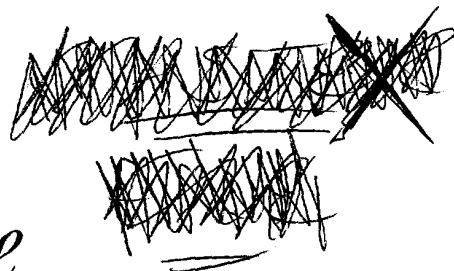


*Second Copy*

# *Bi-weekly Propaganda Guidance*



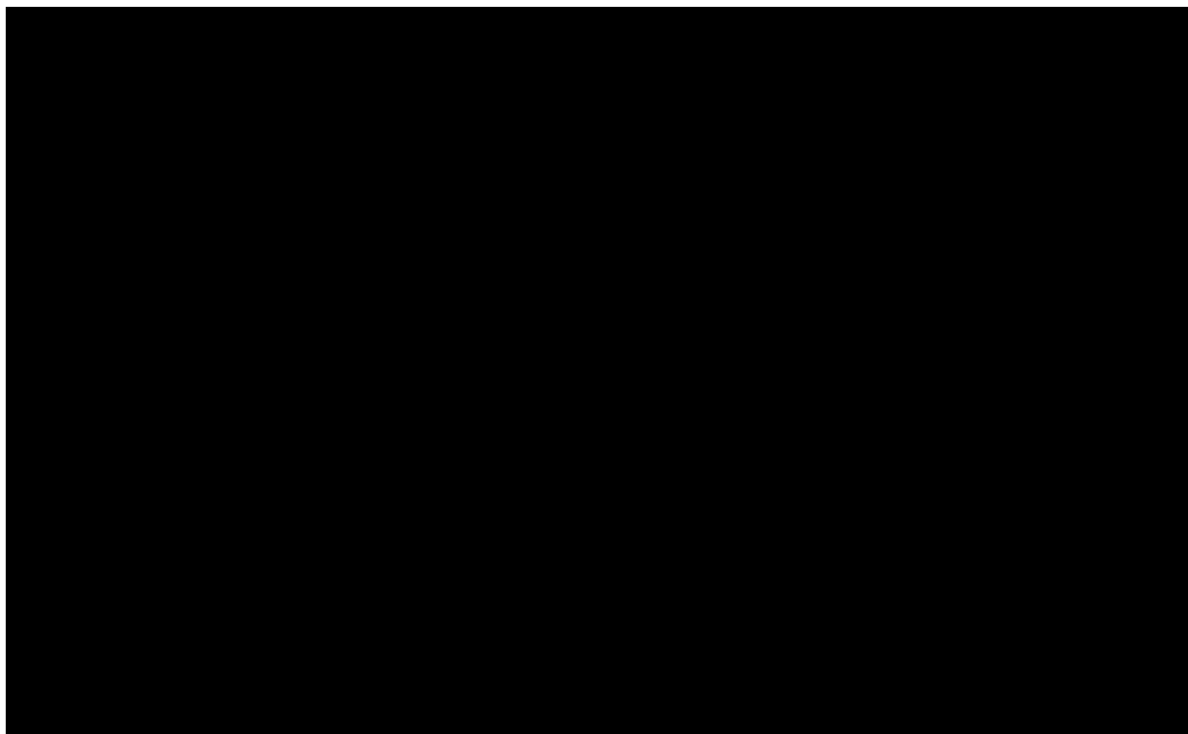
- Output should not follow too closely the language or style of these guidances, lest it appear to have a common origin.

NUMBER 216

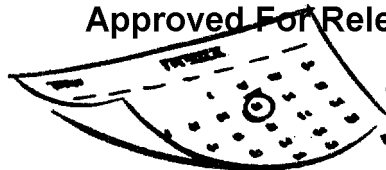
22 May 1967

Significant Dates  
Media Lines\*  
Briefly Noted\*  
Advertisement

25X1C



- *NUMBERING*: Items with numbers alone are sent to all stations; items with area letters and small letters are given selected distribution; small letters indicate the following content—*a.* revisionism; *b.* agriculture; *c.* religion; *d.* intelligentsia; *e.* labor; *f.* youth and students; *g.* nationalism, neutralism; and *h.* black propaganda.



# Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK DENOTES ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

## JUL

- 21\* Armistice ends Vietnamese war between French and Viet Minh forces. 1954.
- 23 Soviet Navy Day.
- 23\* Geneva Agreements guaranteeing independence and neutrality of Laos signed by 14 nations. 1962. FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.
- 28 (to August 5) First conference of Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO: Communist front growing out of Tri-Continental Conference, Havana, January 1966).

## AUG

- 1\* Warsaw Uprising begins; later crushed by Germans while Red Army refuses and blocks assistance. 1944.
- 2-9 World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, 16th Assembly, Vancouver, Canada. (Non-Communist.)
- 6\* U.S. drops atom bomb on Hiroshima. 1945.
- 8\* Soviet Union declares war on Japan. 1945.
- 14\* Japan surrenders to Allies. 1945.
- 15\* Republic of Indonesia proclaimed. (After four years of intermittent warfare, Netherlands transferred sovereignty to interim Indonesian government 2 November 1949.) 1950.
- 20\* Leon Trotsky murdered in Mexico City. 1940.
- 23\* Soviet Union and Nazi Germany conclude non-aggression pact, opening way for German attack on Poland, and its partition between Germany and the USSR. 1939.
- 25\* Paris liberated by Free French forces with U.S. Army. 1944.
- 27\* Kellogg-Briand Pact (Treaty of Paris) signed, renouncing war as instrument of policy.
- 28 Aug-Sept 2. 10th International Congress of Linguists, Bucharest. (Includes non-Communist participants.)

## SEP

- 1\* Germany invades Poland; World War II begins. 1939.
- 3-8 17th Pugwash Conference on "Scientists and World Affairs," Ronneby, Sweden.
- 8 Summit meeting of Organization of African Unity, Kinshasa, Congo.
- 11\* Constituent Assembly election, South Vietnam. Despite Viet Cong threats, 80.8% of voters turn out. 1966.

## Media Lines

22 May 1967

Swedish Communists Stop Publishing WORLD MARXIST REVIEW. As of the beginning of this year, the Swedish Communist Party (SKP) ceased publication of INTERNATIONELL REVY (International Review), the Swedish edition of the Soviet-sponsored international monthly, WORLD MARXIST REVIEW/PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. Declining circulation was given as the reason, and indeed the magazine had only an average monthly circulation of approximately 1,000. Some copies were distributed in Finland, Norway and Denmark. According to other reports, the magazine was considered too "orthodox" by the present "revisionist" leaders of the Swedish Communist Party (SKP). Whatever the reason, (and it was probably a combination of the two cited above), Communist publications in Europe have steadily declined in circulation and influence during the past twenty years, -- a fact which has been underscored by numerous items in this column during the past several months. ~~[Confidential, NO FOREIGN DISSEM.]~~

IZVESTIYA Begins a Comic Strip. The Soviet Government's leading daily, IZVESTIYA (News), has recently inaugurated a comic strip, which to date has been used chiefly to draw attention to shortcomings in Soviet services by the use of heavy-handed humor. One strip showed a pipe-smoking engineer with a Dagwood haircut, naturally named Ivan Ivanich, buying a pair of roller skates so he could hitch a ride on the back of one of Moscow's overcrowded buses. Another showed him treating 18 families to drinks at an outdoor fruit stand because restaurants were too full. "Ivan Ivanich" is believed to be the first comic strip in any of the more authoritative Soviet newspapers. (Sample attached) (Unclassified)

Castro Government Building Vast Radio Network. Communist Cuba is well on the road to possessing one of the world's more powerful international broadcasting complexes. In February 1967, at Holguin in Oriente Province, the Cubans opened a 150,000 watt medium wave facility, which is three times as powerful as the most powerful U.S. commercial stations. (The power of U.S. domestic stations is restricted by the FCC to 50,000 watts) Now a 50,000 watt Cuban station has been opened at Cocum, only 15 miles from the Holguin facility. These are only two of six powerful transmitters ordered from Czechoslovakia. To date nothing is known of Cuban plans for the other four. The two stations already on the air are so powerful as to interfere seriously with domestic broadcasts in the U.S.A., and in neighboring countries in the Caribbean and Central America. As Cuba is a signatory to the North American Regional Broadcast Agreement on the use of broadcasting frequencies, there may be formal protests over the interference caused by the Cuban stations. Observers speculate that Cuba is hastening the development of Communist propaganda facilities in connection with the "Solidarity Conference of

~~SECRET~~

the Latin American Peoples", scheduled to open in Havana on 28 July. Cuban broadcasts to date proclaim that "revolution" will be the central theme of this conference. (UNCLASSIFIED)

On this conference, see also Briefly Noted in this issue.

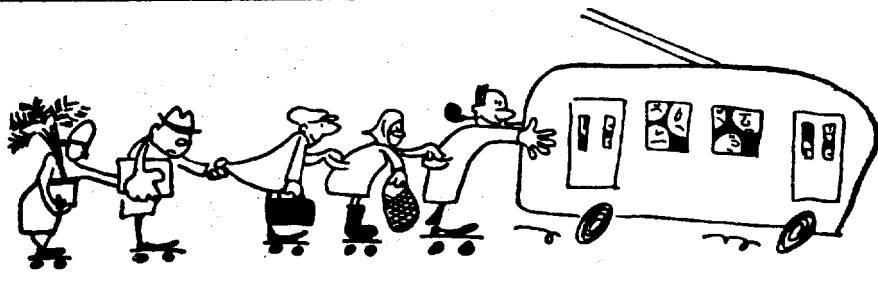
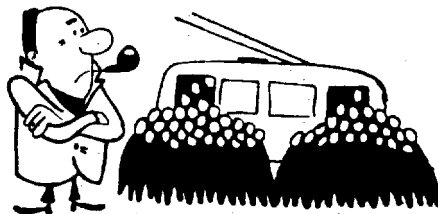
~~SECRET~~

CPYRGHT

## ИВАН ИВАНЫЧ СОВЕТУЕТ...

ПО ПРОСЬБЕ Ю. М. Аксенова из города Лиепая Иван Иванович решает сегодня проблему обеспечения жителей наших городов транспортом в часы «пик». Надеемся, что городские Советы найдут и другие способы. Может быть, менее оригинальные, но не менее радикальные.

(SPORTING  
GOODS)



А. КРАМНОВ, Э. ПАРХОМОВСКИЙ.

IZVESTIYA  
April 23, 1967

### IVAN IVANYCH ADVISES:

At the request of Yu. M. Aksenov of the city Hiepaya, Ivan Ivanych today solves the problem of "peak-hour" transportation for our city dwellers. We hope that city Soviets (councils) will find still other means. Perhaps less original, but no less radical.

# Briefly Noted ✓

22 May 1967

*Czechs and  
East Germans  
Run Agents  
in France*

## Six Spies Tried in Two Days.

Two espionage cases, involving six persons, were recently tried behind closed doors in the Cour de la Sureté de l'Etat in Paris. On 26 April, two men who had spied for Czechoslovakia were condemned to eight and four year sentences. Stephan Krigovsky, who received the longer sentence, had once been a General Secretary of Communist Youth in Bratislava - showing again, as in the cases of Shelepin and Semichastny of the Kom-somol and the KGB, that there is a close affinity between Communist youth work and Communist intelligence activity. Jean Sarady, who was condemned along with Krigovsky, had been a professor at a religious institution in Toulouse and, as Krigovsky had done, had worn religious garb and had passed himself off as a priest. The two men, who had sought to gather information on Czech emigrés in France and on the French "Concorde" aircraft, had been arrested in Toulouse in January 1966.

The other case, tried on 27 April, concerned two married couples who had spied for East Germany, Hans and Marianne Bammler and Peter and Renee Kranick. Each of them had been paid 60,000 francs a year (about \$12,000), and this had contributed to their downfall; Mme. Bammler worked as a housekeeper and rode in an expensive car, a discrepancy which attracted attention. Her husband had been recruited in 1960 while working in East Berlin, and had later assumed a new identity in Egypt, had acquired Swiss citizenship, and had moved to Paris in 1963. Peter Kranick had been enlisted by the East Germans when involved in an East Berlin traffic accident while

he was working for the French Military Government in West Berlin; he met his wife while she was working for the same organization. She later was employed in the West German Embassy in Paris and then by NATO. French counter-espionage agents surprised the couples in bed one morning, and found in their lodgings a hollow statue concealing a miniature camera and codes. They had sent postcards with pictures of flowers, but the flowers were sprinkled with microdots. The two couples had sought information on NATO. Sentences given were: Peter Kranick - 20 years; Hans Bammler - 18 years; Renee Kranick - 14 years; Marianne Bammler - 12 years. (A French version of the story, from which the above is taken, appeared in PRESS COMMENT on 9 May 1967.)

25X1C10b

*Castro plans  
More Mischief*

Conference of Latin  
American Solidarity  
Organization.

(Full background and guidance on this

important conference will follow well in advance of the conference.) The first conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) will meet in Havana from July 28 to August 5 under the slogan, "The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution." Delegations from 27 Latin American countries and territories are expected to attend.

LASO is an outgrowth of the Tri-Continental Conference (TRICON) of the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization, which met in Havana in January 1966. TRICON issued a resolution supported by the Soviet delegation, calling for armed struggle for "national liberation." Castro has since criticized the Soviet Union for insufficient support to guerrilla groups. At the LASO conference Castro will attempt to strengthen his control over the Latin American guerrilla movement and will seek to emerge as the leader of Latin American Communists.

The agenda for the conference concentrates on revolutionary struggle and armed insurrection for "national liberation" by workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals; the danger to the "national liberation" movement presented by reforms that alleviate conditions that cause people to struggle for "national liberation"; unifying opposition to "imperialist" actions in the political-military, economic, ideological, and cultural fields; defense of the Cuban Revolution and opposition to "imperialist" economic and political isolation of Cuba. The Inter-American Peace Force, the OAS, the Central American Defense Council, military bases and pacts, "imperialist" financial resources and foreign trade, and "imperialist" influence on society

and culture, are all scheduled for discussion.

The conference is also to discuss a "sociological survey" conducted by LASO on the political, economic, cultural, racial, and religious structure of each Latin American country. The declared purpose of the survey is to provide detailed knowledge for the development of a common revolutionary strategy and of means of support for revolutionary groups.

The composition of delegates to the conference is disputed among Latin American Communists. In several countries the "fidelistas" -- the extreme revolutionary splinter groups, some being semi-isolated bands of guerrillas -- are in conflict with the official pro-Soviet Communist Parties of their countries. Castro wants a conference in which most delegations will represent the extreme revolutionary groups, and which will provide him with a base for gaining greater control over Communist groups throughout Latin America.

The organizers hope that LASO will emerge from the conference as a fully structured organization. Plans for a LASO Bulletin, for instance, are underway. LASO's emphasis, however, is on armed revolutionary struggle, and the Conference is expected to aim mainly at establishing unity among the various revolutionary groups.

\* \* \*

*Why Do They Still Leave?*      The Refugee: Symbol of 50 Years of Communism

A 31 March  
LONDON TIMES dispatch from Vienna

reported that approximately 100 East Europeans who were attending the world ice hockey championships had requested political asylum in Austria. In Austria alone 3,850 persons were granted asylum in 1966.

Flights from the communist world have become quite common. Yet the refugee's decision to leave his homeland is an experience filled with pathos. Although escape from some countries may be easier, the refugee is often separated from his family and friends, possibly for life. Still the exodus continues away from communist states -- rarely the other way.

An unclassified background paper gives data on the number of people who have "voted with their feet."

REF: USIA Study 66-SM-132:  
"The Refugee: Symbol of the 1917-1967 Era."

\* \* \*

# ADVERTISEMENT

# # # # # # # # # # # # #

# You can't tell the Fronts without a Scorecard -- #

# #

# We try to help you know #

# the score with our guidances on #

# the international and popular #

# fronts. Now we have received an #

# outstanding report on the most #

# dangerous front group now in #

# operation: USIA's survey #

# R-13-67 of April 20, 1967: "THE #

# VIET CONG: THE FRONT TECHNIQUE." #

# It uses careful analysis and #

# documentation to show how tech- #

# niques perfected through 50 #

# years of Communism are now being #

# adapted to the uses of the Viet- #

# namese "War of Liberation." #

# #

# We urge you to get copies #

# from your local USIA representa- #

# tive.\* #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

# #

\*NOTE: USIA circulated this report to all its Far East posts and to Beirut, Bonn, Geneva, Lagos, London, Mexico City, Nairobi, New Delhi, Rio de Janeiro, and Rome. If you cannot obtain locally, request copies from Headquarters.

25X1C10b

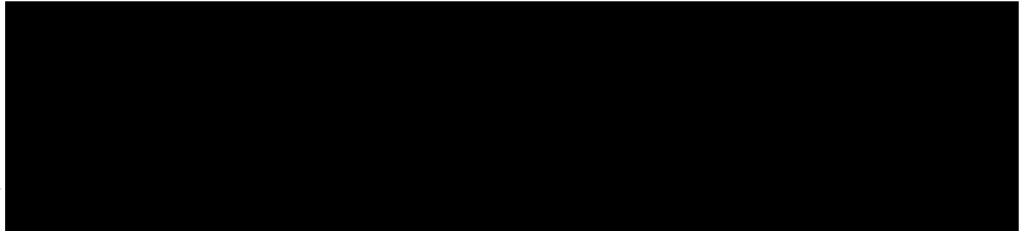


1125.

VIETNAM: "NON-ALIGNED" CONFERENCE IN STOCKHOLM

WPC Prepares to Manipulate Pacifists

25X1C10b



SITUATION: (UNCLASSIFIED) On the initiative of some Swedish pacifists, a World Conference on Vietnam will be held in Stockholm, Sweden from 6 to 9 July. The initial promoters of the Conference are the prominent leftist pacifist, Bertil Svahnström, a Swedish council member of the Britain-headquartered, non-Communist International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP) and the Communist-influenced Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS), a Swedish peace organization formed in 1883 of which Svahnström is a leading member. The Conference will take place under the SPAS' titular auspices.

At least eight international peace organizations\*, including the World Peace Council (WPC), have promised to take part in the Stockholm Conference, and there is increasing evidence that the WPC is seizing the initiative from the non-aligned, leftist/pacifist sponsors and supporters.

At the WPC's Presidential Committee meeting in Prague (February 25-27, 1967), Vietnam and European security were the main topics and considerable importance was attached to the Stockholm conference. In March, Romesh Chandra, the Indian secretary general of the WPC, stated that Vietnam would be virtually the sole focus of attention for the WPC over the next few months. In his report at Prague on the work, program, and organizational problems of the WPC, Chandra underlined the need for cooperation among various social and political groupings (i.e. united fronts); and said that every effort should be made to isolate the USA and by these tactics force her to agree to talks about Vietnam.

---

\* WPC, ICDP, International Fellowship for Reconciliation, International Peace Bureau (Geneva), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, War Resisters' International, Amnesty International, International Committee of Conscience on Vietnam; and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society.

About 350 to 400 delegates are expected to participate in the Conference, including representatives of North Vietnam and of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV). Many national committees, especially in Europe, but also in such countries as the UAR and India, have been formed to prepare for the meeting. A special effort is being made to obtain impressive representation from countries which support the American war effort in Vietnam. The organizing committee drew up a list of the appropriate numbers of delegates from each country, e.g., 25 from Sweden, 20 from the great powers, down to one from Luxembourg and New Zealand. Svahnström, chairman of the organizing committee (Address: Jungfrugatan 30, Stockholm Ö.), wrote a lengthy article on the forthcoming Conference which appeared in the March issue of the WPC's publication, PERSPECTIVES. ~~(SECRET)~~ Note: Information contained in the article as to the purpose of the meeting and the procedures to be followed is borne out in classified reporting. ~~(SECRET)~~ Svahnström says inter alia:

"The idea behind the initiative is to coordinate a worldwide public opinion for the common aim to stop the Vietnam war, to explore the ways and means most likely to lead to results, and to present the case of the Vietnamese people in a way strong enough to make the 'war lords in Washington' listen."

Svahnström also related that after informal preliminary talks of representatives of peace groups in Stockholm (29-30 October), the meeting released a press communique, which said in part:

"...consideration was given to the proposal...for...a conference to initiate efforts to end the war in Vietnam and to ensure independence for the Vietnamese people in accordance with the Geneva agreements of 1954. The meeting decided to bring together representatives... from parliaments, trade unions, religious bodies, universities and other groups from all continents. Experts in various fields are being invited to join in the preparation of documents to be distributed in advance of the conference..."

Organizing and editorial committees (the ICDP is in charge of the editorial committee; address: Gerry Hunnius, general secretary, ICDP, 3 Handon Ave., London N.3)\* were formed at the October meeting. The two committees met in Stockholm on 16-17 December and issued a communique which stated in part:

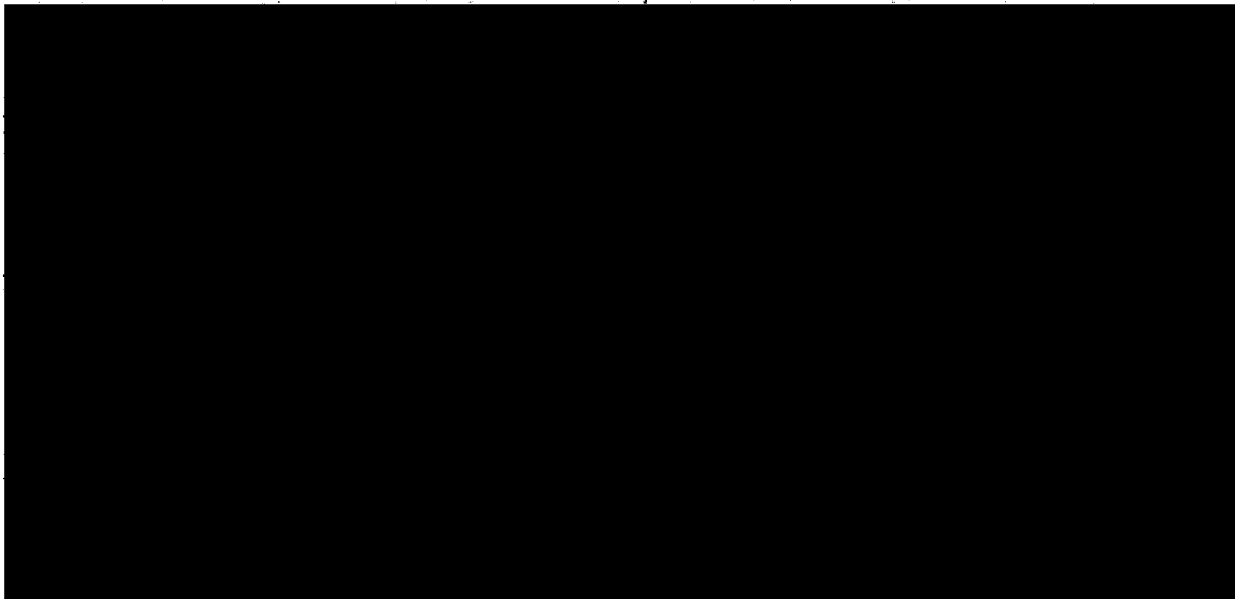
---

\* ~~(SECRET)~~ It is interesting to note that the WPC has tried to play down Hunnius's ICDP identification, apparently not wanting to advertise unnecessarily its tactical collaboration with the ICDP. (END ~~(SECRET)~~)

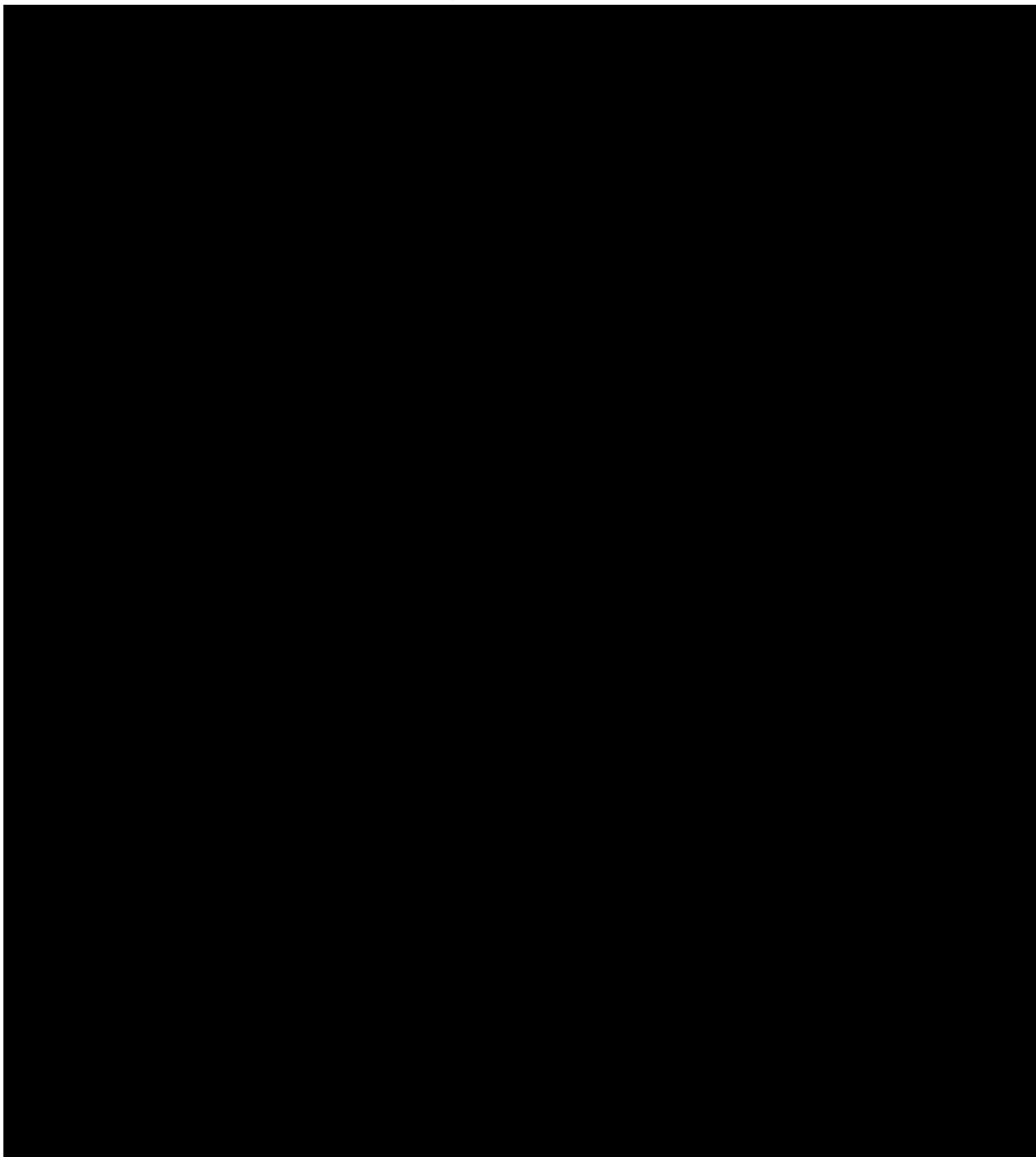
"...national organizations affiliated with the sponsoring international organizations are being asked to join together to obtain broad [Ed: i.e. united front] support for the conference and ensure effective representation in it from their respective countries. It was decided that the conference would carry out its work principally in working groups in each of which people with similar special training or interests would work together. They will include working groups of international lawyers, scientists, trade unionists, religious organizations, women and youth movements. A commission will be formed to study the means of influencing the policies of governments now allied with the U.S. in NATO and other military pacts. Another commission will examine the ways in which non-aligned countries may be able to help end the war in Vietnam and secure Vietnamese independence."

"...Experts in various fields will prepare authoritative reports. It is planned that among them will be papers on Vietnam's struggle for freedom and independence; escalation of the war in Vietnam; international law and the war in Vietnam; use of napalm, poison gas and other weapons of mass annihilation in Vietnam; peace initiatives -- real and deceptive; growing isolation of the USA in the world, resulting from the war in Vietnam.\* These reports will be circulated in advance for study by the conference participants..." (END UNCLASSIFIED)

25X1C10b



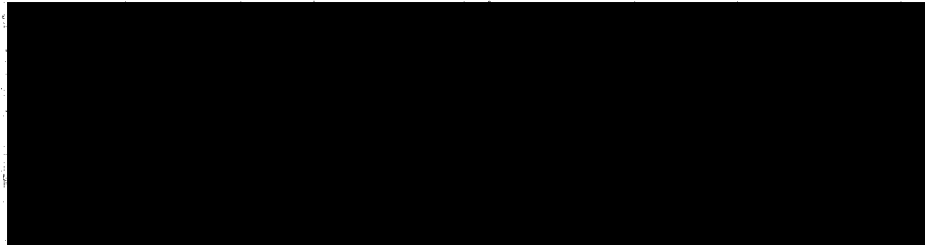
\* ~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~ Amnesty International is preparing reports on arbitrary arrest, political imprisonment, treatment of prisoners and torture in Vietnam; ICDP on peace initiatives; WPC and ICDP jointly on the growing isolation of the U.S.; and WPC on material assistance for Vietnam by non-governmental organizations. (~~END CONFIDENTIAL~~)



1126.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS  
A Front for Molding Public Opinion

25X1C10b



\* \* \* \* \*

SITUATION: (UNCLASSIFIED) The Communist-front International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) is much smaller, more specialized and less in evidence than the mass membership fronts with which it cooperates closely, and it is particularly important to the Communist propaganda structure because of these very characteristics. It seeks to influence those who report, analyze and disseminate news, and, equally important, it serves to reinforce the campaigns of the larger fronts by publicizing and participating in their activities. Thus, it is not surprising that the IOJ has announced it will be represented at the World Conference for Peace in Vietnam to be held in Stockholm, 6-9 July 1967. (See Item #1125, this BPG. For IOJ positions on the Vietnam problem, see unclassified attachment.) IOJ President Jean-Maurice Hermann (who is also Secretary General of the French Journalists' Union, an affiliate of the Communist-controlled Confederation Generale du Travail) frankly admits that the IOJ is a political as well as a trade union organization. This was not always so.

The IOJ was founded in Copenhagen in June 1946 as a world-wide successor to the International Federation of Journalists of Allied and Free Countries which, in turn, had been formed in London in 1941 to replace the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), paralyzed by the Axis occupation of most of continental Europe. The IOJ, initially headquartered in London, was a bona fide journalists' organization only during the first year of its existence. At the Second Congress (Prague, June 1947), the Soviet Bloc delegations, although not in a majority, achieved voting control, moved the IOJ headquarters to Prague, and installed a Czech Communist in the key position of Secretary General-Treasurer. By the eve of the Third Congress, finally held in Helsinki in 1950, the exodus of non-Communist affiliates had left the IOJ composed entirely of Communists and fellow-travelers. When its first President, Archibald Kenyon, a distinguished British journalist, resigned in late 1949, he labeled the IOJ a Party puppet and a Cominform tool. It has continued under Soviet control and manipulation ever since, initially treating its rivals (the non-Communist IFJ was reconstituted in 1952; its headquarters are in Brussels) with scorn and abuse; but since the mid-50's it has more relied on united front tactics, urging Western and neutralist journalists to cooperate and collaborate with the IOJ on common objectives.

The IOJ's unity campaign opened in Helsinki in June 1956 with the first International Meeting of Journalists (IMJ), "a great gathering irrespective of political or other distinctions from all parts of the world." The IFJ refused to participate, pointing out that its affiliates had helped to found the IOJ, had withdrawn because of the "persistent use of its forum for virulent political propaganda," and added: "It is not possible for us to consider a reunification until a radical change is effected in the conditions of the press in those countries which are represented by national organizations in the IOJ." The IFJ has also declined all subsequent overtures. A number of Afro-Asian and Latin American journalists were, however, drawn into the planning for the meeting, and an even larger number attended. Among the neutralist delegates, enthusiasm for international journalists' unity waxed so strong that the IOJ found itself in danger of losing control. President Hermann even declared IOJ's willingness to dissolve -- if the IFJ would follow suit. The final outcome was the establishment of a Committee "representing the East and the West, as well as neutral countries," which subsequently assumed the name of the "International Committee for Cooperation of Journalists" (ICCJ). This body, a still ill-disguised IOJ subsidiary -- a front for the front, so to speak -- is now headquartered in Rome.

In the intervening years, the ICCJ has held a not very successful 2nd IMJ in Baden, Austria, in October 1960 and a 3rd meeting in September-October 1963. This last conference was somewhat more successful, particularly among Africans and Arabs because it was convened aboard the Russian liner "Litva", cruising the Mediterranean. (The Chinese boycotted the meeting because of its Soviet control.) At each port of call -- Naples, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Port Said and Beirut -- meetings were held with local leaders and journalists. A 4th IMJ, suggested for Summer 1967 in Latin America, now appears unlikely before 1968, and the site is still undetermined.

Meanwhile, the parent IOJ finally held its IVth Congress after a lapse of 8 years in May 1958 (Bucharest), its Vth in August 1962 (Budapest), and its VIth in October 1966 (East Berlin). The VIIth is scheduled to be held in Havana in 1970.

During this period, the IOJ, although not ignoring the rather difficult target represented by the journalists of the developed, non-Communist world, has gradually intensified its interest in the developing areas with the primary objective of influencing the growing numbers of journalists of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In those areas, IOJ officials have traveled regularly, initiating and maintaining contacts; IOJ has enlarged its membership, both organizational and individual, and has elected officials from those areas.

In 1964, the IOJ announced its "Three Year Plan for the Development of the Press, Radio and Television in Africa, Asia and Latin America" with the intent of "a more rapid elimination of the remnants of

colonialism". The Plan (which ends this year but will presumably be extended by the Executive Committee at its next meeting in Ulan Bator, 6-9 September 1967) covers gifts of equipment, limited financial aid through the IOJ's International Solidarity Fund, and -- above all -- training.

In the field of journalistic training, the IOJ and its Czechoslovak and East German national affiliates operated informally for a number of years, offering individuals opportunities for travel and observation. In late 1963 and early 1964, however, training activities were formalized. The IOJ opened its International Center for the Training of Journalists from the Developing Countries, offering 3-month courses, in Budapest. (CONFIDENTIAL) The IOJ is also reported to be considering the establishment of an Institute of Press Study and Communications Media sometime in 1967. END (CONFIDENTIAL) The Union of (East) German Journalists operates the "School of Solidarity" near Berlin, offering 6-12 months courses for African, Asian and Latin American students. (CONFIDENTIAL) Its Director recently claimed to have graduated 60 journalists so far, and to have 20 students from 9 African and Asian countries in the current (5th) course. END (CONFIDENTIAL) The Union of Czechoslovak Journalists and the Czech News Agency (CTK) jointly operate the International School for News Agency Journalism and Techniques, where instruction includes practical on-the-job training in CTK's bureaus. In addition, the USSR's educational activities must not be overlooked. Full scholarships, including those offered to journalism students, play a significant role in the Soviet plan for long-range influence on the molding of public opinion in the developing areas.

Among other activities, both the Czech and East German affiliates will assist the host Union of Journalists of Cuba in organizing a Seminar for Latin American Journalists in Havana sometime during Summer 1967. Both, as well as the IOJ, are publishing journalism text books. All, with some CTK participation, have assisted variously in a few local courses and seminars -- in Mali, Guinea, Algeria and Afghanistan.

(CONFIDENTIAL) CTK has cooperative agreements with, among others, Tanzania and Afghanistan; the IOJ has offered assistance to the Kenya News Agency. END (CONFIDENTIAL)

IOJ activities in the developing areas appear to have had success in Africa, where the front is operating in its own name, through the development of personal and sometimes inconspicuous relationships, and also through the Pan-African Union of Journalists (PAUJ) which it helped to establish in 1961. The PAUJ, headed by IOJ Vice President Jean-Baptiste Deen of Guinea, is analogous in the journalists' field to the All-African Trade Union Federation and was also controlled by Nkrumah until his fall. (CONFIDENTIAL) Following the February 1966 coup in Ghana, Deen caused a slight ripple of doubt by sandwiching a trip to Peking between two visits to Prague, but showed no evidence of being other than pro-Soviet at the VIth Congress. END (CONFIDENTIAL)

~~SECRET~~

In Asia, the IOJ has followed the "travel and personal contact" route with some minor success. For example, Secretary General Jiri Meisner visited India in the summer of 1966 and was able to arrange a liaison committee for Indian representation at the VIth Congress. The All-China Journalists Association and the Union of Albanian Journalists are still listed as IOJ affiliates, but neither was represented at the VIth Congress or the Executive Committee meeting which preceded it in September. The Sino-Soviet split is a fact of life in the IOJ. The split was already widening when the IOJ-supported Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference was held in Bandung in April 1963. The Chinese and Indonesians gained control of the meeting and of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association (AAJA) which was formed there. The AAJA, though, is not the rival it once was. It was never able to garner more than hard pro-Peking support in Africa, its Center in Djakarta has disintegrated, and it now has apparently no real strength in Asia.

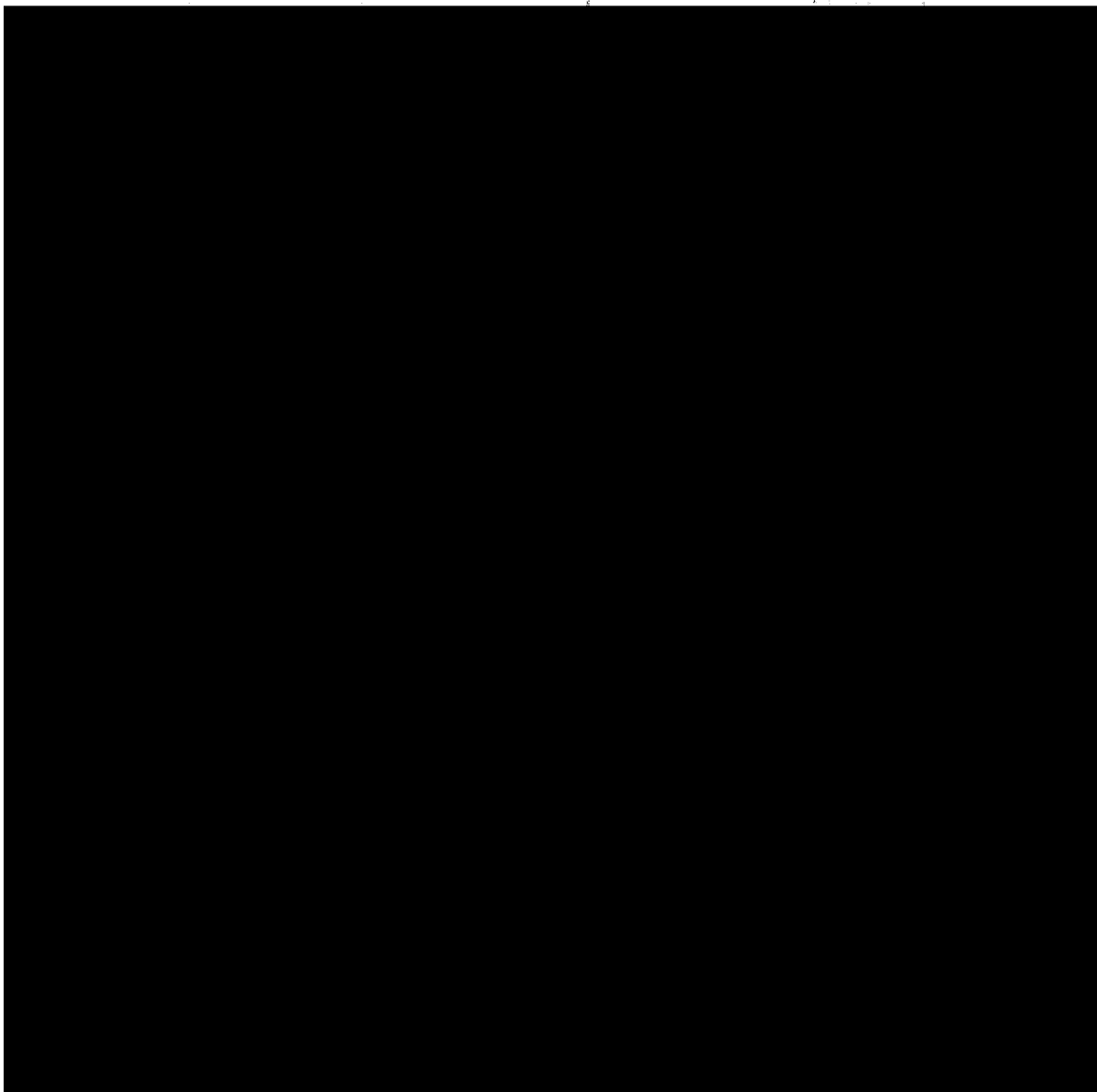
In Latin America, the IOJ claims "an affiliated organization in every country, and one in three journalists as a member". The published roster (See unclassified attachment) lists groups in 13 countries, excluding Cuba, 9 of which were admitted at the VIth Congress. The IOJ has long hoped to establish a controlled federation to oppose the non-Communist Inter-American Federation of Working Newspapermen. Such a federation will undoubtedly be discussed again at the Summer 1967 Havana Seminar. The IOJ did help to establish, in 1962, a Commission for Information and Cooperation Among Latin American Journalists (CICPLA) which maintains an office in Montevideo, and publishes an occasional bulletin. An IOJ Executive Committee meeting was held in Santiago, Chile, in September 1963 -- the last at which Communist China was represented.

~~SECRET~~ The sessions were closed, probably in well-founded anticipation of some disruption by the Chinese, and outside, the excluded press was loudly disapproving. In the resulting unfriendly atmosphere, the IOJ abandoned the planned establishment of a Regional Bureau in Santiago in which it had already invested a large sum of money. END  
~~SECRET~~

At the time, disinterested observers called the meeting a fiasco. But a year later, Secretary General Meisner, reporting to the VIth Congress, recalled it as "an important event for strengthening our contacts... a great manifestation of friendship among democratic journalists of the whole world with their Latin American colleagues...." (END UNCLASSIFIED)

25X1C10b





REFERENCE

IRD Publication (Unattributed, Unclassified): "Facts About Soviet International Front Organizations", October 1964, pp 83-89.

1127 EUR, FE, WH.

CHEN YI AVOWS CHINESE AIMS

25X1C10b

\* \* \* \* \*

SITUATION: On 26 August 1966, Chicom Foreign Minister Chen Yi received a group of Swedish visitors belonging to the Swedish Clarté organization and gave them answers to various questions about Chicom aims and policies. The text of the interview has now been published in the Swedish organization's bimonthly magazine, CLARTE, in a special issue (1967, No. 1) devoted to China and the experiences of the group which went to China. (Translation and original of the CLARTE report of the interview are attached to this guidance.)

"Clarté" is an organization of intellectuals originally founded in Paris in 1919; the organ of the Swedish branch began publication in 1924. Once a left-Socialist student-professorial organization, the Swedish branch came under Communist influence and is now pro-Chicom. The group is a rallying point for Swedish radical youth. According to NCNA reports of last summer, the Clarté tourists travelled in China with French members of the "University Students' section of the Franco-Chinese Friendship Society." On the way back to Sweden through the Soviet Union, the Swedish travellers had the experience of having the Chicom publications they were carrying seized by Soviet authorities; NCNA published their letter of protest.

Since Chen Yi was addressing what for all intents and purposes was a Chicom-controlled group, he spoke very frankly. One notable feature of his remarks was his endorsement of the "domino theory" of Southeast Asian politics -- i.e., the belief that if South Vietnam falls, other Southeast Asian countries will fall to Communism as well, as a row of standing dominoes falls. (Chen Yi wrongly attributed this theory to President Johnson; actually it was originated by President Eisenhower. It should also be noted that Chen Yi somewhat distorted the American view, which is not that American defeat in Vietnam would "automatically" entail American defeat elsewhere, but that if all of Vietnam falls into the hands of the Communists through a failure of the United States to assist the South, the other Southeast Asian countries would then -- again, if not assisted by the U.S. -- fall successively under Communist control.)

Other points of interest (with comment in italics):

1. Chen Yi says: "We can't export the revolution." He also denies that China is carrying on any subversive work. But he states:

"Our present foreign policy is concentrated on resisting the American aggression and helping Vietnam. We use every possibility to support the Vietnamese people in the battle against the U.S.A. imperialists."

And Chen Yi says further:

"Therefore our foreign policy all over the world is to encourage the nations to display the broadest, most genuine and efficient united front that includes the nations from all aspects. The united front must be the broadest possible, but it won't include the new Soviet revisionists."

He also predicts that "after the U.S.A. imperialism has been conquered in Vietnam, the national revolution in Latin America and Africa will experience a new tidal wave."

*With a policy which resists "U.S.A. aggression" and which proposes a united front excluding the Soviets, it is not hard to see what country is to assume the leadership. Latin Americans and Africans may be interested to know that their tidal wave is due after a U.S. defeat in Vietnam.*

2. Chen Yi strongly endorses Lin Piao's doctrine that the rural areas should rise in rebellion against the cities -- i.e., that Asian, African, and Latin American nations should rise against Europe and the United States and "devour" them. He denies, however, that China opposes the "revolutionary movement" in Europe and the United States. Chen says:

"... We must mobilize young people who will unite with the farmers and workers. This is the basic strategy of Marxism-Leninism; here the implication is to change the conditions of exploitation and the difference between country and city."

*One wonders if the plan is not to reduce the city dwellers to peasants, rather than raise the level of the peasants.*

3. Castro becomes a subject of discussion during the interview, in connection with anti-Chinese statements by the Cuban leader. After a long statement in which Castro is bracketed with other critics of China, including the Pope, Chen Yi says, "I don't want Castro to steal more of our precious time," and adds that while he is not in a position to say whether Castro is turning against China on Soviet orders:

"We all know that the U.S.A. imperialists hate China above everything. They explain that China is the U.S.A.'s enemy Number One. The fact that Castro now appears and shows himself to be in opposition to China denotes a gesture to the U.S.A."

*Chen's statements about Castro seem designed to show contempt.*

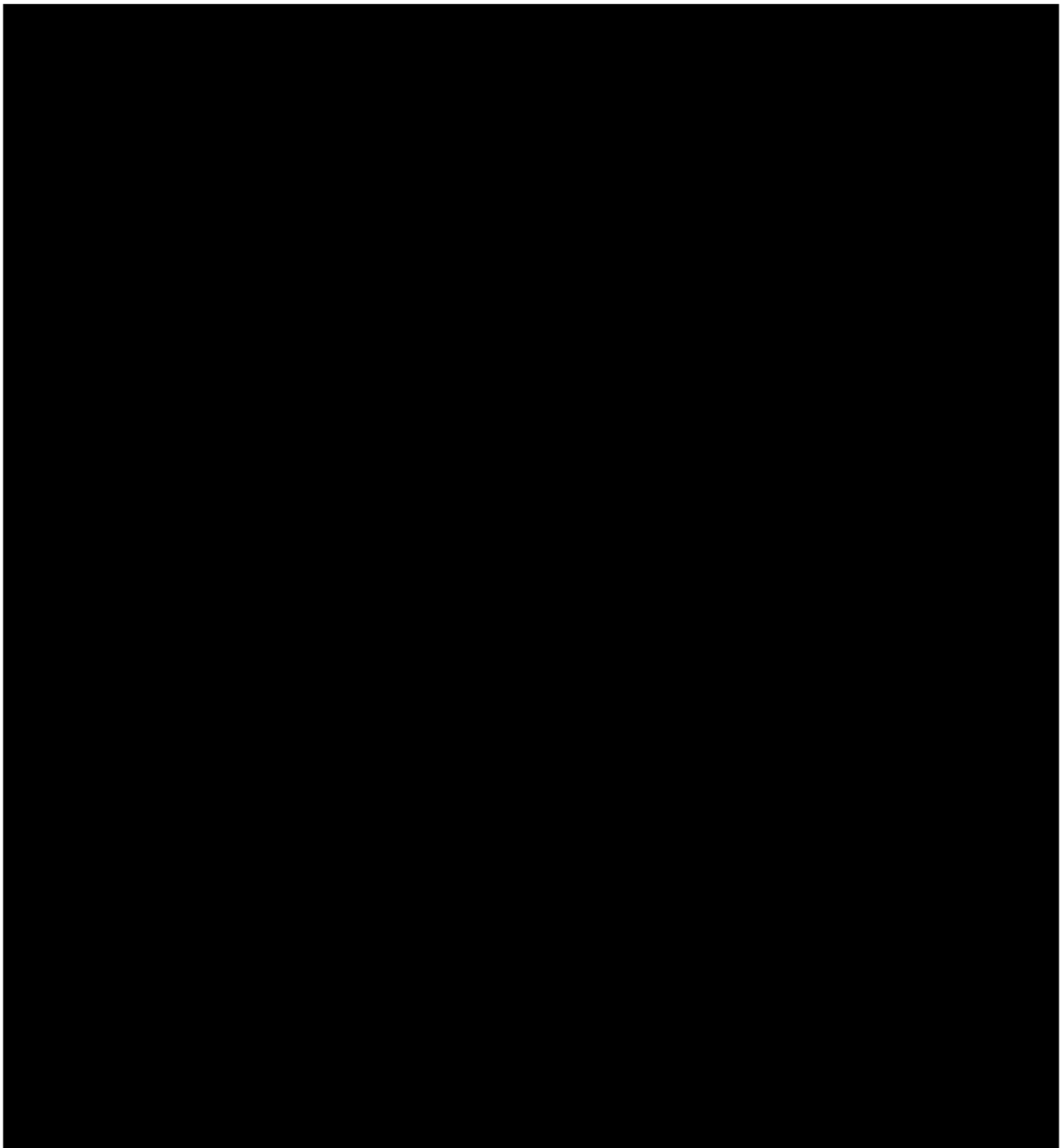
4. On the Cultural Revolution, Chen Yi says:

"Each [Chinese] private person has to clarify his attitude toward this revolution: whether he is for it and marching onward or whether he will be in the way and be conquered."

He claims that the Cultural Revolution gives the workers and students a chance "to practice a comprehensive democracy with the right to participate directly in the governmental rule." *There have been some recent reports that Chen is in danger of being ousted; while no one can predict the course of events in today's China, his statements on Lin Piao's ideas and on the Cultural Revolution make us wonder why the Maoists should want Chen's removal.*

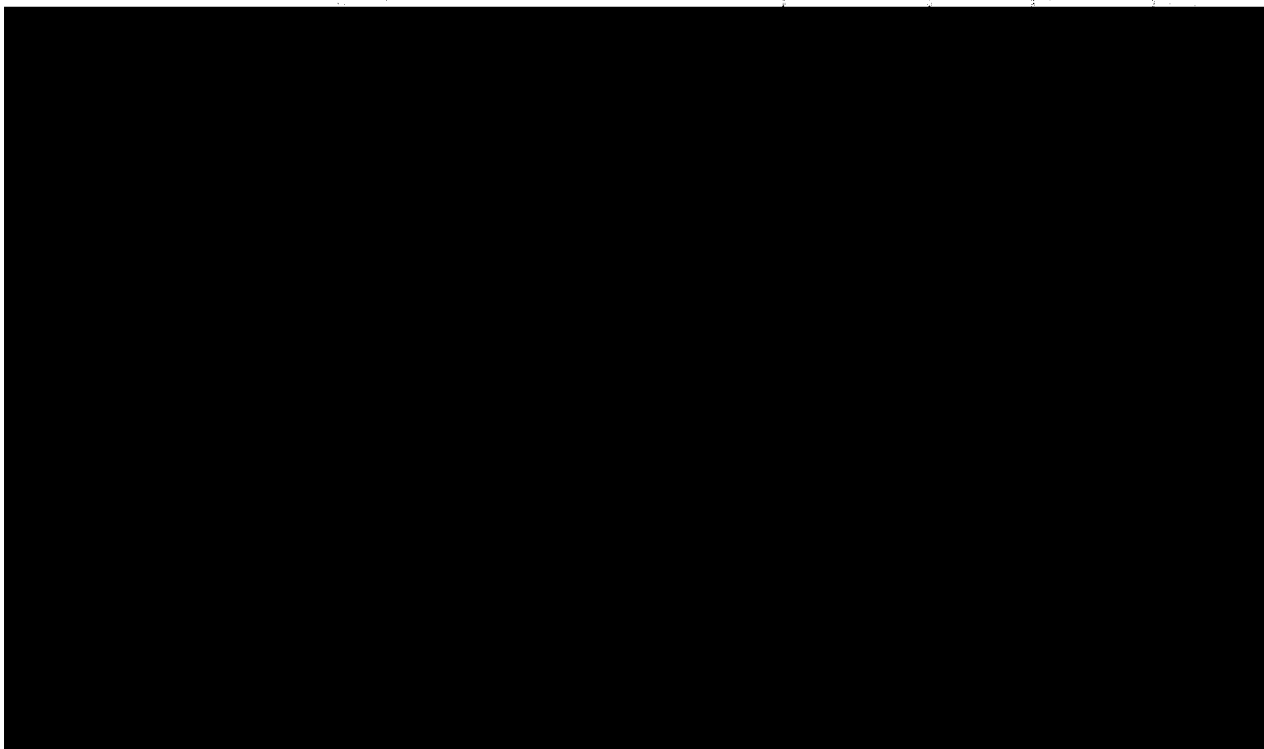
5. Chen Yi thinks that the Soviets follow a policy of cooperation with the U.S. "in order to dominate the whole world." He suspects that Moscow and Washington use the "hot line" to concert their plans. He says it is known "to all the nations in the world" that New York and Washington have grown wealthy by exploiting the rural areas of the world, including the rural U.S.; the wealth is used to train urban workers to become aristocrats. He believes the American people have "risen in rebellion to fight their own country's imperialism," and -- although he speaks of democracy in China -- he does not think the American people have the right to dismiss President Johnson. *Chen Yi's state of doctrinaire ignorance -- assuming, as is probable, that he expressed his true opinions -- is not only deplorable, but also dangerous.*

25X1C10b



Approved For Release 2000/08/27 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400060004-9

25X1C10b



Approved For Release 2000/08/27 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400060004-9

~~SECRET~~

(1128.)

22 May 1967

1128.

THAI GOVERNMENT'S FORMAL INDICTMENT OF  
THE USSR AND NORTH VIETNAM GOVERNMENTS

25X1C10b

\* \* \* \* \*

SITUATION: On 22 April 1967 the Thai Ambassador to Moscow was summoned to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and handed a stiff protest note upbraiding the Royal Thai Government (RTG) for permitting the U.S. to mount air strikes from Thailand against North Vietnam. The Soviet note was replete with the usual accusations of "U.S. aggression", "bandit war in Vietnam", and the like, and was probably triggered by the RTG's March 1967 public sanction of U.S. fighter-bomber bases in Thailand and the RTG's simultaneous decision to send a 2,100 man battalion to assist South Vietnam in the war against the north. On 4 May the Soviet Ambassador to Bangkok was, in his turn, summoned to the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs where an Under Secretary handed him a Note Verbale. The Thai Note sharply rejected the Soviet protests and charges, attacked the USSR in its role as co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, and made scathing references to North Vietnamese and Soviet violations of the international laws by which civilized nations govern themselves (see texts of notes in unclassified section).

25X1C10b

1129 EUR, d.

WRITERS' PROBLEMS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

25X1C10b

SITUATION: With an unresolved conflict between the regime and the country's most successful Communist author, and with a writers congress in the offing, Czechoslovakia appears to be entering another round in the continuing struggle between top Communist authorities and Czech and Slovak intellectuals. Ladislav Mnacko\*, a veteran Communist with a partisan record and a long-time friend of top CP leaders, wrote a book, THE TASTE OF POWER, in which he bitterly criticized Stalinism and, implicitly, the present system in Czechoslovakia. The West German and Austrian press reports that Mnacko gained written permission from CP authorities to publish his book both in Czechoslovakia and in Austria. Subsequently, however, top Czech leaders, probably on orders from CP boss Novotny himself, halted the serial publication of THE TASTE OF POWER in Czech and tried unsuccessfully to retrieve the manuscript from the Austrian publishers with whom Mnacko had dealt. Meanwhile, in the April 1967 issue of PLAMEN (TORCH; the literary monthly of the Writers' Union) indicates that a writers' congress will be scheduled in the near future. Past regime-versus-writers quarrels can be expected to rise to the surface if the congress is held.

The Mnacko story differs from the usual regime-writer conflict in that Mnacko is writing as a member of the inner circle of the party, and also in that he goes ruthlessly to the heart of the matter: the corruption, inadequacies, and injustices of the system (rather than merely treating segments of the problem, as liberal writers in the Bloc are apt to do, in the hope of fostering gradual changes in the system).

After the regime changed its mind and decided against publication, Mnacko was given the opportunity to cooperate by allowing the censors to trim his book before publishing it at home and by requesting the Austrian publisher -- Verlag Fritz Molden -- to return his manuscript. Mnacko evidently opposed censorship and is reported to have urged Molden to go ahead and publish his book.

The next move is up to the Czech CP leadership. They can opt to continue to suppress THE TASTE OF POWER or to release the book for publication. Both alternatives are unattractive, for the regime knows

---

\* pronounced MNYACHko



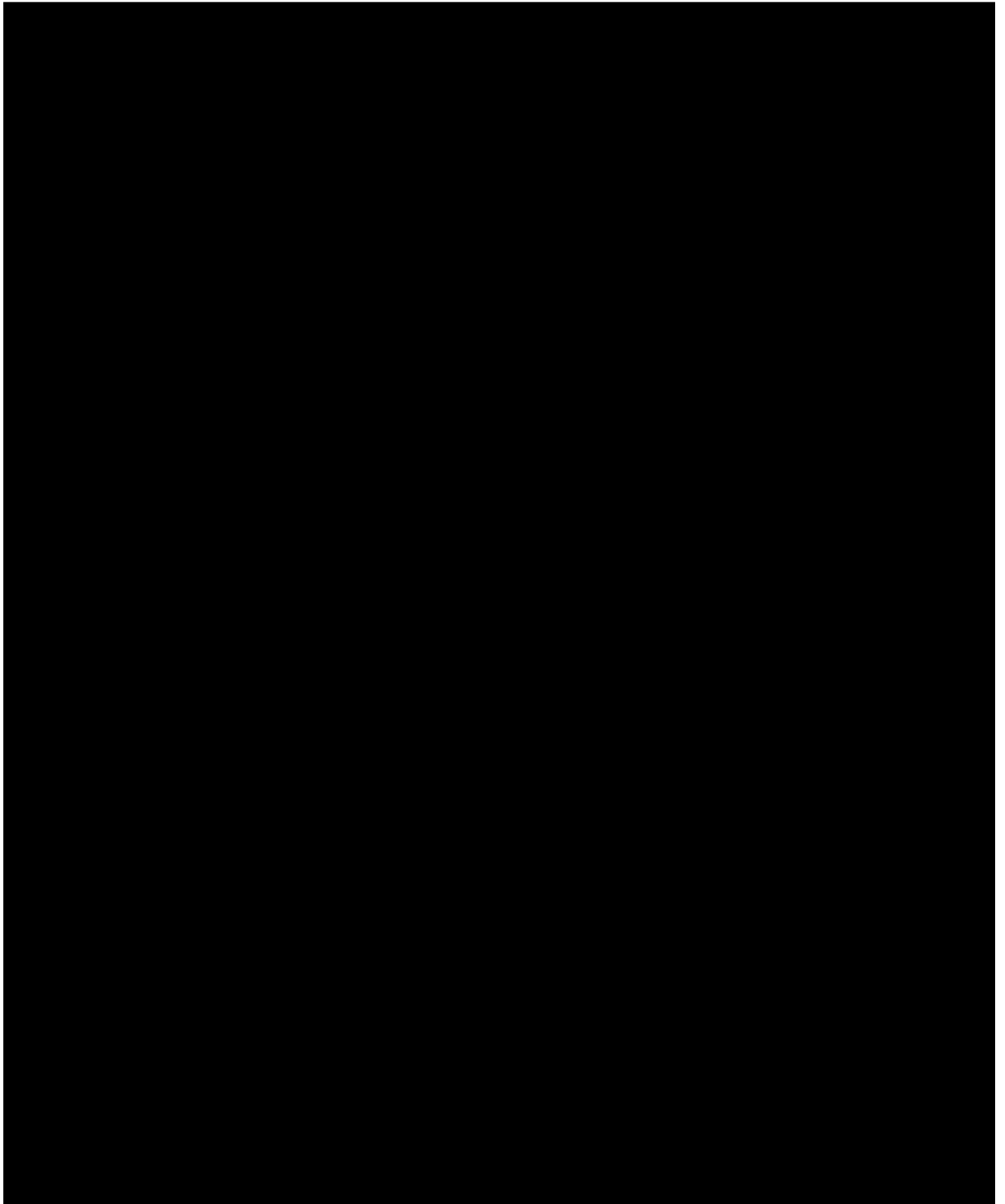
it will lose either way. Perhaps Novotny will decide for release, since the appearance of the book in German (March 1967) and its forthcoming publication in Great Britain and the U.S. (around June 1967) will increase pressures at home for a Czech edition; the country's intellectuals may well add to this pressure by voicing their objections to Czechoslovakia's growing reputation for banning books. The forthcoming writers' congress may coincide with the announcement of the regime's decision on Mnacko's book, and in any case should serve to amplify discussion of the case. For the writers as a group have a stake in the Mnacko conflict, inasmuch as a favorable or unfavorable decision would indicate the trend of the regime's publication policies for some time to come. Czech writers visiting Western Europe have remarked, in the context of discussions of the intellectual climate in their country, that the forthcoming writers congress will be "a hot one."

The struggle between the regime and the writers has considerable significance in and of itself. At issue, basically, is the right of authors to write and have published books that criticize the reality of life in Czechoslovakia. Secondary disputes revolve around the regime's methods of keeping the writers under control. The regime, to strengthen its hand, has sought to enlist the support of the workers by continually fanning their animosity towards the intellectuals. Novotny has been particularly active in this effort. In their relationships with the outside world of creative intellectuals, the Czechoslovak writers have been particularly frustrated. In early 1966, for example, a delegation of Czechoslovak writers went to Moscow to try to find out first-hand about the condemned fellow-writers, Sinyavskiy and Daniel. Shortly thereafter two well-known authors, Josef Grossman and Vaclav Havel, had their passports taken away. Subsequently, only a small delegation of Czechs\* was permitted to attend the significant International PEN Congress in New York in June 1966.

Addendum: FYI, reports ~~classified SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~ describe the bitter struggle between Mnacko and the regime as an extension of the struggle between Czech and Slovak factions of the CP of Czechoslovakia. They state explicitly that Novotny, the head of the Czech faction, gave his oral approval to the publication of Mnacko's book but later, after the impact of the initial installment was known, reacted by ordering the publication stopped and by firing Pavel Auersperg, Chief of the Department of Ideology of the CP of Czechoslovakia.

25X1C10b

\* The Czechs took umbrage at the fact that the Ceylonese delegation was larger than theirs.



~~For Background Use Only~~

May 1967

Those Who Voted With Their Feet

Since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, more than 16,000,000 have fled from communism and have chosen the uncertainties of settling in a foreign country rather than live (or die) under a Communist state.

It began when, between 1917-1921 1,500,000 persons escaped from the Soviet Union. The Russian borders were virtually sealed in 1921 and the flow was reduced to a mere trickle.

The next mass exodus occurred after the communist takeovers in Eastern Europe. Altogether, more than 15,000,000 who have fled communism in the last twenty years. More than 1.6 million displaced persons refused to return to their homelands in Eastern Europe at the end of World War II.

Their ranks were swollen by 60,000 Czechoslovaks who fled after the 1948 Communist coup. Some 200,000 Hungarians fled their country in 1956 after their anti-communist coup was crushed by Soviet tanks and troops.

Before East Germany erected the Berlin wall in August 1961, she had lost 3.7 million citizens which constituted a severe drain of her labor force. Even since that date, an additional 25,000 have evaded armed guards, barbed wire and mine fields to reach West Germany to escape the hated Ulbricht regime.

Communism in the Far East and Cuba also brought its waves of refugees. 8.3 million refugees escaped to free Asian countries. North Korea alone has lost 5 million citizens to the South and more than two million have left Mainland China for freedom. Tibet lost more than 80,000 citizens to Nepal and India when the Chinese suppressed a major revolt in 1959.

One of the most dramatic refugee movements is taking place in Vietnam. When the Communists took control of the northern section of the country in 1954 more than 900,000 refugees moved south in a period of 10 months. And when the Viet Cong launched its full scale war in the south more than one million South Vietnamese fled Communist-controlled areas from 1960-1967. These refugees are a grim reminder of what communists do to their own countrymen.

Since Castro established his regime in 1959, more than 350,000 Cubans have fled their country. Most have found sanctuary in the United States. A US sponsored airlift brought more than 40,000 refugees in one year and hundreds of thousands have signed up to leave. Many still hazard their lives by leaving the island in small boats where they risk death by drowning or by Communist gunfire.

Despite all obstacles and hazards, 50 years after the establishment of the first Communist government, the exodus from the Communist world continues at the rate of more than 25,000 individual border crossings per year.

May 1967

The International Organization of  
Journalists (IOJ) on Vietnam

The IOJ adopted a "Resolution on the Vietnam Problem" at the VIth Congress in East Berlin in October 1966, which states:

"In pursuance of its policy of armed intervention U.S. imperialism, in July 1954, invaded South Vietnam, installing a puppet regime, and aimed at the transformation of South Vietnam into a neo-colony and a military basis for attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and countries of Asia, and to perpetuate the division of Vietnam...

"Since the beginning of 1965 the imperialists of the U.S.A. (have) disembarked their expeditionary corps in South Vietnam and at the same time brought in tens of thousands of soldiers from satellite countries: South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines. It should be brought to the special attention of world opinion that the West German Government is supporting both in a direct and indirect manner, the dirty war against the people of Vietnam...

"The 6th Congress of the IOJ has decided that the member organizations of IOJ shall hold weeks of solidarity with journalists and the people of Vietnam from December 15th to 20th 1966 and July 20th to 27th 1967 (and) shall celebrate September 20th 1967 as the first anniversary of the death of Vu Tung, the President of the Association of Patriotic and Democratic Journalists of South Vietnam (IOJ), who was murdered by the American aggressors by toxic gas on September 20th 1966..."

Observance of the December 1966 "Week" in Prague was reported by the Czech News Service on December 15th:

"The week of journalists' solidarity with fighting Vietnam is to stimulate the journalists to mobilize their nations in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. war and to help end the aggression," declared Secretary of the IOJ Sepp Fischer (East Germany) when he opened a photographic exhibition concerning Vietnam in the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists in Prague today.

"The photographs by reported Vladimir Lammer, who visited Vietnam in July as a member of the IOJ delegation, mainly show the life and work of the Vietnamese people under war conditions.

"The opening of the exhibition was attended by secretaries of the General Secretariat of the IOJ, M.T. Rodriguez (Colombia) and Pavel Yerofeyev (USSR), General Secretary of the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists Adolf Hradecky, Pham Van Su, DRV

Ambassador in Prague, and Ha Thanh Lam, representative of the NFLSV.

"Fischer presented the IOJ protest against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, which was delivered at the sixth congress held in Berlin in October. He expressed the conviction that an end to the aggression would enable the people of Vietnam to solve their problem without foreign intervention. Rodriguez stressed the Latin American journalists' admiration for the Vietnamese people as representatives of the national liberation struggle which is preventing the aggression from escalating into a world war.

"The Vietnamese representatives informed the journalists about the recent bombardment of Hanoi and the increased danger which the attack on the heart of the country represents. They reminded the listeners that the Vietnamese people are determined to fight to a victorious end regardless of sacrifice."

May 1967

I.O.J. Member Organizations

(As listed in the Democratic Journalist, Nov.-Dec. 1966)

ALBANIA: Union of Albanian Journalists.  
ALGERIA: Union of Algerian Journalists.  
ARGENTINA: Argentinian Federation of Press Workers.  
BISSAO (Portuguese Guinea): Journalists' Group of the African Party of Independence of Portuguese Guinea and Capverd Islands.  
BOLIVIA: National Grouping of Journalists.  
BULGARIA: Union of Bulgarian Journalists.  
CAMEROUN: National Union of Cameroun Journalists.  
CEYLON: Ceylon Journalists' Association, Press Association of Ceylon.  
CHILE: Chilean Committee for the International Relations of Journalists.  
COLOMBIA: National Colegio of Journalists.  
CUBA: Union of Journalists of Cuba.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Union of Czechoslovak Journalists.  
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA: Korean Journalists' Union.  
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM: Association of Vietnamese Journalists.  
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: Dominican Committee of the I.O.J.  
ECUADOR: Democratic Journalists' Association of Ecuador.  
FINLAND: General Union of Journalists.  
FRANCE: National Syndicate of Journalists (C.G.T.).  
GAMBIA: Association of Gambian Journalists.  
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: Union of German Journalists.  
GUINEA: National Press Syndicate of Guinea.  
GUYANA: I.O.J. Members' Group in Guyana.  
HUNGARY: Association of Hungarian Journalists.  
INDIA: Indian Committee for Co-operation with the I.O.J.  
INDONESIA: Indonesian National Group of the I.O.J.  
IRAQ: Iraqi Journalists' Association.  
JAPAN: Association of Korean Journalists in Japan.  
MADAGASCAR: National Union of Malagasy Journalists.  
MALI: National Union of Journalists of Mali.  
MEXICO: Mexican Association of Journalists.  
MONGOLIA: Union of Mongolian Journalists.  
MOZAMBIQUE: Journalists' Group of FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique).  
NICARAGUA: Journalists' Union of Nicaragua.  
PANAMA: Panamanian Committee of the I.O.J.  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: All-China Journalists' Association.  
PERU: Peruvian Committee of the I.O.J.  
POLAND: Association of Polish Journalists.  
RUMANIA: Journalists' Union of the S.R.R.  
SOUTH-AFRICAN REPUBLIC: South African Journalists' Circle.  
SOUTH VIETNAM: South Vietnam Patriotic and Democratic Journalists' Association.  
SOUTH-WEST AFRICA: Journalists' Group of the South-West African National Union (SWANU).  
Journalists Branch of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

SOVIET UNION: Journalists' Union of the U.S.S.R.  
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC: Association of Syrian Journalists.  
UGANDA: Association of Uganda Journalists,  
UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC: Press Syndicate of the U.A.R.  
URUGUAY: Association of the Uruguayan Press.  
VENEZUELA: Venezuelan Committee of I.O.J. Members.

The Clarke interviews the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs

CHEN YI

The day when the White House in the U.S.A., Whitehall in Great Britain, and the Kremlin no longer try to destroy us but give us medals and Nobel prizes will be a tragedy for China. It would mean that we were no longer revolutionary... (Chen Yi, 26 August 1966.)

\* \* \*

QUESTION: We'd like to ask about the main line of the Chinese foreign policy, especially concerning the Chinese attitude and policy toward countries which have a national, bourgeois government along with a revolutionary movement within the country, for instance: Burma, Egypt, Iraq. What is the difference between the Chinese foreign policy and party policy?

The revolution can't be exported

ANSWER: The Chinese foreign policy is adapted to protect the socialistic build-up of the country, prevent imperialistic attacks, beat off imperialistic attacks, strengthen the anti-imperialistic, anti-colonialistic unity among the nations, guard the existing world peace and prevent a possible World War III.

In relation to the nationally independent countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America we apply the five principles for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. This means that we don't meddle in each other's domestic affairs, that we respect each other's integrity and sovereignty, that we support the anti-imperialistic, anti-colonialistic battle of the nations, that we don't betray them but express deep sympathy while we support them. But the revolution is their domestic affair, we can't export the revolution. The nations must choose their road themselves; we are not carrying on any subversive work. We don't carry through the revolution by pleading for a world war - the revolution among the nations of the world can't be monopolized by the Chinese people.

Our comrade from Sweden mentioned Burma: that's an interesting example. Our relations with the Burmese government are friendly. But you understand, in Burma there is the Burmese Communist party and there is a civil war between the two - and, in addition, the civil war continues. Negotiations were held with the Burmese Communist party but fell through. Of course, we can't meddle in the Burmese affairs.

Our present foreign policy is concentrated on resisting the American aggression and helping Vietnam. We use every opportunity to support the



Vietnamese people in the battle against the U.S.A. imperialists. To conquer the U.S.A. imperialists in Vietnam is one of our main tasks. After the U.S.A.'s imperialism has been conquered in Vietnam, the national revolution in Latin America and Africa will experience a new tidal wave. At that time the world revolution will develop yet another step - there will be a basic change in the world situation.

The domino theory is correct

The Johnson administration says that they act as if they were playing a game of Dominoes. If they are conquered in Vietnam they will automatically be conquered on all other battle-fields. Therefore they must maintain their positions. He (Lyndon Johnson) is indeed right here. You understand, you mustn't think that Johnson is always wrong - sometimes he is quite right. Even he sees this problem rather clearly, this is shown by his desperation. He is afraid that when U.S.A. imperialism is once conquered on the battle-fields in Vietnam, it will automatically be conquered on all the other battlefields where it is engaged. I appreciate very much this opinion of his. Certainly, U.S.A. imperialism will be conquered. U.S.A. imperialism has military bases all over the world - how can the nations of the world live on if they don't beat them off? The U.S.A. imperialists have military bases in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, on China's Taiwan; and they are carrying on an aggressive war in South Vietnam. In addition, they also have military bases in Thailand, they attack in the Congo, Leopoldville, in Africa. In Africa the Belgian, Dutch and Portuguese imperialists are also carrying on aggression. The U.S.A. imperialists also have military bases in Latin America. If these bases are not discontinued, how can there be any lasting peace? Therefore they must be abolished.

The "hot" line

Therefore our foreign policy all over the world is to encourage the nations to form the broadest, most genuine and efficient united front that includes the nations from all aspects. The united front must be the broadest possible, but it won't include the new Soviet revisionists. It encompasses the masses of the Soviet nation, their participation in the anti-imperialistic battle, but not the Soviet revisionist leading stratum in the Kremlin. As the Soviet revisionists have their foreign policy clearly outlined -- that is, cooperation between the U.S.A. and the Soviets in order to dominate the whole world -- they use a policy in which they ally themselves with the United States in order to oppose China. This is quite clear, we can't expect them to join the anti-imperialistic battle. Between the Kremlin and Washington there is a "hot line"; each day connections are made across this hot line. Who knows what's discussed? They have already betrayed Marxism-Leninism, they have betrayed the October revolution, they have become U.S.A. imperialist accomplices. We can't include them in the anti-imperialistic united front. My comrades from France and Sweden surely can understand my feelings. We had contacts with Lenin, with Stalin, with Khrushchev, and with Brezhnev and Kosygin. Maybe we are more experienced

than you in this respect. We had contact with Lenin, of course; this was very good; with Stalin too. These men fought imperialism, they were rebels. Of course, we didn't agree on everything in the contacts with Stalin. But anyway there were no big problems with Stalin; you understand, he was an anti-imperialist. But with Khrushchev and Brezhnev it was very difficult - they were unreliable. Everything we told them, they told the Americans. They were going to betray us. We can't trust them, surely you realize that.

I end this answer by saying: the present problem is to fight U.S.A.-imperialistic aggression all over the world. At present we have, to an increasing extent, to battle against their aggression in Vietnam and also to battle against the cooperation between the U.S.A. and the Soviets for world dominance. Our point of view in this matter is extraordinarily firm. Even if the U.S.A. imperialists invade China, even if they start "special warfare", "local warfare", or a great war, or step up the war to still larger extent, we won't change this firm, revolutionary standpoint of ours.

Long live the victory.....

QUESTION: Comrade Lin Piao, in his work "Long Live Victory in the People's War", has pointed out the new course of the world revolution, from the rural areas in the world, that is the less developed countries, towards the cities of the world, that is West Europe and the U.S.A. We would like you to explain the consequences of this new course for the situation of the Western European proletariats and the United States, also the consequences for the revolutionary movement in these parts of the world.

ANSWER: We see Western Europe and the United States as the world's big cities. The Asian, African, and Latin American states resemble the vast rural area which devours the large cities.

It is known to all the nations of the world that the riches in New York and Washington have been accumulated by exploitation of the rural areas of the world, that is, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Money and property have been accumulated from the Asian, African, and Latin American nations and the rural area in the United States has also been exploited. This is unreasonable. Therefore, the nations ought to rise in rebellion to surround the city. This is comrade Lin Piao's opinion. It implies a development of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist view and also the view of Lenin. Lenin once said that the European capitalism has been developed by exploitation of the millions of masses of people of the Asiatic, African, and Latin American nations. This is the reason why the capitalists in Western Europe and the United States can train workers to become aristocratic. It is in connection with this viewpoint that we build our strategy, which is completely correct. But the imperialists are trying to create discord, they pretend that comrade Lin Piao wants to oppose the labour movement, the revolutionary movement in Europe and the United States - this is a venomous attack.

The U.S.A. imperialists mobilized the [American] people during the two last wars to fight the imperialists in Europe. The American nation fought in this matter. But this time, the third time, we notice an exception: the people have now risen in rebellion to fight their own country's imperialism - this is a very important world event. That the U.S.A. imperialists now realize that it is impossible to mobilize their own people in the Vietnam war like they did during World War I and World War II and the Korean war...this is a new, very important phase in the development.

Today we have the power in China and there is real unity between the Government and the people. But yet, to fight imperialism, build up socialism and eliminate the left-overs from capitalism we must still mobilize young people who will unite with the farmers and workers. This is the basic strategy of Marxism-Leninism; here the implication is to change the conditions of exploitation and the difference between country and city. In order to be able to seize governmental power, the revolutionaries must, during the revolutionary period, rely on the majority of the population. Once this problem is solved we must still rely on the broad masses of workers, farmers, and soldiers.

QUESTION: What is your attitude in regard to Castro's anti-Chinese statements?

ANSWER: When Castro had finished his statement, he expressed deep dissatisfaction with the fact that he received our answer through a lower-grade official in the Department of Commerce. We chose to do so after several discussions; Castro's attack was extremely unreasonable and insulting - it would have been inappropriate for the Prime Minister, and also for me as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to answer his slander. We will always support the great revolution of the Cuban people against the Batista domination. In the same way we also support the Cuban people in the battle against the U.S.A.'s imperialism - irrespective of whatever mistakes the Cuban leaders will make, irrespective of however anti-Chinese they will be. The Cuban leaders will never succeed in establishing discord between the Chinese and Cuban nations.

What kind of technical, military, political and industrial aid has China given to Cuba? Plenty of aid and it is free of charge. Castro knows this very well. I also know it but won't discuss it here. If necessary, we will in the future publish certain documents in order to get a fair judgment. The time has not yet come for publication.

Concerning the Pope....

Let the Cuban leaders participate in the anti-Chinese activity! Let them make all kinds of anti-Chinese statements - the more violent, the oftener, the more exaggerated - the better! Now the U.S.A. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists cooperate in the great campaign against new

China, against Mao Tse-tung. It is good that there is large participation. The addition of a Castro doesn't frighten us, we welcome it. Let them unite and devote themselves to anti-Chinese activity - we will leave them alone, we won't answer, we will leave them alone! Today Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Wilson, Kosygin, Malinowsky, even my former friend, "His Excellency" Tito, also Mrs. Gandhi in India, are making a violent attack against China. China is attacked every day by the Voice of America. Concerning the Pope in the Vatican, I don't know whether he makes anti-Chinese statements; I feel and hope, however, that the Pope will also join the anti-Chinese activities and willingly lead them. Let him lead with his cross. As a matter of fact it is true that the more engagement there is in anti-Chinese activity, the more the workers, farmers and revolutionary intellectuals all over the world will sympathize with China. The day when the White House in the U.S.A., Whitehall in Great Britain, and the Kremlin no longer try to destroy us but give us medals and Nobel prizes will be a tragedy for China. It would mean that we were no longer revolutionary. Who then would like to come to Peking? Who then would be interested in China? Therefore, we think it would be better to be destroyed by these people than to reach such a result.

According to what your hosts have said our friends from Sweden are not so much interested in sightseeing as in political studies and discussions - that is, really to find out something about China. Personally, I very much admire your revolutionary spirit and that's why I talk with you now. If at some time in the future you were to find that the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs no longer is prepared to talk with regular revolutionary visitors but prefers to spend his time in clubs, bars, and earning money, I am sure you would be very disappointed.

I don't want Castro to steal more of our precious time. Therefore, I can only say this: we can see that the foreign press says that Castro is turning against China because he is acting on orders from Moscow. I am not in a position to decide whether this is correct or not, for Castro has not authorized me to serve as his spokesman. But I want to pose the following question: is this problem concerned with taking orders from Moscow? Is it only a problem of whether Castro is willing to choose the road of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism? No, there is also another problem to which I want to direct my friends' attention. We all know that the U.S.A. imperialists hate China above everything. They explain that China is the U.S.A.'s enemy Number One. The fact that Castro now appears and shows himself to be in opposition to China denotes a gesture to the U.S.A.

#### The cultural revolution

QUESTION: What does the Cultural Revolution imply?

ANSWER: Our friends have posed the question of the Cultural Revolution and I will be very happy to answer it. As the Cultural Revolution started in the cultural field, we call it the Cultural Revolution. As a matter of

fact it touches upon all aspects of life in the new China. It is a political revolution, not only a cultural one. We destroy four old things and build up four new ones. We are destroying old ideology, old culture, old tradition and the old style of life. This, however, is not sufficient to express what we imply with the Cultural Revolution. The goal of the Cultural Revolution is to destroy the capitalistic system to the foundation, to build up the socialistic system from the foundation. This is a simple, yet comprehensive answer. The Chinese Communist party and the Chinese working class seized the government in 1949; shortly after that the first five-year-plan began. Successively the capitalistic system has been replaced by the socialistic one. According to our view we must, after having established socialism, that is after the Communist party and the working class have seized the government, continue to develop the socialistic system. Even though we have reached a certain success we must force the development further on, establish the socialistic system on a yet higher level. We must never permit a return to capitalism.

We have learnt from the Soviet Union example. We have learnt what is best from the Soviet Union, not only from the positive aspects but also from the negative ones. In the Soviet Union they have carried out more than 40 years of socialistic build-up, but now the revisionists are introducing a capitalistic system instead of continuing forward toward communism. By the great Cultural Revolution, workers, farmers, young students and subordinate cadres in various positions get the opportunity to practice a comprehensive democracy with the right to participate directly in the governmental rule. At the universities we combine the broad masses of revolutionary professors, students, members of the staff and workers, to manage the universities. We don't send any secretaries from any party committee to work there. The method used at the universities will also be used within the many departments. The masses of members of the personnel within the institutions mentioned will have the right to demand that any one of their chiefs, even ministers, be dismissed, and can demand that the central government send a minister of the people's own choice.

Why should I in particular be a minister?

Johnson ought to be dismissed as the president of the United States. The American people don't have this right. To judge from the Great Cultural Revolution in China it seems as if a group of ministers ought to be removed. Concerning me myself, whether I will be moved or not, that news you will hear when you get home. I can continue to serve the people as a member of a people's commune or as a factory worker. Why should I in particular be a minister? Why not a farmer, or a regular worker? Why is it that I can only be an officer but not a common soldier? Why can I only lead others but not be led by others? It is inside and outside a bourgeois philosophy which must be destroyed to the foundation. If you come here in a few years and I have been transferred and am a regular member of the commune, then you can ask your hosts to see me and I will receive you. This cultural revolution is a revolution which touches upon all aspects of life. A political, industrial, economic, military and agricultural

revolution. The Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Agriculture will be moved away from Peking and the same thing will happen to several other Ministries. To let these ministries remain in Peking will only serve the development of bureaucracy. All these thousands and again thousands of functionaries who work within the government departments - what they ought to do is to devote themselves to the real practical knowledge of how to build the front lines. What they ought to do is to travel directly to the factories, to the villages, to the real battle fronts.

But then I have still an unsolved problem, namely, where should this Foreign Ministry be placed? In the factories? There is no diplomatic work there. In the villages? There is no diplomatic work there either. Should we then drive out all the ministries from Peking and only let the Foreign Ministry remain? Is this quite fair?...I have considered and will tell my friends what my thoughts are deep down. The Foreign Ministry can't be in a village, nor at a place like Sinkiang. It can only be in Peking, otherwise the foreigners couldn't find us. But I have discovered another possibility: let the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, and all the civil servants spend at least four months a year in a factory. Socialistic and capitalistic countries have one thing in common namely that the people often prefer to live in the cities instead of the rural areas. People also prefer intellectual work to manual work - manual work is also harder than intellectual work. This creates a small number of people in the society who are living a rather pleasant life while the great majority are living a comparatively hard life. The aim and goal of the Great Cultural Revolution is to reduce the difference between the city and the country, to reduce the difference between workers and farmers on one side, intellectuals on the other. Its purpose is to give the governmental power as well as the cultural power to the masses of workers, farmers and soldiers.

#### So-called authorities and experts

In this connection some people fear that the level of our science and technique will be lowered, but such a fear is without foundation. We must try to see clearly; in a capitalistic country or in a revisionistic one like the Soviet Union, a small number of people have a monopoly on science and technique. They consist of some thousands or tens of thousands. Here we give science and technique to hundreds of millions of people. In this way the development of science and technique must proceed much faster, the level won't be lowered.

Chinese cultural life has been characterized by the different branches of science having been monopolized by a smaller group of so-called authorities and experts. Articles and documents written within their branch of science are not permitted to be published without being approved by them. These people nowadays produce nothing themselves, they don't teach, they only sit at home and fetch their high salaries. If they have to write some article, they ask the third or fourth-year students to write in their place. But they publish the article in their own name and keep the money themselves.

This is altogether a capitalistic exploitation within the cultural life. Now we tell these people: "You have already earned a sufficient amount of money, now the time has come to rest a while. Let the young people who really teach, really write and do research, let them take over." This is something we are all happy about. Now there are dozens of ministries and committees in Peking. Some of its ministers don't write any petitions or documents any more, don't any longer give any directives. That is, such work is done by their subordinates, all the ministers do is to sign. To such ministers we say: "Now the time has come to rest for a while." Let these return to the back lines, and let those who now work in the back lines move up to the front lines. This can save a great deal of money for the government and the working efficiency will be much higher.

The problem is posed already in this room. The future foreign ministers will be young people, they will speak to you directly in English or French, then there will be no need for interpreters. A four-hour-discussion now will mean an eight-hour-discussion then. The young people are more competent than we who are older. We older people ought to create developmental possibilities for the young to develop, we mustn't stand in their way.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "This is a great revolution which touches the people's souls." These words are true. Each private person has to clarify his attitude toward this revolution: whether he is for it and marching onward or whether he will be in the way and be conquered. As the Chinese population represents one fourth of humanity, this revolution certainly will have a great influence on world progress. The movement now has been in progress for a couple of months and will continue. It is probable that various errors and shortcomings will ensue during the course of the movement - it is unreasonable to demand that everything will proceed properly in the beginning. Nor is it anything to be afraid of. During a revolutionary course the errors will by degrees be self-corrective.

#### Interest in relics

Tourists from the West, diplomatic envoys from various Asiatic and African countries and various Western diplomats are always very interested in things which have to do with the old China. They are very interested in antique culture, in antique social structure, in old relics, in jade products, old pictures and paintings. Such things they esteem highly. They are not especially interested in anything modern in China. They hope deep down that the old China will remain as it is, that China will be a conservative China. They are very afraid that China will be modernized, that China will surpass the European countries, surpass the capitalist countries, surpass the revisionist Soviet Union, carry through real socialistic modernization on the way toward communism. This is the China they fear most of all, and they are very unhappy about the situation of today. For us ourselves the fact is that we are not so interested in the old things in China. Without hesitation we walk the road of the revolution, the road of social modernization. The Chinese feudal culture, irrespective of however splendid and beautiful it may seem, was a culture used to oppress

and lead the people astray. Therefore, it must be removed to its core. Famous poets during the Tang and Sung dynasties really were great poets, their works are among the best in the world as to beauty. But yet, however we twist and turn, these poets are only running errands for kings and emperors, generals and so-called heroes. They don't sing the praise of the workers and the soldiers. As a matter of fact they often laugh derisively at workers and soldiers. Therefore, we can't encourage the development of such poetry. We can only use this poetry as reference material. We, the Chinese people, are certain that we will create great lyrical poetry for ourselves and the people of the nations in the world, epoch-making poems which will contribute to the development of the world. The history of humanity progresses. We ought to rise to a new level, higher than that of our ancestors. It is a common task for this generation, for our young friends present as well as for me. If we only live within the old frame, refer to the slogans of the old culture, then we are in a bad way. People like us are useless if we don't surpass our ancestors. We ought to avow this heroic striving to surpass our ancestors and bring world culture to a new and higher level. This is yet another interpretation of the Cultural Revolution now in progress.



CLARTE

26 August 1966

## Clarté intervjuar Kinas utrikesminister

# Chen Yi

*Den dagen då Vita Huset i USA, White Hall i Storbritannien och Kreml inte längre försöker krossa oss, utan ger oss medaljer och skänker oss nobelpris kommer att vara en tragedi för Kina. Det skulle innebära att vi inte längre vore revolutionära ...*

CPYRGHT

(Chen Yi, 26 augusti 1966)

**FRAGA:** Vi skulle vilja fråga om huvudlinjen i Kinas utrikespolitik, särskilt beträffande Kinas attityd och politik mot länder som har en nationell, borgerlig regering med en revolutionär rörelse inom landet, till exempel: Burma, Egypten, Irak. Vad är skillnaden mellan Kinas utrikespolitik och partipolitik?

### Revolutionen kan inte exporteras

**SVAR:** Kinas utrikespolitik är ägnad att skydda landets socialistiska uppbyggnad, förhindra imperialistiska angrepp, slå tillbaka imperialistiska angrepp, stärka den anti-imperialistiska, anti-kolonialistiska enheten bland folken, slå vakt om den bestående världsfreden och förhindra möjligheterna till ett tredje världskrig. Gentemot de nationellt oberoende länderna i Afrika, Asien och Latinamerika tillämpar vi de fem principerna för fredlig samexistens mellan länder med skilda samhällssystem. Detta innebär, att vi inte lägger oss i varandras inre angelägenheter, att vi respekterar varandras integritet och suveränitet, att vi stöder folkens anti-imperialistiska, anti-kolonialistiska kamp, att vi inte bedrar dem utan uttrycker djup sympati i stödet till dem. Men revolutionen är deras inre angelägenhet, vi kan inte exportera revolutionen. Folken måste själva välja sin väg, vi bedriver inget subversivt arbete. Vi genomför inte revolutionen genom att pläderna för ett världskrig — revolutionen bland världens folk kan inte monopoliseras av det kinesiska folket.

Vår kamrat från Sverige nämnde Burma, det är ett intressant exempel. Till den burmesiska regeringen är våra relationer vänskapliga. Men ni förstår, i Burma finns det burmesiska kommunistpartiet och det är inbördeskrig mellan de båda — och ytterligare, inbördeskriget består. Förhandlingar hölls med Burmas kommunistparti, men de bröt samman. Naturligtvis kan vi inte lägga oss i Burmas inre angelägenheter.

Vår nuvarande utrikespolitik är koncentrerad på att motstå den amerikanska aggressionen och hjälpa Vietnam. Vi använder varje möjlighet att stödja det vietnamesiska folket i kampen mot USA-imperialisterna. Att besegra USA-imperialisterna i Vietnam är en av våra huvuduppgifter. Sedan USA-imperialismen besegrats i Vietnam kommer den nationella revolutionen i Latinamerika, Asien och Afrika att uppleva en ny flodvåg. Vid denna tid utvecklas världsrevolutionen ytterligare ett steg — det blir en grundläggande förändring i världsläget.

### Dominoteorin är korrekt

Johnson-administrationen säger att de handlar som om de spelade ett Domino-spel. Om de besegras i Vietnam kommer de att förlora i Laos, Kambodja, Burma, Kina, etc.

Därför måste de hålla sina ställningar. Han (Lyndon Johnson) har tämligen rätt i detta. Ni förstår, ni får inte tro att Johnson alltid har fel — ibland har han helt rätt. Även han ser denna fråga ganska klart, detta visas av hans desperation. Han är rädd att när USA-imperialismen en gång besegrats på slagfältet i Vietnam, kommer den automatiskt att bli besegrad på alla andra slagfält där den engagerar sig. Jag uppskattar mycket denna hans åsikt. Förvisso kommer USA-imperialismen att besegras. USA-imperialismen har militärbaser runt hela världen — hur ska världens folk kunna leva vidare om de inte slår ut dem? USA-imperialisterna har militärbaser i Japan, Sydkorea, Filippinerna, på Kinas Taiwan; och de driver ett angreppskrig i Sydvietnam. Ytterligare har de också militärbaser i Thailand, de angriper i Kongo, Leopoldville i Afrika. I Afrika utför även de belgiska, holländska och portugisiska imperialisterna aggression. USA-imperialisterna har även militärbaser i Latinamerika. Om dessa baser inte dras bort, slopas, hur kan det då bli någon varaktig fred? Därför måste de bort.

### Den »heta linjen»

Därför är vår utrikespolitik i hela världen att uppmana folken att ställa upp den bredaste, genuinaste och effektivaste tänkbara enhetsfronten mot USA-imperialismen, en enhetsfront som ur alla synvinklar innefattar folket. Enhetsfronten måste vara den bredaste tänkbara, men den innefattar inte de nya Sovjetrevisionisterna. Den innefattar massorna av Sovjetfolket, deras deltagande i den anti-imperialistiska kampen, men inte Sovjetrevisionisternas ledande skikt i Kreml. Eftersom Sovjetrevisionisterna har sin utrikespolitik klart utformad, d.v.s. samarbete USA-Sovjet för att dominera hela världen, antar de en politik i vilken de allierar sig med Förenta Staterna för att motsätta sig Kina. Detta står helt klart, vi kan inte vänta oss att de går med i den anti-imperialistiska kampen. Mellan Kreml och Washington finns en »het linje», varje dag har man förbindelser över denna heta linje. Vem vet vad som där diskuteras? De har redan förrätt marxismen-leninismen, de har förrätt oktoberrevolutionen, de har blivit medbrottslingar till USA-imperialisterna. Vi kan inte innesluta dem i den anti-imperialistiska enhetsfronten. Mina kamrater från Frankrike och Sverige kan säkert förstå mina känslor. Vi hade kontakter med Lenin, med Stalin, med Chrustjov, Bresjnev och Kosygin. Kanske har vi fler erfarenheter än er i detta hänseende. Vi hade kontakt med Lenin, givetvis var den mycket bra, med Stalin också. Dessa bekämpade imperialismen, de var revolutionärer. Naturligtvis var vi inte ense om allt i kontakterna med Stalin. Men i vilket fall som helst var det inte heller några större problem med Stalin, ni förstår han var anti-imperialist. Men med Chrustjov och Bresjnev var det mycket annat.

berättade de för amerikanerna. De skulle förtvå oss. Vi kan inte lita på dem, ni kan säkert inse detta.

Jag avslutar detta svar med att säga: det nuvarande problemet är att bekämpa USA-imperialisternas aggression överallt i världen. För närvarande har vi i allt större utsträckning kampen mot deras aggression i Vietnam, och även kampen mot samarbetet USA-Soviet för världsherravälde. Vår ståndpunkt i denna fråga är utomordentligt fast. Även om USA-imperialisterna invaderar Kina, även om de börjar »speciell krigföring», »lokal krigföring» eller ett storkrig, eller trappar upp kriget till ännu större omfattning, kommer vi inte att ändra denna vår fasta, revolutionära ståndpunkt.

**Länge leve segern...**

**FRÅGA:** Kamrat Lin Piao har i sitt arbete *Leve Segern i Folkkriget*, pekut ut den nya kursen i världsrevolutionen, från världens landsbygd, d.v.s. de mindre utvecklade länderna, mot världens städer, d.v.s. Västeuropa och USA. Vi skulle vilja att ni belyste konsekvenserna av denna nya kurs för proletariats situation i Västeuropa och Förenta Staterna, även följderna för den revolutionära rörelsen i dessa delar av världen.

**SVAR:** Vi uppfattar Västeuropa och Förenta Staterna som världens storstäder. Asien, Afrikas och Latinamerikas städer liknar den stora landsbygden som uppslukar storstäderna.

Det är känt för alla världens folk att rikedomarna i New York och Washington har ackumulerats genom exploatering av världens landsbygdsområden, d.v.s. Asien, Afrika och Latinamerika. Man har ackumulerat pengar och egendom från de asiatiska, afrikanska och latinamerikanska folken, och även exploaterat landsbygden i Förenta Staterna. Detta är orimligt. Därför bör folken resa sig i en revolution för att omringa staden. Detta är kamrat Lin Piaos uppfattning. Den innebär en utveckling av ordförande Mao Tse-tungs marxist-leninistiska uppfattning, och även Lenins uppfattning. Lenin sade en gång att kapitalismen i Europa utvecklas genom utsugning av de asiatiska, afrikanska och latinamerikanska folkens miljonhövda massor. Detta är skälet till att kapitalisterna i Västeuropa och Förenta Staterna kan lära upp arbetararistokrater. Det är i anslutning till denna synpunkt vi bygger upp vår strategi, som är fullständigt korrekt. Men imperialisterna försöker nå splittring, de gör gällande att kamrat Lin Piao vill motsätta sig arbetarrörelsen, den revolutionära rörelsen i Europa och Förenta Staterna — detta är ett giftigt angrepp.

USA-imperialisterna mobiliserade folket under de två sista krigen för att bekämpa imperialisterna i Europa. Det amerikanska folket kämpade i denna fråga. Men denna gång, den tredje gången, ser vi ett undantag: folket har nu rest sig för att bekämpa det egna landets imperialism — detta är en mycket viktig världshändelse. Att USA-imperialisterna nu inser att det är omöjligt att mobilisera det egna folket i Vietnamkriget som under det första och andra världskriget och Koreakriget... detta är en ny, mycket viktig fas i utvecklingen.

I dag har vi makten i Kina och det råder verklig enighet mellan statsmakt och folk. Men likväl, för att bekämpa imperialismen, bygga upp socialismen och eliminera resterna av kapitalismen, måste vi ännu mobilisera unga människor som förenar sig med bönderna och arbetarna. Det är den grundläggande strategin i marxism-leninismen; här innebär den att förändra exploateringsförhållanden och skillnaden mellan land och stad. Revolutionärerna måste under revolutionsperioden förlita sig på

majoriteten av befolkningen för att kunna ta statsmakten. Efter att detta problem är löst måste vi fortfarande förlita oss på de breda massorna av arbetare, bönder och soldater.

**FRÅGA:** Vilken inställning har ni till Castros anti-kinesiska uttalanden?

**SVAR:** Efter att Castro gjort sitt uttalande, uttryckte han djup otillfredsställelse över det faktum att vi svarade honom genom en lägre tjänsteman i handelsdepartementet. Vi valde att göra så efter flera överläggningar; Castros angrepp var ytterst orimligt och kränkande — det skulle ha varit olämpligt för premiärministern, även för mig som utrikesminister, att besvara hans förtal.

Vi kommer alltid att stödja det kubanska folkets stora revolution mot Batistas herravälde. På samma sätt stöder vi också de två revolutionära Havanna-deklarationerna. Det är möjligt att de amerikanska imperialisterna kommer att angripa Kuba. I så fall stöder vi ovillkorligt Kubas folk i kampen mot USA-imperialismen — oavsett vilka misslag de kubanska ledarna gör, oavsett hur antikinesiska de kommer att vara. De kubanska ledarna lyckas aldrig åstadkomma splittring mellan de kinesiska och kubanska folken.

Vad för slags teknisk, militär, politisk och industriell hjälp har Kina givit Kuba? Massor med hjälp och den är kostnadsfri. Detta vet Castro mycket väl. Jag vet också, men ska inte diskutera det här. I fall det blir nödvändigt kommer vi i framtiden att offentliggöra handlingar för att få en rättvis bedömning. Tidpunkten är ännu inte inne för offentliggörande.

**Vad beträffar Paven...**

Låt de kubanska ledarna ta del i den anti-kinesiska verksamheten! Låt dem komma med alla slags anti-kinesiska påståenden — ju våldsammare, ju oftare, ju mer överdrivna — desto bättre! Nu samarbetar USA-imperialisterna och Sovjetrevisionisterna i den stora kampanjen mot nya Kina, mot Mao Tse-tung. Det är bra med stort deltagande. Tillökningen med en Castro skrämmer oss inte, vi välkomnar den. Låt dem gå samman och hänge sig åt anti-kinesisk verksamhet — vi lämnar dem, vi svarar inte, de får hållas! I dag går Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Wilson, Kosygin, Malinowski, även min förre vän »hans excellens» Tito, också Mrs Gandhi i Indien, till våldsamt angrepp mot Kina. Kina attackerar varje dag av Voice of America. Vad beträffar paven i Vatikanen känner jag inte till hurvida han avger anti-kinesiska uttalanden. Vi hoppas emellertid att även paven förenar sig i de antikinesiska aktiviteterna, och gärna leder dem. Han kan gå i spetsen med sitt kors.

I själva verket är det så, att ju mer man engagerar sig i anti-kinesisk verksamhet, desto högre prestige kommer Kina att röna, desto mer kommer arbetare, bönder och revolutionära intellektuella i hela världen att sympatisera med Kina. Den dagen då Vita Huset i USA, Whitehall i Storbritannien och Krenl inte längre försöker krossa oss, utan ger medaljer och skänker oss nobelpris, kommer att vara en tragedi för Kina. Detta skulle innebära att vi inte längre vore revolutionära. Vem skulle då vilja komma till Peking? Vem vore då intresserad av Kina? Därför finner vi det bättre att bli krossade av dessa personer än att uppnå ett sådant resultat.

Enligt vad era värddar meddelat är våra vänner från Sverige inte så mycket intresserade av sightseeing som av politiska studier och diskussioner — d.v.s. av att verkligen få veta något om Kina. Personligen beundrar jag mycket en revolutionära anda och det är därför jag diskuterar med

er. Om ni någon gång i framtiden finner att Kinas utrikesminister inte längre är beredd att diskutera med vanliga revolutionära besökare utan hellre tillbringa sin tid på klubbbar, barer och med att förtjäna pengar, är jag säker på att ni skulle bli mycket besvikna.

Jag vill inte att Castro ska få stjäla mer av vår dyrbara tid. Därför säger jag endast detta: vi kan se att den utländska pressen säger att Castro vänder sig mot Kina därför att han handlar på order från Moskva. Jag befinner mig inte i sådan ställning att jag kan avgöra om detta är riktigt eller ej, ty Castro har inte bemyndigat mig att tjäna som hans talesman. Men jag vill ställa följande fråga: rör sig problemet endast om att ta order från Moskva? Är det endast en fråga om huruvida Castro vill välja socialismens, marxismens-leninismens väg? Nej, det är även en annan fråga jag vill rikta mina vänners uppmärksamhet på. Vi vet alla att USA-imperialisterna hatar Kina över allt annat. De förklarar att Kina är USA:s huvudfiende. Det faktum att Castro nu träder fram och visar att han står i opposition mot Kina innebär en gest till USA.

#### Kulturrevolutionen

FRAGA: Vad innebär kulturrevolutionen?

SVAR: Våra vänner har ställt frågan om kulturrevolutionen och jag är mycket glad att kunna besvara den. Eftersom kulturrevolutionen började inom det kulturella området, kallar vi den kulturrevolutionen. I själva verket vidrör den alla aspekter av livet i det nya Kina. Den är en politisk revolution, inte bara en kulturell. Vi förstör fyra gamla saker och bygger upp fyra nya. Vi förstör gammal ideologi, gammal kultur, gammal sedvänja och gammal livsstil. Vi upprättar ny ideologi, ny kultur, ny sedvänja och ny livsstil. Detta är likväl inte tillräckligt för att uttrycka vad vi menar med kulturrevolutionen. Kulturrevolutionens mål är att krossa det kapitalistiska systemet i grunden, att bygga upp det socialistiska systemet från grunden. Detta är ett enkelt, likväl omfattande svar. Det kinesiska kommunistpartiet och den kinesiska arbetarklassen grep statsmakten 1949 — strax därefter påbörjades första femårsplanen. Successivt har det kapitalistiska systemet ersatts av det socialistiska. Enligt vår uppfattning måste vi efter upprättandet av socialismen, det vill säga efter det att kommunistpartiet och arbetarklassen har gripit statsmakten, fortsätta att utveckla det socialistiska systemet. Fastän vi uppnått vissa framgångar, måste vi driva utvecklingen vidare, upprätta det socialistiska systemet på en ännu högre nivå. Vi får aldrig tillåta någon återgång till kapitalismen.

Vi har tagit lärdom av Sovjetunionens exempel. Vi har studerat det bästa av Sovjetunionen, inte bara av de positiva sidorna, utan också av de negativa. I Sovjetunionen har man utfört mer än 40 år av socialistisk uppbyggnad, men nu inför revisionisterna ett kapitalistiskt system i stället för att fortsätta framåt mot kommunismen. Genom den stora kulturrevolutionen kan vi undvika en liknande utveckling. Den stora kulturrevolutionen syftar inte bara till att upplösa, utrota kapitalismen och revisionismen. Genom kulturrevolutionen får arbetare, bönder, unga studenter och underordnade kadrer i olika ställningar praktisera en omfattande demokrati med rättighet att delta direkt i statsstyret. På universiteten förenar vi de breda massorna av revolutionära lärare, studenter, medlemmar av personalen och arbetare, för att sköta universiteten. Vi skickar inga sekreterare från någon partikommitté för att arbeta där. Den metod som används vid universiteten kommer också att användas inom många departementen. Massorna av personalmedlemmar inom de berörda organen kommer att ha rättighet att begära att vem som helst av deras chefer, även ministrar, blir entledigade, och kan begära att deras chefer tas bort från sina poster. Detta är folkets eget val.

Varför ska just jag vara minister?

Johnson borde avskedas som Förenta Staternas president. Det amerikanska folket har inte denna rättighet. Av den stora kulturrevolutionen i Kina att döma tycks det som om en grupp ministrar borde förflyttas. Vad gäller mig själv, om jag ska förflyttas eller inte, den nyheten får ni höra när ni kommer hem. Jag kan fortsätta att tjäna folket som medlem av en folkskommun eller som fabriksarbetare. Varför ska just jag vara minister? Varför inte bonde eller vanlig arbetare? Hur kommer det sig att jag bara kan vara marskalk, men inte vanlig soldat? Hur kommer det sig att jag bara kan leda andra, men inte bli ledd av andra? Det är utan och innan en borgerlig filosofi som måste krossas i grunden. Om ni kommer hit om några år och jag blivit förflyttad och är vanlig kommunimedlem, så kan ni be era vänner att få träffa mig och jag ska ta emot er.

Denna kulturrevolution är en revolution som berör alla livets aspekter. En politisk, industriell, ekonomisk, militär och agrikulturell revolution. Industriministeriet och jordbruksministeriet kommer att flyttas bort från Peking, och samma sak ska ske med flera andra ministerier. Att låta dessa ministerier vara kvar i Peking kommer bara att tjäna byråkratiens utveckling. Alla dessa tusenden och åter tusenden av funktionärer som arbetar i statsverken — vad de bör göra är att ägna sig åt den verkliga praktiken i uppbyggnadens frontlinjer. Vad de bör göra är att åka ut direkt till fabrikena, till byarna, till kampens verkliga fronter.

Men då har jag ett problem som inte är löst, nämligen var skall detta utrikesministerium placeras? I fabrikena? Det finns inget diplomatiskt arbete där. I byarna? Det finns inget diplomatiskt arbete där heller. Skulle vi då köra ut alla ministerierna från Peking och bara låta utrikesministeriet bli kvar? Är det riktigt rättvist...? Jag har övervägt och ska säga mina vänner vad jag innerst inne tänker. Utrikesministeriet kan inte ligga i en by, inte heller på ett ställe som Sinkiang. Det kan endast ligga i Peking, i annat fall skulle utlänningarna inte kunna hitta oss. Men jag har kommit på en annan möjlighet: låt utrikesministern, vice utrikesministern och alla tjänstemännen tillbringa minst fyra månader om året på fabrik.

Socialistiska och kapitalistiska länder har en sak gemensam nämligen att folk ofta föredrar att bo i städer i stället för på landsbygden. Livet på landet är alltid hårdare än i städerna. Folk tycker även bättre om intellektuellt arbete än om kroppsarbete — kroppsarbete är alltid besvärligare än intellektuellt arbete. Detta skapar ett litet antal människor i samhället som lever ett tämligen behagligt liv medan den stora majoriteten lever ett förhållandevis hårt liv. Den stora kulturrevolutionens syftemål är att minska skillnaden mellan stad och land, att minska skillnaden mellan arbetare och bönder å ena sidan, intellektuella å andra sidan. Dess syfte är att ge statsmakten såväl som den kulturella makten till arbetar-, bonde- och soldatmassorna.

#### S. k. auktoriteter och experter

I detta sammanhang oroar sig somliga för att nivån på vår vetenskap och teknik kommer att sänkas, men en sådan oro är grundlös. Vi måste försöka se klart; i ett kapitalistiskt land eller i ett revisionistiskt som Sovjetunionen, har ett litet antal människor monopol på vetenskapen och tekniken. De utgör några tusental eller tiotusental. Här ger vi vetenskapen och tekniken till hundratals miljoner människor. På detta sätt måste utvecklingen av vetenskap och teknik gå mycket fortare, nivån kommer inte att sänkas.

Kinas kulturliv har karaktäriserats av att de olika vetenskapssgrupperna har monopoliserats av en mindre grupp så kallade auktoriteter och experter. Detta dokument som skrivits inom deras vetenskapsgren får inte publiceras

utan att vara godkända av dem. Dessa människor producerar numera ingenting själva, de undervisar inte, de sitter bara därhemma och lyfter sina höga löner. Måste de skriva någon artikel, ber de tredje eller fjärdeårsstudenter eller någon ung nyexaminerad att skriva i deras ställe. Men de publicerar artikeln i sitt eget namn och tar själva pengarna. Detta är helt och hållet en kapitalistisk utslagning inom kulturlivet. Nu säger vi till dessa människor: »Ni har redan tjänat tillräckligt med pengar, nu är det dags för er att vila er ett slag. Låt de unga människorna som verkligen undervisar, verkligen skriver och forskar, låt dem ta över.» Detta är något vi alla gläder oss över. Nu finns det dussintals ministerier och kommissioner i Peking. Några av dess ministrar skriver inga inlagor och dokument längre, ger inga direktiv längre. Det vill säga, sådant arbete görs av deras underordnade, allt ministrarna gör är att underteckna. Till sådana ministrar säger vi: »Nu är det dags för er att vila er ett slag.» Låt dessa återgå till de bakre linjerna, och låt de som nu arbetar i de bakre linjerna rycka fram i frontlinjerna. Detta kan spara en hel del pengar för staten och arbetseffektiviteten kommer att bli mycket högre.

Problemet ställs redan i detta rum. De framtida utrikesministrarna kommer att vara unga människor, de kommer att tala direkt till er på engelska eller franska, det finns då inget behov av tolkar. Fyra timmars diskussion nu kommer att betyda åtta timmars diskussion då. De unga är mer kompetenta än vi äldre. Vi äldre bör skapa utvecklingsmöjligheter för de unga, vi får inte stå i vägen för dem.

Ordförande Mao Tse-tung har sagt: »Detta är en stor revolution som rör människornas själar.» Dessa ord är sanna. Varje enskild människa måste klargöra sin ställning till denna revolution: om han är för den och marscherar framåt eller om han ska stå i vägen och bli besegrad. Eftersom den kinesiska befolkningen representerar en fjärdedel av mänskligheten kommer denna revolution säkert att ha stort inflytande på framåtskridandet i världen. Rörelsen har nu pågått under ett par månader och ska fortsätta. Det är troligt att olika fel och brister uppkommer under rörelsens lopp. Detta är oundvikligt i början av varje stor revolutionär rörelse — det är orimligt att begära att allt ska gå helt korrekt i början. Det är heller ingenting att vara rädd för. Under ett revolutionärt förlopp rättar misstagen efter hand till sig.

#### Intresset för relikier

Turister från väst, diplomatiska sändebud från skilda asia-

tiska och afrikanska länder och olika västliga diplomater är alltid mycket intresserade av ting som rör det gamla Kina. Det är mycket intresserade av antik kultur, av antik samhällsstruktur, av gamla relikier, av jadeprodukter, gamla bilder och målningar. Sådana saker prisar de högt. De är inte särskilt intresserade av någonting modernt i Kina. De hoppas innerst inne att det gamla Kina ska förbli som det är, att Kina ska bli ett konservativt Kina. De är mycket ängsliga för att Kina ska moderniseras, att Kina ska överträffa de europeiska länderna, överträffa de kapitalistiska länderna, överträffa det revisionistiska Sovjetunionen, genomföra verklig socialistisk modernisering på väg mot kommunismen. Detta är det Kina de fruktar mest av allt, och de är mycket olyckliga över dagens situation. För oss själva gäller att vi inte är så intresserade av de gamla tingen i Kina. Vi går tveklöst revolutionens väg, den socialistiska moderniseringens väg. Kinas feodala kultur, oaktat hur glänsande och vacker den ter sig, var en kultur som användes för att förtrycka och vilseleda folket. Därför måste den i grunden avlägsnas. Berömda poeter under Tang- och Sung-dynasierna är verkligen stora skaldar, deras verk är i världsklass beträffande skönhet. Men likväl, hur vi än vrider och vänder, springer dessa poeter endast kungars och kejsares ärenden, generalers och så kallade hjältars ärenden. De sjunger inte arbetarnas, böndernas och soldaternas lov. I själva verket hänskrattar de ofta åt arbetarna och bönderna. Därför kan vi inte uppmuntra en utveckling av sådan poesi. Vi kan bara använda denna poesi som referensmaterial. Vi, det kinesiska folket, är förvissade om att vi kommer att skapa stor lyrik åt oss själva och världens folk, epokgörande dikter som ska bidra till världens utveckling.

Mänsklighetens historia skrider framåt. Vi bör höja oss till en ny nivå, högre än våra förfäders. Det är en gemensam uppgift för denna generation, för våra unga vänner som sitter här lika väl som för mig. Om vi endast lever inom den gamla ramen, hänvisar till den gamla kulturens lösenord, då är det illa ställt med oss. Människor som vi är odugliga om vi inte överträffar våra förfäder. Vi bör äga denna heroiska strävan: att överträffa våra förfäder och föra världskulturen till ett nytt och högre stadium. Detta är ännu en innebörd av den nu pågående kulturrevolutionen.

FBI's Daily Report - USSR and Eastern Europe  
24 April 1967  
pages BBl and BB2

May 1967

To Thai Embassy

Moscow TASS International Service in English 1504 GMT 23 April 1967--L

(Text) Moscow--On 22 April this year the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs made the following statement to the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Thailand to the USSR in connection with the increasing participation of Thailand in the U.S. aggression against the DRV:

Recent developments on the Indochina Peninsula have shown that the United States continues to follow the very dangerous road of further escalation of the aggressive war against the Vietnamese people who are waging a just struggle for freedom, independence and the unity of their homeland. The United States is building up its forces and armaments in South Vietnam, and intensifying the bombings of DRV territory. The U.S. Government also seeks to draw its allies and partners in military blocs into the war against the Vietnamese people.

Thailand holds a particular place among the states which have become accomplices of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The Government of Thailand has offered the United States an opportunity of using Thai territory as a springboard for the war against Vietnam. Over 35,000 American officers and men are now stationed in Thailand, a ramified network of U.S. air and naval bases and other military objectives has been set up.

U.S. planes are making most raids on Vietnam from airfields situated on the territory of Thailand. American "B-52" strategic bombers are now being moved to the Utapao Air Base in Sattahip and, according to a statement by the U.S. military command, they will raid populated and industrial centers of the DRV.

Moreover, the Government of Thailand has officially announced its intention to send units of Thai Armed Forces to South Vietnam.

Thus, contrary to the security interests of its country, the Government of Thailand is dragging the country into the bandit war which the U.S. aggressors are waging against the Vietnamese people.

Thailand's complicity in the criminal war against the neighboring Vietnamese people is a violation of the elementary standards of international law and the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, and a violation of the U.N. Charter and the declaration on the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of states.

The USSR Government supports fully the strong protest made by the DRV on 31 March this year against Thailand's aggressive actions in respect of the Vietnamese people, and its demand that the Thai authorities stop permitting the United States to use Thai territory for air raids against

Vietnam, renounce their intention to send military units to South Vietnam, and withdraw all Thai military personnel from there.

The actions against the people of Vietnam undertaken by the Thai Government cannot but evoke the sternest condemnation. The Government of Thailand bears the entire responsibility for Thailand's complicity in the aggressive war against the Vietnamese people.

BANGKOK POST

5 April 1967

# THAILAND CHARGES RUSSIA SOVIET AMBASSADOR GETS VERBAL NOTE

CPYRGHT

THAILAND yesterday charged Moscow with violation of the Geneva Agreements and called for the Soviet Union to join 'other peace-loving nations' in working for a Vietnam ceasefire.

The accusation and appeal appeared in a verbal note delivered to Soviet Ambassador to Thailand Mikhail M. Volkov by Foreign Affairs Deputy Under-Secretary of State Charat Chaloehtiarana.

The note, which also contained a warning regarding "severe condemnation," was delivered in response to a Soviet statement April 22 charging Thailand with aggression in Vietnam.

Ambassador Volkov was summoned at 10 a.m. yesterday to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where the note was presented to him.

"In making such false and unfounded charges against Thailand," the note stated, "the Soviet Union may seek to cover up its unworthy role in aiding and abetting the communist aggressors in Vietnam..."

"Such actions by the Soviet Government are flagrantly in violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 as well as the International Law as recognised by civilised nations."

"If the Soviet Union is genuinely devoted to peace as it pretends to be, as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, it should honour its treaty and other obligations to restore and maintain peace and stability in this part of Asia by agreeing with the other Co-Chairman (Britain) to reconvene the Geneva Conference."

The warning came near the conclusion of the note.

"If ... the Soviet Union, turning deaf ears to world-wide yearnings for peace, persists in giving aid and comfort, and particularly deadly armaments, to the North Vietnamese aggressors," the note stated, "it will face the most severe condemnation from the world at

large for its complicity with the instigators of the war and of aggression..."

A full text of the note follows:

"On April 22, 1967, a few days before the Meeting of Communist Parties in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, the Foreign Ministry of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics handed a statement to the Royal Thai Embassy in Moscow, in which measures taken by Thailand, either solely or in conjunction with its Allies, in ensuring its own security and that of the South-east Asian region threatened by acts of aggression on the part of the North Vietnamese regime, were misrepresented."

"In this connection, the Thai Ambassador in Moscow already refuted the unfounded charges and correctly pointed out that such actions as described by the Soviet Foreign Ministry were for the sole purpose of self-defence."

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs likewise rejects as baseless and ideologically motivated the allegations made by the Soviet government of Thailand's complicity with the United States in what was called an aggression against Vietnamese people."

"In fact, the Soviet government should know, as all decent nations the world over already know, that aggression in South-east Asia, either against the Kingdom of Laos, the Republic of Vietnam, or Thailand, was

started many years ago by none other than the communist regime of North Vietnam, in collaboration with certain communist countries."

"Although such aggression reached its apex in South Vietnam, aggressive actions continue from the same source against Laos as well as Thailand."

"In Laos, the presence of North Vietnamese regular and irregular forces has been detected and confirmed by impartial international authorities as well as by the Laotian government itself."

"Their purpose is obviously to destroy the basis of the sovereignty and independence of the Laotian State, and as such in flagrant violation of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements."

"In regard to Thailand in particular, agents trained, equipped and directed by the Hanoi regime, accompanied by communist North Vietnamese cadres, are currently committing depredations against the innocent people of this country."

"The ultimate objective of this guerrilla warfare which was on another occasion openly declared by the communist authorities on Mainland China against Thailand unmistakably aimed at setting up a regime subservient to the will and dictates of alien communist masters."

## Victim

"As to South Vietnam, it has been for some years already the victim of its expansionist neighbour from the North which seeks to substitute its rule to that of the vacating Western colonialists and to impose its social and political system upon an unwilling nation. "South Vietnam had then the choice of bowing to aggression or to take up arms and appeal for help from friendly countries. It was the latter course that the Republic of Vietnam chose.

"These facts clearly show that it was the communist regime of North Vietnam which by seeking to satisfy its unbounded ambitions has, with the support of some of its partners, launched into a senseless aggressive adventure.

"Thailand and other free nations had therefore no other alternative except to take whatever measures are necessary to ensure the defence of their national security against communist encroachments which endanger their free existence and threaten to place the entire region of Southeast Asia under communist control and domination.

"These nations have therefore the duty and indeed the right to assume their self-defence as authorised by the United Nations Charter and by the general principles of International Law.

## Entitled

"They are also entitled to respond to the call for assistance from South Vietnam, the victim of unprovoked aggression.

"In so doing, they are accepting a heavy sacrifice to help maintain the peace, stability and freedom in the region, which were gravely compromised by the fire of aggression started by the predatory Hanoi regime and its supporters.

"The fact that the Soviet Government euphemistically regards the colonial war of conquest waged by the Hanoi regime against its neighbour of the South as a "just struggle for freedom, independence and unity of their homelands," and the defensive actions which the Republic of Vietnam and its

friends have been compelled to take as a "piratic" or "aggressive" war, clearly indicates that the Soviet Union above all condones and supports communist expansion by every means including the force of arms.

"Thus, on the one hand, it recognises to its partners the right to attack non-communist nations, while, on the other, it denies to the victims the right to resist communist aggression and to appeal for help.

"It is regrettable that by throwing its support to its communist associates, the Soviet Union had to resort to misrepresentation, false accusation and even threats, as an added political and psychological pressure to the military actions already taken by communist predators against peace-loving nations unwilling to submit to encroachments of the few ruthless imperialism.

## Unworthy

"In making such false and unfounded charges against Thailand, the Soviet Union may seek to cover up its unworthy role in aiding and abetting the communist aggressors in Vietnam.

"Since the beginning of the conflict, the Soviet government has regularly supplied North Vietnam with enormous quantities of modern armaments which are used to destroy the lives of peace-loving and innocent Asian people, not only those in Vietnam who strongly resist communist domination but also those in Laos and in Thailand, for aggression perpetrated by North Vietnam and supported by certain other communist partners is being directed against all these countries.

"Such actions by the Soviet government are flagrantly in violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 as well as the International Law as recognised by civilised nations.

## Honour

If the Soviet Union is genuinely devoted to peace as it pretends to be, as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, it should honour its treaty and other obligations to restore and maintain peace and stability in this part of Asia by agreeing

with the other Co-Chairman to reconvene the Geneva Conference.

"In fact, it is highly regrettable that the Soviet Government has consistently refused to fulfil this important duty. It has, on the contrary, abetted and supported the criminal actions of the Asian communists in their attempt to subjugate the free countries in this part of the world.

## Cease

"If the Soviet Union is truly dedicated to peace it should forthwith cease its supply of deadly weapons to the North Vietnamese aggressors which have been and are still being used to kill Asian people and to deprive them of their freedom.

"It should join Thailand and other peace-loving nations in appealing to the parties involved in the Vietnam war, especially North Vietnam, to enter into discussions which may lead to positive negotiations and peaceful settlement on the basis of a just and honourable peace.

"The Soviet Union should, in particular, discharge its obligations and duties as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference to reconvene such a conference with a view to seeking a peaceful solution to the present problem in Vietnam.

## Persists

"If, on the contrary, the Soviet Union, turning deaf ears to worldwide yearnings for peace, persists in giving aid and comfort, and particularly deadly armaments, to the North Vietnamese aggressors, it will face the most severe condemnation from the world at large for its complicity with the instigators of war and of aggression and will bear a heavy responsibility for helping spread aggression as well as communist imperialism which aims at destroying peace and freedom.

"As far as Thailand is concerned, the Thai Government and people genuinely devoted to peace and stability will agree immediately to desist from defensive actions as soon as the threats and danger of communist aggression in Vietnam as

well as in the Southeast Asian area come to an end," the Note concluded.



WOCHENPRESSE,  
November 2, 1966

May 1967

Still not acceptable

The Prague correspondent of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung only confirmed what those familiar with the new novel of Ladislav Mnacko had long suspected: THE TASTE OF POWER will not -- at least for the present -- appear in Czechoslovakia. The pre-publication excerpt in the always cautious monthly journal PLAMEN was begun in September, but even the October installment contained no notice of continuation, and the publishers announced that the appearance of the book, which had been scheduled for winter, had been delayed.

The Slovak author is on a four-month trip as a member of an official delegation to Vietnam and is not expected back before February. The German translation, by Erich von Bertleff to be published within the space of a year by Fritz Molden Publishers, is not hindered by this development, since there is a valid contract giving March 1, 1967, as (German) publication date for the book.

The novel that is suddenly no longer acceptable to the Czechoslovak Socialist Regime represents the misuse of power, and those familiar with the "thaw" literature state that they have never encountered such ruthless uncovering of inadequacies and encroachments of justice. The protagonist is a party functionary who finds all too much taste for power.

Mnacko, whose Communist convictions are above suspicion, has related in private circles how he put the manuscript (written in Slovak) before members of the Central Committee for their opinion, and that they had no objection. He has never, Mnacko is wont to say in the same breath, been guilty of any infringement of party discipline.

Nonetheless, he has come into conflict with the party line numerous times -- and became famous almost overnight in Germany -- when the Jakob Hegner Publishers in Cologne published a translation of his best-selling attack on Stalinism, "The Delayed Reportages" under the title "The Red Torture Garden." As it soon turned out, the novel had been translated and published in the West without the consent of the author (See WOCHENPRESSE Nr. 31/1964 -- "The Illegal Torture Garden").

A suit brought by the author revealed that the German Publishers had been misled by a group of Slovak emigrants, who claimed to have received the rights direct from the author. Mnacko won the case; the remainder of the "Torture Garden" edition had to be pulped, and the author spent the income already derived from the book on the rebuilding of a Slovak village that had been destroyed during the war.

"The conscience of the Communist state," as Mnacko is called by his followers, has never left it in doubt that, unlike Reportages, he intended to publish his newest novel, which he himself considers a work of art, in other countries.

This may all seem surprising if one knows that Mnacko is a convinced Communist. He is. But Mnacko is of the opinion that the final goal of Communism is justice, and that justice can be attained only with just means. That is what he is fighting for. And he demonstrates that the misuse of these moral values was not a privilege of the so-called era of the personality cult. In this aspect as well, his book differs from the literature of the thaw.

Mnacko sketches this picture of development with the persuasive eloquence that comes from a minute knowledge of his subject, a product of his long (literally, decades long) acquaintance with the powerful in his country. It is quite understandable that, in present circumstances, his book might cause a literary and political scandal in his homeland, and that, at least for the moment, publication of the work in its original language is not to be thought of -- particularly since the author firmly refuses to make even the smallest alteration in the text.

Ladislav Mnacko, 48, the most famous Slovak writer of the present, called the "red Hemingway" by the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, is at present a war correspondent of the Czechoslovak Republic, with troops in North Vietnam. His chief works (none of which have been published in English) are "Death is Called Angel," "Where the Dusty Streets End," and "The Delayed Reportages."\*

\*These titles are loosely translated from the German ones, which are probably already loosely translated from Slovak.

WOCHENPRESSE  
November 2, 1966

# Doch nicht genehm

Der neue Roman des slowakischen Schriftstellers Mnacko darf in Prag nicht erscheinen. Die deutsche Ausgabe ist für März 1967 angekündigt.

CPYRGHT

Der Prager Korrespondent der „Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung“ bestätigte nur, was Kenner des neuen Romans von Wladislaw Mnacko längs vermutet hatten: „Wie die Macht schmeckt“ wird — vorerst wenigstens — in der Tschechoslowakei nicht erscheinen. Der Vorabdruck war in der offiziellen und politisch stets vorsichtigen Monatszeitschrift „Plamen“ im September begonnen worden, doch schon in der Oktobernummer fand sich unter der zweiten Fortsetzung kein Hinweis auf eine weitere Folge, und aus dem Verlag des Schriftstellerverbandes verlautete, daß die Herausgabe des Buches, die noch für den Winter versprochen war, sich verzögern werde.

Der slowakische Autor ist auf vier Monate als Mitglied einer offiziellen Delegation nach Vietnam gereist und wird nicht vor Februar zurück erwartet. Der von Erich von Bertleff besorgten deutschen Übersetzung, die sich der Fritz Molden Verlag bereits vor Jahresfrist gesichert hat, steht allerdings nichts im Weg, da ein rechtsgültiger Vertrag vorliegt, der den 1. März 1967 als Erscheinungsdatum nennt.

## In Konflikt gekommen

Der dem CSSR-Regime plötzlich nicht mehr genehme Roman schildert den Mißbrauch der Macht, und Kenner der Ostblock-Tauwetterliteratur versichern, solcher rücksichtslosen Offenheit bei der Kritik am Regime bei der Aufdeckung von Unzulänglichkeiten und Übergriffen der Justiz noch nie begegnet zu sein. Hauptperson ist ein Parteifunktionär, der allzu ungehemmt Geschmack an der Macht findet.

Mnacko, an dessen kommunistischer Überzeugung keinerlei Zweifel bestehen, erzählte in privaten Krei-

sen, daß er das (slowakisch verfaßte) Manuskript Mitgliedern des Zentralkomitees zur Begutachtung vorgelegt habe, von denen keines einen Einwand gehabt hätte. Er habe sich noch nie, so pflegte Mnacko im selben Atemzug zu beteuern, irgend einen Verstoß gegen die Parteidisziplin zuschulden kommen lassen.

Allerdings kam er bereits mehrmals mit der Parteilinie in Konflikt, und im deutschen Sprachraum gelangte er vor zwei Jahren zu plötzlicher Berühmtheit, als der Jakob Hegner Verlag in Köln unter dem Titel „Der rote Foltergarten“ eine Übersetzung seines Bestsellers „Verspätete Reportagen“ herausbrachte, in denen Mnacko den Stalinismus anprangert und die, wie sich bald herausstellte, ohne Einwilligung des Autors übersetzt und im Westen publiziert worden waren (siehe WOCHENPRESSE Nr. 31/1964 — „Der illegale Foltergarten“).

Ein vom Autor angestrebter Prozeß brachte immerhin an den Tag, daß der renommierte deutsche Verlag von einer slowakischen Emigrantengruppe irreführt worden war, die glaubhaft vorgab, die Rechte vom Autor direkt erhalten zu haben. Mnacko gewann den Prozeß, der Rest der „Foltergarten“-Auflage mußte eingestampft werden, während der Autor die bereits eingegangenen Honorare für den Wiederaufbau eines vom Krieg zerstörten Dorfes in seiner Heimat spendete.

„Das Gewissen des kommunistischen Staates“, wie Mnacko von seinen Anhängern genannt wird, hat niemals einen Zweifel daran gelassen, daß, im Gegensatz zu seinen „Reportagen“, der neue Roman, den er selber für ein literarisches Kunstwerk hält, auf jeden Fall im Ausland erscheinen wird.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG

May 1967

October 21, 1966

The Red Hemingway

Prague Oct. 19 -- Contrary to a news agency report that was also carried in this newspaper, the new novel of the Slovak writer Ladislav Mnacko, THE TASTE OF POWER, of which the German translation has been announced by Fritz Molden Publishers of Vienna for the coming spring, will not appear in Czechoslovakia. The author has frequently said in private conversations that he presented the manuscript for examination at a high level -- namely, to the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. At that time he said that it was particularly important to him, in his capricious, contradictory career, he has never been guilty of a breach of party discipline. The manuscript was returned to him by his Party friends at that time with a "nihil obstat."

Mnacko's thoroughly publicized decision to publish the book, which he considers a work of art, outside the Iron Curtain regardless of the publication date at home, may have had some influence on this decision. This intention is in contradiction to his actions concerning "The Delayed Reportage," which made Mnacko famous outside the Iron Curtain. He had labeled that novel as "washing dirty linen," useful for home consumption only. (A West German edition of this interesting work, legalized by the author, will, however, find no more difficulties, since Rolf Hochhuth, in a public exchange of letters, has met the precondition: the release of "The Deputy" for the Communist states.)

Following the Party permission, a portion of the new Mnacko novel appeared -- not in the Slovak original, but in a Czech translation -- in the thoroughly official and politically cautious journal PLAMEN.

But since the last issue, this pre-publication printing has been interrupted, and it is heard that the publication of the novel, scheduled for winter, has at the very least been delayed. The rumors are that this change of heart by the Party was caused by the protests of numerous comrades and that the new attitude can be found at high levels; the illness of the powerful politician Jiri Hendrych, who is considered a "hard liner" but whose policy toward literature is quite open, has added to the difficulties in store for the new novel. Hendrych has had to stay in bed for weeks, and his office work is being carried on elsewhere.

The novel THE TASTE OF POWER begins at the catafalque of a prominent politician and party functionary. From the irreverent mouth of his personal photographer -- the fictional narrator -- the author gives the reader an all too intimate look into the public and private life of a man who, during the time of the personality cult, acquired all too much of a taste for power. Whether anyone particular is meant by this powerful personality, whether this is actually a roman à clef, cannot be determined from the small sections so far published; discussion on this point will have to be postponed.

It will not be possible for followers or opponents to argue with the author. A not unimportant detail of this latest Mnacko affair is the fact that it arose as the warrior, who has been both praised and condemned for his stand, had left the country. In the company of Minister President Lenart, with whom he has long been friends he journeyed with an official government delegation to Vietnam. There the former partisan has remained, with the plan -- certainly odd for a member of the literati -- to take part in the battle for several months and to reach the South with a Viet Cong unit. It may be an uncomfortable return to his accustomed atmosphere, when the author -- whose unswerving loyalty to international communism is not doubted by even his most bitter enemies -- returns from this propaganda assignment, given by State and Party, which he accepted from conviction but hardly joyfully, and finds how things have been going in his absence. He will learn that he is expected to alter his book -- and that the acceptance given to him by his Party comrades is being considered a "personal literary judgment" and not an official decision.

For what horrifies Ladislav Mnacko is the cold functioning of bureaucracy. To avoid this deadly functioning was no doubt one of the most powerful reasons for going to Vietnam. Mnacko is one of the most notable figures of the socialist "lost generation"; his world is not right since it is no longer a matter of a rifle in the hand. On the search for "image" he has chosen, he is on his way, over rivers and into forests that are everywhere his home. He is expected back in February.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG  
October 21, 1966

## Der rote Hemingway

CPYRGHT

### Neues über Mnackos neuer Roman

PRAG, 19. Oktober

Entgegen einer auch von dieser Zeitung verbreiteten Agenturmeldung wird der neue Roman des slowakischen Schriftstellers Wladislav Mnacko „Wie schmeckt die Macht“, dessen deutsche Übersetzung der Wiener Molden-Verlag bereits für das kommende Frühjahr ankündigt, in der Tschechoslowakei nicht erscheinen. Der Autor hat in privaten Gesprächen des öfteren betont, er habe das Manuskript auf hoher Parteiebene — nämlich bei Mitgliedern des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei, zur Begutachtung und parteiinternen Kontrolle vorgelegt. Er betonte damals, daß er besonderen Wert auf die Feststellung lege, daß er sich in seiner an Kapriзен und Widersprüchen reichen publizistischen Karriere noch nie einen Verstoß gegen die Parteidisziplin habe zuschulden kommen lassen. Es sei ihm damals das Manuskript von seinen Parteifreunden mit einem „nihil obstat“ (keine Einwände) zurückgegeben worden.

Bei dieser salomonischen Entscheidung machte Mnackos von vornherein kundgetaner Entschluß eine Rolle spielen, dieses Buch, das er für ein literarisches Kunstwerk hält, auf jeden Fall im Ausland zu veröffentlichen und zwar ohne Rücksicht auf das Erscheinungsdatum im Inland; diese Absicht steht im Gegensatz zu seiner Handlungsweise bei den „verspäteten Reportagen“, die Mnackos Ruhm auch im Ausland begründet haben, die er aber doch als lediglich der Reinigung schmutziger Wäsche dienlich — allein für den Inlandsgebrauch bestimmt hatte. (Einer vom Autor legalisierten westdeutschen Ausgabe dieses interessanten Buches sollten allerdings jetzt keine Hindernisse mehr im Wege stehen, nachdem Rolf Hochhuth die von Mnacko in einem seinerzeit vielbeachteten öffentlichen Briefwechsel verlangte Vorleistung, nämlich die Freigabe des Dramas „Der Stellvertreter“ für den Ostblock, erfüllt hat.)

Im Vertrauen auf das höchste parteiamtliche Imprimatur ist zunächst ein Teil des neuen Romans von Mnacko nicht im slowakischen Original, sondern in einer tschechischen Übersetzung in der durchaus offiziellen und politisch immer vorsichtigen Monatsschrift des Schriftstellerverbandes „Plamen“ erschienen.

Seit der letzten Nummer ist indessen dieser Vorabdruck unterbrochen, und es ist zu hören, daß im Verlag des Schriftstellerverbandes die Herausgabe dieses Buches, die noch in den Wintermonaten erfolgen sollte, zumindest verzögert worden ist. Die Gerüchte verdichten sich, daß der Meinungsumschwung der höhe-

ren Parteikreise über dieses Buch, von Protesten zahlreicher Genossen verursacht und auf höchster Ebene geteilt wird; es habe indessen im besonderen die Erkrankung des mächtigen Politsekretärs Jiří Hendrych, der als Vertreter eines harten, der Literatur gegenüber aber aufgeschlossenen Kurses gilt, zu dieser Panne geführt. Hendrych muß seit Wochen das Bett hüten, und seine Amtsgeschäfte werden anderweitig wahrgenommen.

Der Roman „Wie schmeckt die Macht“ beginnt am Katafalk eines prominenten Politikers und Parteifunktionärs. Aus dem recht respektlosen Mund seines Leibfotografen — des fiktiven Erzählers — läßt der Autor den Leser einen allzu intimen Blick in das öffentliche und private Leben eines Mannes gewinnen, der zur Zeit des „Personenkultes“ allzu ungehemmt Geschmack an der Macht gefunden hat. Ob mit der Person dieses mächtigen Mannes jemand Bestimmtes gemeint ist, ob tatsächlich ein Schlüsselroman vorliegt, ist nach den bisher veröffentlichten Abschnitten indessen kaum zu beweisen; die Diskussion darüber sollte ratsamerweise verschoben werden.

Mit dem Autor darüber zu streiten wird für seine Anhänger und Gegner sobald nicht möglich sein. Ein nicht unwesentliches Detail dieser neuesten Mnacko-Affäre ist der Umstand, daß sie erst entstand, als der wegen seiner Durchschlagskraft ebenso verrufene wie gefeierte Haudogen das Land verlassen hatte. Mit der offiziellen Regierungsdelegation reiste er in Begleitung des Ministerpräsidenten Lenart, mit dem ihn langjährige Freundschaft verbindet, nach Vietnam. Dort ist er, der alte Partisan, zurückgeblieben, mit dem gewiß für einen Literaten außergewöhnlichen Plan, an den Kampfhandlungen für mehrere Monate teilzunehmen und mit einer Vietcong-Einheit sich nach dem Süden durchzuschlagen. So mag es für ihn, an dessen unverbrüchlicher Loyalität gegenüber der Sache des internationalen Kommunismus auch seine schärfsten Widersacher nicht zu zweifeln wagen, ein unbehagliches Wiedereintauchen in die gewohnte heimische Atmosphäre werden, wenn er nach Absolvierung dieser ihm von Staat und Partei überantworteten propagandistischen Aufgabe, die er aus Überzeugung, aber wohl kaum fröhlichen Mutes übernommen hat, mit den mittlerweile festgeführten Tatsachen konfrontiert werden wird. Er wird erfahren, man erwarte einschneidende Veränderungen seines Buches — und daß das seinerzeit von den mächtigen Parteigenossen erteilte „Imprimatur“ allenfalls als „persönliches literarisches Urteil“, indessen nicht als offizieller Beschluß zu werten sei.

Denn was Wladislav Mnacko verabscheut, ist das kalte Funktionieren der Bürokratie. Ihr aus dem Wege zu gehen war zweifellos einer der mächtigsten Antriebe, gen Vietnam zu ziehen. Mnacko ist eine der markantesten Figuren der sozialistischen „verlorenen Generation“: Seine Welt ist nicht mehr stimmig, seitdem es mit dem Gewehr in der Faust nichts mehr zu tun gibt. Auf der Suche nach der Verwirklichung seines selbst gewollten „Image“, als ein roter Hemingway, ist er losgefahren, über den Fluß und in die Wälder, die allenthalben seine Heimat sind. Im Februar wird er zurück erwartet.

ANDREAS RAZUMOVSKY

# TASTE OF POWER

## -banned Communist novel

CPYRIGHT

"THE TASTE OF POWER," the latest work of the Slovak novelist Ladislav Mnacko, is the most ruthless and daring inside attack on the Communist system yet to get through the Iron Curtain. It has been suppressed in Czechoslovakia, and the Czech Government has made the most strenuous efforts to prevent its appearance abroad. *The Sunday Telegraph* today presents the first extracts in English from this remarkable text.

Mnacko is no reactionary but a veteran Communist who is known as "the Red Hemingway." Unlike other literary products of the so-called "cultural thaw," the *Taste of Power* does not stop at general and qualified criticism of the ideological world in which the author still lives. It is a biting condemnation of the corruption of personal power under Communism. No names are named. But, on both sides of the Curtain, the parallel has been drawn with the Czechoslovak Head of State and party boss President Novotny himself, who, like the unnamed statesman of the novel, has for years clung to supreme power despite repeated efforts to dislodge him.

For many years a sort of positional warfare has been going on between the Communist authorities in Czechoslovakia and the Czech and Slovak intellectuals, mainly the writers, with each side constantly probing and pushing. Until last year the State's control had been more liberal than in Poland or in Russia. The Czech Communists avoided the cruder forms of censorship and repression, while the writers used their relative freedom with discretion.

But in 1966 the Communists took the offensive. They were apparently alarmed by the action of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union in March, when they despatched three representatives to inquire into the facts of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial. The Writers' Union then served notice that they would not tolerate similar behaviour by the authorities in Prague. The State's reaction was, in the autumn, to arrest two relatively unknown writers and threaten to stage a Sinyavsky-type trial. But the trial did not take place, and it was said that the two men had not been arrested for literary activities.

Finally, in October, President Novotny introduced a new Press Law legalising the censorship and setting out the limits of intellectual freedom. A new Ministry of Culture and Information was set up, with the obvious aim of bringing the intellectuals to heel.

This was the situation when an extract from "The Taste of Power" appeared in the Czech literary magazine *Plamen*. It had been cut by the censor, but was still a very revealing document. A second instalment was said to have been subject to a second censorship on Novotny's orders. After that, silence.

But Mnacko had already ensured that his work would appear beyond the Iron Curtain. Early last year he took the full manuscript himself to Vienna, where he sold the world rights to the Austrian publishing house of Fritz Molden. Translations will appear in the next few weeks in Britain, America and on the Continent.

The Czech régime has made repeated efforts to persuade Mnacko to cancel his Western contract, but the author has refused point-blank either to suppress the work or amend it. As the leading Slovak novelist, with an international reputation (one of his earlier books, "Death is an Angel," sold two million copies in 16 translations) he seems to feel either that he will escape arrest, or, like Djilas in Yugoslavia, that prison would be a risk worth taking for speaking his mind.

Still more extraordinary are the determined attempts that the Czech Government has made to persuade the publisher to abandon the project. Last

autumn, after several indirect approaches had failed, Mr. Bernau, a director of DILIA, the Czechoslovak State Literary Agency, went to Vienna to try and talk the Austrian publishers out of producing the book. He was politely but firmly shown to the door. Soon afterwards, Mnacko himself sent a defiant message out of Prague assuring the publishers that he stood firmly by his contract, and offering them further works.

On Jan. 13 the publishers accordingly sent a representative to Prague to discuss details, having arranged a meeting by telephone with Mnacko. But before he could contact the author he was declared *persona non grata* by the Czech security police and bundled back across the frontier to Vienna. A strong protest was lodged with the Czech Foreign Office, which is now being "investigated."

The indomitable Mnacko was born 1919 on the Moravian-Slovak border, poor parents and has been a Communist nearly all his adult life. What seems to appal him about the system as he sees it around him today is how it can enable people like "The Big Man" to remain in power when power has long since turned them from idealistic revolutionaries into cynical dictators who have lost all human contact with the masses they rule. It is above all a plea for more humanity and more moral responsibility in his anonymous ruler that Mnacko makes. "We know exactly what you are against. Now you should try and tell us whether you are for anything, and, if so, what it is."

"The Taste of Power" opens with the State funeral of the Communist dictator, whom death has removed at last from the scene. It is attended by one Frank, his one-time revolutionary comrade and later his official photographer. The story of the great man's moral ruin, and of the struggle for the succession, is told by Frank partly with scenes from the lying-in-state and partly in the dictator's earlier life. With every page of this brave and vivid book Mnacko puts his head on the