

PEKING REVIEW

33

August 14, 1964

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U.S. Aggressors Can't Get Away With It!

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism And Its Historical Lessons for the World

Comment on the Open Letter of the
Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (9)

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*

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- Socialist Society and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- Antagonistic Classes and Class Struggle Exist in the Soviet Union
- The Soviet Privileged Stratum and the Revisionist Khrushchov Clique
- Refutation of the So-Called State of the Whole People
- Refutation of the So-Called Party of the Entire People
- Khrushchov's Phoney Communism
- Historical Lessons of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

August 14, 1964 Vol. VII No. 33

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Chinese people denounced U.S. imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and pledged support to the Vietnamese people.

In Peking and all over the country, 20 million people took part in rallies and demonstrations. Peking on August 9 held a mass rally of 100,000 citizens.

- On August 12, Foreign Minister Chen Yi sent a letter to the D.R.V. Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy declaring that the U.N. has no right to consider the Indo-China question.

- A mass meeting in the capital voiced support for the 10th World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs.

- Citizens of Peking met to back up the struggle of the American Negroes and commemorate publication of a statement by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the same question a year ago.

- Hilal Raslan, the new Syrian Ambassador to China, presented his credentials to Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu on August 11.

- The Chinese press published:

- the August 6 statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam denouncing U.S. war moves against that country.

- President Ho Chi Minh's call to his nation to stand ready to fight for the defence of their fatherland.

- statements of solidarity with the D.R.V. issued by the Governments of Korea, Cuba and Albania, by Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Laotian Government of National Union and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, by the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party and by Chairman D.N. Aidit of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Chairman Mao Sees New Peking Opera

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Party leaders saw a Peking opera on a contemporary theme on August 10. The new opera, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, was performed by the Shantung Provincial Peking Opera Theatre. "White Tiger" refers to the enemy regiment whose headquarters was wiped out by the Chinese People's Volunteers during the Korean War.

After the curtain fell, Chairman Mao and others in his party went on the stage where they shook hands with the actors and actresses and posed with them for the photographers.

The same evening, Premier Chou En-lai and other Party and state leaders received participants to the first festival of modern drama and

opera sponsored by the Chinese People's Liberation Army Air Force.

Statements by Khrushchov Published

Compiled and edited by the Shijie Zhishi (World Culture) Press, the first volume of *Statements by Khrushchov* has been published in Chinese and is on sale throughout the country.

The collection comprises 98 speeches, reports, correspondence and articles by Khrushchov carried in *Pravda* during the period from 1932 to September 1953. Volume I carried his speeches and documents published between 1932 and 1941.

The "Publisher's Note" reads:

"Khrushchov is the biggest revisionist of contemporary times, the biggest teacher by negative example in the history of the international

communist movement. A systematic understanding of Khrushchov is of great importance for the struggle against modern revisionism. In order that our Party members and people should be able to understand not only the Khrushchov of today but also of the past, we have compiled and now publish the speeches and other documents of this big revisionist before he seized the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

"A comparison between Khrushchov's statements past and present will lay bare the ugly features of this big intrigant, careerist and double-dealer. Whereas in the past he used words *ad nauseam* to praise Stalin fervently, describing Stalin as 'father of the people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union,' now he viciously maligns Stalin to the tune of the Trotskyites as 'murderer' and 'idiot.' Whereas in the past, in excess of words and deeds, he extended the scope of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, swearing to annihilate the counter-revolutionaries to the last man and 'scatter their ashes to the winds,' now he rails with bitter hatred against the work of suppressing the counter-revolutionaries, doing his utmost to paint a dark picture of Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whereas in the past he denounced Tito as a 'direct agent of imperialism,' and a 'contemptible turncoat,' now he treats Tito like a brother and his own flesh and blood. All these instances are too many to be cited. We can see that in Stalin's lifetime, Khrushchov was a fellow who knew how to flatter and intrigue for position; we can see how he used volumes of high-sounding words to disguise himself in order to deceive and win the confidence of the Party and people. Then, once he had usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, he immediately began to oppose Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of opposing Stalin. Isn't it clear what kind of man Khrushchov is?

"Although Khrushchov tried to cover himself up in his early statements, they still show traces of revisionism betraying Marxism-Lenin-

ism. This is not difficult to see if the reader is patient enough to read on."

Condolences on Zawadzki's Death

Chinese Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai on August 8 sent a message to leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party and state, expressing condolences on the death of the Polish President Aleksander Zawadzki. The message reads: "We were shocked to hear the unfortunate news of the death of Comrade Aleksander Zawadzki, President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, well-known Polish political figure and a friend of the Chinese people. With great grief, we extend you our deep condolences."

On August 10, Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Chou En-lai, Premier and Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and other top-ranking Chinese government officials went to the Polish Embassy to express their condolences and mourn in silence in front of a picture of the late President. Wreaths were sent by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Chinese leaders.

In Shanghai and Canton, local Party and government leaders went to the Polish consulates-general to express their condolences.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have appointed Wang Kuo-chuan, Chinese Ambassador to Poland, as the representative of the Chinese Party and state to attend the funeral of the late Polish President in Warsaw.

Chinese Trade Representatives For Japan

Sun Ping-hua, chief representative, and four others, representatives and members of the staff of the Liao Cheng-chih Liaison Office in Tokyo, have left for Japan. The Tokyo Liaison Office was set up in accordance with the talks held in Peking

last April between representatives of the Liao Cheng-chih Office in charge of non-governmental trade with Japan and the Tatsunosuke Takasaki Office of Japan.

Sun Ping-hua, speaking at a reception given in his honour on the eve of his departure, pledged that he and his colleagues would devote their efforts to the promotion of Sino-Japanese trade.

More Working-Class Intellectuals

Soon after the end of the long summer vacation, which takes place in just over a fortnight, this year's college graduates will be going into jobs waiting for them. In Peking the number of college graduates in 1964 was the largest ever. Specializing in some 450 fields, including 13 newly added subjects, the graduates are from the capital's 46 institutes of higher learning.

Among this year's graduates many were of worker or peasant origin or children from worker and peasant families. In completing their courses they worked especially hard to master their studies for use in the service of socialism.

During their college years, guided by the Party's educational policy, these young people have taken part in various political movements and in industrial and agricultural production.

In recent years, Peking's many colleges have further raised their academic standards by improving elementary courses and linking theory more closely with practice. Many of the graduates' dissertations have actually solved some key technical problems in production.

In socialist China, all graduates have the right to a job. Many have expressed the desire to go where they are needed most, to the industrial and agricultural fronts, so as to temper themselves in the course of productive labour. They have pledged themselves to shoulder the burden of socialist revolution and socialist construction, to become every inch a working-class intellectual who must be red and expert and be able to do both mental and manual labour.

China Vows: "We Stand By Viet Nam"

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE U.S. imperialists' premeditated armed attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was immediately denounced by the Chinese people. How they felt about this wanton onslaught on their next-door neighbour and a fraternal member of the socialist camp was expressed in the official Chinese government statement: "U.S. aggression against the D.R.V. means aggression against China! The Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by without lending a helping hand." U.S. made savage air raids on three areas in the D.R.V. on August 5. The Chinese government statement was issued on August 6 and immediately a series of mighty anti-U.S. imperialist demonstrations began to sweep the country. Starting in Peking, these demonstrations, unprecedented in scale, spread over to other major cities, small towns and villages. To date more than 20 million people have taken part in protest meetings or street demonstrations, representing a widespread mobilization in opposition to U.S. imperialist aggression.

The nation was stirred and a spirit of militancy prevailed over the land. Millions of people, shouting slogans, marched along city streets and through country fields to show their deep class hatred for U.S. imperialism and warm class love for their Vietnamese brothers. While cheering the great victory of the Vietnamese people in their battle against the U.S. air pirates the people stepped up production, preparing to help their Vietnamese brothers by practical deeds. The officers and men of the three services of the Chinese People's Liberation Army pledged to heighten their vigilance, intensify their training and be ready to strike back at U.S. imperialist war provocations any time.

The sneak attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by the U.S. imperialists has provided a fresh proof that the nature of imperialism can never change and a reminder that one must not harbour illusions about imperialism. Relaxation of vigilance and abandonment of struggle will forfeit world peace.

In Peking: A Rally of 100,000

A highlight of the demonstrations was a mass rally in the capital attended by 100,000 workers, peasants, officers and men of the People's Liberation Army, students, civil servants, and Peking citizens. Present were Chou En-lai and other leaders of the Party and state, responsible members of the people's organizations and democratic parties as well as friends from Viet Nam and other parts of the world.

Early in the Sunday afternoon streams of people from all directions began to pour into the Workers' Stadium in Peking's eastern suburb. Amidst the forest of standards, banners and slogans, was a huge streamer



Demonstrators' placards in front of Tien An Men read: "Victory Belongs to the Heroic Vietnamese People!"



Demonstrators in Haikow, Hainan Island's main city

facing the podium with the characters: "U.S. imperialism must stop immediately its armed aggression and war provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam! People of the whole world, unite to smash the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression!" Underneath stood a formation of armed people's militiamen.

The meeting was declared open at 4 p.m. by Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee. He denounced the U.S. imperialists' war provocations and warmly congratulated the Vietnamese people and their armed forces on their victory in repelling U.S. attacks.

The Right to Fight Aggression. On behalf of 13 Chinese people's organizations, Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee, addressed the rally. He declared: "Since the United States has lit the flames of a war of aggression in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the latter has gained the right to fight against aggression, and all the countries upholding the Geneva agreements have also gained the right to assist the D.R.V. in this fight."

Crime and Punishment. He warned the U.S. aggressors: Since you have committed the heinous crime of aggression, you must be prepared to receive due punishment. It is impossible for you to get away with it.

He emphasized that the Chinese people had the unshirkable duty of safeguarding peace and security in Indo-China and of supporting the Vietnamese people in the struggle. The Chinese people will never sit idly by while their brothers, the Vietnamese people, suffer from ruthless U.S. imperialist aggression, he declared.

China Volunteers Aid. Liao Cheng-chih solemnly announced: The 650 million Chinese people fully sup-

port the statement of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Chinese government statement. They are determined to volunteer aid by practical deeds to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and in defence of their motherland.

He cautioned the U.S. imperialists to remember that the Chinese Government and people always meant what they said. "If you U.S. imperialists should stubbornly refuse to turn back, and persist

in reckless action, you would certainly break your neck and meet with utter defeat," he added.

Vietnamese Ambassador Tran Tu Binh spoke at the rally. He expressed confidence that his people would defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Others who addressed the rally spoke as representatives of the workers and peasants, servicemen, people's militiamen, students and the democratic parties.

A message of support adopted at the rally solemnly declares: The Chinese people stand for ever with their Vietnamese brothers. They are closely watching every development in the Indo-China situation, ready at any time to do their utmost in every possible way to support the Vietnamese people in their great struggle to repulse the U.S. imperialists' armed aggression.

Earlier, leaders of the eight democratic parties and the Chinese Federation of Industry and Commerce issued statements endorsing the Chinese government statement in support of the Vietnamese people's just struggle. They warned U.S. imperialism, the arch criminal undermining world peace, that if it went on playing with fire it would get badly burnt. They declared that the peoples of China and Viet Nam would stand together always and in all circumstances. They pledged to rally around the Communist Party and the Government and do everything possible to help the Vietnamese people.

Nationwide Demonstrations

In days of demonstrations the masses of Peking and other cities angrily denounced U.S. imperialist aggression, pledged support to the Vietnamese people and greeted their daring and brilliant victory in repulsing aggression. On the first day, August 7, half a million people in the capital converged on Tien An Men Square and from there, like a great river, headed for the Vietnamese Embassy in east Peking. Under the hot sun, along the green avenues the columns of demonstrators stretched over several miles. They sang

revolutionary songs and shouted slogans demanding that the U.S. imperialists get out of south Viet Nam, Laos, Indo-China, Taiwan, south Korea, Japan and all those other places occupied by U.S. forces. In front of the Vietnamese Embassy, there was erected a canopy of gold and red, the national colours of the D.R.V., flanked by gladioli in full bloom. Here Ambassador Tran Tu Binh and his staff received thousands of letters from the demonstrators pledging their unreserved support. Letters were handed in by workers and engineers; by peasants who travelled all the way from the outskirts of Peking; by a famous actress from Yunnan who had come to the capital to take part in the recent festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes; by a 78-year-old professor with a long silvery beard and by a 12-year-old Young Pioneer, who, in his summer vacation, had collected signatures to a pledge of support from 11 classmates.

Peking's artists took to the streets to demonstrate. The Chinese Peking Opera Theatre attracted a huge crowd at the Tien An Men Square with an acrobatic show on the downing of eight U.S. planes by the heroic Vietnamese people. Composers of the Central Orchestra of National Music wrote new songs for people to sing before the Vietnamese Embassy. A skit was performed in front of the Embassy and at its end the Ambassador and members of the embassy staff joined the massed spectators in the cry: "U.S. imperialism get out of Viet Nam!" Demonstrations continued till dusk.

On the following day, when the people heard over the radio that U.S. military aircraft had again intruded into the territorial air of the D.R.V., one million people demonstrated. They included scientists, sportsmen and foreign friends visiting Peking. A letter voicing support was delivered to the Vietnamese Embassy by 67 people from Algeria, Cuba, Indonesia, Korea, the United States, Japan and 16 other countries working in Peking.

The third day of the demonstration, Sunday, saw another 2 million people on parade. The Vietnamese Ambassador and his embassy staff too joined the ranks in the streets.

In industrial **Shanghai**, despite a heat wave, half a million demonstrated on August 8 and another 800,000 on the following day. In **Canton**, Chen Yu, Member of the Secretariat of the Central-South Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Governor of Kwangtung, was in the lead of the mass parade of 300,000 people. The demonstrations continued on the following day. In **Sian** in northwest China, leading members of the Party's municipal com-

mittee and the vice-mayor participated in the demonstration. In **Nanning** and **Kunming**, which stand near the border with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, many national minorities demonstrated with their Han brothers. In **Haikow**, principal town of Hainan Island, in **Pasu**, the port on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Tonkin and in **Sanya**, the port at the southern tip of Hainan Island, the local inhabitants demonstrated despite pelting rain.

Warning to U.S.

All the Chinese dailies, national and local, are closely following the situation in Viet Nam these days. They give full coverage to the massive support for the D.R.V. pledged by the Chinese people and the rest of the world's people. *Renmin Ribao* has published four editorials in succession (August 6-9) denouncing Washington's armed aggression, exposing the Johnson Administration's war moves and showing China's firm support for the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Beginning on August 8, it devoted more than half of its entire space to this subject. In its editorial of August 9, *Renmin Ribao* warned the United States not to rejoice too soon: Don't think you can get away with your sneak attack on the D.R.V. The debt in blood you owe the Vietnamese people must be repaid. Your fabrications and lies can deceive no one; your threat of force can intimidate no one either. From now on the initiative will be in the hands of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the whole world who support them. It is you and not us that will be defeated. Final victory belongs to the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the world.

Meanwhile, the whole nation volunteers its aid to the Vietnamese people in repulsing U.S. aggression and defending their motherland.



Vietnamese students, working temporarily in the China-Viet Nam Friendship People's Commune, join commune members in angry protest

The U.N. Has No Right to Consider The Indo-China Question

- A peaceful settlement of the Indo-China question can be found only in the way provided by the Geneva agreements. There is no other way.
- U.S. imperialism attempts to use the U.N. to legalize the fait accompli of its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Naturally the D.R.V. cannot agree with this, nor should any socialist country agree with it.

On August 12, Foreign Minister Chen Yi sent a letter to Xuan Thuy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, concerning the U.S. scheme of using the United Nations to cover up its aggressive activities and further spreading the flames of war in Indo-China. Following is a translation of this letter.—Ed.

I HAVE received your letters of August 5 and 7 and the statements of August 6 and 9 issued respectively by the Government and the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In these documents, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam strongly protested against the grave and outrageous acts of aggression committed by U.S. imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and effectively exposed its scheme of using the United Nations to cover up its aggressive activities and further spreading the flames of war in Indo-China. The Chinese Government fully approves of and firmly supports the just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as expressed in these documents.

The surprise attack made by the United States on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on August 5 was a most flagrant war provocation by U.S. imperialism against all the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people and all other peace-loving people. In the past few days, the U.S. imperialists have continued to move up their forces and make active preparations for extending the war. A large number of U.S. navy units have amassed on the waters off the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for posing a threat, and U.S. combat aircraft have continued to intrude into the air space of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Meanwhile, the United States is sending reinforcements to southern Viet Nam and intensifying its "special warfare" against the south Vietnamese people. The situation is still of utmost gravity.

U.S. imperialism has long been studiously planning to tear up the Geneva agreements so that it may perpetrate aggression and intervention in the Indo-Chinese states even more unrestrainedly. It has kept clamouring about extending its war of aggression in southern Viet Nam to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. While making a surprise attack on the Demo-

cratic Republic of Viet Nam, it had the audacity of bringing before the U.N. Security Council a so-called complaint against the latter. This was obviously the tactics of a villain suing his victim before he himself is prosecuted, the aim of which is to establish itself as the "plaintiff" and use the United Nations to legalize the fait accompli of its aggression against the Democratic of Viet Nam.

Naturally the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam cannot possibly agree with this, nor should any socialist country agree with it. How can one agree to discussion of the U.S. proposal? Does not agreement help establish the case of the United States? Does it not mean recognition of the position of the United States as the plaintiff? Does it not mean that the Geneva agreements can be left aside? The question now is by no means one of discussing the U.S. proposal in one way or another, but that the U.S. case is completely untenable. If the U.S. proposal is not opposed and vetoed and the U.S. plot is allowed to succeed, a precedent will be established of bypassing the Geneva agreements and letting the United Nations poke a hand in the question of Indo-China. In that case, U.S. imperialism would be able to further use the United Nations to realize its plan of expanding the war in Indo-China. Therefore, all countries which uphold the Geneva agreements and are interested in the peace of Indo-China should vigorously expose and firmly oppose this U.S. imperialist scheme. And the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, in particular, have an unshirkable responsibility in this regard.

It must be emphasized that the United Nations has no right at all to consider the Indo-China question. The only international agreements for settling the entire Indo-China question are the 1954 Geneva agreements. If these agreements are set aside and some related countries are excluded while the U.S.-controlled United Nations is allowed to intervene in the Indo-China question, this cannot possibly lead to a peaceful settlement of the Indo-China question but can only further aggravate the Indo-China situation or even repeat the error of the United Nations being used by the United States for its aggression in Korea. If a peaceful settlement of the Indo-China question is

sincerely sought, the only channel is that provided by the Geneva agreements, and there is no other way out. We fully approve of the demands made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its statement of August 9, namely, that the Co-Chairmen and the participants of the Geneva Conference should promptly discuss and condemn the acts of aggression of U.S. imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and stop its war of aggression in southern Viet Nam and its armed provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam so as to safeguard the Geneva agreements and the peace of Indo-China.

The Chinese and the Vietnamese peoples are brothers standing together in tribulations and sharing each other's weal and woe. In the protracted struggle

against imperialism, our two peoples have always given each other sympathy and support and fought together shoulder to shoulder. In today's serious circumstances in which the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is subjected to frantic aggression by U.S. imperialism, the Chinese people will all the more closely unite with the fraternal Vietnamese people and be ready at all times to give the aggressor a resolute rebuff. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the Vietnamese people on their important victories in fighting the U.S. aggressor. We firmly believe that, in the face of the heroic Vietnamese people and all other peace-loving people, all U.S. imperialist military adventures will surely meet with utter defeat.

Please accept the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Speech by Liao Cheng-chih

At the Peking People's Rally Supporting the Vietnamese People and Against U.S. Imperialist Armed Aggression

August 9, 1964

The Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by in the face of ruthless U.S. imperialist aggression against their brothers, the Vietnamese people. Now that the United States has lit the flames of a war of aggression in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the latter has gained the right of action to fight against aggression, and all the countries upholding the Geneva agreements have gained the right of action to assist the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its fight against aggression. We must warn the U.S. aggressors: Since you have committed the towering crime of aggression, you must be prepared to receive due punishment. It is impossible for you to get away with it.

Following is a translation of the text of an address by Liao Cheng-chih, representative of the Chinese people's organizations, at the Peking rally on August 9, 1964. — Ed.

Comrades and Friends,

On August 5, U.S. imperialism sent a large number of aircraft to launch a surprise attack against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, successively bombing the areas of Nghe An, Hong Gai and Thanh Hoa. The Viet Nam People's Army heroically fought back, shot down and damaged 11 invading U.S. planes and captured a U.S. lieutenant pilot, thus dealing a head-on blow to the U.S. imperialist armed aggression. The Viet Nam People's Army did right in fighting back, and they fought well! We people throughout China rejoice at the brilliant achievements of the Viet Nam People's Army. At this grand rally attended by 100,000 people, I would like on behalf of the people of all circles of

Peking and the entire Chinese people to offer our warmest congratulations to the fraternal Vietnamese people and to extend our cordial regards and high tribute to the valiant Viet Nam People's Army.

The surprise attack by U.S. imperialism on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was a planned armed provocation from beginning to end. In order to disguise its unwarranted provocation, U.S. imperialism made up the lie of a "second attack" on U.S. warships in the Tonkin Gulf on August 4. But this lie is so clumsy that even U.S. government officials have failed to give a clear account on some of the important details of the so-called "second Tonkin Gulf incident"; they have a guilty conscience and their statements are full of loopholes. They first said that the attack was made by "four" torpedo boats and then by "between six and ten" torpedo boats, still later, they said, "just how many PT boats were involved was uncertain." Since they alleged that they had been attacked by torpedo boats,

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just how many torpedoes were fired? U.S. officials now said that "a number of torpedoes had been fired," and then said that they "were unable to say how many." What is most ridiculous is that the U.S. officials cannot even make clear the time of the "incident." The announcement of the U.S. Defence Department said the attack came at 10:30 p.m. local time. Yet Defence Secretary McNamara declared that as early as 10:15 p.m. one torpedo boat had been sunk. It is a strange tale indeed that an enemy torpedo boat could be sunk even before fighting started. No wonder the DPA reported from Washington on August 5 that this announcement about the "second Tonkin Gulf incident" "met with disbelieving astonishment in Washington's political and diplomatic quarters." Commenting on the "second Tonkin Gulf incident" the Washington special correspondent of *Le Monde* said, "In the ocean of words and communiques which has submerged Washington since Sunday one seeks in vain for a guiding line." All aggressors are accustomed to using the trick of "the thief crying 'stop thief'" in order to create a pretext for their aggression. But Johnson, McNamara and their like are too incompetent. Their inconsistent statements have exposed their lie and enabled the people of the whole world to see that the purpose of the U.S. Government in cooking up this lie is to execute its premeditated plan of exploration for the extension of its war of aggression.

In fact, before its open bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on August 5, U.S. imperialism had already started its premeditated plan of exploration. On July 30, U.S. imperialist warships shelled the Hon Me and Hon Ngu Islands of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On August 1 and 2, U.S. aircraft intruded into the air space of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam from Laos, bombing and launching rockets. On August 2, a U.S. warship again intruded into the Vietnamese territorial waters to carry out provocation. The U.S. Government flatly denied these acts of aggression. But now that the truth is out, denial is futile. People will recall that since the beginning of this year U.S. military and government big shots have been clamouring to extend their war of aggression from southern Viet Nam to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The White House and Pentagon have long been actively plotting for a surprise attack on the D.R.V. and for an extension of the war in Indo-China. The appointment of Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, as U.S. "ambassador" in Saigon was an important step taken by the Johnson Administration for extending its war of aggression in Indo-China.

U.S. imperialism's open armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and bombing of its important coastal areas signify that U.S. imperialism has finally gone over the "brink of war" and made the first step in extending the war in Indo-China. This is an open challenge to the peace of Indo-China and of Asia and the world. All peace-loving countries and people absolutely cannot look on with folded arms. On August 6, the Government of the Democratic Republic

of Viet Nam issued a solemn statement calling on all Geneva Conference nations, all socialist countries and all other peace-loving countries to take vigorous measures to stop U.S. imperialist aggression. On the same day, the Chinese Government issued a statement, solemnly declaring that aggression by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China and that the Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by without lending a helping hand. We 650 million Chinese people fully support the statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, completely endorse our Government's statement and are determined by practical deeds to volunteer aid to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and in defence of their fatherland.

Comrades and friends! The armed aggression by U.S. imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is an important part of the policies of war and aggression which it pursues all over the world. In order to realize its ambition for world domination, U.S. imperialism has never for a moment stopped its aggressive activities in all parts of the world.

Of late, U.S. imperialism has intensified its aggressive and subversive activities against Cuba. In addition to directly sending aircraft to bomb Cuba and inciting counter-revolutionary Cuban bandits and U.S. soldiers at its military base to make harassments and provocations against Cuba, the United States has coerced its vassal countries into severing trade relations with Cuba. At the Inter-American Conference of Foreign Ministers, the United States instigated the governments of some Latin American countries to censure Cuba, to impose a blockade and to sever diplomatic relations with it. At the same time, U.S. imperialism has engineered one military coup d'etat after another in Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Ecuador and other countries and subjected the Panamanian people to bloody suppression. By these actions U.S. imperialism vainly attempts to strangle the Cuban revolution and put down the national-democratic movements in Latin America so as to maintain its colonial rule in Latin America and continue to trample on and enslave the people there.

In Africa, U.S. imperialism has colluded with some old-type colonialists in the face of the rapid development of the Congolese people's armed forces; while stepping up its suppression of the armed forces of the Congolese people, it has reinstated Tshombe and other scum of the Congo nation to play the political trick of "national reconciliation" with a view to destroying and disintegrating the Congolese patriotic forces and once again strangling the national-independence movement of the Congolese people.

Particularly noteworthy now is the unprecedentedly flagrant acts of aggression being committed by U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. While intensifying its "special warfare" in southern Viet Nam, it is engaged in direct armed intervention in Laos and is stepping up its subversive and disruptive activities against the King-

dom of Cambodia which has always pursued a policy of peace and neutrality. It has made fresh military provocations against our country and has directed the Chiang Kai-shek gang to carry out new harassments against our coastal areas.

U.S. imperialist war provocations and aggression everywhere have aroused the strong opposition of the people of the world. The peoples' struggles have caused serious setbacks to the U.S. imperialist plans of aggression. The present world situation is excellent. National-democratic movements are surging ahead in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In spite of all the cunning aggressive and disruptive activities of U.S. imperialism, the people of socialist Cuba stand firm on the Caribbean Sea; Cuba has become a bright banner inspiring the people of Latin America and the whole world in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. The other Latin American peoples, after passing through various difficulties and twists and turns, eventually will gradually embark on the revolutionary path like Cuba. The armed forces of the Congolese people are continuing to grow stronger, giving a new inspiration to the African people's anti-imperialist struggle. A militant, awakened and advanced Africa has emerged on the world scene and is steadily developing amidst the flames of revolutionary struggle. In Asia, and particularly in Indo-China, the peoples' anti-U.S. struggles have scored continuous victories and inflicted serious defeats on U.S. imperialism. The heroic struggle of the south Vietnamese people has put U.S. imperialism in a fix and confronted the U.S. colonial rule in southern Viet Nam with the danger of a total collapse. The Laotian people are winning continuous victories in their struggle against U.S. imperialist armed intervention and for independence, peace and neutrality. The Cambodian people's struggle against U.S. subversion and sabotage and against the U.S. attempt of using the United Nations to impair Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity is surging forward. The tidal wave of Japanese people's just and patriotic anti-U.S. struggle is rising higher and higher. In short, volcanoes are erupting everywhere under the feet of U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is being ever more closely encircled by the people of the world and is even taken to task by its allies; its time is getting harder and harder.

Confronted with the anti-U.S. fury of the world's people, especially the patriotic and revolutionary anti-U.S. storm of the Indo-Chinese peoples, U.S. imperialism is attempting to embark upon greater adventures, vainly hoping to find a way out and save the situation through extending the war in Indo-China. But U.S. imperialism's armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is doomed to failure. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a country born amidst the flames of struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the Vietnamese people are a heroic people with a glorious revolutionary tradition, and the Vietnamese People's Army is a long-tested army steeled in battles. Today, under the wise leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, the Democratic Re-

public of Viet Nam has built itself into a staunch socialist country. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has solemnly declared in its statement that it will definitely not tolerate the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys infringing upon its sovereignty and territory or disrupting the peaceful labour of the north Vietnamese people. It pointed out in all seriousness that the more truculent and reckless the U.S. imperialists become, the more united and determined the people throughout Viet Nam will be to defeat them. We firmly believe that should the U.S. aggressors dare to extend their war of aggression, the Vietnamese people who have the glorious fighting tradition of Dien Bien Phu will surely destroy on their own soil the American bandits.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is our brother country, and we are mutually dependent like the lips and the teeth. China is also a signatory to the Geneva agreements and the Chinese people have the unshirkable duty of safeguarding the peace and security of Indo-China and supporting the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and in defence of their fatherland. The Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by in the face of ruthless U.S. imperialist aggression against their brothers, the Vietnamese people. Now that the United States has lit the flames of a war of aggression in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the latter has gained the right of action to fight against aggression, and all the countries upholding the Geneva agreements have gained the right of action to assist the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its fight against aggression. We must warn the U.S. aggressors: Since you have committed the towering crime of aggression, you must be prepared to receive due punishment. It is impossible for you to get away with it. The U.S. imperialists should understand that the Chinese Government and people always mean what they say. If you should stubbornly refuse to turn back and persist in reckless action, you would certainly break your neck and meet with utter defeat!

All people of our country, let us rouse ourselves and unite, step up our production and work, intensify our training, redouble our vigilance, closely follow current developments, make all the necessary preparations and be ready for all eventualities, and, together with the people of Viet Nam, of the other socialist countries, of Asian, African and Latin American countries and the whole world, thoroughly smash U.S. imperialism's adventurous scheme of extending the war in Indo-China and defend peace in Asia and the world!

U.S. imperialism, quit southern Viet Nam, quit Laos, quit Indo-China, quit Taiwan, quit southern Korea, quit Japan, quit all the places it has occupied!

Resolutely support the Vietnamese people in their great struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression!

Long live the militant friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples!

Victory to the heroic Vietnamese people!

U.S. Aggressors Cannot Hide Their Ugly Faces

Following is a translation of a "Renmin Ribao" editorial "U.S. Aggressors Cannot Cover Up Their Ugly Countenance" published on August 7. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE Johnson Administration of the United States has recklessly launched a surprise attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus expanding its aggressive war in Indo-China. This most nefarious action has completely laid bare the warlike features of the Johnson Administration and has aroused the strong condemnation of all peace-loving peoples and countries around the world.

However, Johnson and chiefs of his administration have vociferously declared, tongue in cheek, that U.S. naval vessels had been subjected to "unprovoked" and "deliberate" attack by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and that U.S. armed aggression against the D.R.V. was "defence" against "open aggression" and "action in reply." They also alleged that such action on the part of the United States was "limited and fitting" and that the United States sought "no wider war." It is absolutely futile for Johnson and his ilk to try to resort to this "thief crying 'stop thief'" tactics to fool and deceive the peoples of the world.

Who after all was subjected to "unprovoked and deliberate" attack?

U.S. Attack Is Premeditated

The Gulf of Tonkin is not an inland sea of the United States. But U.S. naval vessels have long been deployed there, threatening the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. On August 1 and 2, a U.S. warship flagrantly intruded into the territorial waters of the D.R.V. to conduct harassing activities. By giving a firm rebuff to the enemy that had intruded into the D.R.V. territorial waters and carried out provocations, the naval units of the D.R.V. were safeguarding state sovereignty. How can such a legitimate action be described as an unprovoked attack? The U.S. is thousands of miles away from Viet Nam. Why is it that the colossal U.S. Seventh Fleet should go across the oceans to carry out provocations in the territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam while the Vietnamese people should not fight in self-defence at the doorstep of their own homeland? The United States is a big country while Viet Nam is a small one. Is there such a law that big countries can beat the smaller ones at will while the latter are not allowed to strike back? Certainly not.

Nations, big and small, are equal. Since the United States is bent on making provocations, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam naturally has the right to strike back.

As to the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident, it was a sheer fabrication of the Johnson Administration. On the night of August 4 there was not a single naval vessel of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the waters where the U.S. naval vessels were located. However, the U.S. authorities claimed that U.S. warships had been subjected to an attack and that several D.R.V. naval vessels had been sunk or damaged. This is utter nonsense. Why did Johnson have to cook up such a ridiculous lie? It was only to create a pretext for his planned attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The U.S. air raid on the D.R.V. on August 5 was in every sense "unprovoked and deliberate" while the counter-attack of the Vietnamese people in self-defence was absolutely just. On that day, U.S. planes wantonly bombed coastal towns of north Viet Nam. The heroic Vietnamese People's Army brought down eight of them and damaged three others. This indeed served the U.S. air pirates right. In defending their fatherland the army and people of Viet Nam have dealt justified and well-aimed blows to the enemy. The 650 million Chinese people cheer and salute their heroic Vietnamese brothers.

U.S. Goes Over the Brink of War

U.S. imperialism has long planned to launch its armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Since the beginning of this year, the military leaders and high officials of the Johnson Administration have been clamouring to extend their aggressive war in south Viet Nam to the D.R.V., even at the risk of total war. U.S. propaganda machine has made no secret of the fact that the White House and the Pentagon have been actively working out various plans for extending the aggressive war in Indo-China. UPI reported last February that "discussions of raids in north Viet Nam have been included in previous conferences" which U.S. Secretary of Defence McNamara "has held in the Pacific." It is an open secret that concrete plans for extending the war in Indo-China were drawn up at the Honolulu conference of U.S. military chiefs and high officials held in early June. The appointment of Maxwell Taylor, former chairman of U.S. Joint Chiefs of

Staff, as U.S. "ambassador" to Saigon indicated that the Johnson Administration had put the plan for expanding the Indo-China war on the agenda. True enough, in less than a month after Taylor's assumption of office, U.S. imperialism has gone over the "brink of war" and taken the first step in extending the war in Indo-China.

After committing such a heinous crime, the Johnson Administration had the cheek to declare that it merely took "limited and fitting" military actions. This is gangster logic, pure and simple. Can it be said that aggressive actions become legitimate, if they are "limited and fitting"? All acts of aggression are impermissible and must be severely condemned and punished. Moreover, all the aggressors of the past started with limited aggressive actions. Hitler started World War II with the seizure of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland. U.S. imperialism has also expanded its aggressive activities in Indo-China step by step. It has now extended its aggression in south Viet Nam and Laos to intervention in Cambodia and armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Although the Johnson Administration has extended its aggressive war in Indo-China, it sanctimoniously declared that it knew "the risks of spreading conflict" and that "we seek no wider war." If the spreading of the war flames to the D.R.V. is not extension of the war, how far must the Johnson Administration spread the war flames to be called such? This only serves to show that U.S. imperialism has still more vicious steps in store in its plan to extend the war.

Johnson and his ilk have told such a pack of lies to conceal their own crimes and mislead those naive and timorous people and give them a false sense of security so that they can have a free hand in spreading the war. One must on no account be taken in by their machinations.

Johnson Administration's Objectives

In unsheathing its sword and unleashing armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at this juncture, the Johnson Administration has very clear objectives:

First of all, it wants to retrieve its defeat in Indo-China. As is well known, the "special warfare" conducted by the U.S. aggressors in south Viet Nam and their colonial rule there are on the verge of a total collapse. Armed intervention by U.S. imperialism in Laos has met with one setback after another. It has become more and more isolated politically in Laos and is in a pretty fix. At the same time, the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys against the Kingdom of Cambodia have also suffered one defeat after another. Buffeted by the lashing anti-U.S. patriotic and revolutionary storm of the peoples of Indo-China, U.S. imperialism has grown desperate and is trying to find a way out through expanding the war.

Second, Johnson evidently hopes that by achieving a little success in Indo-China, he may gain some polit-

ical capital to help him win the forthcoming presidential elections. Lately, the Republicans have made an all-out attack on the Democratic Administration for its helplessness in Indo-China. To show that he is more eager to serve U.S. monopoly capital than the Republican presidential candidate Goldwater and to prove himself the most resolute executor of U.S. policies of aggression and war, Johnson has now plunged into an adventure which neither the Eisenhower nor the Kennedy Administration had dared to hazard.

Third, the Johnson Administration wants to make a fait accompli of the expanded war in Indo-China to involve the allies of the United States in it. At the recent meetings of the SEATO and NATO aggressive blocs, the United States has tried, by coaxing and coercion, to make cat's-paws of its allies in its war of aggression in Indo-China, but it has not succeeded. Now it has decided to go it alone and hook its allies willy nilly, on to its war chariot.

However, Johnson and his ilk have wholly miscalculated.

U.S. War-Mongers Had Better Be Sober

The U.S. imperialist armed aggression has met with the firm rebuff of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Government of the D.R.V. has issued a statement proclaiming that it will definitely not allow the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to infringe upon its sovereignty and territory or sabotage the peaceful labour of the north Vietnamese people. It points out emphatically that the more truculent and reckless the U.S. imperialists become, the more united and determined the people throughout Viet Nam will be to defeat them.

The Government of the People's Republic of China, too, has solemnly declared that aggression by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means aggression against China and that the Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by without lending a helping hand. Public opinion in many Asian, African and Latin American countries has condemned U.S. aggression and supported the Vietnamese people in their struggle against aggression. All this shows that the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people and all the revolutionary peoples of the world are not to be cowed by warships, aircraft and guns of the United States. U.S. imperialism can never save itself from defeat in Indo-China by expanding its war venture. The leaders of U.S. imperialism had better come back to their senses. Can it be that they have all forgotten the defeat they suffered in the Korean War?

Johnson wants to vie with Goldwater to win the favour of U.S. monopoly capital and prolong his political life-span. So he goes in quest of adventure in war. But he will only cripple himself in such an adventure. The destiny of the United States is, in the last analysis, determined not by monopoly capital but by the Ameri-

can people themselves. Now that Johnson has unmasked himself and done what Goldwater claims that he wants to do, it will make the broad sections of the American people see still more clearly that both the Republicans and the Democrats, both Johnson and Goldwater, are jackals of the same lair. They can only bring endless disasters to the United States. Broad sections of the American people love peace and oppose war. If Johnson tries to catch votes by engineering a war he may possibly lose the meagre capital he has at his disposal.

U.S. persistence in its unpopular actions in Indo-China has long evoked the strong discontent of its allies and now it tries forcibly to drag others into the mire and make a cat's-paw of them. Little wonder most of its allies are uneasy over the armed aggression of the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for fear that they might get embroiled. It is obvious that the United States is finding it increasingly difficult to recruit accomplices. The United States has engaged in many aggressive adventures since the end

of World War II, but it has seldom found itself so terribly alone as in this case.

The World Must Be Vigilant

U.S. imperialism is frenziedly deploying its military forces in the Pacific and is busy concentrating troops in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. Johnson has asked the U.S. Congress to empower him to take "all necessary action." All this is indicative of the Johnson Administration's readiness to carry through its plan of expanding the war. It can thus be seen that what Johnson and his ilk have said about the attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam being "basically only one strike" and about their wanting to seek "political solution" is only a smokescreen. The people of the world must sharpen their vigilance and take stock of the situation. They must resolutely support the just struggle of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, crush the criminal plan of U.S. imperialism to extend the war in Indo-China and defend peace in Indo-China, Asia and the world.

U.S. Aggressors Must Not Be Allowed To Take Refuge in U.N.

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of August 8. — Ed.

AT a time when U.S. imperialism has openly launched armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and flagrantly violated the Geneva agreements, the U.S. imperialist chieftain Lyndon Johnson has the audacity to deck himself out as the defender of the Geneva agreements, alleging that the U.S. aim was that "the existing agreements in the area be honoured." Calling black white, he falsely charged the D.R.V. with violating these agreements and "committing aggression."

Lyndon Johnson thinks that people the world over are all idiots. It seems as if the moment he cooked up a big hoax about "north Vietnamese aggression," he could write off all the U.S. crimes of wrecking the Geneva agreements and undermining peace in Indo-China and the people of the world would really take U.S. imperialism as a "loyal defender" of the Geneva agreements.

But, how do the world's people and world public opinion see it?

Thakin Lay Maung, member of the Executive Committee of the All-Burma Peace Committee, said on August 5 that "this aggressive act of the U.S. amounts to sabotaging the 1954 Geneva agreements."

In its August 4 editorial, *La Depeche du Cambodge* condemned the U.S. armed invasion of the D.R.V., saying that it was not an isolated incident but was certainly a "part of the programme of aggression for a wider war" hatched by the United States.

The Pakistan paper *Jang* in its August 5 editorial reminded the United States that "the world is not an ancestral property of the United States where she holds the right to impose her will and to throw bombs on the peace-loving people of Viet Nam."

The Moroccan weekly *Avant Garde* commented on August 1: "The colonialist and imperialist circles over the last ten years have resorted to all means to sabotage the agreements and turn south Viet Nam into a colony filled with terror and destruction."

Even President de Gaulle of France cited facts at a press conference not long ago to show that the United States had sabotaged the Geneva agreements.

With the people of the whole world watching, how could Lyndon Johnson be able to pull the wool over their eyes?

The United States, a participant nation of the Geneva conference, did not sign the 1954 Geneva agreements, but it pledged not to violate the agreements by armed force or threat of force. In spite of this, shortly after the signing of the agreements, U.S. imperialism knocked together the SEATO and went

so far as to illegally place south Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia under the so-called "protection" of this aggressive bloc. From the very beginning, the U.S. Government has never taken the Geneva agreements seriously, but has unscrupulously undermined them. This has constituted the source of tension and instability in Indo-China.

It is the United States which fostered the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet clique in south Viet Nam and prevented the holding of general elections in Viet Nam in July 1956, thus undermining the peaceful unification of that country.

It is the United States which has poured several thousand million dollars into south Viet Nam, sent there large numbers of U.S. military advisers and huge quantities of American-made arms, equipped 500-600 thousand south Vietnamese puppet troops, and slaughtered 160,000 patriotic people of south Viet Nam. This has forced the people of south Viet Nam to take up arms and wage just patriotic struggles against the U.S.-Diem clique in a fight for existence.

It is also none other than the United States which has dispatched tens of thousands of U.S. troops to launch the inhuman "special warfare" against the south Vietnamese people, in its vain attempt to use bloody suppression to put down the flames of their revolution. In this dirty war, it has employed all kinds of new-type weapons, including chemical weapons.

As a matter of fact, U.S. imperialism has already turned south Viet Nam into its military base and a colony of a new type. Time and again the south Viet Nam puppet regime has been replaced, and even a lackey like Ngo Dinh Diem has been killed by its U.S. master. The U.S. "ambassador" to south Viet Nam has actually become the U.S. colonial viceroy there. Because of U.S. sabotage, not even a trace of the Geneva agreements exists in south Viet Nam.

In Cambodia and in Laos, as the whole world knows, the source of tension and war again stems from the intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, from the non-observance, violation and scrapping of the Geneva agreements by the U.S. Government. The essential points of the 1954 and 1961-62 Geneva agreements are the prohibition of the introduction of any foreign military personnel into Indo-China, and the prohibition of the establishment of foreign military bases in Indo-China. However, the United States has not only turned the entire southern part of Viet Nam into its military base and sent in tens of thousands of military personnel to wage for several years now the cruel "special warfare" against the people of south Viet Nam, but it has also extended war to the northern part of Viet Nam. Johnson, the chieftain of U.S. imperialism, now has the cheek to talk about implementing the Geneva agreements. Isn't that a big joke?

To restore peace in Indo-China and to uphold the Geneva agreements, it is imperative to stop U.S. in-

tervention and sabotage in the countries of Indo-China, immediately stop U.S. armed aggression against the D.R.V., and force the United States to pull all its armed forces out of south Viet Nam. Otherwise, any talk of safeguarding the Geneva agreements is sheer balderdash.

However, what warrants serious vigilance is that, after launching its open large-scale attack on the D.R.V., U.S. imperialism has the audacity to make a "complaint" at the U.N. Security Council.

Some well-intentioned people think that since the United States has raised the issue at the United Nations, the situation might ease. But there are others who are simply accomplices of the United States, who go out of their way to acclaim and support this U.S. move. This is unpardonable, especially in the case of those who have shouldered responsibilities for the 1954 Geneva agreements.

It must be stressed that the United Nations has no right whatsoever to interfere in Indo-China. A peaceful settlement for the question of Indo-China can only be sought through the channel of the Geneva agreements. In this respect, U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, too, has pointed out that the United Nations cannot help to seek a peaceful solution for the Viet Nam question. It is obvious that in raising the so-called Tonkin Gulf incident at the United Nations, the United States has the following objectives: 1) to establish itself as the "plaintiff"; 2) to legalize the fait accompli of its aggression against the D.R.V.; 3) if the first two objectives were achieved, to set a precedent for the United Nations to interfere in Indo-China and to bypass the Geneva conference; and 4) to form, whenever necessary and possible, a so-called United Nations force to turn Viet Nam into a second Korea. What the United States is now trying to do is exactly what it had done in 1950.

The August 5 editorial of the Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* correctly points out that "U.S. imperialism plots to use the United Nations as a smokescreen to cover up its crimes and legalize the stepped-up execution of its aggressive plan against north and south Viet Nam."

This is a most cunning conspiracy. All peace-loving countries and people of the world must be vigilant and see to it that the U.S. aggressors, whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Vietnamese people, are not allowed to use the United Nations as its amulet. The United States must repay the debt of blood it owes to the Vietnamese people! The United States must immediately stop all forms of encroachment upon the D.R.V.! All the armed forces of the United States must get out of Viet Nam! The question now is not one of the United States bringing a "complaint" against the D.R.V., but one of the people of the whole world bringing the vicious U.S. imperialist pirates to book!

Resolute Support for the Vietnamese People to Defeat U.S. Aggressors

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial of August 9. — Ed.

U.S. IMPERIALISM has lit up the flames of a war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. It has thus placed itself in the dock as a war criminal. A furious wave of condemnation against the U.S. aggressors is sweeping across the world.

The 650 million Chinese people have thundered out an earth-shaking roar of anger. They sharply denounce U.S. imperialism's crime of aggression. They regard U.S. aggression against the D.R.V. as aggression against China. In the last few days, people throughout the country have been holding mighty demonstrations, voicing their support for the Chinese Government's statement, pledging to back up their Vietnamese brothers, expressing determination to support the Vietnamese people's fight against aggression by practical deeds. The Governments of Korea, Cuba and Albania have issued statements declaring that they would certainly not look on U.S. imperialism's acts of aggression with folded arms. The 1,000 million people of the socialist countries denounce with one voice the sinister U.S. aggressors.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are filled with righteous indignation. They have held rallies and demonstrations, wrathfully shouting: "Viet Nam yes, Yankees no!" Righteous cries against U.S. aggression are resounding everywhere. Protest actions being taken across the length and breadth of the three continents fully demonstrate the peoples' firm resolve to share the weal and woe of the Vietnamese people and to unite against imperialism.

Strong indignation against U.S. imperialism's move to extend its war of aggression is being expressed by peace-loving people all over the world. Public opinion in many countries of Western Europe and Oceania has also castigated the United States' war adventure, denouncing it as an act of "pushing the world towards the brink of war." People in the United States, too, are holding demonstrations against the Johnson Administration's policy of war and aggression in Indo-China.

The bombs dropped by the U.S. imperialists have served to mobilize hundreds of millions of the world's people. U.S. imperialism is now more isolated than ever before.

U.S. imperialism has met with worldwide condemnation because its armed aggression against the D.R.V. is completely unjustified, despicable and utterly shameless. On top of its intolerable crimes in waging the sanguinary "special warfare" in south Viet Nam and slaughtering over 100,000 south Vietnamese people, U.S.

imperialism has adopted various war measures against the D.R.V., raiding and harassing it by sea and air. Having done all this, like the thief and sneak it is, it tries to deny it. Can there be anything more contemptible? Not only that. Now U.S. imperialism has fabricated a pretext out of thin air and openly launched surprise air raids on the D.R.V. From a thief it has turned into a robber. This is the height of lawlessness. However hard the Johnson Administration may try to deny it, it can never cover up its towering crime of openly perpetrating aggression against the D.R.V. Can the peoples of all countries permit the U.S. imperialists to wilfully extend its aggressive war? Certainly not.

U.S. imperialism has met with worldwide condemnation also because its armed aggression against the D.R.V. is a premeditated move to extend its aggressive war in Indo-China. This adventurous war move of the Johnson Administration has posed a grave threat to the peace of Asia and the world. Can the peoples of all countries sit idly by while the U.S. imperialists are dangerously playing with fire? Certainly not.

U.S. imperialism's acts of aggression against the D.R.V. demonstrate once again before the world's peoples that it is their common enemy and the No. 1 enemy of world peace. To oppose the people and dominate the world, U.S. imperialism can do anything nefarious. It presumptuously claims the right to do whatever it pleases to threaten the security of other countries, to infringe on their sovereignty and even to launch unprovoked attacks on them. It presumes that it can carry out aggression in whatever manner and extend the war to whatever place it desires. What arrogance! Johnson and his ilk brazenly allege that U.S. armed aggression against the D.R.V. is a "limited and fitting" action. This is gangster logic dead to all sense of shame. In the last few days, the United States has not only stepped up its military deployment for further extending the aggression by dispatching armed forces from its home bases and the Pacific to Indo-China and the adjacent areas, but has continued to send military aircraft to intrude into the air space of the D.R.V. for provocation. All this shows that the rigmarole about the United States having no intention to extend the war is just a smokescreen. The world's peoples must not be taken in. Countless facts have proved that only by punishing the aggressors as they deserve can the flames of war be prevented from spreading.

In the face of U.S. imperialist war provocations, the Vietnamese people have displayed undaunted heroism. They have acted firmly and dealt telling blows at the U.S. aggressors, and have scored brilliant victories. High in morale, they are resolved to fight to the finish in defence of their fatherland. Now, since U.S. imperialism

has perpetrated open armed aggression against the D.R.V., the D.R.V. has gained full right of action to fight against aggression. This anti-aggression struggle to uphold national independence, sovereignty and dignity is entirely just. By its acts of aggression, U.S. imperialism has also given all countries and peoples upholding the Geneva agreements as well as all peace-loving countries and peoples the right of action to render resolute support in every possible form for the Vietnamese people to resist the U.S. aggressors.

U.S. aggressors, don't you rejoice too soon! Don't think that you can get away with your sneak attack on the D.R.V. To tell you frankly, debts must be repaid and the debts of blood you owe the Vietnamese people must be repaid, too. Your fabrications and lies cannot hoodwink other people. Your threats of force can intimidate no one. From now on the initiative will be in the hands of the Vietnamese people and the world's peoples who support them. It is you, not us, who will surely be defeated. Final victory will certainly belong to the Vietnamese and other peoples of the world.

Resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism's armed aggression against the D.R.V.!

Hail the victory of the Vietnamese people in resisting U.S. armed aggression!

Firmly support the Vietnamese people's just struggle to resist U.S. imperialist aggression and defend their fatherland!

Oppose U.S. imperialism's sabotage of the Geneva agreements!

U.S. imperialism must stop forthwith its armed aggression and war provocation against the D.R.V.!

Aggression against the D.R.V. means aggression against China!

People of the world, unite to smash the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression!

U.S. imperialism, get out of south Viet Nam! Get out of Laos! Get out of Indo-China! Get out of Taiwan! Get out of south Korea! Get out of Japan! Get out of all places it has occupied!

Long live the comradeship-in-arms between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples!

Victory will certainly belong to the heroic Vietnamese people!

Long live world peace!

What Is the Truth About the So-Called Tonkin Gulf Incident?

by OBSERVER

Following is a commentary published in "Renmin Ribao" on August 11, 1964. — Ed.

THE Johnson Administration launched a sudden armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam under the pretext that a second attack was made on U.S. warships in the Gulf of Tonkin on August 4. In the last few days, Johnson and Washington officials, both administrative and military, have been describing in great detail the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident to create an impression that the alleged incident did, in fact, take place.

However, the more tales Johnson and his ilk fabricated, the more loopholes they revealed.

The August 5 statement of the D.R.V. spokesman and the Chinese Government's statement of August 6 both pointed out that the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident was a figment of the imagination of Johnson and the Washington officials. Nay more. It was a downright lie spread by U.S. imperialism with a view to extending the war in Indo-China. This has been seen through by more and more people. The Governments of Korea, Cuba, Albania and Cambodia, and the public opinion of many Asian and African countries, have con-

demned the Johnson Administration's despicable lie. A considerable number of Western bourgeois newspapers and journals, too, have ridiculed the absurd allegation of the U.S. Government.

Le Monde in two articles published on August 7 on the incident said that "proofs produced by Washington are still incomplete" and "what happened in the second naval battle is still not clear." It held that Washington's failure to produce convincing evidence "is striking."

The *Yorkshire Post* said in its editorial of August 7 that "some aspects of the conflict are puzzling" and that British officials did not understand "why north Viet Nam attacked a second time, when she knew that the United States was fully prepared." The U.S. allies suspected that the Tonkin Gulf incident was "deliberately provoked" by the United States, it said.

Even political and diplomatic circles in Washington doubted and disbelieved the attack announced by the White House and Pentagon.

DPA said in a Washington dispatch on August 5 that the announcement had met with "disbelieving astonishment in Washington political and diplomatic quarters."

It said that following the U.S. Defence Department's announcement of a second attack on U.S. warships in the Gulf of Tonkin, "government officials, politicians and diplomats in Washington are asking themselves in vain for the motives that could have prompted north Viet Nam to take such an apparently senseless action. Why does this small country with its negligible naval forces embark on a systematic provocation of the U.S. Seventh Fleet with its 125 vessels and 650 aeroplanes? What is the intention of expanding the war from the rice paddies and jungles to the open sea?" The dispatch said that all these questions "found no answer" in Washington.

Lies, no matter how cleverly cooked up, will show themselves up. With the lapse of time, they will reveal more loopholes. Here we shall expose the whole fabrication of the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident from nothing more than the evidence supplied by the United States' official releases.

Barefaced Lie With Many Loopholes

To begin at the beginning with the U.S. Defence Department's announcement of the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident:

According to the announcement made by Assistant Secretary of Defence Arthur Sylvester at 06:00 p.m. August 4 Washington time, "a second deliberate attack" was made on U.S. naval vessels by north Vietnamese patrol-torpedo boats at 10:30 p.m. August 4 local time (Gulf of Tonkin), or 10:30 a.m. August 4 Washington time. Reporting the announcement which came seven and a half long hours after the alleged attack had taken place, the USIS itself admitted: "Details are reported to be scanty."

How scanty?

First of all, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defence said that an "undetermined number" of PT boats took part in the "attack";

Second, defence officials "are satisfied the attackers launched torpedoes at the U.S. ships, but were unable to say how many";

Third, the announcement even failed "to say how many [U.S.] planes from the two carriers had taken off to aid" the U.S. destroyers supposedly under attack; and

Fourth, nor was the duration of the attack definite, since it was reported that "the attack is believed to have lasted about three hours."

Please note that there is not a single definite fact in the whole announcement which had been carefully prepared for seven and a half hours. Was it that time was not enough? Certainly not. Could it be that Washington had not received any information from the Gulf of Tonkin because of poor telecommunications? This too could not have been the case, for U.S. fleets and the Pentagon are equipped with up-to-date telecommunication facilities and there is constant contact between

them even ordinarily; then what about a serious situation in which U.S. ships were subjected to "attack."

Some unidentified U.S. Defence Department officials, that is, Sylvester's colleagues or subordinates, supplied some detailed information to the pressmen. One official "intimated it was probably between six and ten" north Vietnamese PT boats which made the attack. Another said no, it was "four." Then how many torpedoes were fired? The officials could not give a specific number. They could only say that "a number of torpedoes were fired." How many American planes had taken off after all? It is unpardonable not to know how many torpedoes were fired by the enemy in an engagement and it is truly absurd not to be able to give the number of one's own planes that had taken off. The officials could only say evasively that in view of the bad weather which "hampered the operations of the planes" they "assumed much of the counter-attack on the torpedo boats was carried out by gunfire from the two destroyers."

It was either "intimated" or "assumed," and the more details the greater the ambiguity became. This can only cast greater doubt as to whether the so-called attack had taken place at all.

At midnight (Washington time) on August 4, that is, six hours after Sylvester's announcement, U.S. Secretary of Defence McNamara personally came out to hold a press conference. The Pentagon chief then gave the newsmen a detailed account of the two so-called attacks in the Tonkin Gulf, the most detailed information so far made public by U.S. official quarters.

According to McNamara's account, during the entire period of the second attack, U.S. warships reported their encounter at short intervals of time to the general headquarters in Honolulu of the U.S. forces in the Pacific and to the Pentagon. One cannot help asking: since that was the case, why was it that Sylvester could not give any concrete information seven and a half hours after the U.S. warships had been "attacked"? Moreover, although McNamara supplied more detailed information, he still could not say how many enemy ships made the so-called attack and how many torpedoes they fired.

One is particularly surprised at the fact that although McNamara and Sylvester are responsible officials of the same Defence Department and were talking about the same thing, yet they contradicted each other in the information they supplied. Now let us examine the contradictions in their statements.

Sylvester said: "The attack came at 10:30 p.m. local time."

But McNamara said that it was at "9:52 p.m. August 4—the destroyers reported they were under continuous torpedo attack."

Sylvester held that "at least two of the PT boats were sunk and two others damaged."

But McNamara said categorically: "10:15 p.m. August 4—the destroyers reported that they had

avoided torpedoes and had sunk one of the attacking craft. . . . 10:42 p.m. August 4—the destroyers reported that they had evaded additional torpedoes and had sunk another of the attacking craft. . . . 12:32 a.m. [00:32 local time August 5] — the patrol reported that an additional enemy craft was believed to have been sunk.” That is, three craft were sunk altogether.

What do the above-mentioned circumstances tell us?

1. The time of the beginning of the attack as given by McNamara is 38 minutes earlier than that given by Sylvester. In other words, at the time when the U.S. ships were not yet subjected to attack according to Sylvester’s version of the engagement, U.S. ships were already subjected to attack according to McNamara’s version.

2. Fifteen minutes before the beginning of the attack on the U.S. ships according to Sylvester’s version, McNamara had already sunk one enemy vessel.

3. While Sylvester sunk two enemy vessels and damaged two, McNamara sunk three. In other words, McNamara sunk one vessel more than Sylvester, damaged two less.

How is one to explain the discrepancy between the two versions given by two responsible officials of the Pentagon? Only one explanation is possible. Both were telling lies. While McNamara’s lies exposed his inferior’s, Sylvester’s lies exposed his superior’s.

At his press conference on August 4, McNamara declared with mock seriousness that the U.S. ship, the *Maddox*, reported “radar contact with unidentified surface vessels” and “three unidentified aircraft,” and that these aircraft later “disappeared from its [the ship’s] radar screen.” But afterwards, “additional vessels” were observed “to close rapidly on” the U.S. ship. So, McNamara used these illusory visions as a prelude to the so-called second attack.

At another press conference on August 5, more questions were put to the secretary about these ships and planes: “There have been reports that south Vietnamese vessels were showing or taking some sort of action against north Viet Nam approximately at this time.” In other words, could it be that the “unidentified surface vessels” referred to by McNamara the day before were south Vietnamese vessels?

McNamara flatly replied, “No . . . there were no operations during the period. . . .”

Then, again: In which direction did the three unidentified aircraft come from?

McNamara evaded the question by answering, “We have no identification on those aircraft. They did not participate in the attacks on our vessels.”

However, McNamara could not answer the following questions: Since these ships were unidentified, how could he tell for certain that they were not south Vietnamese ships? Since unidentified aircraft were sighted and their number was clearly determined as three, why was it not possible to tell from which direction they had come? Were there or were there not such un-

identified planes and ships? Could it be that the U.S. warships had sighted some spectres and mistaken them as planes and ships and then fought a real battle with these imaginary objects?

In his August 7 report of the Tonkin Gulf incident, Alain Clement, Washington correspondent of *Le Monde*, laid his finger on the sore spot of the Johnson Administration when he wrote: “For the moment, there is more information on the U.S. retaliation against the north Vietnamese installations than on that of the naval aggression which was alleged to be the cause.” He added that “this blank is striking” in the United States which was used to producing “a super-abundance of photos, charts and explanations.” This is “striking” indeed! Despite the much-vaunted claim of the Pentagon that several enemy vessels were sunk by the U.S. ships in the August 4 attack, they have so far not been able to produce even a single piece of wreckage of these “sunken enemy ships.”

Fabrication Out of Thin Air

In fact, loopholes in the monstrous lie about the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident can be clearly seen in the course of its making.

According to the Pentagon, two U.S. destroyers were under attack on the morning of August 4 (Washington time). Now let us see what happened in Washington on August 4 as reported by Western news agencies.

At 12:00 hours, that is, one and a half to two hours after the U.S. warships opened fire in Tonkin Gulf, U.S. President Johnson called a meeting of the National Security Council in the White House. All was calm and quiet after the meeting.

At 13:00 hours Johnson conferred with his cabinet and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Earle G. Wheeler. Taking part in the talks were Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Defence Secretary Robert McNamara, the President’s special assistant McGeorge Bundy and others. Again nothing happened after the meeting.

It was not until 16:47 that a “source close to the Pentagon” disclosed the news about U.S. warships in Tonkin Gulf being “under attack.” When asked by newsmen, the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department declined formal confirmation or comment.

At 18:00 hours Johnson called a second meeting of the National Security Council with Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Defence Secretary Robert McNamara, Deputy Secretary of Defence Cyrus Roberts Vance, Director of the C.I.A. John A. McCone, Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, and Director of the U.S. Information Agency Carl Rowan taking part. The meeting lasted 30 minutes.

At 18:00 hours the Defence Department issued an announcement formally announcing that two U.S. destroyers had been subjected to a “second deliberate attack.”

At 18:45, Johnson called a meeting of 16 Senate and House leaders of the Democratic and the Republican Parties which lasted until 20:45. After the meeting, Press Secretary of the President George Reedy announced that the President would issue a statement later in the evening.

At 22:00 hours Republican presidential candidate Goldwater declared after a talk with Johnson on the telephone that he supported Johnson's position. Prior to this, Johnson had repeatedly tried to reach Goldwater.

At 23:40 hours Johnson declared in a statement over the nationwide radio and television network that "open aggression on the high seas against the United States of America" had taken place and that "air action is now in execution against gunboats and certain supporting facilities of north Viet Nam which have been used in these hostile operations."

This was what happened in Washington on August 4 after the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident: before 18:00 hours all was calm and quiet with the chiefs, big and small, in busy consultation; it was not until after 18:00 hours that a so-called crisis atmosphere appeared in Washington.

People cannot help putting the question: If the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident were a fact instead of a fabrication, why did the U.S. ruling circles behave as if nothing had happened after U.S. war vessels had been "under attack" and meetings of the National Security Council had been called?

If these ruling circles were not determined to fabricate and therefore needed time for it, why did they announce the news some seven to eight hours after the United States had been subjected to "open aggression"?

If it was not because the adventurers had a guilty conscience and were hesitant before committing a crime, why was it that Johnson did not order "the military forces of the United States to take action in reply" till 13 to 14 hours after the United States had been subjected to "open aggression"?

It is very clear that the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident was either a show staged by the U.S. Navy in accordance with a pre-set plan of the Washington authorities or misinformation on the part of the U.S. Navy, a mistake which the Washington authorities found handy as a pretext to extend the war they had long premeditated. In either case the Johnson Administration was guilty of lying. So, what Washington had to do was not to tell the truth but to fabricate a lie and to launch aggression on the strength of this lie. Hence it was necessary for Washington to weigh and consider more than once whether the lie was plausible and whether the adventure was worthwhile. The tense atmosphere in Washington was by no means the result of the alleged attack on U.S. war vessels, hence there was no tension in Washington before 18:00 hours on August 4. Tension in Washington stemmed from the decision to embark on an adven-

ture in accordance with its lie, hence the appearance of a so-called crisis atmosphere after 18:00 hours on August 4. Johnson told a monstrous lie that U.S. warships had been under attack. Based on this lie he made the decision to engage in a military adventure and forced his political rival, Goldwater, to agree. It was only after he had secured the support of Goldwater that he made public his adventurous plan to bomb the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This laid bare the secret of this liar and conspirator.

A Thief Has a Guilty Conscience

But Johnson has a guilty conscience; so his arguments are lame, his steps faltering and his words full of contradictions. As the Chinese saying goes: A thief has a guilty conscience; the more he tries to hide, the more he exposes himself.

After launching the surprise attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, U.S. military and administrative chiefs were fidgety day and night. According to reports of Western news agencies, the White House received reports on reactions at regular intervals throughout the night of August 4 and McNamara "was in his office in the Pentagon all night." On the evening of August 6, Johnson told the press that he had been awake until 3 o'clock that morning after having delivered his midnight television statement on August 4. He expressed satisfaction over the fact that no "new crisis" occurred on the 6th. He said that it had been a "good day today." Why were Johnson and company so panicky if they did not have a guilty conscience?

Simultaneous with its decision to make a surprise attack on the D.R.V., the Johnson Administration complained to the United Nations and decided to start extensive diplomatic activities in other countries to justify its piracy. Then he sent Henry Cabot Lodge, former U.S. "ambassador" in Saigon, on a mission to persuade other countries to swallow the lie. What a hustle and bustle! But does not this appear to be in too much of a flurry? If the Johnson Administration had not put out a big lie which it knew nobody would believe, why should it take such pains to send people hither and thither to defend itself?

All this proves that the so-called second Tonkin Gulf incident was a pure fabrication. As time passes, more evidence will be provided to further expose this clumsy fraud. Johnson and his ilk can do nothing to alter the conclusion that they are among the most stupid liars, the most cowardly adventurers and the most shameless aggressors in the world.

The so-called "Tonkin Gulf incident" engineered by the Johnson Administration will be recorded in the history of mankind and condemned for generations to come like the "Maine Incident" created by U.S. President William McKinley in 1898, the "Liutiaokou Incident" created by the Japanese militarist Shigeru Honjo on September 18, 1931, as a pretext for attacking Northeast China, and the "Reichstag" fire scandal engineered by Hitler in 1933.

Expose U.S. Great Conspiracy

A HSIHUA correspondent's article released on August 10 and entitled "Big Lie and Great Conspiracy of the U.S. Exploded" points out that "the Johnson Administration's tale of an 'attack' by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on U.S. naval vessels in the Gulf of Tonkin on August 4 is a big lie and great international conspiracy rarely known in history. Few lies have been so brazenly told, and yet few, too, have been so promptly exploded."

The article which runs into ten thousand characters is divided into five parts, namely: A U.S. Concocted Tale; An Unusual Course; An Absurd "Chronology"; Even the Americans Don't Believe It; A Premeditated Plot.

The article says that it is no secret that the Johnson Administration had worked out a programme for a wider war in Indo-China to retrieve its defeats in south Viet Nam and Southeast Asia as a whole, to strengthen Johnson's position in the presidential elections, to seek an outlet for the U.S. arms industry and to give a stimulus to U.S. economy. In fact, the programme had time and again been revealed in the war clamours of the leading U.S. officials. However, it did come as a surprise to some people that the Johnson Administration should have the audacity to invent such a pretext to start the war, a thing which even Dulles had not dared to do. That is why the world public was so enraged and even the Americans themselves would not believe this fantastic story. Now that more and more details have come to light, the lie and the conspiracy contrived by the U.S. Government have been increasingly exposed. With the lapse of time, this sordid and audacious conspiracy will certainly be further exposed.

A U.S. Concocted Tale

In the first part, the article quotes in full the bulletin on "Tonkin Gulf Incident" issued by U.S. Assistant Defence Secretary Arthur Sylvester at 6:00 p.m. Washington time on August 4 and the "Chronology of the Second Attack" published by U.S. Defence Secretary Robert McNamara at a press conference at 00:40 hours on August 5.

In the second part "An Unusual Course," the article recalls the activities of the Johnson Administration on August 4. It points out that no mention was made of the incident at Johnson's conference with the Democratic Congressional leaders more than one hour after the U.S. ships had allegedly sighted surface vessels ready for attack, nor at his meeting with other U.S. government leaders over two hours after the "fighting." Towards noon, August 4, Johnson still found time to receive Indian Minister of Railways S.K. Patil. At noon, he called the first meeting of the National Security Council that day. No reports indicated that

the "second attack" was mentioned at that meeting either. Furthermore, seven hours after the "fighting" was supposed to have started and four hours after it was supposed to have concluded, when reporters inquired the White House and the Defence Department about the reported incident, they still evaded the issue and declined to comment.

The article also points out that the way the U.S. finally released the story was also very unusual. As is well-known, aggressive activities of the U.S. Seventh Fleet are as a rule announced by the Honolulu Headquarters of the U.S. Forces in the Pacific. The counter-attack on the U.S. destroyer, the *Maddox*, after its intrusion into the territorial sea of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on August 2 was announced by the Honolulu Headquarters, not by the Pentagon. But the Honolulu Headquarters said nothing about the August 4 incident and it was the Pentagon which monopolized the publication of the news. The article says: "People cannot help asking why there should have occurred these extraordinary and inexplicable things after such a grave 'incident.' The only reasonable answer is that the alleged attack is an invention pure and simple, while the White House and Pentagon had worked out long ago a programme of launching attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by creating a pretext. Once preparations for carrying out this programme were completed, action was taken immediately. When Johnson called a meeting of Congressional leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties and consulted with Goldwater, it was only to tell them about the story already fabricated and action decided to be taken and to ask for their concurrence."

An Absurd "Chronology"

In the third part, the article points out: "The U.S. Assistant Defence Secretary Arthur Sylvester first released a bulletin. But it was too poor to be presentable. So U.S. Defence Secretary Robert McNamara had to come forward himself to produce a "chronology." But the more details given, the more absurd McNamara's story became and the more loopholes it contained.

A cursory analysis of the "chronology" will find that it is open to a host of questions. The article puts forward ten questions to show the absurdity of the "announcement" and the "chronology."

The article says that according to the "chronology," *Maddox* had established "contact with two unidentified surface vessels and three unidentified aircraft." What had really happened? McNamara admitted himself on August 5 that the three unidentified aircraft "did not participate in the attacks on our vessels" but "disappeared." Obviously these aircraft did not belong to

the D.R.V. To which country did they belong? McNamara gave no account of the two surface vessels. Why could he not tell how many other unidentified vessels there were but these two vessels? And to which country did the two vessels belong?

The article points out that McNamara admitted at his August 6 press conference that with U.S. assistance and under its control, the south Viet Nam puppet navy had 500 motor junks which from time to time crossed the 17th Parallel to sneak into the waters off the coasts of north Viet Nam and were "very active in that area." While putting questions to McNamara on August 5, a U.S. correspondent disclosed that on the evening of August 4 "south Vietnamese vessels were showing or taking some sort of action against north Viet Nam." McNamara categorically denied this at the press conference. But the connection between the movement of U.S. warships in the Tonkin Gulf on the evening of August 4 and the activities of the vessels of the south Viet Nam puppet troops is still a question.

The article says that according to the U.S. Defence Department announcement made by Sylvester, "north Vietnamese PT boats" had attacked U.S. warships, that is to say, these PT boats had engaged U.S. warships on the high seas far off the coasts for three to six hours continuously. This goes against elementary military code.

Against Elementary Common Sense

According to the "chronology," at 7:40 p.m. local time, U.S. warships encountered these "surface vessels" and at 9:52 an "engagement" took place. Fierce fighting continued for more than three hours and lasted till 1:30 on August 5. The whole process lasted for nearly six hours. This was truly a sea battle of considerable scale. But anybody with a little knowledge of military science knows that torpedo boats have high speed and short range and are fit for short distance surprise attack and hit-and-run tactics. How could they be engaged in fierce fighting with powerful U.S. destroyers for three hours on high seas more than 60 nautical miles off the coast? Is it conceivable that such a senior U.S. official as the Secretary of Defence should lack such elementary common sense and made up such a story which will make one hold one's sides?

Secondly, if these vessels were, as alleged by Johnson, "hostile vessels of the Government of north Viet Nam" which made "deliberate, wilful and systematic" attack on U.S. vessels, why shouldn't they start attack immediately after spotting the U.S. vessels, but should instead parallel the tracks of U.S. vessels and started the "attack" until 09:52, that is more than two hours after U.S. vessels discovered them and got everything ready and even called in an escort of aircraft?

When the "chronology" fabricated by the U.S. Government was discredited and denounced by the people of the world, "high U.S. sources" came out brazenly with the statement: "Washington had no photographic evidence but had other evidence that would stand up in

a court proving the assault occurred." What other evidence did these sources list? "They listed as evidence radar spotting of the boats, eyewitness accounts of a searchlight and small arms fire, and eyewitness reports of a torpedo within 300 feet (91.4 m.) off the *Maddox* bow and of an attempt by a U.S. destroyer to ram one of the boats." (AP, Washington, August 7)

Could the radar spotting and eyewitness accounts cooked up by the liars be of any value? What is most absurd is the "eyewitness reports of a torpedo within 300 feet off the *Maddox* bow." While U.S. officers could not see and determine how many "hostile" torpedo boats there were and how many torpedoes they had launched, it must be a "miracle" indeed for one to have seen the speeding torpedo within 300 feet in what was reported "rough seas" with "thunderstorms and low visibility."

Referring to the number of "hostile vessels" "sunk," the article recalls that Sylvester said at least two were sunk and two others damaged, while McNamara at one time said three were sunk but later he said two. Leaving aside the point as to how many were sunk or damaged, since at least two "hostile vessels" were sunk, why have the Americans so far failed to produce any evidence, not even a shred of it?

Even the Americans Don't Believe It

The fourth part of the article quotes extensively the comments of the newspapers, journals and news agencies of France, Britain, Japan, West Germany and other countries and also their reports on the "Tonkin Gulf Incident." The myth spread by the United States sounds so absurd that it has not only been refuted and denounced by progressive public opinion of the world, but also doubted by public opinion in the West, including the United States, the article says.

"Why should the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam attack U.S. vessels in international waters? This is a question that crops up naturally in the minds of all people. When pressed with the question by newsmen, the Washington liars were always at a loss what to answer," the article says.

In its concluding part, the article points out that the incident of the Gulf of Tonkin was premeditated by the United States. Ever since the spring of this year, the U.S. aggressors have been clamouring for a wider war with a view to averting their disastrous defeats in south Viet Nam and Indo-China.

The article quotes many U.S. officials, reviews their activities and cites press comments of many countries to show that the bombing of the coastal cities of north Viet Nam is part of the U.S. plan to expand its war in south Viet Nam.

"The people of the world can see things clearly. They will not allow themselves to be taken in by the big lie spread by the Johnson Administration. The world public will pass a stern judgment on the crime committed by the Johnson Administration," the article concludes.

Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Ready to Smash Enemy Invasion

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

Casting all caution to the winds, Washington crossed over the brink of war when U.S. planes attacked the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (D.R.V.) on August 5. The reason was not hard to find. Bugged down in the "special war" in south Viet Nam, neither resigned to defeat nor able to win, frustrated by lukewarm allies bent on keeping clear of embroilment in the U.S. gamble in Southeast Asia which they know will lead them up a blind alley, and faced with a tougher war-mongering opponent than himself in the November presidential election, President Lyndon Johnson made his move. Worked out over the months and rounded off at the Honolulu meeting in June, the blow was struck. The people of the D.R.V. rose as one man to meet the challenge. Shocked by the brutal and calculated armed assault, the world was worried by the increasingly adventurous war moves of the United States in Indo-China.

ON August 5, U.S. aircraft bombed the coastal areas of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at several points. Eight U.S. jet raiders were shot down by D.R.V. anti-aircraft guns, three were damaged and one U.S. pilot, Lieutenant Everett Alvarez, Jr., from the aircraft carrier *Constellation* was taken prisoner.

This truculent air strike culminated a series of provocative naval and air actions against the D.R.V. immediately before August 5. On the night of July 30, U.S. warships sailed into D.R.V. territorial waters and shelled Hon Me and Hon Ngu Islands, which are part of D.R.V.'s Nghe An and Thanh Hoa Provinces. On August 1, U.S. Laotian-based T-28 fighter-bombers crossed the border and raided Nam Can and Noong De in Nghe An Province. On August 2, U.S. AD-6 and T-28 bombers again attacked Nam Can from Laos. After nightfall on the same day the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* of the 7th Fleet, which had been prowling D.R.V. waters since July 31, penetrated still deeper and carried out further provocations. On August 3, U.S. warships again invaded D.R.V. waters, shelling the Ron and Deo Ngang areas in Quang Binh Province with 40-millimetre guns. Then on August 5, U.S. jets bombed and strafed the Gianh River mouth and Hong Gai in Quang Ninh Province, the Vinh-Ben Thuy region in Nghe An Province and other areas in the D.R.V.

"Second Attack" Canard

Just before the August 5 raids took place the Johnson Administration raised a big uproar about what it

called a "second attack" on U.S. warships. It alleged that two U.S. destroyers, *Maddox* and *C. Turner Joy*, were attacked by D.R.V. torpedo boats on August 4 and made this the *casus belli* for initiating the air strike against the D.R.V.

The bombing raids launched by the U.S. Government on the flimsy pretext of the fabricated "second attack" was condemned by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in a statement issued the following day. The strafing and bombing on August 5, it declared, were obviously premeditated warlike acts which are part of the U.S. Government's plan to intensify its provocations and sabotage against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This air attack exposed still more clearly the design to invade north Viet Nam and extend the war there, as stated many times before by the U.S. Government. It was an extremely serious act of war by the U.S. Government against the D.R.V. and an extremely crude violation of international law and the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China which increased the danger of expanding the war in Indo-China and Southeast Asia, the statement said.

The people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam refused to tolerate these repeated provocations. Thus, on August 2, when U.S. warships again encroached on D.R.V. territorial waters and intimidated its fishing vessels, D.R.V. patrols operating within the territorial limits took action in self-defence. They repelled and chased the invaders out of their territorial waters.

Bred in the Bone

Hanoi, the capital, articulated the national rejoicing over the achievements of the armed forces at a meeting on August 7 to commend the anti-aircraft and naval units of the Viet Nam People's Army that had brought down the eight American planes. After congratulating the men and officers on their outstanding service, President Ho Chi Minh said: "We must be aware that what is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh. That is the nature of U.S. imperialism and its henchmen." He stressed that the U.S. imperialists had been given a well-deserved lesson by the D.R.V.'s counter-attacks, and noted that people all over the world had voiced sympathy and support for the people of Viet Nam. "While we deeply cherish peace," the Vietnamese President concluded, "the entire Vietnamese people will defeat the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys if they infringe on north Viet Nam."

Indignation and wrath, blended with a firm resolve to defeat Yankee imperialism, express the mood of the Vietnamese people in their present struggle. For days there were mass rallies in all parts of north Viet Nam to mark the victory won by the armed forces and to denounce the rabid U.S. aggression. The voice of condemnation and determination surged through the land. The Fatherland Front and people's organizations fully supported the stand taken by their Government. In cities and rural areas the people demonstrated and gathered to give vent to their feelings against the flagrant provocations of U.S. imperialism and to express their joy over the drubbing handed the hated enemy not only of themselves but of all those in Asia, Africa and Latin America who have yet to free themselves from its domination. U.S. imperialism was like the proverbial rat running for its life in the street amidst the cry of all—beat it, beat it!

A communique issued on August 7 by the D.R.V. Council of Ministers held the U.S. Government and its flunkies fully responsible for the grave consequences brought about by their bellicose acts. The Council of Ministers warned them that all provocation and aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will be defeated by the mobilized strength of the Vietnamese people.

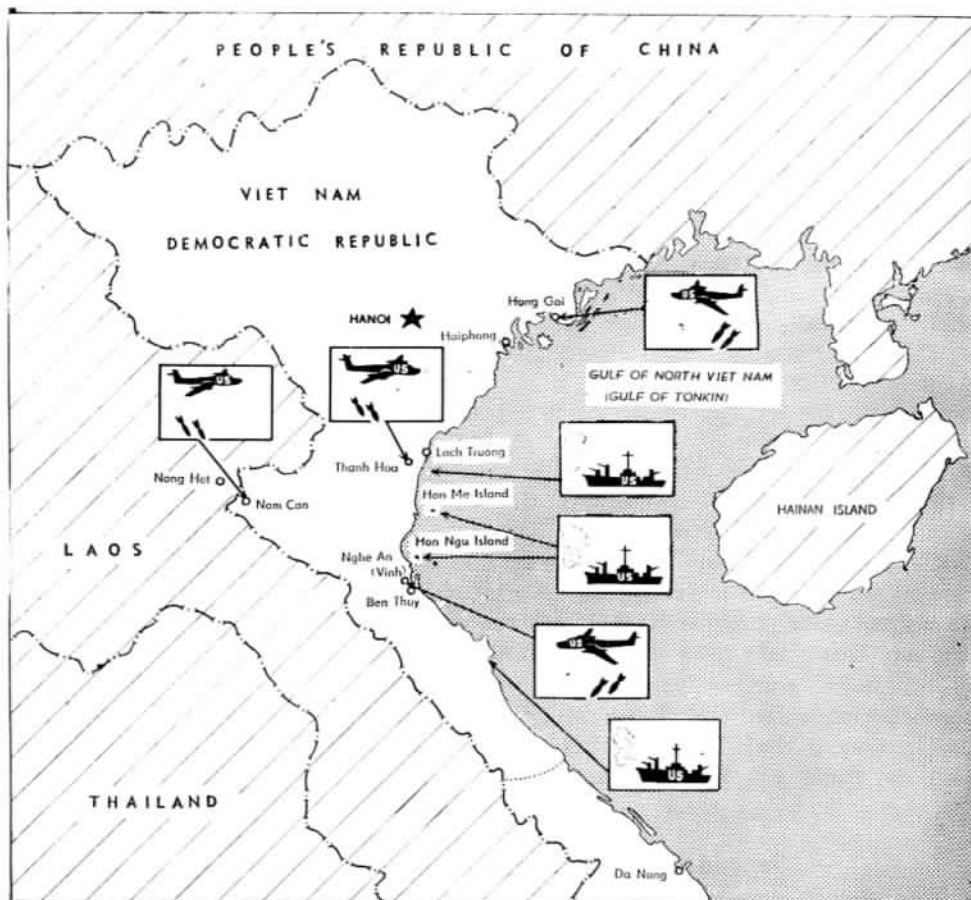
In separate notes sent to the two Co-Chairmen and participating countries of the 1954 Geneva Conference and to the member countries of the International Commission for Supervision and Control the day the United States unloosed its attack, D.R.V. Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy strongly condemned and protested against the fact that the U.S. Government and its minions in south Viet Nam and Laos had outrageously encroached upon the sovereignty and territory of the D.R.V. and crassly violated the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam and the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos. Xuan Thuy drew attention to the fact that the U.S. Government has even used Laotian territory in its aggression against the D.R.V. In this connection, he sent an urgent message to Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Laotian Government, condemning it for allowing the United States to use Laotian territory to bomb the D.R.V. The D.R.V. Foreign Minister also stated that the act of war by the U.S. Government and its agents has brought about an extremely dangerous situation in Indo-

China and is a grave menace to the peace and security of all Asia. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam requested that the Co-Chairmen and participating countries of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China and Laos and the International Commission take firm measures to secure from the U.S. Government and its henchmen respect for the implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, bring about an immediate end to their dangerous provocations against the D.R.V., and demand that the Laotian Government desist from allowing the U.S. Government to use Laotian territory as a base for provocative attacks.

Backstairs U.N. Manoeuvres

One of the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union, replied to the D.R.V.'s note, proposing that the question be referred to the U.N. Security Council for examination, which happened to be the same course Johnson was pursuing. The Security Council, at the request of the U.S. Government, convened an "urgent meeting" the day the Americans attacked the D.R.V. to discuss what Washington hypocritically called "the serious situation created by deliberate attacks of the Hanoi regime on U.S. naval vessels in international waters."

The Soviet delegate refrained from refuting the lie about U.S. warships being attacked by the D.R.V. He



proposed that the Security Council "instruct the council chairman to ask the D.R.V. Government to urgently supply the council with the necessary information in connection with the complaint of the United States" and "invite representatives of the D.R.V. Government to take part immediately in the meetings of the Security Council." The United States insisted on also inviting representatives of the U.S. puppet Nguyen Khanh clique of south Viet Nam.

Private consultations took place. The Soviet and U.S. delegates were reported to have agreed outside the meeting that the Security Council should invite both the D.R.V. and the south Viet Nam puppet regime to submit information.

This insolent invitation and the U.S. "complaint" have been categorically rejected. In a statement on August 9 the D.R.V. Foreign Ministry declared that the U.N. is not competent to examine the recent events in the coastal area of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic as requested by the U.S. Government. "The slander of the U.S. Government and its complaint against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at the U.N. Security Council," it said, "clearly show that it seeks to shirk its responsibility and betray its design to use the United Nations to interfere in the Viet Nam situation and carry out its policy of aggression." It pointed out that "only the two Co-Chairmen and countries which took part in the Geneva Conference have full competence to examine the extremely dangerous war acts committed by the U.S. Government against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

Why was the Johnson Administration so impatient to get the United Nations to take up its so-called complaint? In its editorial on August 8, *Renmin Ribao* wrote: In raising at the United Nations the incident that it itself engineered in the Gulf of Tonkin, the United States has a fourfold purpose: (1) to establish itself as the accuser; (2) to provide legal camouflage for the acts of aggression which it has committed against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; (3) to create a precedent for the United Nations to interfere in Indo-China and to bypass the Geneva conference; and (4) to form, in case of need and if possible, a so-called United Nations force to turn Viet Nam into a second Korea. What the United States is now trying to achieve is exactly what it did in 1950.

Diplomatic Blockbuster

The Johnson Administration, plagued with a guilty conscience, did not confine its diplomatic manoeuvres to the United Nations. It asked for special NATO and SEATO sessions in order to give the U.S. version of the incident in the Gulf of Tonkin. It has instructed its



You can't get away with that chestnut!

Cartoon by Mi Ku

embassies and missions abroad to foster the image of the United States as the victim of aggression and a hostile attack. AP reported from Washington on August 5 on "a worldwide U.S. diplomatic effort to convey the U.S. explanation for its strike at north Vietnamese naval bases." In addition, Henry Cabot Lodge, former U.S. "ambassador" in Saigon, is being sent by Johnson to allied capitals to do some explaining. Perhaps explanation needs to begin at home, to the American people, or to some colleagues on Capitol Hill, for instance, Senator Wayne Morse (Democrat) who told the U.S. Senate on August 8 that the Pentagon was deluding itself if it thought the world would "accept its alibi that the United States was not guilty of any provocation in Tonkin Bay."

Concern described the reaction of most of America's allies. Apart from Britain which, in the Security Council, upheld the U.S. aggression, few countries were prepared to associate themselves with U.S. aggression in Indo-China. French official quarters maintained a cautious silence. Bonn was said to be "watching the situation in Southeast Asia with concern." Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson said in Parliament that Canada had urged the United States to avoid any outbursts with the north Vietnamese government that might lead to war. "The Japanese Government," said Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda, "does not want to see the incident extended but expects an early peaceful settlement."

All countries, particularly those in Asia, have good reason to feel disturbed by the intensified U.S. military movements in this part of the world. The U.S. war build-up in Asia was continuing unabated.

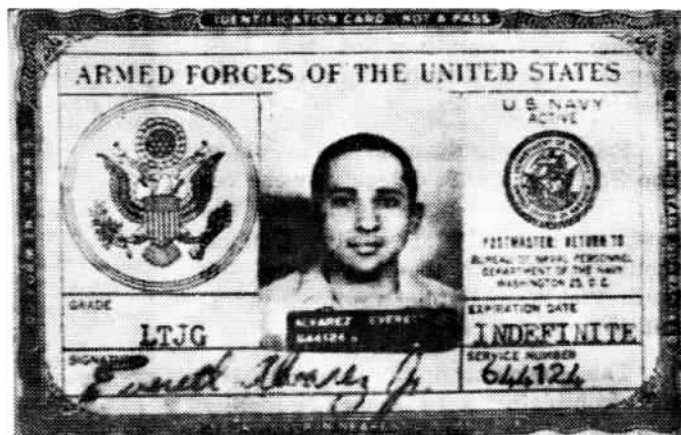
Twenty-three of the 26 units of the U.S. 7th Fleet stationed in Yokosuka, Japan, along with the flagship *Oklahoma City*, sailed for a "destination unknown,"

believed to be the Gulf of Tonkin. A considerable number of U.S. aircraft, including F-102's and F-120's, arrived in south Viet Nam. Ulysses S. Grant Sharp, Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Forces in the Pacific, after holding a series of meetings with top aides, confirmed at a news conference in Honolulu on August 8 that the United States was speeding up its military deployment by sending a large number of warships and planes to Southeast Asia. AFP reported from Honolulu that at the conference Sharp declared that American aircraft carriers headed by the *Ranger* were due in Honolulu on August 10 from the United States and would shortly leave for the Far East. Sharp also mentioned the dispatch of 125 planes, mainly F-100 jet fighters and F-105 tactical fighters.

In the meantime, in south Viet Nam where a "state of emergency" was declared by puppet premier Nguyen Khanh the busy airlifting of troops in the direction of the 17th Parallel kept people in Saigon awake at night, and the air space of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was violated time and again after Johnson's "air strike."

By its escalation of the war in Indo-China it is clear that U.S. imperialism is bent on continuing its policy of war and aggression in Indo-China. This was

underlined at Johnson's August 8 press conference when he said the Southeast Asia situation "remains serious" and U.S. armed forces would "remain fully alert." If the U.S. President is dreaming of fresh aggression so soon after the air attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam it might be well for him to remember that the time has long since passed when Asians can be browbeaten by a show of force.



Identification card found on U.S. pilot Lt. Everett Alvarez, who was captured by the V.P.A.

Worldwide Support for Viet Nam

U.S. Imperialism Stands Condemned

BY kindling the flames of aggressive war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism has put itself in the dock as a war criminal. An angry wave of denunciation and protest is now sweeping the whole world.

This provides a fresh demonstration of the solidarity among the peoples of the socialist countries, the anti-imperialist unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the strong opposition of all peace-loving peoples the world over to U.S. expansion of the war. It is clear that the U.S. imperialists cannot get away with their aggression against Viet Nam. Their lies can deceive no one, nor can their threat of force intimidate anybody.

Playing With Fire

Korean Government Statement. On August 6, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement condemning the U.S. imperialists. "The armed attacks of U.S. imperialism," declared the statement, "are not only a grave provocative act infringing upon the sovereignty of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic but also a challenge to the entire socialist camp and the peace-loving people the world over. This is an extremely dangerous playing with fire which undermines peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the

world. None of the socialist countries can by any means look on with folded arms at the piratical aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists."

The statement stressed that the Korean people will always stand firmly on the side of the Vietnamese people, their comrades-in-arms, and do everything in their power to strengthen the common struggle against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism.

Cuban Leaders Condemn U.S. Aggression. On August 6, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and President Osvaldo Dorticos issued a statement censuring the unprovoked U.S. attack. The statement declared: "On behalf of the Cuban people, the Revolutionary Government denounces the U.S. troops for launching the unjustifiable attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam." Rejecting the lies spread by the U.S. Government in an attempt to shift the responsibility on the D.R.V., the statement stressed: "The U.S. Government unscrupulously provoked the incident in order to create a pretext for using its air force to raid installations in north Viet Nam, just as it did on April 15, 1961, when it sent aircraft with false markings to attack our bases and declared this an internal uprising; this also applies to the case when our soldiers were fired at from the Guantanamo base and the U.S. Government claimed that the aggression came from the Cuban side. No one in the world

will believe that north Viet Nam is responsible in any way for what has happened." At this moment, the statement added, it is more imperative than ever that the entire forces of the socialist camp, the people who have thrown off the imperialist yoke and the forces which are fighting for peace should unite and stay in time the criminal, bellicose and aggressive hand of the U.S. Government which has most brazenly launched an attack on the courageous and industrious people of this small country in Southeast Asia.

Albania Backs Viet Nam. In its August 7 statement, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania said: "The Albanian people and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania demand that the U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam be immediately checked and that due punishment be given to the aggressors for their horrible crimes against the heroic Vietnamese people with whom the Albanian people are closely united by fraternal and indestructible ties of friendship. The Albanian people are filled with admiration for the dauntless spirit and high patriotic fervour of the heroic Vietnamese people, express to them their sincere fraternal sentiments and extend all-out solidarity with the just and glorious cause which the Vietnamese people are defending so resolutely."

Hungary, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Bulgaria and Rumania expressed their opposition to the U.S. aggression in authorized news agency releases, newspaper commentaries or official statements.

On August 8, six days after the U.S. war provocations against the D.R.V., N. Khrushchov, speaking at a public meeting in the town of Ordjonikidze, described the U.S. actions as aggressive. Apart from a TASS statement on August 5, the Soviet Government has up till then not made an official statement on the Tonkin Gulf incident. Neither the TASS statement nor that of Khrushchov referred to giving support to the just struggle of the D.R.V. against U.S. aggression.

In the past few days, Moscow newspapers have given little coverage to the incident. What has been printed has appeared in less-prominent places. On August 3 and 4 *Pravda* carried TASS reports quoting U.S. news agency dispatches on the incident and made no comment on them.

After the Viet Nam News Agency was authorized to make a statement on August 5 on the U.S. fabricated lies of so-called attacks on U.S. warships by the D.R.V. torpedo boats, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* carried on August 6 without refutation U.S.-manufactured statements and news items released by TASS, concerning U.S. warships being subjected to a "second attack" by Vietnamese torpedo boats, "the U.S. armed forces taking retaliatory measures," and "U.S. naval bombers having destroyed four torpedo boat bases and an oil tank of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic."

On August 6, *Pravda* carried the authorized VNA statement at the right bottom of its front page.

On August 7, *Pravda* published an article by Georgi Ratiani which was its first commentary on the U.S. armed aggression against the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. It was pointed out in this article that the attacks on the territory of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic by U.S. planes are "an act of aggression against state sovereignty." But the Johnson Administration was not mentioned and Ratiani quoted commentaries of Western news agencies alleging that "the Washington government was under the joint pressure of the military and Barry Goldwater," and "U.S. 'wild' men . . . have pushed the U.S. foreign policy makers onto their own narrow road."

Izvestia printed on August 6 an article by Vikenti Matveyev entitled "Don't Go Too Far." It said in general that "further reckless steps or provocations in this area may evoke events capable of turning these incidents into a big military conflict with all the dangerous consequences stemming from it." It added, "It goes without saying that not a single country, not a single people can be interested in such an escalation of the crisis."

Premeditated Move

Prince Souphanouvong Flays U.S. Extension of War. Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Laotian National Union Government and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat pointed out in a statement to the press on August 6 that it was clear that this new U.S. aggressive step was premeditated because U.S. imperialism had long clamoured about extending the war to the north. Condemning U.S. imperialism on behalf of the Neo Lao Haksat and all the Laotian people, the Prince expressed the firm belief that the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, with the support of all peace-loving people and countries the world over, would unite in a joint struggle and defeat the ferocious U.S. imperialists.

Cambodia Pledges Unreserved Support. In his cable to President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, said: "Like all peaceful countries which respect international law, Cambodia condemns this flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the 1954 Geneva agreements. I extend to you, in the name of the Khmer people and in my own name, our sympathy and fraternal support." In his cable to Vietnamese Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy, Cambodian Foreign Minister Hout Sambath declared: "The Royal Government unreservedly supports the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in their heroic struggle to defend their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity."

In many countries, political parties, people's organizations and public figures have taken the U.S. imperialists to task for their aggressive moves and expressed support for the Vietnamese people.

Common Action Urged

In Japan. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party on August 5 issued a

call, "Let All Asian Peoples Strengthen Common Action Against the U.S. Imperialists' Open Aggression Against the Viet Nam Democratic Republic." By this open armed attack, the statement pointed out, "U.S. imperialism is increasing the danger of the use of nuclear weapons and posing a new threat to peace and security in Asia." The statement stressed: "It is most important at the present moment for all Asian peoples and all other peoples of the world desiring independence and peace to oppose the attempt to start an aggressive war against the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, to support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and to rapidly develop struggles to drive U.S. imperialism out of Asia."

In Indonesia. Speaking at a mass rally in Djakarta on August 7, D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, denounced the U.S. aggression. The crude, barbarous and ferocious action of the U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam would end in complete failure, he stressed.

In Burma. The Standing Committee of the All-Burma Peace Committee in a message sent to the World Peace Committee of Viet Nam said, "The entire Burmese people express their strongest indignation and protest at the U.S. armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and support wholeheartedly the Vietnamese people's just struggle against U.S. imperialism."

In Pakistan. Masihur Rahman, Member of the Pakistani National Assembly, in a statement issued in Rawalpindi on August 6, condemned the U.S. armed provocations as an "inhuman attempt to start an all-out war on Asian soil." He added that this dangerous step of launching an attack on the peaceful people of a sovereign country was taken by U.S. President Johnson to win the coming war-mongering election campaign.

Intention to Expand War

In Ceylon. The Working Committee of the Ceylon Federation of the Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues pointed out in its August 7 statement that the U.S. imperialist action was no doubt intended to expand its dirty war from south Viet Nam to the north in order to enslave the people of the entire country.

In Syria. Halid Khakim, Chairman of the Syrian General Trade Unions, in a talk with a correspondent in Damascus on August 8, condemned the U.S. aggression. The Syrian workers, he said, firmly supported the Vietnamese people in their fight to defend themselves.

In Cairo. The Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, in its August 8 statement issued in Cairo, stressed that the U.S. aggression "sheds a glaring light on the warlike intentions of the Pentagon militarists who are trying to provoke a general conflict in the Far East."

The nationalist organizations of African countries not yet independent, in a joint statement issued on August 7 in Cairo, emphasized that "the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has the full right to defend her territorial waters, the full right to defend her sovereignty." The statement declared: "We fully support the statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued on August 6."

In its Cairo statement on August 8, the General Secretariat of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions said that it "considers the large-scale military measures taken by the Government of the U.S. a direct threat to world peace and security."

In Algeria. The National Secretariat of the General Union of Algerian Workers in its August 6 communique declared its close solidarity with the workers and other people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

In Cuba. The Central Union of Workers of Revolutionary Cuba declared in Havana on August 6 that the Cuban workers indignantly protested against this U.S. aggression and demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the coast of Viet Nam.

In Chile. In its cable sent from Santiago to the Viet Nam General Federation of Trade Unions, the United Confederation of Labour of Chile expressed its solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the United States.

In Britain. The British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament said in its August 5 statement issued in London that "the very presence of the 7th Fleet and the U.S. military assistance command constitutes provocation and flouts the Geneva agreement." It added: "This makes nonsense of the United States profession that the latest 'punishing' attacks on Vietnamese gunboats were non-aggressive."

In his statement on August 5, British philosopher Bertrand Russell said: "The grave situation in Viet Nam is the outcome of American refusal to begin a negotiated settlement of the war in accordance with the Geneva agreements." In a cable to President Ho Chi Minh, he wrote: "American attacks threaten world peace and the American refusal to negotiate an end to the war is indefensible."

Demonstrations in Many Countries

Protest meetings and demonstrations were held in Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Laos, Algeria, Cuba, the United States, Albania, Britain, France, Denmark, China and many other countries. The participants were all united by the firm determination to oppose U.S. imperialism and to side with the Vietnamese people. Just press opinion in every country, too, has castigated Washington's new crime and supports the Vietnamese people's struggle.

"I call upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened personages of all colours in the world, white, black, yellow, brown, etc., to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who are oppressing the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists, headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are carrying out oppression, aggression and intimidation against the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people."

— A passage from Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement, issued on August 8, 1963, calling upon the people of the world to unite to oppose racial discrimination by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes' struggle against it (for full text see "Peking Review," No 33, 1963).

Solidarity With American Negroes

Commemorating Chairman Mao's Historic Statement

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Chinese people's support for the embattled American Negroes was repledged at an enthusiastic meeting in Peking on August 8, marking the first anniversary of Chairman Mao's statement. The militant gathering, attended by representatives of different trades and professions and guests from many lands, hailed as a great "proclamation of emancipation" for the American Negroes as well as the world's peoples of all colours Chairman Mao's statement, which incisively brings out the essence of the question of racial discrimination. Speakers and audience also saluted the Negroes' broadening and deepening freedom fight now blasting the very heartland of U.S. imperialism.

Kuo Chien, member of the secretariat of the National Women's Federation, addressed the meeting on behalf of various people's organizations. Chairman Mao's statement, she said, has not only pointed out the correct path of struggle for the American Negroes, but has lit up the road of struggle for all oppressed peoples and nations. The statement is an expression of the common will of the Chinese people and the common demand of the world's people.

Revisionists Decry Negro Movement. However, Kuo Chien pointed out, the modern revisionists dare not

support the American Negroes' just struggle. They are embellishing U.S. imperialism and asking the American Negroes to pin their hopes on the U.S. ruling classes' "benevolence" and "charity." They have gone so far as to besmirch and vilify the American Negro movement and its supporters. These ugly features of the modern revisionists, Kuo Chien said, reveal that they want to stand on the side of imperialism and the racist oppressors headed by the United States and pit themselves against the revolutionary liberation struggles waged by the American Negroes and the oppressed nations.

Though the road of struggle will be long and difficult, Kuo Chien concluded, the future of the United States surely belongs to its people, including the Negroes.

Frank Coe, an American friend in Peking, spoke at the meeting. On behalf of American people of all colours, he thanked Chairman Mao and the Chinese people for their support to the Afro-Americans.

Johnson's "Civil Rights" Bill—A Hoax. Frank Coe brought forth a mass of facts to expose the much-vaunted "civil rights" law, the purpose of which is to

stifle the Negro struggle by taking it "out of the streets and into the courts."

In the face of Johnson's armed repression, Frank Coe said, the Afro-American people are beginning to talk more and more about armed self-defence, about fighting for freedom by any means necessary, about guerrilla warfare and civil war. The U.S. Marxist-Leninists advocate armed self-defence. Black nationalist organizations advocate it and are gaining ground, he said.

Some people, Frank Coe pointed out, are counselling the Afro-Americans to stop their demonstrations and "go home" until after the November election. They are the Khrushchov revisionists and their followers in the United States, the leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. These people are frightened by the U.S. imperialists, and are anxious to serve the oppressors of the Negro people.

The Negro struggle, Frank Coe continued, is bound to galvanize the white working class and all progressive elements into united action against the common enemy. The 20 million Afro-Americans, battering down the walls of U.S. imperialism from within, are a great support for every people's struggle in the world. And all these struggles have been a great support for the American Negroes' struggle, and are helping to advance it.

Another speaker, Peter N. Raboroko, educational secretary of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, said: "The American Negroes are flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. We share their trials and tribulations, their joys and sorrows." He praised the

Negroes who are now ready to meet counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence.

In Shanghai and five other Chinese cities, similar meetings were held.

"Turn-the-Other-Cheek-ism" Rejected. Robert Williams, an American Negro leader taking refuge in Cuba (at whose request Chairman Mao made his celebrated statement a year ago), sent a message expressing the deepest gratitude to Chairman Mao and the Chinese people. He said: "We have rejected turn-the-other-cheek-ism. In support of our revolutionary brothers throughout the world we shall meet violence with violence."

In Accra, Shirley Graham, wife of the late American Negro scholar Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, also thanked Chairman Mao. She said that never before had such an appeal for support been made to the world by a head of a large and powerful state. She noted that in the year since Chairman Mao's appeal the struggle of the Negroes has intensified.

Statement Inspires Confidence, Hope and Solidarity. In Havana, a group of visiting American Negro students issued a statement declaring that August 8 marked a moment of truth for the American Negroes struggling against enslavement in the foul fold of fascist, racist Yankee imperialism. Chairman Mao's statement, they said, boosted their morale when there was no morale but only frustration. It had inspired hope for victory when there was no hope but only sorrow. "It led the way for other countries to make statements and hold demonstrations in support of our struggle so that we now enjoy the wholehearted support of all freedom-loving peoples of the world."

American Negroes' Just Struggle Will Triumph

Following is an abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" editorial on August 8 marking the first anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement supporting the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung's statement has evoked tremendous response throughout the world. It has been supported and upheld by American Negro leaders and broad sections of the Asian, African and American peoples. They hold that it is a historic, revolutionary statement of great importance to the struggle of the world's people against imperialism, and has pointed the correct path towards freedom and emancipation for the American Negroes and all oppressed nations.

The development of events in the last year has further demonstrated the absolute correctness of Chair-

man Mao's analysis and appraisal of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his statement has profoundly exposed the true nature of the racial struggle in the United States. He pointed out that in the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. It has become clearer than ever that in the United States, racial discrimination against the Negroes is, in essence, discrimination against the exploited by the exploiters while the struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination is a serious class struggle. It is well known that U.S. monopoly capital groups have long subjected the American Negroes to ruthless exploitation and enslavement through racial discrimination; at the same time they use oppression of the Negroes as a tool to attack the white workers so as to rake in bigger profits. Racial discrimination has long

been an indispensable prop of U.S. imperialism. This is why this system still exists in the United States although it is very notorious and many U.S. Administrations have solemnly vowed to work for its abolition. This is also why U.S. ruling circles are frightened by the struggle of the American Negroes for their right to equality and freedom and try everything in their power to stamp it out.

At the same time, reality has consistently taught the American Negroes that the discrimination and oppression to which they are subjected is not only due to the existence of a small number of ultra-racists and that to win the right to equality and freedom they must wage an irreconcilable fight against the policy of the U.S. ruling class which upholds racial discrimination. They have also come to realize from their own experience that the struggle for abolishing the savage institution of racial discrimination must be linked with the struggle of the American people against exploitation by monopoly capital and for a fundamental change in the United States.

The daily upsurge of the struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination has caused serious worry within U.S. ruling groups. The Johnson Administration has inherited the Kennedy Administration's mantle in striving to demoralize the revolutionary movement of the Negroes through counter-revolutionary dual tactics. On the one hand, it uses the "civil rights" law to deceive the Negroes and lull their fighting will, and on the other, it continues to connive with the racists in persecuting the Negroes and suppressing their struggle. Recently, a few days after Johnson signed the "civil rights" law, the police wantonly killed innocent Negroes in Harlem, New York, and the peaceful demonstration by the Negroes was ruthlessly suppressed. This lays bare Johnson's "civil rights" law as nothing but a fraud. The U.S. ruling groups will never hand equality and freedom to the oppressed Negroes on a platter.

Link Between U.S. Reactionary Policies at Home And Abroad

Just as Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out in his statement, "the fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom in the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad." Since it came to power, the Johnson Administration has been doggedly executing the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the monopoly groups. It has been conducting frenzied activities of aggression and expansion throughout the world and has done many things that the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations dared not do. Recently, it has gone over the "brink of war" in Indo-China by extending the war of aggression to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus revealing itself as more ferocious than the Kennedy Administration. The same Johnson Administration also resorts to a most ruthless and brutal policy

of suppression towards the American Negroes' struggle. The more U.S. imperialism wants to push ahead with its counter-revolutionary global strategy, the more it needs to enforce fascist rule over the American Negroes and the working people at home. Events have proved that U.S. imperialism, as represented by the Johnson Administration at present, is the sworn enemy of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world.

The American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination and for equality and freedom is an important component part of the American people's revolutionary struggle. This struggle has risen to a new height this year when the American Negroes, defying police suppression, bravely fought against their oppressors. This is eloquent testimony that the American Negroes are no longer slaves who can be bullied at will.

Meet Counter-Revolutionary Violence With Revolutionary Violence

The American Negroes have begun to discard the doctrine of non-violence and are determined to oppose counter-revolutionary violent repression with revolutionary violence in self-defence. This is a sign of their awakening and marks an important turning-point in their movement. They at last have found the correct path of struggle at the cost of their own blood. History abounds in evidence that once oppressed nations and peoples awaken and discover and embark on the correct path to liberation, they will acquire inexhaustible strength, surmount obstacles one after another and march step by step towards victory.

The American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination is not isolated but closely connected with the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples of the world. The victory of the struggle of the world's people against imperialism encourages the American Negroes' struggle, whose progress in turn is a powerful support to the peoples' revolutionary movement. The American Negroes' struggle, being a revolutionary struggle breaking out in the heartland of U.S. imperialism, is of still greater significance in the support for the world people's revolutionary struggle. That is why all revolutionary people stand solidly behind the American Negroes and give all-out help to their just struggle.

However, in contrast with the world's people, the modern revisionists, instead of vigorously backing up the American Negroes' just struggle, are doing their utmost to prettify Lyndon Johnson. This is additional proof of their despicable betrayal of the interests of the oppressed nations and peoples.

But history will definitely not unfold according to the wishful thinking of the imperialists and modern revisionists. The just struggle of the American Negroes will surely win. It is true that their struggle will be hard, prolonged and tortuous, but justice is on the side of the American Negroes. With the support of the people of the world, they will certainly break through many obstacles to win their emancipation.

Scientists of Many Lands to Meet

SCIENTISTS of many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania are eagerly looking forward to the opening of the 1964 Peking Scientific Symposium scheduled for August 20. The aim of the meeting, which is the first of its kind in the regions, is to exchange experience and strengthen co-operation and solidarity among scientific circles.

In most countries, arrangements for participation in the symposium started immediately after the preparatory conference in Peking last September. In the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, scientific organizations formed several groups to prepare material on the natural and social sciences. Out of 126 papers, 26 were chosen for the symposium. In Japan, at the beginning of this year, a liaison council was set up to co-ordinate participation. Fifty-four organizations joined the council. The Japanese delegation headed by Shoichi Sakata, the noted atomic nuclear physicist, will submit 51 papers and another 26 reports will be presented on behalf of other scientists unable to attend. Indonesian scientists held seminars in Djakarta in March and June this year to discuss the symposium and organized wide publicity for it throughout the country. They will submit 27 papers.

Unite for the Advancement of Science. Le Duy Van, secretary of the Viet Nam delegation who is an economist and vice-president of the Viet Nam Association for the Popularization of Science and Technology, said in an interview with the Hsinhua News Agency correspondent in Hanoi: "We believe the symposium will be successful in rallying together scientists in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania to defeat the intrigues for war and aggression of the imperialist clique headed by the American imperialists, and to make science serve human progress and prosperity."

The leader of the Cambodian delegation, Phlek Chhat, a civil engineer and an economist, pointed out: "The forthcoming Peking Symposium will be useful to us because we can study a whole range of the scientific experience of other countries which may be useful in our own construction."

Doctor N.D. Wijesekera, head of the Ceylonese delegation and president of the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science, said that such a conference would not only help the advancement of science but would also pave the way for future conferences and more frequent exchanges of scientific delegations for the common benefit of the countries of the regions. The Syrian delegate, Dr. Khaled Khoder Maghout, said that because of imperialist aggression, science in Asian, African and Latin American countries was not fully developed. The conference would help to improve science in these countries and increase co-operation among their scientists.

Nicholas C. Otieno of the Kenyan delegation told Hsinhua correspondent in Nairobi that the Indian Government had sent emissaries to Kenya in an attempt to prevent Kenyan scientists from attending the Peking Symposium. He had categorically refused to go to India to participate in a so-called international scientists' conference, and had told them: "My paper exposes the notorious activities of the U.S. neo-colonialists. Could I be allowed to give my report at your conference? I am convinced that your answer will be negative."

Strengthen Friendship and Mutual Understanding. Professor Sukirna, general chairman of the Indonesian Scientists Association, said in Djakarta that Indonesian scientists hoped the symposium would strengthen the friendship among the scientists, raise the level of science and promote mutual understanding through the exchange of experience. Dr. Nyi Nyi, professor of geology at the University of Rangoon, and two other Burmese delegates said together that the friendship among the scientists of Burma, China and other countries would be developed through the symposium. The Australian delegates, noted radio-astronomer Professor W.N. Christiansen and his wife said in a joint statement: "We hope the scientists of all these countries will get to know each other better and help each other to see new ways of employing science for the purpose of building a better world." The Chilean delegate Juan Rivano, professor of philosophy, said in Santiago that contacts at the symposium among scientists confronted with common problems would help to strengthen their friendly ties.

Confidence in Outcome. Doctor Yusuf Hersi, one of the Somali delegates said in an interview with Hsinhua in Mogadishu: "The imperialists allege that the people of our three continents are ignorant and that we cannot develop our own sciences without their 'assistance.' We believe the Peking Symposium will yield fresh and marvellous fruit and we will let those who sneer at us see what we can do."

Makouta Mboukou, philologist and the delegate of the Congo (Brazzaville), said: "I was told that the meeting will proceed under the principles and in an atmosphere of democracy, unity, learning from each other and mutual help. Because of this, positive results will certainly come out of the symposium." Balde Chaikhou, director of the National Research Institute of Guinea, expressed the belief that the conference would achieve its expected results and said that the Guinean delegates would play their full part. The Nepalese delegation headed by Samba Deva Pandey, a noted economist, said the symposium was a good chance for scientists to learn from each other and exchange experience in science and in the development of their countries.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.N. — A U.S. Tool

Cambodia Rejects Report

The Viet Nam Democratic Republic is not the only Southeast Asian country which has exposed moves by Washington to use the United Nations to lend legality to its aggression.

On August 1, Cambodia rejected with an indignant protest the report of the U.N. "inquiry mission" to the Security Council. A year earlier, Indonesia had spurned the "verdict" of the U.N. North Kalimantan "investigation team" in support of the unpopular "Malaysia."

After Cambodia complained to the U.N. Security Council last May following intensified U.S.-Khanh armed intrusions across its borders, Washington arranged for a three-member U.N. mission to make "on-the-spot" investigations. As its report showed, it turned a blind eye to numerous U.S. bombardments and air attacks though they had brought death to scores of unarmed Cambodian civilians. It said not a word about the inhuman chemical war the U.S. and its stooges are waging against Cambodia. Instead, it repeated the hackneyed U.S. lies about American and Khanh troops "pursuing communist guerrillas taking refuge in Cambodia" and charged Cambodia with "intransigence towards the Saigon regime."

The mission had learnt its lessons well. It even fished out an old Rusk scheme for talks between Saigon and Phnom Penh "to delimit and mark their common frontier" which had already been turned down by Prince Sihanouk. No wonder that the Cambodian statement exposed the mission's report as one more proof that "those who proclaim themselves as defenders of the U.N. Charter are only accomplices of the most aggressive dictators existing in the present world."

Washington may preen itself with the thought that its ruse has helped

it to sidestep Cambodia's charges. Actually, the mission's report merely serves to expose both the United States and the U.N. Cambodia, as its statement declares, now "intends to defend its independence and territorial integrity itself and with the help of friendly countries which have always extended their support."

Moscow-Bonn Relations

The Adzhubei Visit

After his two weeks' junketing in West Germany, Alexei Adzhubei, editor-in-chief of the Soviet paper *Izvestia*, could return to Moscow with a real sense of achievement since he had in his brief case an invitation from Chancellor Ludwig Erhard for father-in-law Nikita Khrushchov to visit Bonn.

It was no secret that the initiative for the Erhard-Khrushchov meeting had come from Moscow. While in Bonn, the peripatetic Soviet editor-cum-diplomat had a private session with Erhard during which he was reported to have handed the latter a personal letter from Khrushchov proposing a meeting. Erhard then agreed to talks in Bonn on condition that there be no restrictions on the topics to be discussed.

Making full use of his special brand of journalistic skill, Adzhubei pushed hard for this lordly favour from Bonn. Time and again, he stressed to his hosts that his father-in-law believed talks with Erhard would be "useful." At a Dortmund luncheon, he told his audience: "We absolutely must talk together, improve our relations and find a basis for coexistence."

Adzhubei also held talks with West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt. Afterwards, he was said to have expressed "gratitude to Brandt for having given him so much attention and time" (DPA). Among the people he praised while in West Germany was the late Pope John whom he referred to as a "particularly wise

man." He told reporters that his father-in-law was deeply moved when he told him that the Pope had said he would pray for him.

Adzhubei visited West Germany on the strength of an invitation from three local papers. But before he could make the trip, his own paper had to apologize to Bonn for carrying a statement made by Albert Norden (Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party) exposing Bonn President Luebke as a one-time accomplice of the Gestapo. On Adzhubei's personal instructions, a representative of *Izvestia* went to the West German Embassy in Moscow to explain away the "error" of "an editor on duty." He said that his paper reported Norden's speech, but it "did not intend to agree with the charge, nor did it want to insult the head of state of West Germany" (DPA).

Indonesia

Hollywood Gets the Boot

President Sukarno has called on the people of Indonesia to rid the country of some of the worst features of Western bourgeois life. He brought the subject up at the 10th Indonesian Women's Congress in Djakarta on July 24, returning to the theme two days later when he addressed the 7th Congress of the Indonesian Youth and Students Association. He cited the "twist" and "rock-and-roll" dances and the "Beatles" hair style as revolting expressions of decadent imperialist culture.

The Indonesian President reminded his audience that imperialism uses various tactics to subdue other nations. It does not confine itself to the more direct form of aggression, force of arms. The indirect approach, the subtler form of intervention and subversion through cultural penetration, is used at the same time. Indonesia, the President pointed out, is such a target and the people must heighten their vigilance.

He called on the Indonesian people to reject the "twist" and "rock-and-roll" and develop their own national

music and dances to counter the proliferation of imperialist decadence. *Kerontjong* (Indonesian song and music) has come into its own again. All cultural and educational institutions and schools in the country have since been ordered by Prijono, Minister of Basic Education and Culture, to ban unseemly hair styles and dress and to stop using names smacking of colonialism.

U.S. imperialism in particular has spared neither money nor effort to undermine the new emerging countries by means other than brute force. Hollywood is a strong arm of such infiltration. The sex and murder trash it turns out exerts a baneful and insidious influence on the public mind, especially on the younger generation. Some 70 per cent of Indonesia's imported films have been American. The goal of the Indonesian people is to throw out these decadent films and in their stead show Indonesian films and those of the new emerging countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Tokyo Declaration

Target — U.S. Imperialism

Tokyo played host to religious believers from various parts of the world when they met for their second conference for peace during July 27-29. Two hundred and fifty delegates of the world's major creeds from 14 countries discussed the question closest to their hearts—how to safeguard world peace against the forces of imperialism. At the end of the conference they adopted a declaration known as the Tokyo Declaration.

The declaration, after reviewing the world situation, denounced the U.S. policy of war and aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It called for greater solidarity of religious believers the world over in the interest of peace. The conference achieved unanimity of views on 17 problems, including opposition to the U.S. armed intervention and aggression in Laos, south Viet Nam, south Korea and other parts of the world. One resolution demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indo-

China where the Johnson Administration is hatching new and more adventuresome schemes to extend its war.

PANORAMA

Syria Withdraws From I.C.F.T.U.

Nazeer Nablusi, general director of propaganda of the Syrian General Trade Union, has announced Syria's withdrawal from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The I.C.F.T.U., he said, is too greatly reliant on "aid" from international imperialism and is known to have in its membership Israeli trade unions.

Algeria Forms People's Militia

Algeria will have a people's militia to help safeguard the fruits of the revolution and smash the subversive activities of counter-revolution, according to an announcement by the Political Bureau of the Algerian National Liberation Front (F.L.N.). Militiamen will be chosen from among tested members of the F.L.N. and led by a national commission to be appointed by Ben Bella, F.L.N.'s General Secretary.

International Collaboration

• Britain and the United States tested a British nuclear device underground at the U.S. Atomic Energy

Commission's test site in Nevada on July 17. This was the third such test carried out by Britain in Nevada.

• The Soviet Union will co-operate with the U.S. in research on water desalination by conventional and nuclear methods. The agreement, the White House announced, was the result of a direct arrangement between Lyndon Johnson and Nikita Khrushchov. A White House spokesman said that the President was highly pleased with the agreement which he regarded as "a potential fruitful point for U.S.-Soviet co-operation."

Swimming Meet at Djakarta

Indonesia will hold a meet some time in August or early September for swimmers who participated in GANEFO. This is the answer to the International Amateur Swimming Federation which has expelled all participants at the First GANEFO. In announcing the meet Indonesian Sports Minister Maladi said invitations would be sent to swimmers in Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Netherlands, the U.A.R., Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Japan and other countries.

THE PASSING SHOW

Skunk Is Skunk

The United States Information Agency (USIA) spends hundreds of millions of dollars a year in all parts of the world to project a beneficent image of American capitalism, but it now admits that to most people "capitalism is evil. The United States is the leading capitalist country. Therefore the United States is evil."

After polling opinion in both hemispheres, the USIA ruefully acknowledges in a research report that "capitalism" is a dirty word even to millions of non-Marxists. To them, it says, capitalism means "little concern for the poor, unfair distribution of wealth and undue influence of the rich." Attempts to describe it as "an efficient economy," or a "safeguard of individual rights" have failed to impress, and propaganda "to purge it of negative connotations by phrases like 'people's capitalism'" simply does not register.

The USIA report concludes that "the more our propaganda advertises the virtues of 'capitalism' and attacks 'socialism,' the less the world likes us."



EXHIBITION

Revolutionization of Pictorial Art

The just concluded Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes was hailed as an outstanding example of revolutionization in the theatre: the 3rd National Exhibition of Art from the People's Liberation Army gave another brilliant example of revolutionization, this time in the pictorial arts.

The force of a vital revolutionary spirit struck one as soon as one entered the exhibition halls. It was a large exhibition. The 652 works filled four halls of the Museum of Chinese Art in Peking from July 10 to August 9 with paintings in traditional Chinese style, oils, and graphic art: sketches, posters, New Year pictures, sculptures, papercuts, by P.L.A. amateur and professional artists. One got an overwhelming impression of brightness, in colour and spirit. These pictures projected the proletarian ideology of a revolutionary army, equipped with modern arms, reinforced with communist morale, revolutionary heroism, proletarian internationalism and a comradely, collective spirit.

This is a proletarian army guided by Marxist-Leninist thought. The study of Marxism-Leninism, particularly of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works, has become an integral part of the soldiers' life. This theme is widely reflected in their art—in roughly one out of every eight works exhibited. One example is a painting in traditional style called *The Spring*. A young soldier has placed his buckets to catch the clear cool water from a small spring, and while he waits he studies a volume of Chairman Mao's works. The homely symbolism is clear. This theme was treated in many forms, in similar lively, unusual terms that could only have come freshly out of the artists' own personal or visual experience.

Expressed in many works is the love and regard of the P.L.A. men for the Party and Chairman Mao. Some show Comrade Mao at historic moments of the revolution; others show him among peasants and soldiers.

This is a heroic army, so, not surprisingly, the largest number of works at the exhibition were devoted to the revolutionary heroism of the P.L.A. fighters, depictions of the deeds of its real-life heroes and units of today. A large oil painting vividly depicts the famous "3 to 0" air inci-

dent of 1958 in which a P.L.A. air squadron downed three U.S.-Chiang planes in two minutes. In *Eyes of the Motherland*, sentinels stand guard atop a cliff on the coastal front. This is done in the traditional landscape style, but it is a landscape of soaring peaks with an inspiring, contemporary content. An artist in the traditional style has also done a dynamic action painting of the hero Ouyang Hai, at the moment he pushed a laden army horse off the railway track to save an onrushing train. The rearing horse, the strength of action of the soldier who lost his life in this selfless action, are unusual in the medium of Chinese ink and water colour.

Several reviewers commented on the clean-cut decisiveness of the woodcut *Training Horses in the Snow* and its boldness of line that nobly brings out the spirit of men and mounts. In such pictures and many others of the P.L.A. helping in construction work in field and factory, in flood rescue work or anti-saboteur patrols, the artists depict the heroes that they admire and take as their models.

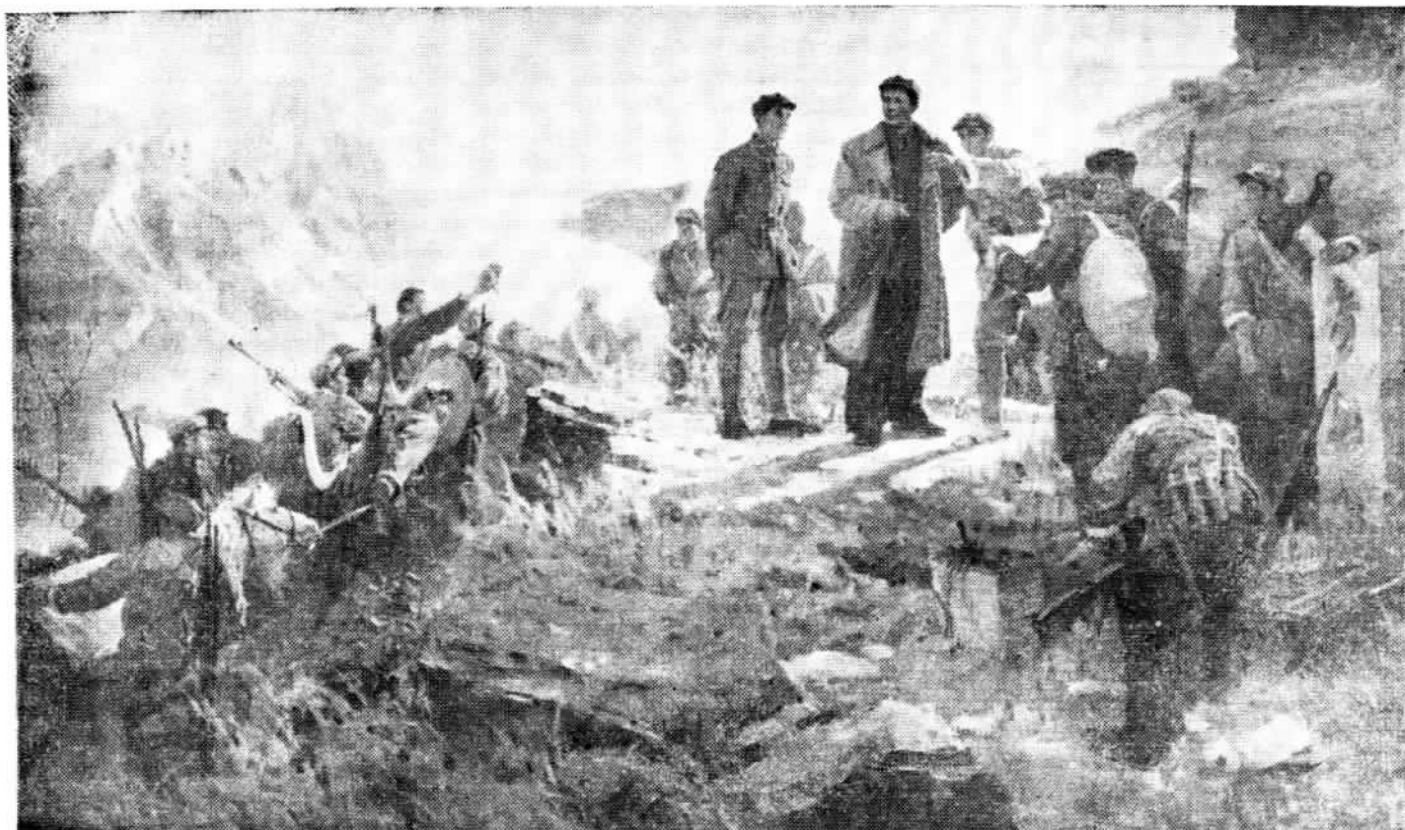
P.L.A. men come from the workers and peasants. One traditional style painting entitled *Where He Worked as a Child Farmhand* shows a P.L.A. man stooping to hug one of a group of happy children playing before an imposing stone mansion—clearly a landlord's former house, now a commune nursery. The contrast between the bitter memories that are reflected in the soldier's face and the present reality of these children tells the story. This was one of many pictures that showed the link between the people and their fighters. Another was *Three to One*: a P.L.A. man is surrounded—a woman is pulling a bundle of clothes from his hands, a little girl is tugging at his tunic, a boy is hanging on to his legs. Why this laughing tussle? His friends, the villagers are trying to take his soiled clothes away to wash.

Comradeship between officers and men found varied expression. In *Checkmate*, a woodcut, a general and a soldier, chess board between them, are engaged in battle. The general has made a surprise check-



Training Horses in the Snow

Woodcut by Lo Shih-kuei



Chairman Mao and Marshal Lin Biao at the Loushankuan Pass — A Historic Moment on the Long March

Oil painting by Peng Pin

mate move. The complacency and satisfaction of the one, the momentarily nonplused yet undefeated expression of the other, is eloquent.

The P.L.A. men's love of life and labour and of their units, and their traditions of thrift and diligence are popular subjects too. In *Back to the Island*, an oil, a young soldier is shown returning from home leave to his island post. Smiling with expectation at seeing his comrades, walking with a jaunty air, he has on his back a basket of ducklings and both hands are loaded with books and saplings — this is a man eager to be back, to build his island post into a home from home. In *We Left Our Tracks Over a Thousand Li of Snow-Covered Plateau*, two soldiers are sitting cross-legged on the ground diligently mending their shoes. A drawing shows a squad leader helping a younger soldier tie the straps of his helmet. These are typical of the many vignettes of army life that round out the more dramatic themes of the exhibition.

In a brief half-day at the exhibition, one gained a rich store of knowledge about the P.L.A., the make-up of its men and their intimate thoughts and feelings. One carried away a store of their spirit to inspire one's own efforts in socialist construction and revolution. Why was this? The central reason is that these soldier-artists have used their art consciously as a militant weapon for the revolution. By faithfully portraying the revolutionary spirit of the army, its heroes and their deeds, and the present reality of its militant traditions, they have put into practice the line of the Communist Party in art and literature to portray and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and socialism.

Secondly, most of these paintings and drawings were made by artists (though mostly amateurs) who are soldiers. They include generals and battle heroes and rank and file belonging to every branch of the three forces and assigned to every kind of duty. They know thoroughly the life

they depict. Artists attached to the forces have, by virtue of that close contact, also succeeded in portraying the P.L.A. in its essential nature.

The third characteristic of the exhibition lies in the eager creative spirit of these soldier-artists. They set themselves high artistic standards — and to a surprisingly large extent attained them. Most of them had no regular artistic training. They made up for it with self-study and practice in the P.L.A.'s amateur art groups. And what the older generation of artists have found so difficult — the portrayal of true-to-life workers, peasants and soldiers in oil or traditional style paintings — they have achieved at one bound. From their study of the old, they have with notable success evolved new ways of expression suited to their contemporary socialist themes and achieved a new unity of form and revolutionary content. These three characteristics of this exhibition indicate the path of advance for the revolutionization of pictorial art.

ACROSS THE LAND

"Dundian"—Key to Successful Leadership

THE term *dundian* has been very much in the Chinese press of late. It means, in brief, a leading cadre spending a period of time at the grass roots — in a production brigade or team of a people's commune, or in a factory workshop — living among the masses, taking part in physical labour, making investigation and tackling problems on the spot. The purpose is to gather experience and then using it to guide overall work. It is a method of leadership of combining the general with the particular developed by the Chinese Communist Party in the course of revolutionary struggles and summed up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

In this way, Chen Chieh-fu, Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party's Tunghsiang County (Kiangsi Province) Committee, effectively worked out a plan for improving irrigation facilities in the county's paddyfields at minimum cost, thereby boosting paddy output. His is only one of many instances all over the country where *dundian* has been successfully brought to bear.

Many water conservancy works were built in hilly Tunghsiang after liberation, but the area still suffered poor paddy yields. With this in mind Chen Chieh-fu went to the Rulin Brigade of the Xiaohuang People's Commune last fall. He discussed the problem with commune members and invited the Party branch secretary, an experienced former poor peasant, and several young people to work on an experimental plot with him — one chosen from the brigade's lowest-yielding land.

After actual work experience and consulting with commune members Chen concluded that the big trouble was that the surface runoff from the mountain slopes and irrigation water, which flowed from one plot of land to another instead

of into each plot separately through header ditches, washed away much of the top dressing. A logical answer to this would have been to build dykes to hold back water from the mountains and cut more irrigation channels and ditches and link them up into a network. This was what the Party branch had actually envisaged, but nothing had been done because of the high cost for such a project which would also take up much land that the brigade could not afford.

Could it be done cheaply? It could — when the people are properly led and inspired so that their initiative and the rich experience of veteran farmers are fully utilized. Pooling the wisdom of the commune members, Chen Chieh-fu helped the brigade Party branch and administration map out a low cost plan which called for full use of existing facilities plus digging small field-side ditches which would take up a minimum amount of land, and two open channels which would divert mountain water away from the fields.

It took only a fortnight to realize the plan and the brigade now expects a sizable rise in paddy output this year of around 40,000 *jin*.

The experience thus gained was weighed at a Tunghsiang County

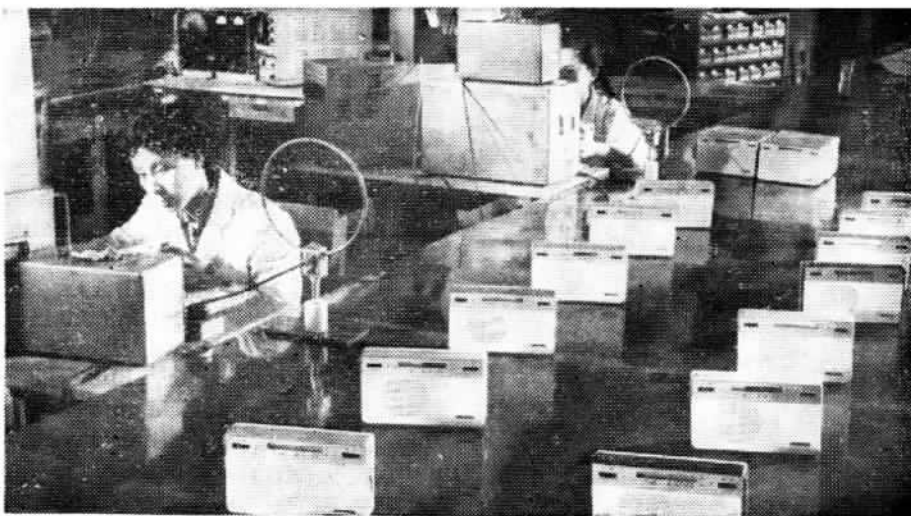
Party committee meeting and found applicable to other parts of the county. Plans are afoot to popularize it.

Upward Spiral for Consumer Goods

CONSUMER goods in the cities and countryside turned out by light industry have reached new highs in quantity, variety and quality. Signs of this cornucopia of consumer items are found everywhere on the summer market. Among the fastest spiralling goods are those made of synthetic or artificial fibres — good quality and reasonably priced summer dresses, plastic sandals and kaprone stockings in different patterns and many colours.

Better quality and cheaper bicycles also are on the market. China designed, these cater to a variety of demands: models for general use, for sports enthusiasts and heavier load-carrying vehicles. Clocks and watches, which have been produced in large quantities over the years, are even more numerous. Special ones for the blind and for athletes are more plentiful.

In the first six months of this year output of 41 major light industrial products was more than 15 per cent higher in value than the corresponding 1963 period. Results of the emphasis on quality are underscored by improvements as seen in the case of the Tientsin textile industry where more than 40 key products have



Transistor radios made in Shanghai

reached the level of advanced domestic goods. Knitwear and cotton fabrics produced in factories in medium-sized and small cities are up to advanced levels.

Shanghai, one of the country's largest light industrial centres, is playing a big role in the nation's consumer goods upswing. In the first half of the year Shanghai enterprises put 1,800 newly developed consumer items into serial production, a steep rise over the same period last year. Among the products are newly designed bicycles, cosmetics and fountain pens.

The new upsurge shaping up in agriculture and industry has meant that almost all light industry has sufficient stores of raw materials this year.

Harbin's Technical Library

THE machine-building centre of Harbin in the industrial north-east has a special library that collects and disseminates technical data on advanced industrial methods. The work of this city's technical library in recent years has become increasingly important. Papers on technical improvements and innovations roll in in growing numbers in the wake of the mass technical innovation movement unfolding in the country. The number of visitors and enquiries also have snowballed.

Sponsored by the Harbin Trade Union Council, the library keeps tabs on local innovations and is in contact with more than 400 factories, colleges and scientific institutions throughout China. Most data sent here come quickly, unsolicited and without remuneration, from socialist-minded workers and technicians who know that colleagues in other plants and workshops are hungry for information that will help boost production. The more than 300,000 copies of technical reference material in the library were received mostly from veteran workers, technicians and engineers. Noteworthy is the fact that most of the material are summations of technical advances written up this year.

Engineer Su Kwang-ming, a 51-year-old famed machinist promoted

to engineer, spent much of his spare time writing up his 30 years' working experience with milling machines and then sent it to the library. Su's 12,000-word thesis on milling cutters has become one of the library's most popular possessions, helping thousands on their way to becoming skilled machinists.

In similar fashion, other advanced techniques mastered by one person quickly become the property of thousands. Veteran worker Chiang Yao-tung and technicians of a machine-building plant successfully developed a superior adhesive for porcelain cutters and sent the formula and technological summation to the library. After reading the material, lathe turner Sun Mao-sung applied the theory to hard alloy tools with such favourable results that many Harbin machine-building factories were soon using it.

Piped Water for Urbanites

BEFORE liberation only the homes of the wealthy, limited to exclusive areas in the cities, received piped water. For the working people water had to be bought by the bucket at prohibitive prices or else use the nearest natural source, more often than not polluted. At present 198 cities and towns in China have purified piped water supplied at negligible cost. This three-fold rise since liberation finds the cities delivering four times as much water daily as before. In addition to newly built ones, old waterworks have been overhauled, modernized and expanded to provide more people with cleaner and cheaper water.

Urumchi, capital of Sinkiang, Haikow on the southern island of Hainan and Hwalung, an arid highland town in Chinghai Province, are three of many scores of places whose citizens have tap water for the first time. Previously, water had to be carried in on pack horses to Hwalung's 5,000 Moslem inhabitants. Not only do towns and cities have adequate piped water, but water mains are being pushed out to the surrounding rural people's communes. Tsinan in east China, for instance, now delivers piped water to 50,000 peasants on its outskirts.

Piped water in Chinese towns and cities is safe to drink. Anyone familiar with old China knows how unsafe drinking water used to be. Piped water now has to pass strict tests prescribed by the People's Government, and every public waterworks has to carry out microscopic bacteriological and chemical tests to ascertain and guarantee the quality of drinking water.

Increased availability of uncontaminated piped water for the public has led to better health. Safe drinking water plus other health measures by a government concerned about the people have helped lower the incidence of water-borne diseases such as typhoid fever, bacillary and amoebic dysentery and a number caused by parasitic worms. People living in Yapulai, a district in stockbreeding Inner Mongolia, formerly suffered mysterious aches and pains, arthritis and rickets until health workers traced the cause to the high fluoride content of the local water and the government built a plant to defluorize the water and deliver it to the homes of the inhabitants.

Briefs

The past winter and spring gave Inner Mongolia 8.4 million lambs, foals, calves and young camels, a figure almost equivalent to the total number of livestock in this autonomous region when it was founded in 1947.

China's first chemical fibre engineering college in Peking graduated 140 students this year. The college has a faculty and student body of over 1,000, thirteen laboratories and a 70,000-volume library.

A new breed of high-yielding tussah silkworm has been developed by the Tussah Silkworm Research Institute of Liaoning Province. The cocoons give 1,500-m. threads, 50 per cent longer than the current popular strain.

P.L.A. Air Force and civil aviation administration planes flew successful rain-making missions over districts around Shanghai in the latter part of July, helping to avert a threatened drought.

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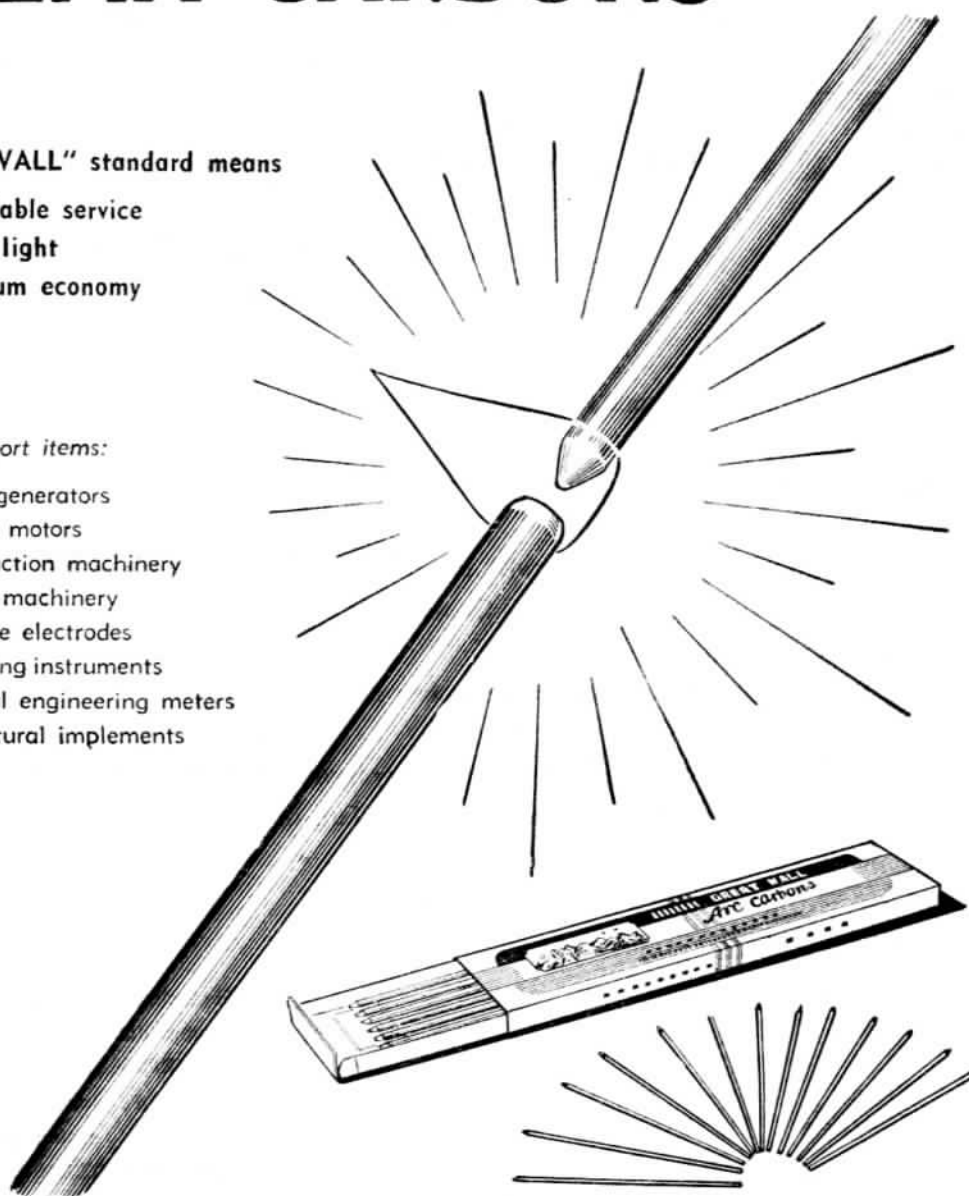
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