

PEKING REVIEW

1

January 4, 1963

Special New Year Issue

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報

ON TO NEW VICTORIES!

Review of China's achievements in 1962 and tasks
in 1963 (p. 6).

Warm Welcome for Distinguished Guests From Ceylon and Indonesia

(p. 21).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COMRADE TOGLIATTI AND US

Renmin Ribao discusses C.P.C.'s differences with
Togliatti on vital questions relating to basic principles
of Marxism-Leninism (p. 9).

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Read

The January Issue, 1963

CHINESE LITERATURE

For:

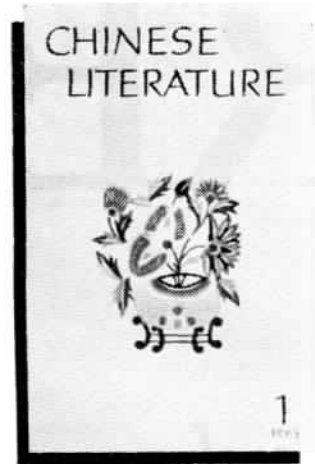
SIX POEMS by MAO TSE-TUNG, who wrote them between battles during the period 1929 to 1931, when the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army under his command was fighting with great success against the so-called encirclement campaigns launched by Chiang Kai-shek. These poems were first published in Chinese in the May issue of "People's Literature" last year.

Stories and essays by Ma Feng and Malchinhu.

Three fine reproductions of the paintings of the well-known contemporary artist Lin Feng-mien and an appraisal of his art by Mi Ku.

A treatise on the famous Chinese classical novel, "Dream of the Red Chamber," by Ho Chi-fang of the Institute of Literary Research of the Chinese Academy of Sciences; and an account of the origin of the novel by Professor Wu Shih-chang.

Chronicle.



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La Chine populaire



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A Monthly Magazine

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 4, 1963 Vol. VI No. 1

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Round the Week

A Happy New Year

Having rounded out 1962 in grand style—with a good harvest and glittering accomplishments in industrial and other fields in hand—the nation sent the old year off, with a rich programme of festivities, and welcomed in the new—the 14th New Year since the People's Republic was founded in October 1949.

In Peking, the theatres offered a bill of some 60 plays and operas, in addition to recitals and song and dance performances by well-known professional troupes. Reinforcing those of Peking itself, visiting theatrical companies from Liaoning and Heilongkiang Provinces and from Shanghai and Tientsin gave performances for the capital's theatre-goers. For film-goers, the cinemas presented more than a score of films, nearly half of which were being shown for the first time. While thousands thronged the theatres, clubs and parks in the city to see special shows and exhibitions, a dozen professional theatrical companies toured the rural areas on Peking's outskirts to perform for members of the people's communes. For citizens in town and countryside alike, the TV and radio stations gave gala programmes specially arranged for the New Year holidays. And, of course, there was no counting the amateur shows and public and private parties.

New Year Greetings

On the eve of the New Year, the Party and state leaders of China and the Soviet Union exchanged warm messages of greetings. While wishing each other still greater successes in the coming year, they said that they would spare no efforts to strengthen further the friendship and unity between the peoples of the two countries.

On New Year's Day, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference gave a banquet in Peking to veterans, aged 70 and over—members of the C.P.P.C.C.'s National Committee, Deputies to the National People's Congress, and leading personnel of the

various democratic parties and government departments. Chairman of the National Committee Chou En-lai and Vice-Chairmen Peng Chen, Chen Yi and other leaders attended this special gathering. To the 218 elders present, Chou En-lai extended warm New Year greetings and expressed the wish that they would live to see for themselves not only the successful building of a socialist society in China but also the triumphal transition into the era of communism. Ninety-year-old Shen Chun-ju, veteran champion of democracy and socialism, spoke on behalf of the elders. He heartily thanked the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung for leading the Chinese people in the victorious march forward along the road of socialism. With joy and good cheer, he proposed a toast to the health of Chairman Mao and everyone present.

Earlier, on December 28, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Mrs. Chen gave a banquet at the Great Hall of the People to specialists from over 30 countries now helping in China's socialist construction. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, the Vice-Premier wished everyone a happy New Year. He thanked them for their invaluable help and assured them that the Chinese people would always remember their contribution to the cause of building socialism in China. Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi and Mrs. Chen also extended their New Year greetings to all the experts and wished them still greater successes in the coming year. The hosts and guests chatted happily and drank toasts to the great unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement, to the great unity of the people of all countries and to world peace.

Nationwide Celebrations

From end to end of the country—in the cities and countryside and in industrial enterprises, government offices, schools and rural people's communes—the Chinese people greeted the New Year at parties and get-togethers. They had much to celebrate. Working with herculean effort

and unprecedented zeal, they had crowned the past year with new achievements. They had overcome the difficulties brought on them by three consecutive years of serious natural disasters and, under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, achieved fresh successes in every field of socialist construction.

North and south, east and west, the Chinese people celebrated. While thousands packed the skating rinks in Harbin and Shenyang to see ice hockey and figure-skating competitions, tens of thousands of others in Canton to the far south streamed out to the many celebration centres in the city. With gay crowds and decked in festive style with vermilion palace lanterns and decorative arches, the streets in this subtropical city took on a truly New Year look.

Armed U.S.-Chiang Agents Wiped Out

On the eve of the New Year, news came that a smashing victory was won over the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, to harass the Chinese mainland. This was added cause for jubilation in the New Year celebrations.

A Public Security Ministry communique of December 29 announced that from October to December of last year, the people's public security departments, frontier guards of the People's Liberation Army, people's public security forces and militiamen in the

Lhasa to the southwest was full of joy too. At a get-together, the representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet Chang Ching-wu, the Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet Panchen Erdeni and other officials exchanged New Year greetings and pledged themselves to unite solidly and work for still greater successes in 1963. The Parkor Street in the centre of the city was gay with holiday-making Tibetans. There they exchanged greetings, chatted and watched performances by the Tibetan Theatrical Company and a number of amateur song and dance troupes on improvised stages. The Norbu Lingka and other parks, as well as the cinemas and sports grounds, were filled with happy Tibetans enjoying a really happy New Year.

coastal areas of Kwangtung, acting in close co-operation with the local people, utterly wiped out eight groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents who had landed by sea in the coastal counties of Hoifung, Waiyeung, Hweilai, Tin-pak and Toishan. One other group, which sneaked into the waters off Waiyeung County, did not dare to land but fled to Huotoupen Island in Hongkong. Another group of armed agents airdropped in the mountainous areas of Yeungkong County was also wiped out. All 172 of the armed agents who landed in Kwangtung were either

killed or captured; three motor junks in which they came were sunk. Among the trophies captured by the people's forces were U.S.-made radios, U.S.-made pistols with silencers, machine guns, submachine guns, carbines, revolvers, cartridges, dynamite, cipher codes, invisible ink, poison, counterfeit people's currency and fake uniforms of the P.L.A.

Part of a Criminal Scheme

The U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang sent these armed agents to the coastal areas of Kwangtung to establish a so-called "guerrilla corridor" there with an eye to more extensive activities as part of the U.S. scheme of getting the Chiang gang to invade the mainland and create tension in Asia.

Last year alone, U.S. warships and aircraft intruded into China's territorial waters and air space on no less than 60 occasions on probing and reconnaissance operations. Last summer they egged on the Chiang Kai-shek gang to make a large-scale invasion of the mainland's coastal areas. (See *Peking Review*, No. 26, 1962.) In August, they stepped up sabotage activities by planting explosives with time fuses in the luggage of passengers entering Shumchum and Kungpei from Hongkong and Macao. This resulted in a number of innocent people being killed. Recently they plotted a so-called "high-tide of sabotage." But the agents who sneaked into Kwangtung to carry out demolitions and sabotage were all rounded up. On September 9, 1962, a U.S.-made U-2 plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang intruded into the air space over east China on a spying mission and was shot down by the Chinese air force.

The most recent sneak landings made on the mainland by armed agents were jointly planned by the U.S.-Chiang espionage organizations — the "Joint Sino-American Intelligence Centre" and the "Intelligence Office of the Ministry of National Defence." These mustered a number of professional spies, officers of the Chiang bandit army, long-time gang leaders and landlords, rich peasants and counter-revolutionaries in exile and gave them special training in espionage. The U.S. supplied them with arms, radios and other equipment. On December 4, the U.S. Naval Auxiliary Communications Centre (N.A.C.C., a U.S. espionage organiza-



U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek armed agents captured in Toishan County of Kwangtung Province, south China, on Nov. 29, 1962

tion), used a P2V spy plane to airdrop into Kwangtung armed U.S.-Chiang agents, trained in Okinawa, together with considerable quantities of arms and ammunition.

All this shows that although the plots of the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang have met with one setback after another, they will never reconcile themselves to defeat. U.S. professions about its unwillingness to use force against China and its refusal of permission to the Chiang gang to invade the mainland are just so many lies. After their adventurist scheme to launch a large-scale invasion of the mainland went bankrupt, they resorted to small-scale armed harassment. When their open invasion failed to materialize, they made sneak landings. Foreseeing this, China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi made it clear as early as July last year that "the U.S. Government must be held responsible for any military adventure of the Chiang Kai-shek gang in invading the mainland, no matter at what time and on how large a scale it is carried out."

They Miscalculated Again

U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang always miscalculate. They jubilantly declared that "there has been famine on the mainland for several years running and the regime is tottering." They fooled their agents, telling them that "as soon as you land on the mainland, you will find love and support among your countrymen there; you'll have a quick success." The *U.S. News and World Report* wrote smugly that Chiang "has managed to land small, well-trained commando groups" on the Chinese mainland and that these groups had "considerable freedom of movement. Villagers are less likely to report the presence of Nationalists to the nearest communist headquarters." But the facts make a mockery of these daydreamers. When the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang gang were throwing parties and issuing awards in blissful celebration of their agents' "success," every one of their "well-trained" men had already fallen into the hands of the people.

In the operations to smash the armed U.S.-Chiang agents, the people's public security departments, the frontier guards of the P.L.A., the people's public security forces, the militia and the local people displayed a high level of revolutionary vigilance,



The militia company of the Kangkou People's Commune, Waiyeung County, Kwangtung Province, honoured collectively for their action in rounding up the armed U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents

courage and fighting spirit. The militiamen and civilians, in particular, played a big role in searching out and rounding up the enemy agents. With every hand against them, the bandits were completely hemmed in and grew panic-stricken. Unable to find shelter, they were quickly put out of action, some within a few hours of landing. More than 2,000 people, militiamen and civilians were commended and awarded by the Kwangtung civil and military authorities at meetings held in five coastal counties to celebrate the victory. Among those awarded were Chen Ah-hui, aged 10, and Lo Chien, aged 11, who discovered some of the agents while at play and immediately reported the fact to the production team leader of their commune. Their tip led to the agents' swift arrest.

These facts make it clear that since the people's communes were set up and the militia founded on a large scale in China's countryside, the political consciousness of the people has been greatly enhanced, their unity further strengthened and the people's democratic dictatorship further consolidated. The Chinese people are devoted to socialism; no attempt by the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang to stage a comeback and ride roughshod over the people again has the slightest chance of success.

Let Them Try!

These attacks will only make the Chinese people more vigilant. They know full well that the U.S. imperialists, the sworn enemies of the Chi-

nese people, are bent on aggression against China and will never change until their doom. In fact, at this very moment, they are continuing their criminal activities against the people of China and the rest of Asia. The *Renmin Ribao* was voicing the sentiments of the Chinese people when it wrote in a recent leader: "We once again warn the U.S. imperialists that none of your schemes will ever succeed. When you supported and encouraged the Chiang Kai-shek gang in the summer of 1962 to prepare for a large-scale invasion of the mainland, we gave you leave to come and try, but you did not dare to come. Now you have made a small attempt and failed. If you still cannot reconcile yourself to failure, then come and try again. If you come in a group, then we shall destroy you in a group. And we shall destroy as many of you as come and shall destroy you wherever you come."



A U.S.-made pistol with silencer captured from the armed agents

On to New Victories!

Following is an abridged translation of the New Year's Day editorial of "Renmin Ribao," entitled "Consolidate Our Great Achievements, Strive for New Victories." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

AFTER striding through 1962, a year of struggles and victories, the Chinese people, filled with happiness, enter the new year, the year 1963.

The year just past was one in which the Chinese people, holding high the three red banners of the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune, won decisive successes in readjusting the national economy. The important achievements of 1962 have added new lustre to the three red banners.

Entire Economic Situation Improves

China's economic situation, from industry to agriculture, from city to countryside, has been changing for the better with each passing day. Guided by the Chinese Communist Party's general line for socialist construction, the national economy made great advances in the period 1958-60. The major industrial targets set in the Second Five-Year Plan were reached ahead of schedule, laying a preliminary foundation for building an independent, comprehensive and modern economy in China. To carry out the Party's general line still better, to consolidate the gains obtained in the sweeping progress of the previous three years, and to overcome the temporary difficulties resulting from serious natural disasters, the various departments of the national economy undertook work to readjust, consolidate, fill out and raise standards during the past two years. In these two years, and especially in the past year, striking success was achieved in the entire construction work, concentrated on readjustment. There has been better co-ordination among the different departments of the national economy, particularly between industry and agriculture. The potentialities of the many industrial and mining enterprises and irrigation projects built in previous years is gradually being brought into fuller use. Although natural disasters occurred several years in succession, although many new problems arose in the sweeping development of the economy, and although our enemies at home and abroad created all kinds of trouble for us, nothing has been able to prevent the Chinese people of all nationalities from uniting as one and marching forward with still more determined strides guided by the Party's general line for building socialism.

The set of Party policies on the rural people's communes and agricultural production have displayed their great strength. The collective economy of the people's communes has been increasingly consolidated, the enthu-

siasm of the commune members for collective farming has risen steadily, and as a result, the harvest in 1962 was normal to good, better than in 1961. Animal husbandry has also developed as a result of the bigger grain harvest. The number of livestock and poultry, including pigs, chickens, ducks and geese, has increased considerably. A still greater increase was registered in the production of vegetables and fruit. Except in areas which suffered rather serious natural disasters, the living conditions of the people in most sections of the rural areas improved.

Carrying out the Party's general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, the work of the industrial, communications and transport departments was, in 1962, gradually adjusted to the line of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy. Output of all heavy industrial goods helping agriculture, such as fertilizer, showed large increases compared with the previous year. Still greater were the increases shown in light industrial goods that use industrial raw materials, such as artificial fibre. Increases were also made in the output of a number of important basic raw materials. Industrial departments also had remarkable success in improving the quality of products, increasing the number of varieties of goods produced, lowering production costs and raising labour productivity.

Good results were brought about by the many measures adopted in the fields of commerce, finance and banking. Following the improvement in industrial and agricultural production, market conditions have improved daily. Greater increases than in the previous year were recorded in the quantity and variety of the commodities supplied to the people by the urban and rural markets. The prices of basic necessities remained stable. The financial departments fulfilled their plans rather well last year. The cultural and educational departments achieved noteworthy successes in readjustment. Scientific and technological research in various fields was stepped up.

The past year has also seen great achievements by the People's Liberation Army and Public Security Forces in safeguarding the country's security and socialist construction. The armed forces and the people along the coast of southeast China frustrated the U.S. imperialist scheme to incite the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang to make a futile attempt to invade the mainland. Our frontier guards in the southwest repulsed the Indian forces' large-scale attacks, winning important victories in the counter-attack they launched in self-defence.

The Strength of the Three Red Banners

The quick effects achieved in the readjustment of the entire national economy and the rapid restoration of

agricultural production after successive years of serious natural disasters has been beyond expectation. All this is a great achievement for the entire Chinese people who, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, worked with great assiduity and vigour for the prosperity of the country. Both in the period of sweeping progress and in the period of readjustment, countless facts have proved conclusively that the Party's general line for socialist construction is correct and that the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards is a positive policy for carrying through the general line during the present stage, a correct policy for carrying China's national economy to a higher level. The tremendous achievements during the sweeping progress and readjustment of the Chinese national economy during the past five years show ever more clearly that it is possible to achieve a big leap forward in China's socialist construction, or in other words, to build China into a great socialist country with a modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture and modern national defence in a comparatively short space of time within a given historical period.

The facts of the past few years also show ever more clearly the tremendous superiority of the people's commune system. If we had not relied on the power of the collective economy of the people's communes, our agricultural production could not have improved so rapidly and the livelihood of the several hundred million people in the countryside, as well as of the whole people, could not have remained so stable in the face of several consecutive years of such extraordinary natural disasters as have rarely occurred in the past century. This has again proved conclusively that the direction taken by the people's communes is absolutely correct and that the series of policies and measures adopted by the Party concerning the rural people's communes have been perfected. Whatever the slanders and distortion by our enemies at home and abroad, the Chinese people will continue, with full confidence, to hold high the three red banners of the Party's general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune and advance from one victory to another.

Tasks in 1963

Our direction and path are correct. The Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, a meeting of important historic significance held last September, pointed out to the Chinese people the clear direction for their further advance under the guidance of the three red banners. In 1963, we shall, following the path charted by the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, continue to carry forward the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, give top priority to the restoration and development of agricultural production, and continue to make great efforts to carry out the work of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards well so as to achieve new progress in building socialism in the country.

In this new year, we should, first of all, further consolidate the collective economy of the rural people's communes. We should concentrate our efforts on restoring and developing agricultural production and work for a good harvest, relying on the initiative in collective production of all commune members, with support from all sides. After successive years of natural disasters, agricultural output in China in the past two years has been better each year than the previous year. Nevertheless, it still cannot meet the demands of national construction and the people's livelihood. This year, while continuing to pay attention to increasing grain production, greater attention should be paid to increasing the production of industrial crops, especially cotton. This will have an important bearing on the further development of the whole national economy. It is also necessary to make more progress in livestock breeding, forestry and fishery. The rural people's communes in all parts of the country are now summing up their work and planning their future tasks, a job that is done once every year. This work should be well done on a solid basis before the start of the spring ploughing, so as to make adequate organizational and ideological preparations to get an overall good harvest this year.

Commune members in all parts of the country are working with greater energy than in previous years in winter production in order to make material and technical preparations to achieve a good harvest this year. A good start has already been made in the work in these fields. Efforts should be devoted to making still better preparations for every item of work before the beginning of spring ploughing. We should have a firm hold on the present work as well as being skilful in combining present work closely with long-term plans. The historic task of bringing about the technical reform of agriculture has been laid upon us. It is necessary to make adequate preparations ideologically, organizationally and technically, so as to complete this great historic task stage by stage and in a manner suited to local conditions.

Making Agriculture the Foundation of Economy

The major task of the industrial, communications and transport departments in this new year is to readjust their work, resolutely and step by step, in the direction of making agriculture the foundation of the national economy. Work for their technical transformation should be strengthened and the mining and timber-felling industries too should be strengthened in a down-to-earth and planned way, in order to give better service to agricultural production, market supply and national defence.

In order to implement correctly the line and policies of the Chinese Communist Party and to win still greater victories in the new year, the principle of democratic centralism should be well implemented and the centralized, overall leadership of the Party strengthened. All areas and all departments at all levels, should take the whole national situation and the interests of the whole Party and the whole people as their starting point in handling the work in their own areas and departments. They

should put overall interests, the interests of the whole country in the first place. Overall planning and centralized leadership are special features of socialist economic construction. The great achievements in the progress and readjustment of our national economy have been won precisely because of the initiative shown by the masses of the people and functionaries at all levels, under overall planning and centralized leadership. This is precisely the main advantage of the socialist economic system.

To win still greater victories, the study movement for the entire Party that began last year will be continued this year. All Party members must study Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works with redoubled efforts, master the laws of socialist construction still better, learn to make fuller use of the Marxist-Leninist point of view in analysing current domestic and international situations, increase the militancy of our Party, and strive to promote the cause of socialism and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Favourable International Situation

Many important international events that occurred in the past year have clearly demonstrated that the general line of the foreign policy of our Party and state is entirely correct, and the international situation is favourable to us. The national, democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries and the struggle waged by all peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world against imperialism and for world peace are advancing triumphantly and with irresistible force. The criminal activities of the imperialists and their hirelings have only served to expose further their own brutish and ugly features before the revolutionary people of all countries and enhance their will to fight. In the new year, we shall continue to unite with all other proletarians and with all other people of the world, continue to hold high the banner of opposing imperialism and safeguarding world peace, the banner of revolution, the banner of proletarian internationalism and the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and strive for new victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

All Anti-China Schemes Doomed

In the past two years, when the Chinese people were confronted with serious economic difficulties, the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists gloated over our difficulties, hoping that the Chinese people would be crushed under the weight of hardships and aggravating our difficulties by all kinds of sabotage. But their dream has been shattered. Now that they see that the Chinese people have successfully tided over the most difficult period and are marching forward with steady strides, they are glum and resort to wild slanders and attacks against the Chinese people. How will the Chinese people reply to these anti-Chinese champions? The best answer will be to work for greater suc-

cess on all fronts in the new year. Let the imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists go on with their clamorous anti-China chorus. All their anti-China schemes are doomed to total bankruptcy.

No matter what the circumstances, whether of the smooth development of work or temporary difficulties, the Chinese people have persisted in their aim of building socialism, always confident and united as one. Every test has shown that the Chinese Communist Party is worthy of being called a great Marxist-Leninist Party, the People's Republic of China a great socialist state, the Chinese working class the leading class of this great country, the Chinese peasantry the staunchest ally of the working class, the entire Chinese people of various nationalities a great people led by the Chinese Communist Party, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army the great armed force of the People's Republic of China. Faced by no matter what difficulties or enemies, such a Party, such a state, such a people and such an army will always stand, upright and fearless, like straight and hardy pines and cypresses. In our socialist construction, we have created far better material and technical conditions than ever we had before and accumulated rich experience. Our country has become more and more powerful. The Party's general lines on domestic and external policy have won the hearts of the people in ever wider areas. We have more and more friends.

Boundlessly Bright Prospects

We are facing boundlessly bright prospects. In the new year, we should take full advantage of the favourable conditions at home and abroad and, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, further strengthen the solidarity of the Party and the great unity of all nationalities in the country; persist in the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism; consolidate the tremendous achievements already won in our sweeping development; consolidate the collective economy of the people's communes; consolidate the tremendous successes gained in the work of readjustment in the past two years, particularly last year; and work for a bumper harvest, for a new upsurge in the national economy and still greater achievements on all fronts of socialist construction!

Ours is a great cause without precedent: to build a new society and a new world. Our task is stupendous but glorious. There remain all sorts of difficulties on the path of our advance. We must rely on our own efforts to build the country into a powerful socialist state. In international affairs, we shall continue to encounter this or that adverse current or turbulent wave. However, no stupendous tasks or difficulties will ever frighten the Chinese people, armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Led by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are filled with firm confidence and are advancing with powerful strides towards new victories in 1963.

The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on December 31, 1962. Subheads and emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE Communist Party of Italy is a party with a glorious history of struggle in the ranks of the international communist movement. In their valiant struggles both during the dark years of Mussolini's rule and during the difficult years of World War II and after, the Italian Communists and the Italian proletariat have had admirable achievements to their credit. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people have always held the comrades of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian people in high esteem.

In accordance with its consistent stand of strengthening friendship with fraternal Parties, the Communist Party of China sent its representative to attend the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, which was held in early December, at the latter's invitation. We had hoped that this congress would help to strengthen not only the common struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, but also the unity of the international communist movement.

But, at this congress, to our regret and against our hopes, Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. rudely attacked the Communist Party of China and other fraternal Parties on a series of important questions of principle. They did so in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and in disregard of the interests of the united struggle of the international communist movement against the enemy.

The representative of the Communist Party of China at the congress was thus compelled to declare solemnly in his address that we disagreed with the attacks and slanders levelled at the Communist Party of China by Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. Nevertheless, Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. "very firmly rejected" the views put forward by the representative of the C.P.C., continued their attacks upon the C.P.C. and other fraternal Parties, and persisted in conducting "the debate in public."

Adverse Current Against Marxism-Leninism

Thus, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy became a salient part of the recently emerged adverse current which runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, and is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.

Differences of Principle. In such circumstances, we cannot remain silent but must publicly answer the attacks on us by Comrade Togliatti and other comrades. Nor can

we remain silent about the views they expressed in contravention of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement but we must publicly comment on these views. We wish to say frankly that on a number of fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism there exist differences of principle between Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. leaders on the one hand and ourselves on the other.

After reading Togliatti's general report and his concluding speech at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy and the theses of the congress, one cannot help feeling that he and certain other C.P.I. leaders are departing further and further from Marxism-Leninism. Although Comrade Togliatti and certain others have, as usual, covered up their real views by using obscure, ambiguous and scarcely intelligible language, the essence of their views becomes clear once this flimsy veil is removed.

They cherish the greatest illusions about imperialism, they deny the fundamental antagonism between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism and the fundamental antagonism between the oppressed nations and oppressor nations, and, in place of international class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle, they advocate international class collaboration and the establishment of a "new world order." They have profound illusions about the monopoly capitalists at home, they confuse the two vastly different kinds of class dictatorship, bourgeois dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship, and preach bourgeois reformism, or what they call "structural reform" as a substitute for proletarian revolution. They allege that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become "outmoded," and they tamper with the Marxist-Leninist theories of imperialism, of war and peace, of the state and revolution, and of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. They discard the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, they repudiate the universal laws of proletarian revolution or, in other words, the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, and they describe the "Italian road," which is the abandonment of revolution, as a "line common to the whole international communist movement."

In the final analysis, the stand taken by Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. leaders boils down to this — the people of the capitalist countries should not make revolutions, the oppressed nations should not wage struggles to win liberation, and the people of the world should not fight against imperialism. Actually, all this exactly suits the needs of imperialists and the reactionaries.

In this article we do not propose to discuss all our differences with Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I.

comrades. Here we shall set forth our views on only a few of the important questions at issue.

I

The Question of War and Peace

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades differ with us, first of all, on the question of war and peace. In his general report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, Togliatti declared: "This problem was widely discussed at the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in the autumn of 1960. The Chinese comrades put forward some views, which were rejected by the meeting." He spoke in deliberately vague terms and did not mention what were the views put forward by the Chinese comrades, but went on to speak of the inevitability of war as the source of the disputes, which made it apparent that he was accusing the Chinese Communists of having no faith in the possibility of averting a new world war, and China of being "warlike."

This accusation levelled against the Communist Party of China by Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades is completely groundless and trumped up.

The Communist Party of China has consistently taken the stand of opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war, of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war, and of defending world peace. We have always held that as long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. The danger of imperialism starting a world war still exists. However, because of the new changes that have taken place in the international balance of class forces, it is possible for the peace forces of the world to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war, provided that they stand together, form a united front against the policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists headed by the United States, and wage resolute struggles. Should imperialism dare to take the risk of imposing a new world war on the peoples of the world, such a war would inevitably end in the destruction of imperialism and the victory of socialism. We stated these views at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. The two Moscow meetings included these views of ours in the joint documents, which were adopted, and did not reject them as Togliatti alleged.

Since Togliatti and certain other comrades know perfectly well where the Communist Party of China stands on the problem of war and peace, why do they keep on distorting and attacking this stand? What are the real differences between them and us?

They are manifested mainly on the following three questions:

The Source of Modern War. Firstly, the Communist Party of China holds that the source of modern war is imperialism. The chief force for aggression and war is U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of all the peoples of the world. In order to defend world peace, it is necessary to expose the imperialist policies of aggression and war unceasingly and thoroughly, so as to make the people of the world to maintain a high degree of vigilance. The fact that the forces of socialism, of national liberation, of people's revolution and of world peace have surpassed the forces of imperialism and war has not changed the

aggressive nature of imperialism and cannot possibly change it. The imperialist bloc headed by the United States is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations and is menacing world peace.

Those who slanderously attack the C.P.C. allege that our unremitting exposures of imperialism, and especially of the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism, show our disbelief in the possibility of averting a world war; actually what these people oppose is the exposure of imperialism. On many occasions they have publicly opposed the exposure of imperialism. Although they admit in words that the nature of imperialism has not changed, in fact, they prettify U.S. imperialism in a hundred and one ways and spread among the masses of the people illusions about imperialism, and especially about U.S. imperialism.

It will be recalled that three years ago, following the "Camp David talks," some persons in the international communist movement talked a great deal about Eisenhower's sincere desire for peace, saying that this ring-leader of U.S. imperialism was just as concerned about peace as we were. It will also be recalled that when Eisenhower arrived in Italy on his European tour in December 1959, certain comrades of the C.P.I. went so far as to put up posters, distribute leaflets and organize a gala welcome, urging all Italian political parties and people from all walks of life to "salute" him. One of the welcoming slogans ran as follows: "We Communists of Rome salute Dwight Eisenhower and, in the name of 250,000 electors in the capital of the Italian Republic, express our confidence and our determination that the great hopes for peace which were aroused in the hearts of all peoples, hopes created by the meeting between the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, shall not end in disappointment." (*L'Unita*, December 4, 1959.)

Now we again hear some people saying that Kennedy is even more concerned about world peace than Eisenhower was and that Kennedy showed his concern for the maintenance of peace during the Caribbean crisis.

One would like to ask: Is this way of embellishing U.S. imperialism the correct policy for defending world peace? The intrusion into the Soviet Union of spy planes sent by the Eisenhower Administration, the aggression against Cuba by the Kennedy Administration, the hundred and one other acts of aggression around the world by U.S. imperialism, and its threats to world peace—have these not repeatedly confirmed the truth that the ring-leaders of U.S. imperialism are no angels of peace but monsters of war? And are not those people who try time and again to prettify imperialism deliberately deceiving the people of the world?

It is crystal clear that if one went by what these people say, U.S. imperialism would have ceased to be the enemy of world peace, and therefore, there would be no need to fight against its policies of aggression and war. This erroneous view, which openly runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, can only make the peace-loving people of the world lose their bearing, damage the fight for world peace and assist U.S. imperialism in carrying out its policies of aggression and war.

Negotiation and Mass Struggle. Secondly, the Communist Party of China holds that world peace can only

be securely safeguarded in the resolute struggle against imperialism headed by the United States by constantly strengthening the socialist camp, and by constantly strengthening the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries and the movement to defend world peace. To achieve world peace it is necessary to rely mainly on the strength of the masses of the people of the world and on their struggles. In the course of the struggle to defend world peace, it is necessary to enter into negotiations on one issue or another with the governments of the imperialist countries, including the Government of the United States, for the purpose of easing international tension, reaching some kind of compromise and arriving at certain agreements, subject to the principle that such compromises and agreements must not damage the fundamental interests of the people. However, world peace can never be achieved by negotiations alone, and in no circumstances must we pin our hopes on imperialism and divorce ourselves from the struggles of the masses.

Those who attack the Communist Party of China misrepresent this correct viewpoint of ours as showing lack of faith in the possibility of averting a world war. As a matter of fact, they themselves have no faith in the possibility of preventing a world war by reliance on the strength of the masses and their struggles, and they are opposed to relying on the masses and their struggles. They want the people of the world to believe in the "sensible-ness," the "assurances" and the "good intentions" of imperialism and to place their hopes for world peace on "mutual conciliation," "mutual concessions," "mutual accommodation" and "sensible compromises" with imperialism. To beg imperialism for peace, these persons do not scruple to impair the fundamental interests of the people of various countries, throw overboard the revolutionary principles and even demand that others also sacrifice the revolutionary principles.

Innumerable historical facts prove that genuine peace can never be attained by begging imperialism for peace at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people and at the expense of revolutionary principles. On the contrary, this can only help to inflate the arrogance of the imperialist aggressors. Comrade Fidel Castro has rightly said that "the way to peace is not the way of sacrifice of, or infringement upon, the people's rights, because that is precisely the way leading to war."

The Way to Safeguard World Peace. Thirdly, the Communist Party of China holds that the struggle for the defence of world peace and the national-liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles in various countries support each other and cannot be separated. The national-liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles are a powerful force weakening the imperialist forces of war and defending world peace. The more the national-liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the people develop, the better for the defence of world peace. The socialist countries, the Communists of all countries and all the peace-loving people of the world must resolutely support the national-liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in various countries, and must resolutely sup-

port wars of national liberation and peoples' revolutionary wars.

In branding this correct view of ours as "warlike," those who attack the Communist Party of China are, in fact, placing the struggle in defence of world peace in opposition to the movements of national liberation, the peoples' revolutionary struggles and in opposition to wars of national liberation and peoples' revolutionary wars. According to them, all that the oppressed nations and the oppressed peoples can do is to receive what is "bestowed" by imperialism and the reactionaries, and they should not wage struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries, or they would be disturbing world peace. These persons assert that if oppressed nations and oppressed peoples were to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war when confronting armed suppression by imperialism and the reactionaries, this would have "irreparable consequences." This erroneous view of theirs can only mean that they are opposed to revolution by oppressed nations and peoples, and demand that these nations and peoples abandon their revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars and for ever submit to the dark rule and enslavement of imperialism and reaction.

Facts have shown that every victory for the national-liberation movement and for the revolutionary struggle of the people hits and weakens the imperialist forces of war and strengthens and augments the peace forces of the world. To take the stand of fearing revolution, of opposing revolution, results in setbacks and defeats for the national-liberation movements and the people's revolutionary cause, and this will only damage the peace forces and heighten the danger of imperialists starting a world war.

To sum up, on the question of how to avert world war and safeguard world peace, the Communist Party of China has consistently stood for the resolute exposure of imperialism, for strengthening the socialist camp, for firm support of the national-liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles, for the broadest alliance of all the peace-loving countries and people of the world, and at the same time, for taking full advantage of the contradictions among our enemies, and for utilizing the method of negotiation as well as other forms of struggle. The aim of this stand is precisely the effective prevention of world war and preservation of world peace. This stand fully conforms with Marxism-Leninism and with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It is the correct policy for preventing world war and defending world peace. We persist in this correct policy precisely because we are deeply convinced that it is possible to prevent world war by relying on the combined struggle of all the forces mentioned above. How then can this stand be described as lacking faith in the possibility of averting world war? How can it be called "warlike"? It would simply result in a phoney peace or bring about an actual war for the people of the whole world if you prettify imperialism, pin your hopes of peace on imperialism, take an attitude of passivity or opposition towards the national-liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles and bow down and surrender to imperialism, as advocated by those who attack the Communist Party of China. This policy is wrong and all

Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionary people, all peace-loving people must resolutely oppose it.

II

Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War

On the question of war and peace, the differences which Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us find striking expression in our respective attitudes to nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

The Communist Party of China has consistently held that nuclear weapons have unprecedented destructive power and that it would be an unprecedented calamity for mankind if nuclear war should break out. It is precisely for this reason that we have always called for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, that is, a total ban on the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons. Time and again the Chinese Government has proposed the establishment of an area free from atomic weapons embracing all the countries of the Asian and Pacific region, the United States included. Besides, we have always actively supported all the just struggles waged by the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world for the outlawing of nuclear weapons and the prevention of a nuclear war. The allegations that the Communist Party of China underestimates the destructiveness of nuclear weapons and wants to drag the world into a nuclear war are absurd slanders.

Are Marxist-Leninist Principles "Out of Date"? On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the first difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China is whether or not the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace have become "out of date" since the emergence of nuclear weapons.

Togliatti and certain others believe that the emergence of nuclear weapons "has changed the nature of war" and that "one should add other considerations to the definition of the just character of a war." Actually they hold that war is no longer the continuation of politics, and that there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars. Thus they completely deny the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace. We hold that the emergence of nuclear weapons has not changed and cannot change the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles with regard to war and peace. In reality, the numerous wars that have broken out since the appearance of nuclear weapons have all been the continuation of politics, and there still are just and unjust wars. In practice, those who hold there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars either oppose waging just wars or refuse to give them support, and they have lapsed into the position of bourgeois pacifism which is opposed to all wars.

The Future of Mankind. On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the second difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China is whether one should view the future of mankind with pessimism or with revolutionary optimism.

Togliatti and certain others talk volubly about "the suicide of mankind" and the "total destruction of mankind." They believe that "it is idle even to discuss what would be the outlook for such remnants of the human race with regard to social order." We are firmly opposed

to such pessimistic and despairing tunes. We believe that it is possible to attain a complete ban on nuclear weapons in the following circumstances: the socialist camp has a great nuclear superiority; the peoples' struggles in various countries against nuclear weapons and nuclear war become broader and deeper; having further forfeited their nuclear superiority, the imperialists are compelled to realize that their policy of nuclear blackmail is no longer effective and that their launching of a nuclear war would only accelerate their own extinction. There are precedents for the outlawing of highly destructive weapons. One such precedent is the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, concluded by various nations in 1925 in Geneva.

If, after we have done everything possible to prevent a nuclear war, imperialism should nevertheless unleash nuclear war, without regard to any of the consequences, it would only result in the extinction of imperialism and definitely not in the extinction of mankind. The Moscow Statement points out that "should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it." All Marxist-Leninists firmly believe that the course of history necessarily leads to the destruction of nuclear weapons by mankind, and will definitely not lead to the destruction of mankind by nuclear weapons. The advocates of the "total destruction of mankind" contradict the theses contained in the joint documents of the international communist movement, and this only serves to show that they have lost all faith in the future of mankind and in the great ideal of communism and have fallen into the quagmire of defeatism.

How to Prevent Nuclear War? On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the third difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China concerns the policy to be adopted in order successfully to reach the goal of outlawing nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

Togliatti and certain others zealously advertise the dreadful nature of nuclear weapons and blatantly declare that "it is justified" to "shudder" with fear in the face of the nuclear blackmail when U.S. imperialism parades it. Togliatti has also said that "war must be avoided at any cost." According to what he and certain others say, should not the only way of dealing with the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear threats and blackmail be unconditional surrender and the complete abandonment of all revolutionary ideals and all revolutionary principles? Can this be the kind of stand a Communist should take? Can a nuclear war really be prevented in this way?

It's No Use Trembling With Fear. It is unthinkable that "shudders of fear" will move U.S. imperialism to become so benevolent that it will abandon its policies of aggression and war and its policy of nuclear blackmail. Facts prove the opposite. The more one "shudders" with fear, the more unbridled and greedier U.S. imperialism becomes, and the more it persists in using threats of nuclear warfare and raising ever greater demands. Have there not been enough object-lessons of this kind?

We hold that in order to mobilize the masses of the people against nuclear war and nuclear weapons it is necessary to inform them of the enormous destructiveness of these weapons. It would be patently wrong to under-

estimate this destructiveness. However, U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to disseminate dread of nuclear weapons in pursuit of its policy of nuclear blackmail. In these circumstances, while Communists should point out the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, they should counter the U.S. imperialist propaganda of nuclear terror by stressing the possibility of outlawing them and preventing nuclear war; they should try and transmute the people's desire for peace into righteous indignation at the imperialist policy of nuclear threats and lead the people to struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. In no circumstances must Communists act as a voluntary propagandist for the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. We hold that the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail must be thoroughly exposed and that all peace-loving countries and people must be mobilized on the most extensive scale to wage an unrelenting fight against every move made by the U.S. imperialists in their plans for aggression and war. We are deeply convinced that, by relying on the united struggle of all forces defending peace, it is possible to frustrate the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. This is the correct and effective policy for achieving a ban on nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

We would like to advise those who attack the Communist Party of China to discard their fallacious pessimistic arguments, to have confidence in the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to pull themselves together and take an active part in the great struggle of the masses against the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and for the defence of world peace.

III

The Question of Paper Tiger

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have strongly opposed the Marxist-Leninist proposition of the Chinese Communist Party that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." In his report to the recent congress of the Italian Communist Party Comrade Togliatti said that it "was wrong to state that imperialism is simply a paper tiger which can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder." Then there are other persons who assert that today imperialism has nuclear teeth, so how can it be called a paper tiger?

Prejudice is further from the truth than ignorance. In the case of Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades, if they are not ignorant, then they are deliberately distorting this proposition of the C.P.C.

In comparing imperialism and all reactionaries to paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists are looking at the problem as a whole and from a long-term point of view and are looking at the essence of the problem. What is meant is that, in the final analysis, it is the masses of the people who are really powerful, not imperialism and the reactionaries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward this proposition in August 1946, in his talk with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong. That was a difficult time for the Chinese people. The Kuomintang reactionaries, backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism and enjoying immense superiority in men and equipment, had unleashed a nationwide civil war. In the face of the frenzied enemy attacks and the myth of the invincibility of

U.S. imperialism, the most important question for the Chinese revolution and the fate of the Chinese people was whether we would dare to struggle, dare to make a revolution, and dare to seize victory. It was at this crucial moment that Comrade Mao Tse-tung armed the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." With great lucidity he said:

"All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful. . . .

"Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are all paper tigers too. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is terrifically strong. Chinese reactionaries are using the 'strength' of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength."

In his speech at the meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries in Moscow, November 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung expounded the same proposition. He said:

"All the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers. . . . For struggle against the enemy, we formed over a long period the concept that strategically we should despise all our enemies, but that tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that in regard to the whole we should despise the enemy but that in regard to each and every concrete question we must take them seriously. If with regard to the whole we do not despise the enemy we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two persons. Yet in those early days they declared that capitalism would be overthrown all over the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism if we do not take them seriously."

This scientific proposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's was confirmed long ago by the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution; and it has inspired all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples engaged in revolutionary struggles. Let us ask Comrade Togliatti and those who have attacked this proposition: On what particular point is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proposition wrong?

A Colossus With Feet of Clay. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's analysis of imperialism and all reactionaries is completely in accord with Lenin's analysis. In 1919 Lenin compared the "all powerful" Anglo-French imperialism to a "colossus with feet of clay." He said:

"It seemed at that time that world imperialism was such a tremendous and invincible force that it was stupid for the workers of a backward country to attempt an uprising against it. Now . . . we see that imperialism, which seemed such an insuperable colossus, has proved before the whole world to be a colossus with feet of clay . . . that all these seemingly huge and invincible forces of international imperialism are unreliable, and hold no terrors for us, that at the core they are rotten."

Isn't the reasoning of Lenin in his description of the "colossus with feet of clay" the same as that of Comrade

Mao Tse-tung in his reference to the "paper tiger"? We ask, what is wrong with Lenin's proposition? Is this proposition of Lenin's "outmoded"?

What History Teaches. In history there have been countless instances proving that imperialism and reactionaries are all paper tigers. In 1917, before the February and October Revolutions the opportunists said that because the tsar and the bourgeois government were so formidable it would be sheer madness for the people to take up arms. But Lenin and the other Bolsheviks resolutely combated this opportunist view and firmly led the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers to overthrow the tsar and the bourgeois government. History proved that the tsar and the bourgeois government were nothing but paper tigers. On the eve of and during World War II, the adherents of the policy of appeasement and capitulation said that Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists were invincible. But the people of various countries resolutely combated appeasement and capitulation and in the end they won the war against fascism. Again, history proved that Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists were nothing but paper tigers.

We hold that the question of whether one treats imperialism and all reactionaries strategically as the paper tigers they really are is of great importance for the question of how the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction are to be appraised, is of great importance for the question of whether the revolutionary people will dare to wage struggle, dare to make revolution, dare to seize victory, and is of great importance for the question of the future outcome of the worldwide struggles of the people and the future course of history. Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries should never be afraid of imperialism and the reactionaries. Now the days are gone for ever when imperialism could ride roughshod over the world, and it is imperialism and the reactionaries who should be afraid of the forces of revolution and not the other way round. Every oppressed nation and every oppressed people should above all have the revolutionary confidence, the revolutionary courage and the revolutionary spirit to defeat imperialism and the reactionaries, otherwise there will be no hope for any revolution. The only way to win victory in revolution is for the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries to resolutely combat every trace of weakness and capitulation, and to educate the masses of the people in the concept that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," thereby destroying the arrogance of the enemy and enhancing the spirit of the great masses of the people so that they will have revolutionary determination and confidence, revolutionary vision and staunchness.

The possession of nuclear weapons by imperialism has not changed by one iota the nature of imperialism, which is rotten to the core and declining, inwardly weak though outwardly strong; nor has it changed by one iota the basic Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses of the people are the decisive factor in the development of history. When in his talk with Anna Louise Strong Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward the proposition that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, the imperialists already had atomic weapons. In this talk Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course,

the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon."

No Teeth of Any Kind Can Save Imperialism. History has proved that even when imperialism is armed with nuclear weapons it cannot frighten into submission a revolutionary people who dare to fight. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the great victories of the peoples of Korea, Viet Nam, Cuba, Algeria and other countries in their revolutionary struggles, were all won at a time when U.S. imperialism possessed nuclear weapons. Imperialism has always been armed to the teeth and has always been out for the blood of the people. No matter what kind of teeth imperialism may have, whether guns, tanks, rocket teeth, nuclear teeth or any other kind of teeth that modern science and technology may provide, its rotten, decadent and paper-tiger nature cannot change. In the final analysis, neither nuclear teeth nor any other kind of teeth can save imperialism from its fate of inevitable extinction. In the end the nuclear teeth of imperialism, and whatever other teeth it may have, will be consigned by the people of the world to the museum of history, together with imperialism itself.

Those who attack the proposition that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers" have obviously lost every quality a revolutionary ought to have and instead have become as short-sighted and timid as mice. Our advice to these people is, better not tie your fate to that of the imperialists!

IV

The Question of Peaceful Coexistence

The differences Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us are also manifest on the question of peaceful coexistence.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have always stood for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. China was an initiator of the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On the basis of those Five Principles, China has established friendly relations with many countries, concluded treaties of friendship or treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression with Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana, and achieved a satisfactory settlement of boundary questions with Burma, Nepal and other countries. No one can deny these facts.

Yet there are persons in the international communist movement who vilify and attack China as being opposed to peaceful coexistence. The reason they do this is to cover up their own erroneous and anti-Marxist-Leninist views on this question.

Peaceful Coexistence and Class Struggle. On the question of peaceful coexistence, our differences with those who attack us are the following. We believe that socialist countries should strive to establish normal international relations with countries with different social systems on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. So far as the socialist countries are concerned, this presents no difficulties whatsoever. The obstacles come from imperialism and

from the reactionaries of various countries. It is inconceivable that peaceful coexistence can be achieved without struggle. It is still less conceivable that the establishment of peaceful coexistence can eliminate class struggles in the world arena and can abolish the antagonism between the two systems, socialism and capitalism, and the antagonism between oppressed nations and oppressor nations. The Moscow Statement of 1960 points out: "Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism."

But Comrade Togliatti and those who attack China hold that through "peaceful coexistence" it is possible to "renovate the structure of the whole world" and to establish "a new world order" to build throughout the world "an economic and social order capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men and peoples for freedom, well-being, independence, and the full development of and respect for the human personality, and for peaceful cooperation of all states" and "a world without war." This means that it is possible through "peaceful coexistence" to change a "world structure" in which there exists antagonism between the systems of socialism and capitalism and between oppressed and oppressor nations, and that it is possible to eliminate all wars and to realize "a world without war" while imperialism and reactionaries still exist.

In taking this stand, Comrade Togliatti and other comrades have completely revised Lenin's principles for peaceful coexistence and discarded the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of class struggle; in reality they are substituting class collaboration for class struggle on a world scale, advocating a fusion of the socialist and capitalist systems. U.S. imperialism is now making a lot of noise about establishing a "world community of free nations," and vainly hopes to absorb the socialist countries into the "free world" through "peaceful evolution." The Tito clique is helping U.S. imperialism by beating the drums for "economic integration" and "political integration" of the world. Shouldn't those who advocate "renewing the structure of the whole world" in peaceful coexistence draw a line of demarcation between themselves and U.S. imperialism? Shouldn't they draw a line of demarcation between themselves and the Tito clique?

Even more absurd is the allegation that "a world without war" can be achieved through peaceful coexistence. In the present situation, it is possible to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war if all the peace-loving forces of the world unite into a broad international anti-imperialist united front and fight together. But it is one thing to prevent a world war and another to eliminate all wars. Imperialism and the reactionaries are the source of war. In conditions where imperialism and reactionaries still exist, wars of one kind or another may occur. The history of the 17 postwar years shows that local wars of one kind or another have never ceased. Oppressed nations and oppressed people are bound to rise in revolution. When imperialism and the reactionaries employ armed force to suppress revolution, it is inevitable that civil wars and national-liberation wars will occur. Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that only after the imperialist system has been overthrown and only after all systems of oppression of man by man and of exploitation of man by man have been abolished, and not before,

will it be possible to eliminate all wars and to reach "a world without war."

Peaceful Coexistence and Revolution. On peaceful coexistence we have another difference with those who are attacking us. We hold that the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and the question of revolution by oppressed nations and oppressed classes are two different kinds of questions, and not questions of the same kind. The principle of peaceful coexistence can apply only to relations between countries with different social systems, not to relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, nor to relations between oppressed and oppressing classes. For an oppressed nation or people the question is one of waging a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism and the reactionaries; it is not, and cannot be, a question of peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the reactionaries.

But Togliatti and those attacking China extend their idea of "peaceful coexistence" to cover relations between the colonial and semi-colonial people on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other. They say, "the problem of starvation which still afflicts a billion people," and "the problem of developing the productive forces and democracy in the underdeveloped areas" "must be solved through negotiations, seeking reasonable solutions and avoiding actions which might worsen the situation and cause irreparable consequences." They do not like sparks of revolution among the oppressed nations and peoples. They say that a tiny spark may lead to a world war.

Such a way of speaking is really asking the oppressed nations to "coexist peacefully" with their colonial rulers, and asking them to tolerate colonial rule rather than to resist or wage struggles for independence, much less to fight wars of national liberation. Doesn't this kind of talk mean that the Chinese people, the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Cuban people, the Algerian people and the people of other countries who rose in revolution have all violated the principle of "peaceful coexistence" and done wrong? It is very difficult for us to see any real difference between such talk and the preachings of the imperialists and colonialists.

"Joint Intervention." Even more astounding is the fact that Togliatti and certain other people extend their idea of class collaboration in the international arena to cover "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas. They have said that "states of diverse social structure" can through mutual co-operation "jointly intervene" to bring about progress in the underdeveloped areas. To talk like this is obviously to spread illusions in the interest of neo-colonialism. The policy of imperialism towards the underdeveloped areas, whatever its form or pattern, is bound to be a policy of colonialist plunder, and can never be a policy concerned for the progress of the underdeveloped areas. The socialist countries should of course support the people of the underdeveloped areas; first of all they should support their struggles for national independence, and when independence has been won, they should support them in developing their national economies. But the socialist countries should never second the colonialist policy of the imperialists towards the underdeveloped countries, much less "jointly intervene" with them in the

underdeveloped areas. For anyone to do so would be to betray proletarian internationalism and to serve the interests of imperialism and colonialism.

The Bitter Lessons of the Congo. Is it really possible to have "peaceful coexistence" between the oppressed nations and peoples on one side and the imperialists and colonialists on the other? What does "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas really mean? The Congo incident is the best answer. When the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted its resolution for international intervention in the Congo, there were some people in the international communist movement who believed this to be a shining example of international co-operation. They believed that colonialism could be wiped out through the intervention of the U.N., which would enable the Congolese people to obtain their freedom and independence. But what was the outcome? Lumumba, the national hero of the Congo, was murdered; Gizenga, his successor, was imprisoned; many Congolese patriots were murdered or thrown into jail; and the vigorous Congolese struggle for national independence was seriously set back. The Congo not only continues to be enslaved by the old colonialists, but has also become a colony of U.S. imperialism, sinking into ever deeper suffering. We ask those who are clamouring for "peaceful coexistence" between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other, and for "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas: Have you forgotten the tragic lesson of the Congo incident?

Sino-Indian Relations. Those who slander China as being against peaceful coexistence attack her with the charge that she has committed mistakes in her relations with India. Disregarding the true facts and failing to discriminate between right and wrong, they invariably blame China for having clashed with India. On this question, Togliatti said, "We know all that is reasonable and right in the claims of the People's Republic of China. We also know that the military actions began with an attack from the Indian side." This was a little fairer than the attitude of some self-styled Marxist-Leninists who invariably make the false charge that China started the clashes on the border. Nevertheless, Togliatti, making no distinction between black and white, still asserts that the Sino-Indian armed clashes were "unreasonable and absurd." We ask Comrade Togliatti, confronted with the preposterous territorial claims and the large-scale armed attacks of the reactionary clique in India, what should China have done in order to be called "reasonable" and not "absurd"? Is it possible that the only way that China could prove herself "reasonable" and not "absurd" was to submit to the unreasonable demands and the armed attacks of the Indian reactionary clique? Is it possible that the only way socialist China could prove herself "reasonable" and not "absurd" was to hand over with a bow large tracts of her own territory?

The position taken by Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades on the Sino-Indian boundary question reflects their point of view on peaceful coexistence, which is that in carrying out this policy the socialist countries should make one concession after another to the capitalist countries, should not fight even in self-defence when subjected to armed attacks, but should surrender their ter-

ritorial sovereignty. May we ask, is there anything in common between this point of view and the principle of peaceful coexistence which a socialist country ought to follow?

China's All-Out Support for Cuba. Those who accuse China of opposing peaceful coexistence also attack the Chinese people for supporting the just stand of the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. When the heroic Cuban people and their revolutionary leader, Premier Fidel Castro, resolutely rejected international inspection as an infringement on Cuba's sovereignty and advanced their five just demands, the Chinese people held gigantic mass demonstrations and parades throughout the country in accordance with their consistent stand for proletarian internationalism, and firmly supported the Cuban people's struggle in defence of their independence, sovereignty and dignity. Was there anything wrong in that? Yet some people have repeatedly charged China with creating difficulties in the Caribbean situation and with wanting to plunge the world into a thermonuclear war. This slander against China is most malicious and most despicable.

How can one possibly interpret the resolute support which the Chinese people gave to the Cuban people in their struggle against international inspection and in defence of their sovereignty as meaning that China was opposed to peaceful coexistence or wanted to plunge others into a thermonuclear war? Does this mean that China, also, should have applied pressure on Cuba to force her to accept international inspection, and that only by so doing would China have conformed to this so-called "peaceful coexistence"? If there are people who give verbal support to Cuba's five demands but are actually opposed to the Chinese people's support for Cuba, are they not merely exposing the hypocrisy of their own support for Cuba's five demands?

The C.P.C. and the Chinese people have always maintained that the course of history is decided by the great strength of the masses of the people and not by any weapons. On more than one occasion we have made it clear that we neither called for the establishment of missile bases in Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of the so-called "offensive weapons" from Cuba. We have never considered that it was a Marxist-Leninist attitude to brandish nuclear weapons as a way of settling international disputes. Nor have we ever considered that the avoidance of a thermonuclear war in the Caribbean crisis was a "Munich." What we did strongly oppose, still strongly oppose and will strongly oppose in the future is the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as one hundred per cent appeasement, a "Munich" pure and simple. A compromise of this sort has nothing in common with the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence.

V

The Question of Peaceful Transition

In fact, not only do Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades call for class collaboration in place of class struggle in the international arena, they also extend their concept of "peaceful coexistence" to relations between the oppressed and the oppressing classes within

the capitalist countries. Togliatti has said: "All our actions within the sphere of the internal situation of our country are none other than the translation into Italian terms of the great struggle for renewing the structure of the whole world." Here the phrase "all our actions" means what they call the "advance towards socialism in democracy and in peace," or the road to socialism through "structural reform," as they describe it.

"Structural Reform." Although the present line of the Italian Communist Party on the question of socialist revolution is incorrect in our opinion, we have never attempted to interfere because, of course, this is a matter for the Italian comrades alone to decide. But now since Comrade Togliatti claims that his theory of "structural reform" is a "line common to the whole international communist movement," and unilaterally declares that peaceful transition has "become a principle of world strategy of the workers' movement and the communist movement," and since this issue involves not only the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, but also the fundamental problem of the emancipation of the proletariat and the people in all the capitalist countries, as members of the international communist movement and as Marxist-Leninists, we cannot but express our opinions on the subject.

The fundamental problem in every revolution is that of state power. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels declared: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class." This idea runs through the entire works of Lenin. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin laid stress on the need to break up and smash the bourgeois state machine and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said, "The working class must break up, smash the 'ready-made state machinery,' and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it"; and that "a Marxist [is one] who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." He further said, "All is illusion, except power."

In elucidating the common laws of socialist revolution the 1957 Moscow Declaration first states that to embark on the road to socialism it is necessary for the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, to guide the working masses in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is not the slightest doubt that the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, and the common laws of socialist revolution enunciated in the Moscow Declaration, are universally applicable and, of course, applicable also to Italy.

However, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades of the Italian Communist Party maintain that Lenin's analysis in *The State and Revolution* is "no longer sufficient," and that the content of proletarian dictatorship is now different. According to their theory of "structural reform," there is no need for present-day Italy to have a proletarian revolution, there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine, and there is no need to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; they can arrive at socialism "progressively" and "peacefully" merely through a "succession of reforms," through the nationalization of

the big enterprises, through economic planning and through the extension of democracy within the framework of the Italian Constitution. **In fact, they take the state to be an instrument above class and believe that the bourgeois state, too, can carry out socialist policies, they take bourgeois democracy to be democracy above class and believe that the proletariat can rise to be the "leading class" in the state by relying on such democracy. This theory of "structural reform" is a complete betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist theories of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.**

Present-day Italy is a capitalist country ruled by the monopoly capitalist class. Although the Italian Constitution incorporates some of the gains achieved by the Italian working class and the Italian people through their valiant struggles over the years, it is still a bourgeois constitution with the protection of capitalist ownership as its core. Like the democracy practised in all other capitalist countries, democracy as practised in Italy is bourgeois democracy, i.e., bourgeois dictatorship. Nationalization as practised in Italy is not state capitalism under the socialist system, but a state capitalism which serves the interests of the monopoly capitalist class. In order to maintain its exploitation and its rule, the monopoly capitalist class may at times adopt certain measures of reform. It is entirely necessary for the working class in capitalist countries to wage day-to-day economic struggles and struggles for democracy. However, the purpose of waging these struggles is to achieve partial improvements in the living conditions of the working class and working people and, what is more important, to educate the masses and organize them, enhance their consciousness and accumulate revolutionary strength for the seizure of state power when the time is ripe. Marxist-Leninists, while favouring struggle for reforms, resolutely oppose reformism.

Facts have proved that whenever the political and economic demands of the working class and working people have exceeded the limits permitted by the monopoly capitalists, the Italian Government, which represents the interests of monopoly capital, has resorted to repression. Have not innumerable historical facts proved this to be an unalterable law of class struggle? How is it conceivable that the monopoly capitalist class will abandon its interests and its rule and step down from the stage of history of its own accord?

Togliatti's Answer: "We Don't Know." Togliatti himself is not completely unaware of this. Although he has energetically advocated the possibility of "breaking the power of the big monopoly groups" within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, his answer to the question, "How can this be done?" is, "We don't know." It can thus be seen that the theory of "structural reform" held by Togliatti and certain other leaders of the Italian Communist Party stems not from historical materialism and the scientific study of objective reality, but from idealism and illusion. Yet they have been energetically propagating views which they themselves know are unreliable and describing them as a "line common to the whole international communist movement." Such a practice on their part serves only to vitiate and attenuate the proletarian revolutionary struggle, preserve capitalist rule and completely negate the socialist revolution. Isn't this a new kind of social-democratic trend?

Recently in capitalist countries, some Communists who have degenerated politically and some Right-wing social-democrats have successively advertised the theory of "structural reform," using it to attack Communist Parties. This fact in itself is sufficient to show how closely the theory of "structural reform" resembles social democracy and how remote it is from Marxism-Leninism!

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out that socialist revolution may be realized through peaceful or non-peaceful means. Some people have tried in vain to use this thesis to justify the theory of "structural reform." It is also erroneous to quote peaceful transition one-sidedly as "a principle of world strategy of the communist movement."

From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, it would naturally be in the interests of the proletariat and the entire people if peaceful transition could be realized. Whenever the possibility for peaceful transition appears in a given country, the Communists should strive for its realization. After all, possibility and reality, the wish and its fulfilment, are two different things. Hitherto, history has not witnessed a single example of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. Communists should not pin all their hopes for the victory of the revolution on peaceful transition. The bourgeoisie will never step down from the stage of history of its own accord. This is a universal law of class struggle. Communists must not in the slightest degree relax their preparedness for revolution. They must be prepared to repel the assaults of counter-revolution and to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force at the critical juncture of the revolution when the proletariat is seizing state power and the bourgeoisie resorts to armed force to suppress the revolution.

That is to say, Communists should be prepared to employ dual tactics, namely, while preparing for the peaceful development of the revolution, they should be fully prepared for its non-peaceful development. Only in this way can they avoid being caught unawares when a situation favourable to the revolution emerges, and when the bourgeoisie resorts to violence in order to suppress the revolution. Even when it is possible to secure state power through peaceful means, one must be prepared to deal immediately with armed intervention by foreign imperialists and with counter-revolutionary armed rebellions supported by the imperialists. Communists should concentrate their attention on the accumulation of revolutionary strength through painstaking efforts and must be ready to fight back against armed attacks by the bourgeoisie whenever necessary. They should not lay one-sided stress on peaceful transition and concentrate their attention on this possibility; otherwise they are bound to benumb the revolutionary will of the proletariat, disarm themselves ideologically, be utterly passive and unprepared politically and organizationally, and end up by burying the cause of the proletarian revolution.

What Kautsky Said. The thesis of Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the Italian Communist Party concerning "the advance towards socialism in democracy and in peace" is reminiscent of some of the statements of the old revisionist K. Kautsky. Kautsky said more than forty years ago, "I anticipate . . . that it will be possible to carry it [the social revolution of the proletariat] out by peaceful, economic, legal and moral means, instead of

by physical force, in all places where democracy has been established." (*The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* by K. Kautsky, published in 1918.) Should Communists not draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and such social-democrats as Kautsky?

VI

Tito — That Renegade to Communism

The extent to which Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have departed from Marxism-Leninism and from the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement is more clearly revealed by their recent ardent flirtation with the Yugoslav revisionist group.

A representative of the Tito group, who are renegades from Marxism-Leninism, was invited to the recent Congress of the Italian Communist Party and was given a platform from which to denounce China. At the same congress, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades publicly defended the Tito group and lavishly praised them for "the value of what they have done and are doing."

We wish to ask Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades: Do you still recognize the Moscow Statement as binding on you? The 1960 Moscow Statement states unequivocally:

"The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the League of Communists of Yugoslavia against the international communist movement as a whole."

Can it be that this condemnation of the Tito group is a mistake? Is the resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Communist Parties of all countries to be thrown overboard at the whim or will by any individual or individuals?

After all, facts are facts and renegades to communism remain renegades to communism. The judgement arrived at in the Moscow Statement cannot be overturned by anyone, whoever he may be.

Far from giving up their thoroughly revisionist programme, the Tитоites have stuck to it in the draft Yugoslav Constitution which they published not long ago.

The Tito group have not changed their "unique road" of building "socialism" through selling themselves to imperialism. On the contrary, they are working harder and harder in the service of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Recently U.S. imperialism has tipped the Tito group with extra "aid" amounting to more than 100 million dollars. Under the same old camouflage of "being outside blocs" and of "positive coexistence" the Tito group are doing everything they can to sabotage the national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving countries.

With the development of the Tito group's revisionist line and their increasing dependence upon U.S. imperialism, Yugoslavia has long ceased to be a socialist country and

the gradual restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia began long ago.

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia has occurred not through any counter-revolutionary coup d'état by the bourgeoisie, nor through any invasion by imperialism but gradually, through the degeneration of the Tito group. In this connection, as Lenin pointed out long ago, "the main question of every revolution is, undoubtedly, the question of state power. In the hands of which class power is — this decides everything." The character of a state depends on what class wields state power and on what policy it carries out. In Yugoslavia today state power is in the hands of the Tito group, a group who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism, betrayed the fundamental interests of the Yugoslav working class and the Yugoslav people, and who are enforcing a whole set of out-and-out revisionist policies. In the Yugoslav countryside, the rich peasant and other capitalist forces are rapidly growing, and class differentiation is being accelerated. The capitalist laws of free competition and of profit are playing the dominant role in all spheres of Yugoslav economic life, and capitalist anarchy is rampant.

The Tito Group: A "Bellwether." It may not be unprofitable to listen to what the imperialists have to say in their appraisal of the Tito group. The U.S. imperialists have likened the Tito group to a "bellwether," that is to say, they aim at inducing certain socialist countries to leave the socialist camp and enter Kennedy's "community of the free world" through the influence of the Yugoslav revisionists. The Yugoslav example makes it clear that the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads is still going on and that the danger of the restoration of capitalism continues to exist even in a country which has embarked on the road of socialism.

The phenomena of political degeneration and of the emergence of new bourgeois elements after the victory of a proletarian revolution are not difficult to understand. Lenin once said that historically various kinds of degeneration had occurred and that in given conditions it was possible for a handful of new bourgeois elements to emerge from among Soviet functionaries. It is precisely the new bourgeois elements such as Lenin referred to who have occupied the ruling positions in Yugoslavia.

In his concluding speech Comrade Togliatti said:

"When you say that capitalism has been restored in Yugoslavia — and everybody knows that this is not true — nobody believes the rest of what you say, and everyone thinks that it is all simply an exaggeration."

He seemed to think this a complete refutation of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Chinese Communist Party. But sophistry does not alter the truth. The only reason advanced in support of the arbitrary assertion that Yugoslavia is a socialist country was that one could not find a single capitalist there. It is always hard for people to see the truth when they wear coloured spectacles. Since there are many points of similarity between Togliatti *et al* and the Tito group in their understanding of proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship and socialism, it is small wonder that they fail to see the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, and that they fail to see the new bourgeois elements in Yugoslavia.

Birds of a Feather Flock Together. It is particularly surprising that certain people, while loudly boasting of their intimate relations with the renegade Tito group, vigorously attack the Chinese Communist Party, asserting that our unity with the Albanian Party of Labour, which is based on Marxism-Leninism, is "impermissible." These people stop at nothing in their attempt to eject the Albanian Party of Labour, a Marxist-Leninist Party, from the international communist movement, and at the same time, they are seeking ways to inject the renegade Tito group, which the Moscow Statement unequivocally condemns, into the international communist movement. What are they really after? As the old Chinese saying has it, "things of one kind come together; different kinds of people fall into different groups." Should not those who treat the Tito group like brothers and who cherish such bitter hatred for a fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party stop and think for a moment where they now stand?

VII

Scientific Socialism: A Universally Applicable Truth

In the final analysis our differences on a whole series of problems with Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades who hold similar views involve the fundamental question of whether the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism are outmoded, and whether the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are out of date.

"Marxism Is Different From Leninism." Using the pretext that the epoch has changed and that nations have special characteristics, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades hold that Marxism-Leninism is "outmoded" and that the common laws governing socialist revolution, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration, do not apply to Italy. Gian Carlo Pajetta, one of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, has gone even further. He has said, "Marxism is different from Leninism, and the Marxism of Marx is different from the Leninism of Lenin." It is on such pretexts that they have revised and discarded the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and have put forward and are peddling what they call the "Italian road," which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

Scientific socialism founded by Marx and Engels is a summing-up of the laws governing the development of human society and it is a truth that is universally applicable. The development of history, far from "outmoding" Marxism, has further proved its boundless vitality. Marxism has continuously developed in the course of the struggle of the international proletariat to know and to change the objective world. On the basis of the characteristics of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin creatively developed Marxism in the new historical conditions. In the years since his death, the proletarian parties of various countries have enriched the treasury of Marxism-Leninism by their own revolutionary struggles. Nevertheless, all these new developments proceeded from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and definitely did not depart from these basic principles.

The Path of October Revolution. The path of the October Revolution charted by Lenin, and the common laws governing socialist revolution and socialist construction as set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, are the common path along which the peoples of the world are advancing towards the abolition of capitalism and the establishment

of socialism. In spite of the great changes in the world since the October Revolution, the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are illustrated by the path of the October Revolution, shine forth today with ever greater brilliance.

In defending his erroneous point of view Togliatti said that the line pursued by the Chinese Communist Party "actually did not correspond to the strategical and tactical line pursued, for example, by the Bolsheviks in the course of the revolution from March to October (1917)." This definitely does not conform with the historical reality of the Chinese revolution. In its long revolutionary struggle, in its struggle against dogmatism and empiricism as well as against "Left" and Right opportunism, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution. Despite the fact that the Chinese revolution, like the revolutions of other countries, has many special characteristics, the Chinese Communists have always regarded the Chinese revolution as a continuation of the Great October Revolution. It was by following the path of the October Revolution that the Chinese revolution was won. Togliatti's distortions about the Chinese revolution only show that he is trying to find pretexts for his own peculiar line, which runs counter to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the common laws governing the socialist revolution.

It is necessary for a Marxist-Leninist Party to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country and for it to apply the common laws of socialist revolution creatively in the light of the specific conditions in its own country. Marxism-Leninism develops continuously with practice. Certain propositions advanced by a Marxist-Leninist Party during a certain period and under certain conditions have to be replaced by new propositions, because of changed circumstances and times. Failure to do so will result in the error of dogmatism and losses to the cause of communism. But under no circumstances is a Marxist-Leninist Party allowed to use the pretext of certain new social phenomena to negate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, to substitute revisionism for Marxism-Leninism and to betray communism.

At a certain stage in the development of a Communist Party, dogmatism and sectarianism may become the main dangers. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are fully correct in pointing out the necessity of opposing dogmatism and sectarianism. Nevertheless, under present conditions modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist movement as a whole, just as the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out. Modern revisionism "which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilizes the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism." At present, the modern revisionists are opposing Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of opposing dogmatism, are renouncing revolution under the pretext of opposing

"Left" adventurism, and are advocating unprincipled compromise and capitulationism under the pretext of flexibility in tactics. If a resolute struggle is not waged against modern revisionism, the international communist movement will be seriously harmed.

Lenin Defined Major Features of Revisionism. The recent appearance of an adverse current which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement furnishes additional proof of the correctness of the theses in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Concerning the major features of revisionism, Lenin once said, "To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole and of capitalist evolution as a whole; to sacrifice these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment — such is the policy of revisionism."

The revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary people are sure to march along the correct road charted by Marxism-Leninism. Difficult and tortuous though it may be, it is the only road to victory. The historical development of society will follow neither the "theories" of imperialism nor the "theories" of revisionism. However much they may have done for the workers' movement in the past, no person, no political party and no group can avoid becoming the servant of the bourgeoisie and being cast aside by the proletariat, once they depart from the road of Marxism-Leninism, step onto and slide down the road of revisionism.

Calling for a Representative Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties

We have been forced into a public discussion of the major differences between ourselves and Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades in the Italian Communist Party. It has occurred against our wishes and would not have occurred if they had not publicly challenged us first and insisted on a public debate. But even though we are obliged to enter into public debate, we still sincerely hope it will be possible to eliminate our differences through comradely discussion. Although, to our regret, we find that Togliatti and the comrades who share his views are increasingly departing from Marxism-Leninism, we still earnestly hope they will not plunge further, but will recover their bearings and return to the stand of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We desire to look ahead. On several occasions, we have suggested the holding of a representative conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to settle the current differences in the international communist movement. We hold that Communists of all countries should take to heart the common interests of the struggle against the enemy and the cause of proletarian revolution, should abide by the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and should eliminate their differences and strengthen their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is the hope of the working class and of people throughout the world.

The history of the working-class movement in all countries during the past century and more is replete with sharp struggles between Marxism and all kinds of opportunism. From the very beginning, the international communist movement has steadily advanced by struggling against and overcoming reformism, social democracy and revisionism. Today, the revisionists of various brands may bluster for a time, but this indicates not strength but weakness on their part. The revisionist and new social-democratic trends, which have now appeared in the international communist movement and which suit the needs of monopoly capitalism and U.S. imperialism, are substantially the product of the policies of monopoly capital and U.S. imperialism. But the various kinds of revisionism can neither block the victorious advance of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, nor can they save imperialism from its final doom.

Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph

In 1913, in the course of his struggle against opportunism, Lenin pointed out, in expounding the historical destiny of the doctrines of Karl Marx, that although Marxism had been subjected to distortions by the opportunists, the development of the revolutionary struggles of the people in all countries had continuously brought it new confirmation and new triumphs. Lenin correctly predicted "... a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that is now opening." Now we feel that Marxism-Leninism is at a new and important historical juncture. The struggle

between the Marxist-Leninist trend and the anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionist trend is once again being placed on the Communist agenda in all countries in an acute form. We are profoundly convinced that however complicated the course of the struggle, the Marxist-Leninist trend will eventually triumph.

More than one century ago, in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels made the courageous and gallant call to the whole world — "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." This great call inspires all revolutionaries dedicated to the cause of communism and the proletariat the world over, and imbues them with full confidence about the future, so that they will resolutely break through all obstacles and boldly advance. At the present time, the ranks of the international proletariat are growing stronger and stronger, the political consciousness of the people of all countries is constantly rising, the struggles for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism are gaining victory after victory, and the great ideas of socialism and communism are attracting ever greater numbers among the oppressed nations and peoples who find themselves in a difficult and bitter plight. Let imperialism and the reactionaries tremble before the great revolutionary tide of the working class and of all oppressed nations and peoples of the world! Marxism-Leninism will finally triumph! The revolutionary cause of the working class and of the people the world over will finally triumph!

Between Asian Neighbours

Warm Welcome for Distinguished Guests From Ceylon and Indonesia

by **OUR CORRESPONDENT**

Mrs. Bandaranaike

IT was ten degrees below zero weather. A piercing wind was blowing its hardest. Yet several hundreds of thousands of Peking residents turned out to greet Mrs. Sirimavo Dias Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, in one of the warmest welcomes ever accorded to a foreign government head visiting this hospitable city.

Mrs. Bandaranaike is in China on an official visit at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai. She will exchange views with Chinese leaders on the promotion of direct negotiations between China and India for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question as suggested by the conference of the six Afro-Asian countries. She will tour Peking and several major cities in China. Her entourage includes Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, Ceylonese Minister Without Portfolio and Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, and other Ceylonese officials.

Mrs. Bandaranaike's visit to China marks the culmination of over a decade of steadily growing friendly ties between the new China and Ceylon. Despite obstruction from the imperialists, economic co-operation between the two countries has steadily increased, as have cultural and other friendly contacts. This was especially true in the period when the Ceylonese Government was headed by the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike and that fine tradition has been continued during the prime ministership of Mrs. Bandaranaike.

Ceylon was one of the first countries to recognize the People's Republic of China. She was also one of the first Asian countries to break the U.S. imperialist embargo on China to carry on trade with this country on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. In 1957, when Premier Chou En-lai visited Ceylon, he received a rousing welcome from the Ceylonese Government and people. Since then the close co-operation between the two countries and peoples has been steadily strengthened. The founding of the China-Ceylon Friendship Association last September and



Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, is warmly greeted by Premier Chou En-lai at Peking airport

the signing of a third five-year trade agreement and an agreement on economic and technical co-operation in October are only two of the latest of many new ties of friendship. It was therefore with especially warm sentiments that the Chinese people greeted the Ceylonese Prime Minister as she arrived on the eve of the New Year.

A Grand Ceremony

A grand ceremony of welcome took place at the Peking airport. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Ho Lung, Chen Yi and Lo Jui-ching, and other Chinese government leaders went to the planeside to meet their distinguished Ceylonese guests. After reviewing the guard of honour, Mrs. Bandaranaike and her party were presented with bouquets by a bevy of children. While a large crowd of Peking residents saluted her with cheers and the beating of drums and clashing of cymbals, Buddhist monks and nuns who had also come for the occasion raised their hands, palms together, to give Mrs. Bandaranaike the traditional Buddhist greeting.

Then came the triumphant drive to the guest house. The several-kilometre-long thoroughfare through the heart of the city was lined with people and festively decorated with bunting and the national flags of China and Ceylon. As Mrs. Bandaranaike accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai passed through in an open car, they were showered with confetti. Shouts of "Long live China-Ceylon friendship!" "Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!" and "Long live world peace!" thundered out. The climax came at the huge Tien An Men Square where a sea of welcomers met the Ceylonese guests with cheers and colourful traditional Chinese dances. The city was in a festive mood.

The same warm atmosphere surrounded Mrs. Bandaranaike's activities in Peking. On the eve of the New Year, Premier Chou En-lai gave a grand banquet in honour of the Ceylonese Prime Minister. On New Year's

Day, Chairman Liu Shao-chi received and feted the distinguished visitors from Ceylon. Later, the Prime Ministers of the two countries held talks.

A Harbinger of Peace

At the New Year's eve banquet, Premier Chou En-lai welcomed Mrs. Bandaranaike as "an envoy of friendship and a harbinger of peace." He expressed appreciation for the good wishes of the six-nation conference initiated by Mrs. Bandaranaike to call for direct negotiations between China and India to seek a peaceful settlement of the boundary question and Mrs. Bandaranaike's sincere efforts in that direction. Praising the amicable relations between China and Ceylon, Premier Chou En-lai declared: "It can be said without exaggeration that relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries based on mutual respect and equality constitute a good example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems."

"Both countries," the Chinese Premier went on, "are participants of the Bandung Conference, firmly recognize the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference as principles guiding their mutual relations, and have co-operated splendidly in international affairs." Premier Chou also thanked the Ceylonese Government and people for consistently standing for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and opposing the plot of creating "two Chinas."

Referring to the Sino-Indian boundary question, Premier Chou En-lai cited facts to explain China's stand. He asked: "Since China has been able to settle peacefully complicated questions left over by history both with fraternal socialist countries and with friendly countries with different social systems, in a spirit of equality, friendship, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, why is it that the Sino-Indian boundary dispute cannot be settled smoothly along the same lines, but instead has led to armed conflict against the wishes of the two peoples? We believe that it will not be difficult for all those who respect the facts and can distinguish between right and wrong to draw a proper and impartial conclusion on this question."

No Imperialist Interference Allowed

He also declared: "We have noted with pleasure that the six-nation conference was unanimously against imperialist interference in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and other Asian-African affairs, and stood for a consolidation of the ceasefire and for promoting direct negotiations between the two parties. This reflected the common desire of the Chinese and Indian peoples as well as the other Asian and African peoples. We sincerely support the efforts of the friendly Asian and African countries to reconcile China and India and earnestly hope that these efforts will be successful."

At the New Year banquet given by Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi in honour of the distinguished

Ceylonese guests, hosts and guests again expressed their best wishes for Sino-Ceylonese friendship and Afro-Asian solidarity. Thanking Mrs. Bandaranaike for bringing the precious friendship of the Ceylonese people and for her efforts to promote Sino-Indian negotiations for a settlement of the boundary question, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said he was sure that the current visit would promote the traditional friendship between China and Ceylon and help strengthen the solidarity among the Asian and African countries and safeguard Asian and world peace. Mrs. Bandaranaike in her speech recalled the long-standing friendship between Ceylon and China, declaring that "since we emerged from the colonial yoke and were free to decide our own destinies, we have re-established the traditional friendship that bound us together in the past." She stressed that "the nations that have newly emerged in Asia and Africa must stand together in their struggles or must run the risk of succumbing once more to the rapacious designs of the West."

Dr. Subandrio

THE Chinese people extended a warm welcome to Dr. Subandrio, Deputy Chief Minister and Foreign Minister of Indonesia, who has come to China on a friendly visit as the guest of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi. He will also exchange views with the Chinese leaders on the promotion of direct negotiations between China and India for a reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.



Arriving on January 2, the Indonesian statesman was given a rousing welcome at the Peking airport by Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other government leaders and thousands of Peking citizens.

Dr. Subandrio's present visit to China—his third—at the beginning of the new year will certainly further develop the friendly relations between China and Indonesia. The Chinese and Indonesian peoples have a long-standing traditional friendship. They have been closely linked in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. In recent years, the two countries have always sympathized with and supported each other, both in the Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan and the Indonesian people's struggle to recover West Irian. The two countries have steadily consolidated and developed their friendship and co-operated closely and effectively in international affairs. In August last year, when the U.S. imperialists instigated the Chiang Kai-shek clique to try to sneak into the 4th Asian Games and create a situation of "two Chinas" in Indonesia, the Indonesian Government

took prompt and stern measures, which prevented this intrigue from succeeding.

On the evening of the day the distinguished Indonesian guest arrived, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave a grand banquet in his honour in the Great Hall of the People. Both Premier Chou En-lai and Deputy Chief Minister Subandrio spoke, hailing the friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples.

Premier Chou in his speech said that the present visit of Dr. Subandrio will not only help to develop further the friendly relations between China and Indonesia but also provide an opportunity for an exchange of views on matters of common interest and contribute usefully to the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace.

Close and Militant Friendship

Referring to the friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples, he pointed out that in their protracted common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the two peoples had forged a close and militant friendship, which, he added, "is based on a common faith in the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference and has a brilliant future."

He recalled that in the past two years, with the signing of the treaty of friendship between China and Indonesia, friendship and co-operation between them had undergone a still more heartening development.

Premier Chou En-lai reaffirmed the full support of the Chinese people and Government for the Indonesian people's struggle to recover West Irian. He said that "the imperialists have been compelled to sign with the Indonesian Government an agreement relating to West Irian; this is a result of the steadfast struggle waged by the Indonesian people, but the imperialists are not reconciled to abandoning their colonial interests, they are still creating all sorts of pretexts for hanging on in West Irian." "This," he continued, "is another proof that just as it is necessary to wage a struggle in order to negotiate and reach agreement with the imperialists, it is also necessary to wage a struggle in order to compel the imperialists to observe an agreement."

Referring to the Sino-Indian boundary question, Premier Chou En-lai said that many friendly countries in Asia and Africa were now working for the consolidation of the ceasefire and the promotion of direct negotiations between China and India and against imperialist interference in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and Asian-African affairs. He added: "The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that their efforts will achieve positive results. We also hope that the Indian Government will return to the conference table."

In his speech, Dr. Subandrio said that his current visit to China was to convey a personal message from His Excellency President Sukarno, to strengthen Asian-African solidarity, and to develop further the happy friendly relations between China and Indonesia. He said: "My mission is a mission of peace and friendship."

The Indonesian Deputy Chief Minister spoke of the friendly relations between Indonesia and China and the rapid progress which they had made based on equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit and inspired by the Bandung spirit.

China Greet Cuban Revolutionary Anniversary

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Chinese people jubilantly celebrated the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

Chinese Party and government leaders, on the eve of the anniversary, sent greetings to Cuba's leaders. The message hailed the victory of the Cuban revolution as a very great revolutionary event in the present era. Under the firm leadership of their great revolutionary leader Fidel Castro, the message pointed out, the Cuban people, after achieving a thorough victory in the national-democratic revolution, had resolutely taken the road of socialism and built the first socialist country in the Western hemisphere, setting a brilliant example for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Latin America and of all the world.

"The victory of the Cuban people's struggle against aggression," the message emphasized, "is the victory of the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism. This will certainly exert a far-reaching influence on the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in Latin America and other parts of the world."

In dealing another heavy blow only recently against the grave war provocation organized by U.S. imperialism, the message noted, the Cuban people had steadfastly adhered to revolutionary principles and defended Cuba's independence and sovereignty, the Cuban revolution and the honour of the socialist countries, thereby making a great contribution to the cause of the world's peoples against imperialism and in defence of peace.

The message gave this pledge: The Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and the 650 million Chinese people will for ever stand by the fraternal Cuban people in the struggle against the common enemy — U.S. imperialism and for new victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Cuba Victorious!

Renmin Ribao in an editorial paid tribute to the great achievements of the Cuban people in 1959-62. It pointed out that the constant threats of U.S. imperialist subversion, sabotage and aggression against Cuba precisely proved that the Cuban people had carried out a genuine revolution.

The editorial stressed that the firm revolutionary stand and fearless heroism shown by the Cuban people in their latest grave struggle to defend their revolution and independence had won worldwide respect. "After weathering yet another storm," the editorial declared, "the red flag of revolution held on high has become brighter and more radiant. The attempt of U.S. imperialism to destroy Cuba and curb the influence of the Cuban revolution has produced the very opposite result. . . . The prestige of revolutionary Cuba has risen and the influence of the Cuban revolution has increased."

The Cuban Ambassador to China Oscar Pino Santos celebrated the Cuban festival with a reception in Peking on January 2. It was attended by Chinese Party and government leaders Chou En-lai, Peng Chen and Chen Yi. Speaking at the reception, Vice-Premier Chen Yi hailed the great victory of the Cuban revolution.

A mass rally was held on December 30 in Peking to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution and the formation on the previous day of the China-Cuba Friendship Association.

Liu Ning-I, President of the China-Cuba Friendship Association, and Oscar Pino Santos addressed the rally.

Lessons of Cuban Victory

Referring to the way the Cuban people had smashed the recent U.S. imperialist war provocation and compelled Washington to lift its piratical blockade, Liu Ning-I said that the experience of the Cuban people's victorious struggle was a most valuable asset to the peoples of Latin America and the rest of the world. This victory, he pointed out, once again fully proved that U.S. imperialism was a paper tiger. He added: "So long as one has the courage and skill to struggle against it, it will retreat in the face of difficulties. If, on the contrary, one falls on one's knees, this will stimulate its insatiable greed. It is the masses of the people, not weapons, that decide the course of history. The revolutionary will and firm unity of the masses of the people are a force which no reactionaries can destroy and which are more reliable and powerful than any weapons."

Liu Ning-I drew attention to the fact that although the Caribbean tension created by U.S. imperialism had eased for the time being as a result of the uncompromising struggle of the Cuban people, U.S. imperialist provocations and aggression against Cuba had not stopped, nor could they be expected to. "Kennedy's 'assurance' against an invasion of Cuba," he noted, "is not worth a cent. The insatiable aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism absolutely cannot change." So long as the United States refused to accept and implement the five just demands put forward by the Cuban people, he declared, there would be no genuine peace in the Caribbean.

Steady Growth of Friendship

As most sincere and loyal friends of Cuba, Liu Ning-I recalled, the Chinese people had found support and encouragement in every victory won in the struggle of the Cuban people; they had looked upon support to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Cuba and other countries as a lofty international obligation. Hailing the in-

destructible friendship which had been formed between the Chinese and Cuban peoples during the common struggle against U.S. imperialism and for socialism, Liu Ning-I stressed: "The formation of the China-Cuba Friendship Association is a symbol of the steady growth of this revolutionary friendship."

The rally adopted a message pledging the Chinese people's resolute support for the heroic struggle of the Cuban people.

New Delhi's Anti-China Campaign

by CHOU PAO-JU

THE anti-China campaign being directed by the Indian Government has recently become more unscrupulous than ever. For some time past it has been barbarously persecuting innocent Chinese nationals in India; now it is using so-called "anti-communist" Chinese in India to carry out criminal activities against China which serve the scheme of U.S. imperialism to create "two Chinas." And not content with doing such dirty work at home, the Indian Government has now extended it to Peking, the capital of China.

Is India's Embassy in Peking a Chiang Agency?

These are the facts:

India News, the bulletin issued by the Indian Embassy in China, in its No. 22 and No. 24 special issues of 1962, carried three "resolutions" of the so-called "Overseas Chinese Association of India," which openly attack the Chinese Government, advocate "two Chinas" and declare themselves in alliance with India to fight China. These "resolutions" were contrived by the Chiang Kai-shek gang's special agents who, under the protecting wing of the Indian Government, usurped the name of overseas Chinese. The bulletins have in addition carried a great deal of other material, not official Indian documents, maliciously slandering China after China took the initiative in instituting a ceasefire and withdrawing its border guards.

It must be noted that the Indian Government has promised that it would refrain from publishing in its embassy bulletins any material critical of the government of the host country, which is not an official government document. The printing of these "resolutions" of the Chiang gang's special agents by the Indian Embassy is thus an outright breach of this promise. These so-called "resolutions" are not Indian official documents and not even Indian material. On what grounds therefore has the Indian Embassy in China published them in its bulletin? One may well ask: Is the bulletin of the Indian Embassy a propaganda medium of the Chiang special agents?

India maintains diplomatic relations with China. The collusion between the Indian Government and the Chiang gang's special agents in carrying out their criminal activities openly on Indian soil and advocating "two Chinas"

The holding of the rally and the formation of China-Cuba Friendship Association were part of the activities of the "Ten-Day Festival of China-Cuba Friendship" (December 26, 1962-January 6, 1963) in the capital. Other activities included the holding of a Cuban picture exhibition and a special concert, the issuance of commemorative stamps and the renaming of a people's commune on the outskirts of Peking as the "China-Cuba Friendship People's Commune."

is an insult to China. Now New Delhi is permitting the Indian Embassy in China to put its facilities at the disposal of these Chiang elements in furthering the schemes of U.S. imperialism to create "two Chinas" and openly engaging in illegal activities hostile to China. This is an interference in the internal affairs of China and an encroachment upon China's sovereignty. This is a shameful breach of the diplomatic code by the Indian Embassy.

On December 29, 1962, the Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Indian Embassy in China lodging a strong protest against these illegal Indian acts. It expresses the indignation of the Chinese Government and people and warns the Indian Embassy in China that no recurrence of such incidents will be tolerated.

New Threats to Chinese Nationals in India

A spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs on December 19, 1962, attempted to justify the Indian Government's ruthless persecution of Chinese nationals by raising false charges about alleged subversive activities of Chinese nationals in India. In regard to this the spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry in a statement on December 28, 1962, characterized the acts of the Indian Government as naked terrorism which can in no way be regarded as being in accordance with the Geneva Conventions as the Indian Ministry of External Affairs claims.

The Chinese spokesman further pointed out that the Indian Ministry of External Affairs had announced its intention to "screen" the Chinese nationals who have been unwarrantedly detained; this was in fact, he said, an attempt to create a pretext for detaining the Chinese nationals indefinitely. He declared that the Chinese Government is resolutely opposed to such an unjustifiable practice.

No sooner had the spokesman of the Indian External Affairs Ministry in his remarks on December 19 spread the lie about Chinese nationals in India engaging in subversive activities than certain Indian newspapers took up the cry about the discovery of so-called Chinese "espionage" agents. It seems that the Indian Government wants to give fresh currency to the long-bankrupt myth about "Chinese nationals engaging in subversive activities" and

Chinese Frontier Guards Continue Withdrawal

THE Chinese frontier guards in the Tibet and Sinkiang regions continued their withdrawal in both eastern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border.

In the eastern sector: On December 25, 1962 they withdrew from Yikutung, Gakungla, Chiehtejpajang, Tatang, Paga Bridge and other places. On December 30 and 31, they withdrew from Senge Dzong, Nyumadong, Se La, Jang, Pangkachiangsuz, Lu Ketang, Pohsin Pass, Taksing, Ahhsiapila, Machia, Laman, Lingaerh, Hangtui, Mingchi, Juneng and other places.

In the western sector: On December 30, 1962 they withdrew along the entire line.

Since the Chinese frontier guards were ordered to take the initiative in withdrawing on December 1, 1962, by the end of the month, they had withdrawn, in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, to the area north of or near the line of actual control that existed between China and India on November 7, 1959, with the exception only of the Tawang area. In the western sector, with the exception of a few posts in the areas of the Chip Chap River, the Galwan River, Kongka Pass

and Pangong Lake, they had withdrawn from the area on the Chinese side 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control, that is, the traditional customary line. This fully shows that the frontier guards are faithfully carrying out the decision of the Chinese Government and have made active efforts to consolidate the ceasefire, relax tension in the border area and achieve a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

More Captured Indians Released

By the end of December 1962, the Chinese frontier guards had released a total of 716 sick and wounded captured Indian army personnel.

The Chinese frontier guards in the Tibet and Sinkiang regions report that while fighting in self-defence against Indian attacks, they captured 2,156 Indian officers and men after November 16, 1962. Included are 15 field grade officers and 18 company grade officers. The list of the names of 1,131 Indians captured before November 16, 1962 were sent to New Delhi in three parts before the end of December 1962. The list included the addresses and health conditions of these men.

Chinese "espionage" agents to justify its intensified persecution of Chinese nationals and extricate itself from the embarrassing position in which it has landed itself as the result of its ruthless persecution of Chinese nationals. As a matter of fact, the Chinese nationals in India are con-

sistently law-abiding and peaceable and live in amity with the local people. It is the Indian Government which is turning its embassy in China into an agency of the Chiang Kai-shek gang for subversive activities in the Chinese mainland.

Document

India's Unreasonable Position Refuted

The Indian Government is deliberately creating side issues and insisting on a reversion to the state of the boundary of September 8, 1962 in order to manufacture pretexts for refusing to respond positively to China's proposed measures of a ceasefire, withdrawal and the holding of officials' meeting. This unreasonable position of the Indian Government runs completely counter to the five principles for a settlement of the Sino-Indian differences as set forth in Prime Minister Nehru's letter to Premier Chou En-lai dated December 1.

The following memorandum dated December 29, 1962 was addressed by the Chinese Foreign Ministry to the Indian Embassy in China in reply to the memorandum dated December 19, 1962 from the Indian Ministry of External Affairs. Both the Chinese and Indian memoranda, together with Prime Minister Nehru's letter dated December 1, 1962 to Premier Chou En-lai, were made public on December 30, 1962 by the Chinese Foreign Ministry. Following is the text of the Chinese memorandum. — Ed.

THE Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has received the memorandum of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated December 19, 1962. This memorandum once again shows that the Indian Government is deliberately creating side issues, reversing right and wrong, insisting on a reversion to the state of the boundary of September

8, 1962 and seeking pretexts for refusing to respond positively to China's proposed measures of ceasefire, withdrawal and holding of officials' meeting. This unreasonable position of the Indian Government runs completely counter to the five principles for a peaceful settlement of the differences between China and India as summed up in Prime Minister Nehru's letter to Premier Chou En-lai dated December 1, 1962.

1. Concerning the western sector of the Sino-Indian border.

The whole vast area on the Chinese side of the traditional customary line in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border is part of Chinese territory; it has always been under China's effective jurisdiction and has never been administered by India. This is an immovable

fact which the Indian Government can by no means overthrow by sheer fabrications. The Indian Government cannot deny that up till 1958 it had never disputed the fact of the Chinese Government's exercise of effective jurisdiction over this area. But later it fished out some spurious historical evidence and tried in a far-fetched way to describe this area as belonging to India. During the meeting of the officials of both countries in 1960, the Indian side argued in the following way. First, it groundlessly claimed that the area of 27,000 square kilometres including Aksai Chin and Linghithang was administered by a small village called Tanktse. Then it produced some evidence to show that Tanktse was under India's jurisdiction. Accordingly, it concluded that Aksai Chin and Linghithang belonged to India. Such an absurd and ridiculous way of argument certainly cannot be regarded as serious. In contrast, the evidence cited by the Chinese side proved indisputably that the Chinese Government exercised effective jurisdiction over the whole area in the western sector, including the maintenance of administrative organs, patrolling, control of the passes, check on travellers, collection of taxes, extensive exploration and surveys, and the building of public works. The 1927 document referred to in the Indian memorandum is one of the many convincing documents cited by the Chinese side. This document proves clearly and unmistakably that the Aksai Chin and Linghithang area was under the jurisdiction of Hotien of Sinkiang. China had exercised effective jurisdiction over this area for hundreds of years. The Government of the People's Republic of China took over this area from the government of old China in 1950 and has continued to exercise effective jurisdiction there. The Indian side, on the other hand, had had no knowledge of the actual state of affairs in this area up till 1958. No wonder by September 10, 1959 Prime Minister Nehru still stated in the Indian Rajya Sabha that the said area in the western sector "has not been under any kind of administration." That was of course true so far as the Indian Government was concerned. That statement of Prime Minister Nehru's completely overthrows all the so-called evidence the Indian side has produced to prove past Indian administration in this area.

The Indian Government cannot deny the fact that Indian military personnel were detained or repulsed by the Chinese side on all the three occasions when they illegally intruded into this area in the western sector in September 1958, July 1959 and October 1959. Nevertheless, it tried to prove that Indian personnel had entered the area before 1961 on more occasions than those three. It pretentiously asserted that even after 1950, in 1951, 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1957 Indian survey teams and patrol parties constantly reached this area. This assertion was entirely groundless. During the meeting of the officials of both countries, the Chinese side asked the Indian officials to their faces whether they could provide evidence to bear out their assertion, but the Indian side could not produce even a single evidence. Furthermore, anyone with common sense will ask: if indeed the Indian side had constantly patrolled this area before 1958, why should it have failed to discover that Chinese frontier guards frequented this area and that a highway involving gigantic engineering work was surveyed and built there?

The Indian memorandum has cited the Indian Government's notes dated July 2, 1958, November 8, 1958, July

30, 1959 and November 4, 1959 respectively in an attempt to prove that the Chinese side did not stop its patrols in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. This is ludicrous to the extreme. The Chinese side had never said that it would stop its border patrols before the Kongka Pass incident took place on October 20-21, 1959. The citing of these notes in the Indian memorandum not only is pointless, but exactly proves that Chinese border patrols reached the traditional customary line. It was only after the Kongka Pass incident that the Chinese Government ordered the Chinese frontier guards to stop patrolling along the entire Sino-Indian boundary. When the Chinese Government's proposal of November 7, 1959 for the armed forces of each side to withdraw and stop patrolling was rejected, the Chinese frontier guards further stopped patrolling within 20 kilometres on China's side of the line of actual control. In his letter to Prime Minister Nehru dated December 17, 1959, Premier Chou En-lai notified the Indian Government of the decision of the Chinese Government. During a period of more than two years, the Chinese frontier guards strictly carried out this order. The allegation that China continued its patrols, which was made in the Indian note dated October 31, 1961 referred to in the Indian memorandum, was a total fabrication which was already thoroughly refuted by the Chinese Government in its previous notes. As a matter of fact, it was not until May 1962 that the Chinese frontier guards were ordered to resume patrolling in the western sector in order to resist the increasing intrusions and provocations of Indian troops. This decision was also notified to the Indian Government by the Chinese Government in its note of April 30, 1962. Chinese actions, whether stopping or resuming border patrols, have always been open and above-board, and no fault can be found with them by the Indian Government.

2. Concerning the Che Dong area.

Ever since the Indian side pushed up to the entire illegal McMahon Line, both sides have been clearly aware of the location of the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border. The dispute over the Che Dong area was caused by the Indian side which, taking advantage of China's cessation of patrols, crossed the illegal McMahon Line in June 1962, and in September launched armed provocations. The Indian side alleged that the Che Dong area is south of the illegal McMahon Line. But the only so-called basis which India can rely upon is the original map of the illegal McMahon Line in the possession of both China and India. According to the original map, the Che Dong area is clearly situated to the north of the illegal McMahon Line. And the Indian military sketch map captured by China in the recent border conflict also clearly shows the Che Dong area as north of the illegal McMahon Line. No matter how it haggles, the Indian Government cannot deny that its deliberate crossing of the illegal McMahon Line and occupation of the Che Dong area north of the Line were an undisguised act of aggression and provocation.

The question of the Che Dong area is a very simple one, and the merits of the case are quite clear. But now the Indian Government is creating side issues by entangling the specific dispute over the Che Dong area with the question of the delimitation of the entire boundary in the eastern sector. The Indian memorandum referred to the comments under "Eastern Sector" in the memorandum

attached to the Indian Prime Minister's letter of November 14 to Premier Chou En-lai, and asked China to state whether it accepts the watershed principle or the coordinates principle. In its December 8 memorandum to the Indian Government and the text of the remarks made on the same day by the spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs which was handed over to the Indian Embassy in China on December 9, the Chinese Government has thoroughly refuted these comments and fully expounded its own viewpoint. The eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary has not yet been defined through negotiations, and so the question as to what principle China should accept in delimiting the boundary does not arise. The only line that exists in the eastern sector is the line of actual control marking each side's extent of administration. Both the Migyitun and Tulung Pass areas are on the Chinese side of the line, and no objections had ever been raised by the Indian Government. The Indian side now tries to create a fresh dispute over the Migyitun and Tulung Pass areas to cover up its aggression in the Che Dong area; this is completely futile.

The Indian memorandum referred to a so-called document of 1953. This document, far from substantiating India's case, is a protest to India's attempt to expand its aggression after occupying Tawang of Tibet in February 1951. It can be seen from the document that, although the Indian side tried to occupy the pasture of the inhabitants of the Le Village and exacted grazing fees (i.e., taxes, as described in the Indian memorandum) from them, they still maintained that the pasture belonged to them. India's aggressive ambition did not succeed. In fact, the Che Dong area had been under China's effective jurisdiction through the whole period from 1951 to the recent Indian intrusion.

3. Concerning Longju.

In its memorandum, the Indian Government quoted a passage from Premier Chou En-lai's letter of December 17, 1959 as proof that both sides had agreed to refrain from occupying Longju. Premier Chou En-lai's proposal, however, was very clear, namely, both sides should refrain from stationing armed personnel in other disputed places on the border as well as in Longju. And those places were specifically mentioned in Premier Chou En-lai's letter, i.e., Khinzemane, Parigas, Shipki Pass, Sang, Tsungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Chuva, Chuje, Sangcha and Laphthal. That proposal was an integral whole and must not be taken apart. It was not accepted by the Indian Government. How then can it be held that both sides had agreed to refrain from stationing armed personnel in Longju? The Indian Government is indeed arbitrary to the extreme in so unscrupulously and wilfully distorting Premier Chou En-lai's letter in order to justify its own unreasonable stand.

4. Concerning Wuje.

A similar trick was played by the Indian Government in connection with the Wuje question. The Indian Government is well aware that China has always maintained that Wuje is Chinese territory. How could the Chinese Government, which rejected as unacceptable the Indian Government's proposal for both sides to refrain from sending civil personnel to Wuje, agree to the even more unreasonable demand for the Indian side alone to control the area by sending its civil personnel there? It is in-

conceivable that the Chinese Government would accept such an unreasonable demand. As a matter of fact, either before or after 1959, there has not been a single case where the Chinese Government failed to lodge a protest with India when it sent its so-called civil personnel to enter the Wuje area illegally.

5. Concerning the question of ceasefire.

The Chinese Government has taken note of the indication that "nothing has been done by the Indian side to impede the implementation of the ceasefire declaration." It must be pointed out, however, that non-impediment in China's unilateral ceasefire is not the same as India's formal agreement to a ceasefire. That is why the present state of ceasefire is still unstable. Since China unilaterally effected a ceasefire, Indian troops have, in the western sector, repeatedly intruded into the Spanggur Lake area; in the eastern sector, they frequently followed on the heels of and provoked the withdrawing Chinese troops. Indian aircraft also have repeatedly violated China's air space. The previous border clashes instigated by India were all the result of gradual development of such provocative activities. The fact that the Indian side now returns to its old ways while the Chinese frontier guards are withdrawing on China's own initiative cannot but arouse the serious attention of China and those Asian and African countries that take interest in a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The first of the five principles for a peaceful settlement of the differences between China and India as enumerated by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter of December 1 to Premier Chou En-lai is: "We should create a proper atmosphere for peaceful settlement of our differences." There is no doubt that the measures of ceasefire, withdrawal and the repatriation of sick and wounded Indian military personnel taken by China on its own initiative conform to this principle. However, the Indian side has not only continued provocations along the border and stepped up its arms expansion and war preparations, but adopted a series of measures deliberately aimed at poisoning the relations between the two countries. In unilateral violation of agreement, the Indian Government has closed down its consulates-general in China and has compelled China to do likewise. The Indian authorities have subjected Chinese nationals in India to ruthless persecution and threw more than 2,000 of them into concentration camps. The Indian Government has even decided to censor mail and telegrams between China and India. These acts taken by the Indian Government are in complete contravention of the above-mentioned principle.

6. Concerning the question of disengagement.

The Chinese Government has noted that the Indian Government is in favour of the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides on the basis of a commonly agreed arrangement. The Indian Government, however, holds that "such an arrangement can only be on the basis of undoing the further aggression committed by the Government of China on Indian territory on the 8th September, 1962." The Chinese Government has repeatedly and exhaustively proved that the so-called state of the border of September 8 was the position in which India had further occupied large tracts of Chinese territory by armed force since November 7, 1959, and from

which Indian troops launched massive armed attacks against the Chinese frontier guards. To restore that position would be against the principle that the boundary question should only be settled through negotiations and that it is impermissible to create a fait accompli by the use of force. Therefore, it is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government. The Indian memorandum describes the state of the border prior to September 8, 1962 as a line. This is wholly untenable. The state of the border prior to September 8 was one in which the positions of the two sides were interlocked in a jigsaw puzzle fashion and which could by no means form a common base line for separating the armed forces of the two sides.

The Indian memorandum charges that the line of actual control of November 7, 1959 put forward by China is inconsistent with the fact. The sole ground for this charge advanced by the Indian Government is the allegation made in the memorandum attached to Prime Minister Nehru's letter to Premier Chou En-lai dated November 14, 1962 to the effect that the position of the line of actual control should be the locations of the Chinese frontier posts. This allegation has been thoroughly refuted in the remarks of the spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on December 8, 1962 and in the memorandum of the Chinese Government to the Indian Government of the same date. It was pointed out that the extent of administration should not be confused with the location of frontier posts and that, so far as the frontier posts are concerned, long before November 7, 1959 China had set up a series of posts on the Chinese side close to the line of actual control in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. The Indian Government cannot deny these facts, no matter how it may prevaricate. It is true that there is a difference between the positions held by Indian troops prior to September 8, 1962 and the line of actual control of November 7, 1959. The difference as estimated in the Indian memorandum is about 2,500 square miles. However, this difference was precisely created by India through perfidious armed encroachments on Chinese territory in the past three years by taking advantage of the Chinese frontier guards' cessation of patrols. This difference created by India through armed aggression can neither negate nor change the line of actual control of November 7, 1959. On the contrary, it precisely proves that it is most fair and reasonable to take this 1959 line as the base line for the disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides.

The third of the five principles raised by Prime Minister Nehru is purportedly quoted from Premier Chou En-lai's letter of November 4 to Prime Minister Nehru. The following are the original words of Premier Chou En-lai: "The fact that the Chinese Government's proposal has taken as its basis the 1959 line of actual control and not the present line of actual contact between the armed forces of the two sides is full proof that the Chinese side has not tried to force any unilateral demand on the Indian side on account of the advances gained in the recent counter-attack in self-defence." The principle contained in this sentence is perfectly clear, and that is, both sides should respect the 1959 line of actual control and neither side should alter this line by armed force and impose a fait accompli on the other side. It is precisely on this principle that the Chinese side proposed to take the 1959 line of actual control as the base line for separating the armed forces of the two sides and is with-

drawing on its own initiative from the close to 20,000 square kilometres of territory south of this line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border. In insisting on a reversion to the state of the border prior to September 8, 1962, the Indian side has precisely gone against this principle by demanding that China should accept India's encroachment on large tracts of Chinese territory through violating this line of actual control by armed force since 1959.

The fourth of the five principles raised by Prime Minister Nehru requires that the measures taken by both sides "should be consistent with the decency, dignity and self-respect of both sides." According to the Chinese Government's proposal for the armed forces of each side to withdraw 20 kilometres from the November 7, 1959 line of actual control, the Chinese frontier guards would have to withdraw not only from vast tracts of territory south of the 1959 line of actual control in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, but another 20 kilometres from the 1959 line of actual control along the entire border. Thus they will in fact withdraw to positions far behind those they held on September 8, 1962. This represents China's greatest regard for the decency, dignity and self-respect of India. India, however, insists on its unreasonable demand to restore the state of the border prior to September 8, 1962, which is by no means consistent with China's decency, dignity and self-respect.

The last of the five principles raised by Prime Minister Nehru specifies that measures proposed by both sides "will not in any way prejudice either side's position in regard to the correct boundary alignment." This has been the consistent stand of the Chinese Government. But India has insisted on a reversion to the state of the border prior to September 8, 1962 as a precondition for holding negotiations. That is to say, India wants China to satisfy the greater part of India's territorial claims on China even before the negotiations start. It is impossible to hold that agreement to such an unreasonable demand would not prejudice China's position in regard to the boundary.

7. Concerning the question of the meeting of officials of the two sides.

The Chinese Government has noted that the Indian Government is not opposed to the holding of meetings of officials of the two sides, but maintains that there must first be a ceasefire and withdrawal arrangement commonly agreed by the two sides. If such an arrangement has been agreed upon by the two sides, the tasks of the officials of both sides would, of course, be much simpler. It is a pity, however, that such an agreement does not yet exist. It seems to the Chinese Government that this is no reason for putting off a meeting of officials of the two sides, but exactly points to the urgent need for holding such a meeting. Differences can only be solved through meetings and discussions; they would never be reduced, let alone removed, if no meeting is held. The second of the five principles raised by Prime Minister Nehru states: "We should settle our differences in a friendly way through peaceful talks and discussions." It was on this principle that the Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed negotiations between the two sides. The Chinese Government is awaiting actual deeds of the Indian Government to demonstrate that it is really willing to observe this principle.

Washington Masterminds "ROK-Japan Talks"

by JEN TA

The talks between Tokyo and the Pak Jung Heui fascist junta in Seoul are being pressed to a conclusion with the indecent haste of some back-alley deal. Ostensibly, they are negotiations to "normalize" relations between Japan and the puppet "Republic of Korea." In fact, they are designed by Washington to obstruct the peaceful reunification of Korea and to advance the plan for a "Northeast Asian military alliance" with Japan as the core, an alliance which will be a tool for U.S. aggression both against the Korean Democratic People's Republic, China and the other Asian socialist states and against the national-liberation movement in Southeast Asia.

THE U.S. imperialists are feverishly active in Asia. At the moment their main attention is concentrated on South and Southeast Asia. They are intensifying their "special war" against the people of south Viet Nam, continuing their interference in Laos and doing everything possible to egg on the Indian Government to extend the Sino-Indian border conflict. But they are not relaxing for a moment their aggressive activities in Northeast Asia.

Plot Against Asian Peace

The "ROK-Japan talks" play an important role in the master plan of U.S. aggression in Asia. While the Kennedy Administration is trying to tighten its political, economic and military control over Japan, it is also hatching up a sinister scheme in south Korea. By sealing a match between Tokyo and Seoul, it hopes to use a revived Japanese militarism to prop up the tottering Pak Jung Heui regime, deepen the division of Korea and use its base in south Korea for aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Recent U.S. violations of the Korean Armistice Agreement, including outright armed provocations by warships and reconnaissance by U-2 aircraft, are clear indications of the shape of things to come.

The Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic has made clear its stand on the "ROK-Japan talks." In a statement issued last month, it roundly condemns the talks as "illegal and impermissible" and demands that the Japanese Government immediately put an end to this imperialist plot. The Pak Jung Heui regime, it declares, is a puppet of U.S. imperialism and a tool of U.S. aggression; the Democratic People's Republic of Korea alone represents the real interests of the Korean people and issues between Korea and Japan left over from the past should be settled after the reunification of Korea.

The Japanese people have also made their stand very clear. The mass campaign against the "ROK-Japan talks,"

which is linked today with the campaign against U.S. military bases, has been going strong and gathering force for two years now. Even within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, there are voices raised against the Japanese Government's toeing the U.S. line. The Japanese people are showing that they do not want their country to be tied to the U.S. war chariot, and that they oppose the expansionist and militarist ambitions of Japanese monopoly capital.

Stand of the Chinese People

The Chinese people wholeheartedly support the Korean government statement on the "ROK-Japan talks." They believe that in waging a resolute struggle against the plot to form the "Northeast Asian military alliance," the Korean and Japanese peoples are fighting not only for their own national security, but also to safeguard peace and security in the Far East and Asia as a whole. In the past week, the Chinese press has made it clear that China will not look on with folded arms while this situation develops. Mass rallies were held in several cities to voice the Chinese people's solidarity with the Korean people and opposition to the U.S.-stagemanaged "ROK-Japan talks."

The Peking rally sponsored by the leading national popular organizations typically expressed the sentiments of the Chinese people on this issue. Attended by Peng Chen, Chen Yi and other Chinese government and Party leaders as well as some 1,500 representatives of the capital's citizens and addressed by Chinese, Korean and Japanese speakers, it was a demonstration of the Chinese people's support for the struggle of the Korean and Japanese peoples as well as the solidarity of the three peoples in the common fight against U.S. imperialism.

Speaking at the Peking rally, Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, roundly censured the "ROK-Japan talks" and pledged the Chinese people's unswerving support of the Korean people's struggle to fight U.S. imperialist aggression and reunify their country peacefully. The fundamental obstacle to the reunification of Korea came from the continued occupation of south Korea by the aggressive U.S. forces, he said. The "ROK-Japan talks" and the adoption at U.S. instigation of an illegal U.N. resolution interfering in the internal affairs of Korea, he declared, showed that U.S. imperialism was determined to continue its occupation of south Korea so as to use the area for a new aggressive war in Asia.

Kuo Mo-jo lauded the heroism of the Korean people and the blow-for-blow struggle they were waging against U.S. imperialism. "The line of implacable opposition to U.S. imperialism adopted by the Korean people," he

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

The Growth of Sino-Pakistan Friendship

The joint communique of the Chinese and Pakistan Governments on the agreement in principle on the location of the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan marks a new starting point in the development of friendship between China and Pakistan as well as a new important victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, says *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial on December 29, 1962.

The boundary extending several hundred kilometres, the editorial points out, has never been delimited and marked in the past. During its rule over the Indian subcontinent, British imperialism had taken advantage of the fact that the Sino-Indian boundary and the above-mentioned boundary had never been delimited to create a number of disputes.

After Pakistan and India achieved independence and the People's Republic of China was founded, such a state of affairs on the Sino-Pakistan and Sino-Indian boundaries, being liable to lead to misunderstandings and disputes, is unfavourable to the consolidation and development of friendly relations between China and Pakistan and between China and India. The Chinese Government has always stood for the settlement through friendly negotiations of the boundary questions left over by history. Now the Chinese and Pakistan Governments have reached in a

friendly way an agreement in principle on the location of the boundary in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This has eliminated the possibility of misunderstandings and disputes and brought to naught the attempts of those who try to use the Sino-Pakistan boundary question to sow dissension and to undermine the friendship between China and Pakistan and peace in Asia.

The sincere desire for peace and friendship expressed by the Chinese and Pakistan Governments through the boundary negotiations will further consolidate the friendly relations between the two countries and will be conducive to peace in Asia.

The areas which adjoin China and the defence of which is under the control of Pakistan involve Kashmir whose possession is still being disputed by India and Pakistan. China has always adopted a position of non-intervention in the Kashmir question and has always sincerely hoped that the two sister countries, India and Pakistan, would settle the question through consultation without intervention by outsiders. In view of the specific situation of Kashmir, China and Pakistan announced at the very outset of the boundary negotiations that the boundary agreement would be only a provisional agreement and that after the question of Kashmir's possession was solved, the sovereign authorities concerned would conduct fresh negotiations with the Chinese Government on the question of Kashmir's boundary to sign a formal boundary treaty in place of the pro-

visional agreement. This arrangement is extremely fair and just and should be welcomed by all quarters concerned.

The boundary question between China and Pakistan is a question left over by history. Facts show that as long as the parties concerned have a sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the question, adopt a realistic attitude, favour peaceful consultation and refrain from imposing the will of one party upon the other, it is always possible to find a fair and reasonable solution. The Sino-Pakistan agreement in principle on the location of the boundary provides a sound basis for the concluding of the proposed boundary agreement between the two countries.

The Chinese Government and people have always stood for settling the boundary questions left over by history between China and its neighbours in Asia through peaceful negotiations. In this spirit, China has successfully settled its boundary questions with Burma and Nepal and has now reached an agreement in principle with Pakistan. This fully testifies to the sincere desire of the Chinese Government and people for peace and amity with their neighbours.

Now the boundary question between China and India remains to be solved. The Chinese Government has always persistently sought a reasonable solution of this question through peaceful negotiations with India. On its own initiative it has implemented arrangements for a ceasefire and withdrawal and has put forward proposals for peaceful negotiations, thus demonstrating its complete sincerity for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. It is now time for the Indian Government to respond positively to China's peaceful proposals.

stressed, "is an entirely correct and Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, a line which leads to victory. The heroic Korean people have set the revolutionary peoples of the world a brilliant example of daring to struggle and daring to win. The Chinese people are proud to have such valiant comrades-in-arms."

The Korean Ambassador to China Han Ik Soo told the rally that the U.S.-directed "ROK-Japan talks" were part of a dangerous plot to enable Japanese militarism to invade and rule Korea again and a serious provocation against the peace and security of all Asia. He declared that any agreement reached between the Japanese Government and the Pak Jung Heui clique in the talks would be null and void and would not be recognized by the Korean people.

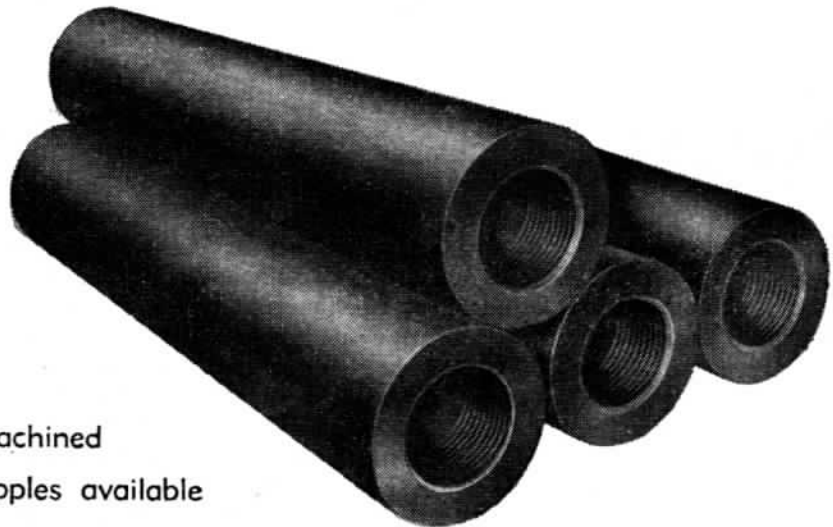
Yoshiro Ii, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party who is now visiting China, pointed out in his speech that the struggle against the "ROK-Japan talks" concerned not only Japan and Korea but the whole of Asia. U.S. imperialism's aims in masterminding the talks were threefold, he declared: first, to set up an anti-communist military alliance in Northeast Asia and to use the Japanese people as a cat's-paw serving its policy of "making Asians fight Asians"; secondly, to bring Japanese monopoly capital into south Korea to exploit the people there; and thirdly, to turn south Korea into an anti-communist stronghold in Asia. Yoshiro Ii called on the peoples to develop the struggle against this plot into a common battle against U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the Asian as well as all the world's peoples.

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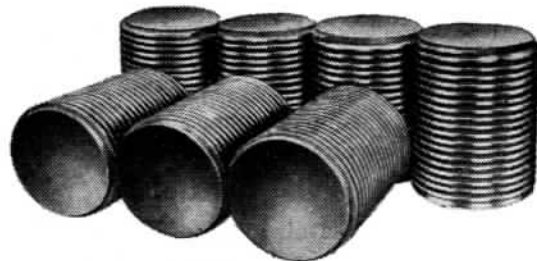
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