, but favourable to the Japanese people who are fighting against them." These favourable objective conditions open up new prospects for the Japanese people's struggle. This situation tells us once more that **in the final analysis, unity for struggle on the part of the peoples of various countries who oppose imperialism is the invincible force that determines the situation today.**

The modern revisionists assert that "it is the socialist system which is the decisive factor in international orientation" and they maintain that a favourable development of the international situation is possible only by mainly relying on the strengthening of the socialist countries. This idea, in the last analysis, amounts to asking the people's movement to rely on external forces and wait for the economic construction of socialist society; it is an opportunist idea.

The report says that U.S. imperialism attaches special significance to Japan which it regards as a foothold for pushing ahead its aggressive policy in Asia centred around the policy of "containing China"—a policy which has become one of the pivotal points of U.S. global policy. In accordance with the San Francisco Peace Treaty, U.S. imperialism continues to control Japan and has been persistently pushing ahead with its policy of arming Japan with nuclear weapons.

The report points out that Japanese monopoly capital which is tied to the apron strings of the United States has recovered and gained strength; the moves to revive militarism and imperialism have mounted swiftly and the complex contradictions of Japanese monopoly capital have sharpened conspicuously. In these circumstances, the Japanese monopoly capitalists have vigorously devoted themselves to capital concentration and the centralization of production. They have rapidly grown in strength, reinforced their international and domestic positions, intensified their oppression of and rule over the workers, peasants, and all other strata of society including the middle and petty bour-

geoisie, tried their utmost to achieve expansionist aims abroad and even threatened the interests of the people of other Asian countries.

The conflict of interests and contradictions between U.S. and Japanese monopoly capital has also widened. Japanese disputes with the United States have become ever more sharp on such questions as "buy American goods" "use American vessels," restriction of trade with China, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the export of textiles and steel and other commodities to the United States, "liberalization" of investment in Japan, interest equalization tax, Japanese-U.S.-Canadian fishery treaty, U.S. intervention in sea transport cartels, etc.

The report says: We should correctly understand Japan's present position and overall Japanese-U.S. relations, correctly assess the ever more sharp contradictions within the U.S.-Japanese ruling classes and among Japanese monopoly capitalists and make use of these contradictions to advance the people's struggle. While attaching importance to this practice, we should adhere to the position indicated in the Party Programme: earnestly waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the two enemies of the Japanese people — U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital — as well as their anti-national and anti-people's policies, taking the overthrow of the rule of the two enemies as the goal and carrying the struggle through to the end. It has become more and more important to act in this way. **"On this point, the anti-Party revisionists advocate that we refrain from struggling against U.S. imperialism and single out Japanese monopoly capital as the enemy of the Japanese people. The result is that they even want us to refrain from struggling against Japanese monopoly capital. This proposition is most dangerous to the Japanese people's struggle.** On the other hand, the proposal mechanically to apply the international united front against U.S. imperialism to the domestic situation and reduce it to a lopsided 'patriotic anti-U.S.' struggle, in fact, requires that we refrain from struggling against Japanese monopoly capital. This is a dangerous error of modern dogmatism."

Increased activities under the wings of the United States to revive militarism and imperialism have further promoted class differentiation and sharpened class antagonism, the report states.

It continues that according to a survey made in 1962 the working class accounts for 53 per cent of the employed population, whereas the proportion of the peasants and fishermen has decreased to 29 per cent. Thus, numerically, too, the working class has become the largest and decisive class force. This, coupled with the increase in the number of workers who do some farm work in their spare time, has made conditions for a worker-peasant alliance increasingly mature.

Class differentiation among the peasants is also growing drastically. It is estimated that the propor-

tion of poor peasants and agricultural workers, which has shown a marked increase, now accounts for 75 to 80 per cent of the rural population.

The report points out that the consequences of oppression and rule by the U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces find most concentrated expression in the poverty and hardships of all sections of the people.

The present overall domestic situation is characterized by the fact that, relying on the provisions of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and putting emphasis on the policies of war and aggression, of reviving militarism and imperialism, the U.S.-Japanese ruling classes have stepped up their anti-national and anti-people's policies. That is why all political and economic contradictions and difficulties in Japan have been increasingly exposed. Not only have Japan's independence and security been further harmed but wider sections of the people have been subjected to misery and sufferings. Objective conditions have become ever more ripe for the Japanese people to integrate their demand for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality with the pressing need for an improved standard of living. This will inevitably be developed into a fiercer struggle against the domination of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

In order to counter the people's struggle, overcome their own contradictions and save their tottering regime, the U.S.-Japanese ruling classes have intensified their two-faced policy to attack the people and to execute their anti-national and anti-people's policies.

The report says that all developments in Asia and Japan and all the assaults launched by the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces against the Japanese people have increasingly aggravated the struggle between two roads — a struggle which determines the Japanese path of advance. **The major task of the Party is to promote and develop the demands and struggles of the various sections of the Japanese people against the anti-national and anti-people's policies pursued by the U.S.-Japanese ruling classes, and then unite all these efforts to form a national-democratic united front, to unite firmly with the peoples in Asia and other parts of the world so as to build an independent, democratic, peaceful new Japan and achieve new progress.** Developments at home and abroad give us new and firm confidence to accomplish the above-mentioned tasks.

The report, in particular, makes an analysis of the changes in the domestic and international situation over the last two months. It says: the main characteristic of the developments at home and abroad during this period is that the struggle by the people in the socialist countries and all peoples of the world against imperialism has forged further ahead and that U.S. imperialist global policy pivoting on the "containment of China" and aggression in Asia is leading to bankruptcy at a faster pace and so is the modern revisionist line which objectively has always played the role of aiding this U.S. policy.

The Chinese nuclear test and subsequent developments, the report says, show that the U.S. imperialist policy of seeking to attain nuclear monopoly through the U.S.-U.S.S.R.-U.K. partial nuclear test ban treaty and to "contain China" in the Far East is foundering.

The report says: We are well aware of the firmly held views of the Japanese people, thrice victims of atomic and nuclear calamities, in their opposition to atomic and hydrogen bombs. Precisely because of this, it is necessary to take the overall situation into consideration and strive to prevent the danger of nuclear war and achieve the complete prohibition of nuclear tests at the same time, and to understand the question of China's nuclear test by looking ahead to the future within the perspective of world history. It is also necessary to point out that the source of the nuclear arms race is precisely U.S. imperialism, which never thinks of abandoning once for all its attempts to possess and use nuclear weapons, but instead continues to prepare for nuclear war. This is the primary obstacle to the prohibition of the use, testing, manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, that is, complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The situation after China's nuclear test makes the objective of the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons demanded by the world's people more attainable than ever before. China's proposal for a world summit conference to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons is reasonable and compatible with our Party's consistent stand and the line indicated in the resolutions of the Tenth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, the report says.

During this period the international trend of modern revisionism in the international communist movement and the socialist camp has received heavy blows as a result of Khrushchov's ouster by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Marxist-Leninist parties of the world, the forces of peace which are really against imperialism and the militant new emerging forces regard this as a good thing. Khrushchov's fall is factual proof of the contradictions and bankruptcy of the anti-Marxist-Leninist stand and line which the international trend of modern revisionism has all along stuck to. The new situation brought about by Khrushchov's fall is inspiring the anti-imperialist forces of peace throughout the world and creates conditions for the further development of their struggle.

The report goes on to say: Lyndon Johnson's election merely shows that U.S. monopoly capital still refrains from supporting the open and undisguised policies of reaction and war advocated by Goldwater and prefers the dual policies of war and reaction wearing the mask of "peace" and "progress." It also does nothing more than illustrate the fact that U.S. monopoly capital on the one hand wants to use the certain degree of "relaxation" achieved with the Soviet Union to deceive the people and, on the other, to persist in the execution of its ferocious imperialist policy in the ag-

gressive wars in Indo-China and the Congo and in various parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Closing their eyes to this all too obvious fact, the modern revisionists consider Goldwater alone as a ferocious, savage aggressor but regard Johnson as a peaceful statesman. Nothing is more harmful than this view of the revisionists.

Khrushchov's fall and the success of China's nuclear test, the report says, have also greatly shocked Japanese monopoly capital. Particularly, China's successful nuclear test and its proposal for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, which is supported by the peoples of various Asian countries, has still further isolated Japanese monopoly capital's foreign policy of subservience to the United States and of hostility to China.

Recently, the report says, within a short span of time, the Japanese people's widespread struggle against oppression by the U.S.-Japanese ruling classes has experienced a big development and upsurge throughout the country. And it has become ever more clear that conditions are shaping up for the realization of the militant unity of the broad peace and democratic forces.

Like the Ikeda cabinet, the Sato cabinet is a government which loyally executes an anti-national and anti-people's policy at the beck and call of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. The Sato cabinet is making new efforts to further push ahead its policy of reviving militarism and imperialism, a policy which centres around Japan's attempt to achieve nuclear armament and revise its Constitution, and to pursue a policy of protecting monopoly capital and plundering the people. Thus, this cabinet has taken a more reactionary path than the Ikeda cabinet.

II. The Japanese People's Struggle and The Party's Central Tasks

In this part, the report begins with a summing-up of the Japanese people's major struggles in the past three years and the lessons derived from them. The report says: in the last three years in keeping with the Party Programme, the line presented in the political report of the Eighth Party Congress and "The Present Demands of Our Party," we have stood in the vanguard of the struggle waged by the various sections of the Japanese people for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and a better standard of living, and striven to prosecute these demands and struggles correctly. Meanwhile, at different stages we have clearly set forth the tasks for the common struggle by the people and the democratic forces, and have worked hard to advance the united action and united front against imperialism and monopoly capital.

The fruitful results of the mass struggles, the report says, have been obtained under difficult conditions in which the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces,

the Right-wing social democrats and the anti-Party revisionists have further stepped up their attacks on the Party and intensified their scheming to split the democratic forces, and in which the international trend of modern revisionism began its public attack on our Party. These results are precious for the advance and development of the Party and the united front.

The report points out that practice, as demonstrated by the Party's activities in the three years since its Eighth Congress, has shown that the Party Programme and political line are correct. However, in the past three years, shortcomings as a result of deviation from the Party Programme and political line, particularly the Political Bureau's error in regard to its guidance of the April 17 strike, have appeared.

Thanks to the initiative of the Party Central Committee in making self-criticism and giving leadership, these mistakes were quickly overcome.

All in all, it may be said that the increase, development and reinforcement of the Party's strength in the last three years has been the main aspect of its work. But considering the present urgent situation and the tasks the Party must fulfil, these achievements remain preliminary ones. The whole Party must draw lessons from the experience of its work in the past, develop its merits and overcome its weakness and shortcomings, strengthen the mass work, enhance and reinforce the Party's strength and work even harder to build a national-democratic united front.

The report goes on to say that **the whole Party must constantly and consciously hold high the four banners derived from the general line based on the Party Programme. These are: the banner of the democratic revolution against imperialism and monopoly capital, the banner of the national-democratic united front, the banner of building a powerful Communist Party of Japan, and the banner of opposition to imperialism headed by the United States and striving for an international united front for national liberation and peace.**

The report declares: **"The central task of our Party at present remains to promote, in the light of the revolutionary prospects pointed out by the Party Programme, all the demands and struggles of the people against the war policy of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, against national oppression, the revival of militarism and imperialism, retrogressive political measures, exploitation and plunder, and in the course of this struggle, to build and develop on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, a national-democratic united front which unites the broad masses of the people."**

"To fulfil this central task, our Party, while holding high the four banners, must go all out to complete the following six immediate tasks of struggle," the report says.

The first task is to strive for Japan's independence, security and neutralization.

The second is to defend Asian and world peace and strive for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

The report says: On the question of the "territory in the north," our Party is convinced that only after Japan's independence and neutrality have been realized will there be a real possibility of making a new approach to the question of the south Kurile Islands in the light of Asian peace and on the basis of the friendship of the Japanese and Soviet peoples.

The third is to intensify the struggle, to ally closely with and support the people of the world and the oppressed nations in their struggle against imperialism and for human progress.

The fourth is to oppose the policy of the U.S. and the Japanese ruling classes in reviving militarism and pursuing reactionary policies and to defend and extend the democratic rights won by the Japanese people since the war.

The fifth is to oppose exploitation and plunder by U.S. and Japanese monopoly capital, defend the Japanese people's livelihood, strive for the independent and peaceful development of Japan's economy and for a secure livelihood and for a higher standard of living.

The sixth is to oppose U.S. imperialist ideological and cultural aggression, oppose the attempts of Japanese monopoly capital to make ideology, culture and education reactionary, militaristic and decadent, strive for the development and popularization of Japanese culture along national and democratic lines and for national and democratic education and propagate among the masses a progressive and scientific ideology centring on Marxism-Leninism.

The report then sets forth ten urgent major demands in the present struggle. These include opposition to the calling of U.S. nuclear submarines at Japanese ports, abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, restoration of diplomatic relations with China, and opposition to the "two Chinas" plot.

In order to correctly develop mass work, the report points out, the Party should skilfully master the mass line in work and correctly establish relations between itself and mass organizations. This is an important task.

One of the major tasks ahead is to pay constant attention to the many lessons summed up from the April 17 strike—such as the relations between political and economic struggles, and between economic and political strikes, the struggle against suppression and provocations, the proper relations between the Party and trade unions, and the ways of expressing the views of the Party in trade unions—and to overcome rapidly the shortcomings of Party activity in the working-class movement, the report says.

The report goes on to define the policies and work of the Party in regard to workers, peasants, fishermen,

tribes still to be emancipated, labouring townfolk, middle and small businessmen, intellectuals, women, students and young people, etc.

Referring to the struggle in the ideological, educational and cultural spheres, the report points out that one of the Party's main tasks on the ideological front is to correctly study the achievements and drawbacks in the past three years, and on this basis fight against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries who have launched a reactionary ideological offensive and against the Right-wing social democrats and the revisionists in their anti-communist and anti-Marxist-Leninist activities in the ideological fields, to study the various aspects of current domestic and international questions in the political, economic and ideological fields scientifically, systematically and according to Marxist-Leninist viewpoints, and to point out the correct orientation for realizing the people's demands and for the development of society.

Exposing the anti-Party revisionists' splitting and disruptive activities, the report says Khrushchev's sudden removal from office is a staggering blow for Yoshio Shiga, Shigeo Kamiyama and other renegades and has utterly discredited their blind obedience to the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and their blind faith in Khrushchev, and has torn their logic to pieces.

The report says: So long as the whole Party strengthens its struggle against the anti-Party revisionist group, these modern revisionist degenerates will not escape the fate of being isolated from the Japanese people and heading once again towards total bankruptcy and decline, even though they may work in collusion with certain foreign forces, form a new anti-Party group and carry out for a time wild sabotage against the Party.

The theory of the anti-Party revisionists of Japan has taken shape under the direct influence of the international trend of modern revisionism and at the same time, together with the Yugoslav revisionists, they form one of the spearheads of modern revisionism. Our Party's ideological struggle against them and the successes achieved are also of important pioneering significance for the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism on a global scale.

Our Party published a series of articles and letters criticizing the revisionist theory and viewpoint propagated by the international trend of modern revisionism at a time when the C.P.S.U. leadership intensified its attacks on our Party and when the anti-Party revisionists, in overt collaboration with the international trend of modern revisionism, plotted disruptive activities against our Party. This series of articles and letters greatly contributes to opposing the international trend of modern revisionism, firmly safeguarding the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and seeking genuine ideological and political unity of the international communist movement. These articles and letters also contribute greatly to smashing the schemes of the Japanese anti-Party revisionists who go along with the international trend of modern revisionism and whitewash and prettify their own revisionist and opportunist lines, and to the raising of the whole Party's political, theoretical and ideological level, the report declares.

"Our Party should in the future persist in the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement, and in the general line of our Party laid down on the basis of the Party Programme, and should strengthen ideological struggle against modern revisionism and modern dogmatism," the report declares.

(To be continued.)

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

mitted in the Congo by the U.S.-Belgian colonialists and neo-colonialists. It also denounces the arbitrary exclusion of China from international organizations by the United States and advocates the rapid normalization of relations between Italy and China.

Sino-Italian Trade Bureaux To Be Established

An agreement on the establishment of non-governmental commercial bureaux has been reached between the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade and the Italian Foreign Trade Institute.

The agreement, concluded on November 30 in Rome, aims at furthering non-governmental economic and trade relations between the two countries. Commercial bureaux will be set up in Peking and Rome as soon as possible. Lei Jen-min, Vice-Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, signed for the Chinese side, while Lodovico Groja, General-Manager of the Italian Foreign Trade Institute, signed for the Italian side.

Noted Lawyers to Observe Trial in Brazil

An international group of seven noted lawyers will shortly leave for

Brazil to observe the trial before a military tribunal of the nine Chinese unwarrantedly arrested in Brazil last April. The seven are: Nagano Kunisuke (Japan), D.N. Pritt (Britain), Suprpto (Indonesia), Robert Hamaide (Belgium), Madame Germaine Senechal (France), Fakhruddin G. Ebrahim (Pakistan) and Fuad Toum (Argentina). They have been entrusted by the families of the nine Chinese to see how the Brazilian authorities are handling this case on which world attention is focused. They have sent a joint telegram to the Brazilian Foreign Minister applying for visas.

How Industry Helps Agriculture

by HU CHI

In developing its national economy, China takes agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. One of the key ways in which industry plays that leading role is by helping agriculture. How it does this and what results this gives are described in the following article.

Modernizing Farming

IN developing agriculture since the land reform was completed in 1952, China's basic line has been to bring about farm collectivization first, and then, on this basis, to modernize farming. Now with its more than 100 million peasant households organized into over 70,000 rural people's communes, farm modernization is very much on the agenda. Success in the effort to put agriculture on a new, modern technical basis will speed up agricultural growth and further strengthen the collective economy of the people's communes.

Farm modernization means mechanization, electrification, extensive irrigation and widespread use of chemical fertilizers and other farm chemicals. This cannot be brought about without the help of industry. Only modern industry can provide agriculture with the material and technical conditions for modernization. Aid to agriculture is, in fact, the most important way in which industry fulfils its leading role in the national economy.

To mechanize farming, industry must supply all kinds of machinery to replace manpower and draught animals in farm work. This is a vital aspect of industrial aid to agriculture. This machinery includes drainage and irrigation machinery, tractors and tractor-drawn implements, machinery for processing farm products, mechanized transport for land and water, sprayers and other equipment for pest control, as well as spare parts.

The transition from traditional hand tools to full-scale mechanization of the nation's farms will be a long process. It cannot be completed in one jump, but must be done step by step, passing through the intermediate stage of semi-mechanization. China's policy is therefore to press ahead simultaneously with full and partial mechanization with emphasis on the latter over a fairly long period. Guided by this policy and taking into account the financial resources at the disposal of the communes and the cultural and technical level of the peasants, industry, in addition to providing fully mechanized equipment, undertakes to supply the commune farms with large quantities of semi-mechanized and improved small and medium-sized farm tools such as double-share ploughs, horse-drawn seeders and hoes,

hand-operated insecticide sprayers, waterwheels and rubber-tired carts.

China is implementing a programme to bring electricity in a planned way to its farms. For this purpose, beginning with key areas, industry is providing power and transmission lines and the mechanical equipment needed. It is also supplying, among other things, chemical fertilizer and insecticides for "chemicalization," and building materials for water conservancy and other projects as well as for rural housing.

At the same time, industrial departments help train technicians for the rural areas, repair and maintain farm machinery and provide other technical services. With the growth of agricultural production and the rising income of the peasants, industry also sends more consumer goods of all kinds to the countryside.

More Capital Goods Supplied

Just how industry has fulfilled its role as a supplier of capital goods to the farms can be seen from the following.

In recent years, and especially since 1962 when the general policy for developing the national economy was formally announced, industry has provided agriculture with increasing amounts of capital goods. As a result, aggregate capacity of mechanized rural pumping stations in 1963 was 30 times the 1957 figure; the number of tractors grew by 360 per cent; rural electric power consumption increased by 1,600 per cent; the supply of chemical fertilizer, 160 per cent.

There was an even more marked increase in supplies this year. In the first eight months of 1964, the machine-building industry provided the chief grain- and cotton-growing areas with irrigation equipment capable of watering 57 million *mu* of land. Production of electric motors for farm use topped last year's output by 50 per cent to reach an all-time high. Because a bigger acreage is being tilled by machines in these grain- and cotton-growing regions, more tractors are being made and the range of types is bigger. Between January and August plants in Loyang, Shenyang, Shanghai and other cities turned out 23 per cent more tractors than in the same period of last year. This year important grain and cotton areas in 17 provinces received 76 per cent more chemical fertilizer than in the corresponding period last year. Supplies of insecticides and sprayers registered an increase of over 50 per cent.

Such effective industrial aid has greatly changed farming conditions. Today, 90 per cent of China's 2,000 counties have power-driven irrigation equipment water-

ing an area six times the 1957 figure. More than 70 per cent of the counties are served by 1,500 farm machinery stations run either by the state or the people's communes which have more than 100,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units); this is more than five times the 1957 figure. In recent years the farm machine-building industry has developed more than 100 successful types of semi-mechanized farm implements. More than 30 million such implements are being used in ploughing, irrigation, plant protection, harvesting, threshing, transport, livestock breeding and processing farm products. There has been a steady increase in the quantity of chemical fertilizer and insecticides used on the nation's farms. The amount of power consumed in the rural areas relative to the national total has also grown.

Comparisons have been made with 1957 and the significance lies in the fact that this was the year before the advent of the people's communes. That the commune form of organization has speeded up farm modernization is quite clear.

Taking Local Conditions Into Account

Physical and socio-economic conditions vary greatly over the vast expanse of China as do crops and cultivation methods. In modernizing farming, therefore, modern science and technology must be integrated with the traditional experience of China's peasants and applied in the light of the specific conditions of agricultural production. Thus, in helping agriculture industrial departments always try to meet the requirements of farm modernization, and at the same time, adapt their efforts to specific local conditions. By making surveys and investigations and orientating production so as to help solve the most urgent, practical and prevalent problems in agriculture, they strive to make their help to farming as effective as possible.

The farm machinery plant in the Fuhsin Mongolian Autonomous County, Liaoning Province, provides a good example of how these principles are carried out. Its workers and staff, who have gone out into the rural areas in the past few years, thoroughly surveyed and investigated farm needs. They have always tried to manufacture just what is needed by the peasants and give prompt delivery and service. Since 1960 this plant has supplied villages throughout the county with 24,000 semi-mechanized implements, 210,000 spare parts for tractor-drawn implements and 650,000 small farm tools. Its service trucks regularly make the rounds of the people's communes and production teams. In the last two years, its workers repaired 1,800 farm machines and implements to enable the peasants to plough and harvest on time.

A constant aim of the industrial departments is to develop new products, increase output, improve quality and lower costs and supply machinery and tools in complete sets to meet the specific needs of the peasants. Goods are reasonably priced and designed to give the maximum economic results. The tractor industry is a case in point. The first Dongfanghong (The East

Is Red) 54 crawler tractor came off the assembly line in 1958. Since then many new types have been successfully trial manufactured. They include: the Dongfanghong 28 and the Bumper Harvest 27 wheel-type universal tractors for inter-row cultivation, the big Red Flag 80 tractor for land reclamation, and the tiny Worker-Peasant 7 rotary tiller for use in irrigated fields and fruit and vegetable gardens. Over 100 varieties of tractor-drawn implements have been manufactured.

Quite a number of the machines and implements produced have been designed for specific localities and are efficient, flexible and easy to operate. A power-driven cable apparatus developed in Kiangsu Province can be used to tow a plough in water-filled paddies. It ploughs 30 *mu* in an 8-hour day, as much as can be done by eight ploughmen with buffaloes. Water-filled paddyfields, with mud knee-deep, cover large areas in 13 southern provinces. Ploughing with buffaloes is a hard job in these fields. The cable-towed plough not only greatly increases efficiency but eliminates the need to wade in the mud; working conditions are thus vastly improved.

A nationwide repair network is being set up to support the increasingly widespread use of farm machines. In addition, skilled workers and technicians go to the countryside to coach or run classes to train farm machine operators and maintenance men. Industrial departments also arrange demonstrations of their machines, fertilizers and insecticides for the peasants and help them master the skills needed for efficient use. For example, peasants in north China were at first sceptical about phosphate fertilizer because they did not know how to apply it, so the departments concerned arranged demonstrations and taught them the necessary techniques. Phosphate fertilizer is now widely used in the north.

Some Outstanding Results

Backed by the collective economy of their people's communes and increasing aid from industry, China's peasants are today in a better position than ever before to cope with natural calamities. At the same time, as a result of recent efforts, an increasingly large area of farmland is able to give high and stable yields. This farm land is widely distributed in the major grain and cotton areas on the Pearl River Delta in Kwangtung Province (south China), on the Yangtse Delta, in the Hangchow-Kashing-Huchow region (east China), in the Han River valley (central-south China) and on the western Szechuan (southwest China) and north China plains.

Irrigation works have been built on the Pearl River Delta on a large scale since 1959. In the last five years, 3,000 pumping stations were built with a total capacity of 220,000 kilowatts. Strategically sited throughout the 28 counties on the delta, with its criss-cross of waterways, and in the surrounding hilly regions, they serve the major part of the region's farmland. Last year they overcame the effects of a prolonged drought and this year they helped battle and drain off the heaviest flood

in years. Grain output in this area has climbed steadily. Figures for five counties there show that paddyrice output rose at an average annual rate of more than eight per cent between 1960 and 1963. The upward trend continued this year.

A modern irrigation system has also been built during the past few years in the ten counties around Shanghai. All the people's communes have mechanized pumping facilities. In addition, every county has its own small fertilizer factories. This and the acquisition of large numbers of tractors, lorries, boats, mechanized shellers and sprayers have put farming here well on the way to modernization. The output of grain, cotton and oil-bearing crops has increased since 1958 with per *mu* yields registering gains of 30-40 per cent.

The building of irrigation works, introduction of mechanized pumping, increased use of fertilizer and other technical improvements in Peking's suburban areas resulted in a steady rise in wheat output during 1961-63 despite continued drought. A record wheat crop was gathered here in the summer of 1964.

China's peasants have a fine tradition of meticulous and diversified farming. This has been carried forward by the people's communes and the aid given to agriculture by industry plays an important role. By using farm machines to do work previously done by men or draught animals agricultural labour productivity has been raised and the farms are better able to cope with the rush of work during the busy seasons. The communes use the manpower and draught animals replaced by machines for more meticulous and diversified farming, and to build irrigation and other projects. This has put the communes on a stronger economic footing.

Hsinchow County is an important cotton-growing area in Hupeh Province. But in 1960, when the people's communes there tried to increase their grain as well as cotton output, they ran up against a labour shortage. Beginning in 1961, however, they began to reform their way of farming and introduced farm machines to pump water and process their farm and sideline products. By thus solving their manpower problem step by step these communes have been able to increase their output of both grain and cotton. They sold the Government 130,000 *dan* of cotton in 1958 and 220,000 *dan* in 1963. Instead of depending on the Government for their supply of grain as they did in the past, they sold it 55 million *jin* of grain. As a result, members' personal income rose an average of 13 per cent last year alone.

The Communist Party gives the peasants constant education in socialism. The gradual modernization of farming helps raise farm output, income and standards of living. As a result of both factors the peasants are becoming more and more confident in their advance along the socialist road. They are showing greater initiative in developing collective production. All this helps consolidate and develop the collective economy of the people's communes and this, in turn, spurs the progress of modernization.

In this process of farm modernization, industry supplies agriculture and the rural areas with increasing amounts of capital and consumer goods. Agriculture, in its turn, provides industry and the cities with growing quantities of grain, cotton, oil and other industrial raw materials as well as other farm and sideline products. This further strengthens the worker-peasant alliance.

Industry Grows by Aiding Agriculture

Industrial departments plan and organize their work in accordance with the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy and support to agriculture is their foremost task. This is determined not only by the needs of agriculture; this is the best and only way to promote the development of socialist industry itself. China has built up a number of large-scale modern industries such as tractor, chemical fertilizer and insecticide industries, which directly serve agriculture. In addition, a number of heavy industries have been set up which serve agriculture and the other branches of the national economy directly or indirectly — industries producing raw materials, machinery and equipment, fuels, power, chemical products and building materials. These additions to the economy have carried China a big stride forward in building an independent, comprehensive, modern industrial system.

In recent years, the industrial departments by their efforts to aid agriculture have steadily increased output, widened the range of products manufactured and greatly improved quality. The fertilizer industry has developed many highly effective new products including urea, a granulated phosphate fertilizer and ammonium phosphate. Only a dozen types of insecticides were produced three years ago; 37 are now in production. The machine-building industry has developed many new machines for the promotion of agriculture, including nitrogenous fertilizer equipment with an annual capacity of 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia. The steel industry also has developed many new types of forgings and rolled stock for the manufacture of farm machinery. As a result, China is producing a greater proportion of the equipment and rolled steel it needs.

The all-round rise in agricultural production, in its turn, has brought greater prosperity to light industry. Those branches using farm products as raw materials have greatly increased output.

China's experience shows that by aiding agriculture, industry not only accelerates agricultural growth but also speeds up its own development and that of the national economy as a whole. We have every reason to be confident that, guided by the general line for building socialism, by implementing the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and integrating the modernization of industry with that of agriculture, we shall succeed in raising the overall level of China's national economy and building up an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system at a relatively rapid pace.

ROUND THE WORLD

Post-Invasion Stanleyville

Patriots Fight On

U.S. officials, according to UPI, racked their brains for a way to cope with the hornets' nest brought about Washington's ears by the worldwide, and in particular African, condemnation of the U.S.-Belgian armed invasion of Stanleyville. UPI said the United States, anticipating critical reaction, had forwarded a 900-word statement to African embassies in Washington and to U.S. embassies in each African nation to explain what it tried to emphasize was a "humanitarian—not military" operation. This universally condemned attack on Stanleyville ought to be described the other way round. The toll of the operation is over 10,000 Congolese killed. In another report, UPI described Stanleyville as "a dead city" with "piles of bodies everywhere."

Nor was the United States content with reducing Stanleyville to a shambles. U.S. Under Secretary of State George Ball stated in London on November 29, the day the Belgian paratroopers were forced to withdraw from Stanleyville, that some sort of new action was being considered by the United States and Belgium. "Now airdrops," he said, "may not be the answer—it may mean land movements." In plain language, this means that the United States and its partner are contemplating aggression against the Congolese people on a yet bigger scale.

This bellicose statement may give a needed shot in the arm to the white mercenaries and puppet troops whose morale has taken a nose dive in face of stiffening resistance everywhere in Stanleyville. It could not intimidate the patriotic armed forces fighting on with such effect in and outside the city.

The Congolese freedom fighters have sealed off the airport and cut Leopoldville's only supply route to the white mercenaries and puppet troops. They shot down one BIAS (Belgian International Air Service) DC-4, with 44 killed, the day the Belgian para-

troops withdrew. Despite bombing by American aircraft, those operating on the left bank of the Congo River are hitting out hard at Tshombe's men. What one mercenary, wounded by sniping, said of the situation is typical of the general demoralization among the dollar-bought soldiers: "The Stanleyville area got worse daily and was particularly bad during darkness." He said, "It's hard to say what's happening. But whatever it is it doesn't look or sound good."

Tearing the American Line

Sato's Double-Dealing

What does *Mainichi Shimbun*, one of the major Japanese dailies which by no stretch of the imagination can be accused of communist sympathies, think of the Sato government's so-called independent foreign policy? Not worth a penny if it keeps taking its cue from the United States in its China policy, according to the paper's editorial on November 28. *Mainichi Shimbun* said the Government's policy of "exerting every effort to keep" the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations and of "preventing China from taking its place in the U.N." did not tally with the "forward looking policy of dealing with the China question with caution and care" announced by Sato.

To cover up his subservience to the United States and hostility towards China, and also to deceive the Japanese people, the new Prime Minister resorted to double-faced tactics of saying one thing and doing another. While professing to be "friendly, and not hostile to China," Sato had his Foreign Minister at the United Nations parroting Washington's shopworn theme that the question of the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations was an "important question" requiring a two-thirds majority.

To please the United States, Sato has even decided to confer a decoration on U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff LeMay, who played a big part in the

atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the closing days of World War II. And Sato has said he will visit Washington on January 10 to "reaffirm at an early date Japanese-U.S. co-operation as the keynote of the foreign policies of the two countries. . . ."

Disregarding public opinion at home, Sato has further openly antagonized the Chinese people by dispatching to Taiwan a "delegation" including his brother the war criminal, Nobusuke Kishi, who carried with him a proposal for a loan of 150 million dollars to the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The pretext was participation in the 9th meeting of the "Committee for the Promotion of China-Japan Co-operation." Sato also went against the wishes of the Japanese people by deciding to resume the "Japan-south Korea talks," sought and controlled by U.S. imperialism. But these reactionary policies of the Sato government are meeting with growing opposition. In an open letter listing a series of charges, the Japan-China Friendship Association urged Sato, who has so quickly exposed himself as a loyal friend of U.S. imperialism, to drop his policy of hostility towards China.

Abdul Rahman & Chiang Kai-shek

Like Attract Like

Malaysia, that spawn of neo-colonialism brought into the world by Anglo-American imperialism amidst cries of protest from the people of Southeast Asia, has made itself still more obnoxious through its open association with the Chiang Kai-shek gang on Taiwan. After a coy flirtation between these two proteges of Washington a Kuomintang "consulate" was opened in Kuala Lumpur on November 26.

Their goings-on had been increasing recently. The "foreign minister" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique visited Kuala Lumpur in September and clinched a deal with Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman to set up a Kuomintang office in the "Malaysian" capital. This was followed by a statement of Tun Abdul Razak, the Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister, that the Chiang Kai-shek

bandits would help "Malaysia" train "guerrilla fighters."

According to Chiang's Pan-Asian News Agency, the scope of military collaboration "under quiet discussion" included formation of an "anti-communist front" in Asia to "cope with the guerrilla tactics of the Indonesian troops and, at the same time, join forces with Thailand to stamp out the Malayan communist guerrillas in the border areas of the two countries." This plus the stepped-up activities of the Americans in the region—a military mission to Kuala Lumpur to speed delivery of U.S. jet aircraft and other military supplies and the call at "Malaysian" ports by the flagship of the U.S. 7th Fleet in connection with "tasks in the West Pacific"—shows that Washington is pushing its scheme "to use Asians to fight Asians" and prop up neo-colonialist "Malaysia."

The opening of a Kuomintang "consulate" in Kuala Lumpur indicates that the Abdul Rahman regime is abjectly following the bankrupt "two Chinas" line of its American masters. But there is more to it. Seen against the recent manoeuvres of the U.S. State and Defence Departments in this part of Asia, it is one more new imperialist plot. The advent of Chiang Kai-shek's "guerrilla experts" in "Malaysia," like their entry into south Viet Nam and Laos, is part and parcel of a wider U.S. plot directed against the people of Southeast Asia. The U.S. military build-up of "Malaysia" is a direct threat to the people of North Kalimantan and Indonesia.

W.F.B. at Sarnath

Illegal and Unconstitutional

Washington's "two Chinas" plot, discredited as it already is in other spheres, has been tried out in the realm of religion—with equally ignominious results. But if the attempt failed, Washington nevertheless could console itself with further evidence of India's unflinching enthusiasm to espouse the American cause. It may perhaps also take comfort in the fact that some faces it did not quite expect appeared together with the Indians' to help create a "two Chinas" image.

On November 29 the World Fellowship of Buddhists met illegally in Sarnath, India, and among those present were representatives from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. The United States was of course there, no doubt claiming to be a staunch defender of the Buddhist faith, though wanton killings of Buddhists in south Viet Nam and Laos by American bombing and shelling has not helped its reputation.

China categorically refused to attend because this conference, under the control of U.S. imperialism and the Indian reactionaries, was called without the proper authority of the W.F.B. General Council. Moreover, not only was the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan invited to send a "delegation" but Dalai, chieftain of the Tibet rebel group and for long a protege of the Indian Government, also attended. In the statement denouncing the conference as illegally and unconstitutionally convened, the Chinese Buddhist Association also condemned the arbitrary moving of the W.F.B. headquarters from Rangoon to Bangkok and the unconstitutional appointment of an acting president.

Cambodia, Burma, Laos, Pakistan, Indonesia, Viet Nam and Korea, representing the great majority of Buddhists in the world, boycotted the conference, too. Buddhist organizations of many countries protested against these disruptive activities which were conducted for the benefit of U.S. imperialism and which ran counter to the aims and interests of the W.F.B.

Nor were delegates actually taking part in the conference satisfied with the proceedings and the way the W.F.B. headquarters submitted to the United States. *Patriot*, the Indian journal, admitted on December 2 that some of the delegates looked askance at the personnel of the Asia Foundation (a U.S. sponsored organization) working obtrusively in the delegates' camp.

End Unequal Treaty With U.S.

New Demonstrations in Panama

In eight days ending November 26 students and workers staged four

anti-U.S. demonstrations in Panama City. Cries of "Throw the Yankees out of Panama!" were heard again in the streets of the capital, recalling the stirring days of January this year. The demonstrators demanded abrogation of the humiliating 1903 treaty with the United States under which Panama was forced to cede *de facto* sovereignty over the Canal Zone to the United States in perpetuity.

They urged President Marco Robles to sack Foreign Minister Fernando Elea and Ambassador to the United States Ricardo Arias who had submitted to Yankee pressure during the current talks on the Canal question in Washington. They demanded that the Government take a firm stand to uphold national sovereignty and honour in the talks and make public what was going on in Washington. U.S. business firms in Panama City were stoned by the angry people.

Although the Guardia Nacional, Panama's armed forces, under the direction of U.S. "experts," were called out to put down the demonstrations, the display of anti-U.S. feeling went on undiminished. A meeting was held on November 26, and speaker after speaker denounced the 1903 treaty. Jorge Illueca who resigned the week before as one of the negotiators because of the passive attitude of the Panamanian Government, called for the liquidation of the U.S. Canal Company and of the U.S. occupation regime in the Canal Zone.

The Robles government, with the budget in the red and serious unemployment on its hands, is dependent on U.S. "aid" through the "Alliance for Progress." This may lead Washington to think that it is in the comfortable position of being able to dangle the carrot and wave the big stick and thus browbeat the Panamanian Government into signing a revised treaty on U.S. terms. But the mood of the Panamanian people as evinced in the demonstrations should be a warning to the Yankees that continued usurpation of Panama's sovereign rights and occupation of the Canal Zone will not be tolerated for long.

In Support of the Congolese (L) People

The call "U.S. imperialists, get out of the Congo (L)!" has resounded before Peking's Tien An Men, on the nation's streets and public squares. It has also been taken up in dozens of artistic forms in theatres, cinemas, concert halls, teahouses, make-shift threshing-ground stages — in every urban and rural place of cultural entertainment. In Peking, it is the theme song of opening choruses at programmes of the current National Minorities' Amateur Art Festival. In Kiangsu, east China, it is sung to a melodious Yangchow opera tune; in the far northwest in Sinkiang, Kazakh minstrels thunder it out on their *dombas*. Many of the performers and their audiences themselves formed part of the 8 million people in China who demonstrated this past week against U.S. aggression in the Congo (L) and in solidarity with the Congolese people.

The people have fully used their media of press, radio and TV to speak out in the campaign. Newspapers have devoted whole pages to it in cartoons, drawings, posters, songs, poems and literary pieces. Poems by celebrated poets like Kuo Mo-jo

appear side by side with those written by P.L.A. soldiers. Steel-workers, warehousemen, students contributed. An old peasant folk musician from Inner Mongolia, in Peking taking part in the amateur art festival, published his poem in the *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily):

*I, a peasant from the
Kolchin Steppes,*

*Walk today among
700,000 of my countrymen.*

*We shout: U.S.-Belgian
aggressors, get out
of the Congo (L)!*

*Fight on! Congo! All China
is with you!*

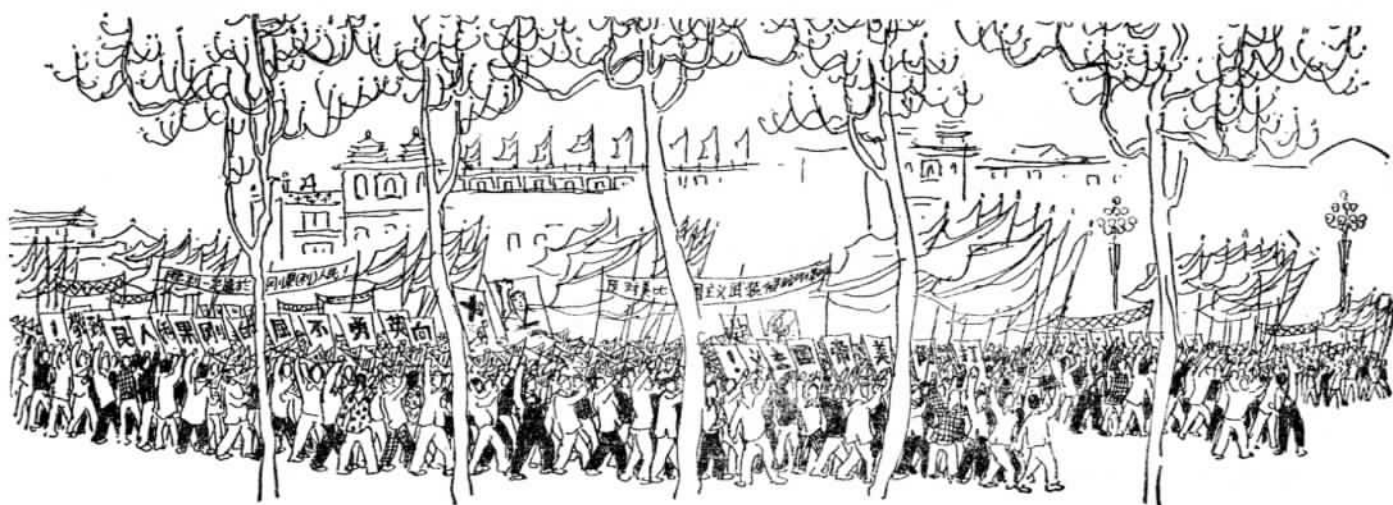
Other folk musicians and singers from the Hechehs, China's smallest nationality with only 700 people, as well as the Tibetans, Dahurs, Yaos and other national minorities have written and published their ballads, songs and poems.



Forging Shackles Into Swords

Woodcut by Cheng Wei

Professional and amateur artists have marched in the demonstrating columns in every city holding high their works. Reproducing on this page two of the many woodcuts and drawings which have appeared recently in the press, we, too, add our voice to theirs: U.S. imperialism, get out of the Congo (L)! Get out of all places you have occupied!



On Changan Boulevard — Peking citizens support Congolese (L) brothers

Sketch by Chang Han-ching

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