# PEKING REVIEW

9

March 1, 1963


*Special Fifth Anniversary Issue*

北京周報

## WHENCE THE DIFFERENCES?

*Renmin Ribao* editorial in reply to attacks on the Chinese Communist Party by Thorez and other comrades (p. 7).

## Rapid Disintegration of the Imperialist Bloc

Survey of deepening contradictions in the imperialist camp (p. 17).

## Modernizing China's Agriculture

A guide to agricultural policy (p. 27).

---

*The Week, Round the World and Other Features*


A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

*SPECIAL 5TH ANNIVERSARY GIFTS*

# PEKING REVIEW

March 1958 — March 1963

**A notebook (with handy reference material on China)**
**and**
**A copy of "The Revolution of 1911"**

*will be given for every overseas subscription placed before June 30, 1963*

## PEKING REVIEW *gives you*

- China's views on current international questions
- Theoretical articles and important documents
- Authoritative coverage of developments in China
- Illustrations, cartoons, maps and charts

*Airmailed to subscribers all over the world*

**Beginning March, SPANISH & FRENCH editions also available**

Send your orders or enquiries to

**GUOZI SHUDIAN** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

or to our distributors in your country. Free samples on request.

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

March 1, 1963 Vol. VI No. 9


CONTENTS




Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China


# To Our Readers

*PEKING REVIEW* made its debut in March 1958. It is now five years old. On this memorable birthday anniversary, it seems fitting and proper to look back along the road *Peking Review* has travelled and to look forward to see what lies ahead.

The five years *Peking Review* has just gone through were eventful and momentous years. It was during these years that the Chinese people, guided by the three red banners — the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune — successfully implemented the Second Five-Year Plan, overcame three consecutive years of climatic disasters and did a splendid job readjusting the national economy. Now the Chinese people are triumphantly carrying out the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor.

On the international scene much has happened during the five years. The march of events has fully borne out Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis that the East wind prevails over the West wind. The surging worldwide struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, for world peace, for national independence, democracy and socialism shows clearly which way the wind blows. Bearing aloft the banner of opposing imperialism and safeguarding world peace and the banner of revolution, People's China has made great efforts for the cause of world peace and human progress.

The anti-Chinese chorus struck up by the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists about China's internal and external policies has become more discredited and it shows that the road the Chinese people have followed is the right road.

During the five years of its existence, *Peking Review* has come a long way. A good deal has been accomplished, but much more remains to be done. In order to do much better to keep our readers well informed about socialist construction in China and about the views of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government on current world problems, concrete measures are being taken.

*Peking Review*, beginning this week, appears in French and Spanish editions as well as in English. While the English edition is a weekly, the French and Spanish editions will be published every other week. These two new editions contain all the important articles in the English edition and will carry special articles of their own from time to time. Publication of these two editions, it is hoped, will meet the needs of French-speaking and Spanish-speaking readers all over the world.

Some change has also been made in the English edition. This has been done in the light of the experience gained over the past years and in response to suggestions from our readers. Apart from the Chinese scene, more coverage will be given to world affairs and the international communist movement.

On this fifth anniversary we take much pleasure in availing ourselves of the opportunity to thank our readers for the valuable help they have given and express the hope that they will continue to write to us giving their suggestions and comments on our magazine.

# THE WEEK

**Among the major events of the week:**

- **In the past week *Renmin Ribao* published the full texts of the report delivered by Chairman N.S. Khrushchov on December 12, 1962, at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; *Pravda's* editorial article of January 7; Khrushchov's speech at the 6th Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party on January 16, and *Pravda's* editorial article of February 10.**

- **On February 24 it devoted two pages to recent statements made by Maurice Thorez and other comrades of the French Communist Party and by Palmiro Togliatti and other comrades of the Italian Communist Party attacking the Chinese Communist Party and disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.**

- **On February 26 it published the full text of the editorial article of the Albanian paper *Zeri I Popullit* of February 7.**

- **On February 27 *Renmin Ribao* published its editorial entitled "Whence the Differences?", a reply to Thorez and other comrades.**

- **Chairman Mao receives Soviet Ambassador.**

- **China signs trade agreements with Cuba and Syria.**

- **Vice-Premier Nieh Jung-chen defines the current task of agricultural science and technology.**

- **Popular organizations in China protest against persecution of progressives and patriots in Iraq.**

## Chairman Mao Receives Soviet Ambassador

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, received and had a cordial talk with Comrade S.V. Chervonenko, Soviet Ambassador to China on February 23.

Present on the occasion were Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; and Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Central Committee of the C.C.P.

## Soviet Army Day

Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, last week sent a cable to Marshal R.Y. Malinovsky, Minister of Defence of the U.S.S.R., greeting the Soviet Army on its 45th anniversary.

The comradeship-in-arms of the Chinese and Soviet Armies was toasted at the reception given in honour of the occasion by Lieutenant-General N.A. Vasiliev, the Military Attache of the Soviet Embassy in China on February 23.

Marshal Ho Lung, Vice-Premier; Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, were among the high-ranking Chinese officers present at the reception.

Speaking at the reception General Vasiliev recalled the glorious events in the history of the Soviet Army. He toasted the further growth of the unbreakable friendship between the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union and China.

General Lo Jui-ching, on behalf of the Chinese armed forces, extended greetings to the Soviet people and their army. Denouncing U.S. imperialism for its policies of war and aggression, he said, "Facing such a chief enemy, we must strengthen the unity of the peoples and armies of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement and proletarian internationalism, and unite all the forces in the world that can be united, to oppose our common enemy and to win still greater victories in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism."

## Economic Co-operation

In the past week China forged stronger economic ties with other lands. Peking has been host to a Cuban government economic delegation, a Syrian economic delegation and a Bulgarian government trade delegation which arrived here only a few days ago. By the end of the week new gains for friendship and co-operation between China and Cuba, and China and Syria were confirmed by the signing of half a dozen agreements.

**CHINA AND CUBA.** Three trade and loan agreements between China and Cuba were signed on February 22. They are a protocol on Sino-Cuban trade in 1963, an agreement on a loan extended by China to Cuba and a protocol on the common conditions governing the delivery of goods by the foreign trade organizations of the two countries.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Cuban Ambassador Oscar Pino Santos were among those present when the documents were signed by Yeh Chi-chuang, China's Minister of Foreign Trade, and Alberto Mora, Minister of Foreign Trade and head of the Cuban government economic delegation.

According to the joint communique issued by the Chinese and Cuban economic delegations on February 26 the Sino-Cuban trade protocol stipulates that China will supply Cuba with rice, soya-beans, oil, canned meat, cotton cloth, paper, rolled steel, machinery, chemical products, medicine and other commodities, while Cuba will supply China with raw sugar, nickel and copper ore and other commodities.

The Chinese Government has agreed to grant Cuba, as a long-term interest-free loan, the trade balance remaining in China's favour at the end of the period, 1962-63.

Officials on both sides highly evaluated the significance of these agreements. Speaking at the reception he gave in honour of the occasion, Ambassador Oscar Pino Santos said: "The signing of these three documents will assuredly help strengthen the friendly relations already established between our two countries in the fields of trade, culture and ideology. Just as surely it means a fresh blow against the aggressive and backward forces of imperialism and reaction." "Our successful negotiations," said Alberto Mora, "will help strengthen the rock-firm, everlasting fraternal

relations between the Cuban and the Chinese peoples forged in their common struggle against imperialism." And Yeh Chi-chuang characterized the signing of the documents as marking "a new advance in the economic and trade relations of the two countries and a further consolidation of the solidarity and friendship between the Chinese and Cuban peoples."

The Cuban delegation came to Peking on February 8. During their stay in China, its members visited Nanking, Shanghai, Hangchow and Tientsin and received the warmest of welcomes wherever they went.

On February 21 the delegation was received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai.

While in Peking its members were guests of honour at a cocktail party given by the China-Cuba Friendship Association and the China-Latin America Friendship Association.

**CHINA AND SYRIA.** The day before, on February 21, China signed three economic agreements with the Syrian Arab Republic.

In the presence of Premier Chou En-lai, Yeh Chi-chuang, Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade, and Soubhi Kahalle, head of the Syrian economic delegation and Minister of Communications, signed a trade agreement and a payments agreement. Fang Yi, director of China's Central Bureau of Foreign Economic Relations, and Soubhi Kahalle affixed their signatures to an agreement on economic and technical co-operation.

At the farewell banquet given by the head of the Syrian delegation that evening, officials of both countries greeted the success of the negotiations.

Chinese public opinion welcomes this new advance in the economic relations between the two countries. As participants of the Bandung Conference, both countries uphold the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. They have helped each other in the fight against imperialism and in national construction. Through the new agreement on economic and technical co-operation, the Chinese Government will extend to Syria loans without attached conditions or privileges while the new trade agreement encourages both parties to expand their trade as much as possible. Such economic co-operation based on equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect is in the interests of the national independence and economic growth of both countries.

The Syrian economic delegation arrived in China on February 3. While in Peking it was received by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai.

## Prince Sihanouk Tours China

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk and other distinguished Cambodian guests are continuing their visit in China. Shanghai gave them an exuberant welcome when they arrived there on February 18.

They had a busy schedule during their Shanghai stay. The Prince and Madame Sihanouk paid a cordial call on Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and visited Dr. Sun Yat-sen's former residence. Their sightseeing tours took them to the Shanghai Industrial Exhibition and the Memorial Hall of Revolutionary History.

On February 22, China's distinguished guests flew by special plane to Changsha, central China, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife. They drove together to Shaoshan Village, southwest of Changsha, to visit the house where Chairman Mao Tse-tung spent his childhood and youth. From Changsha, they proceeded to Kweilin in Kwangsi, famous for its scenery.

As we go to press Prince Sihanouk and his party has arrived in Nanning.

## Focus on Agricultural Science

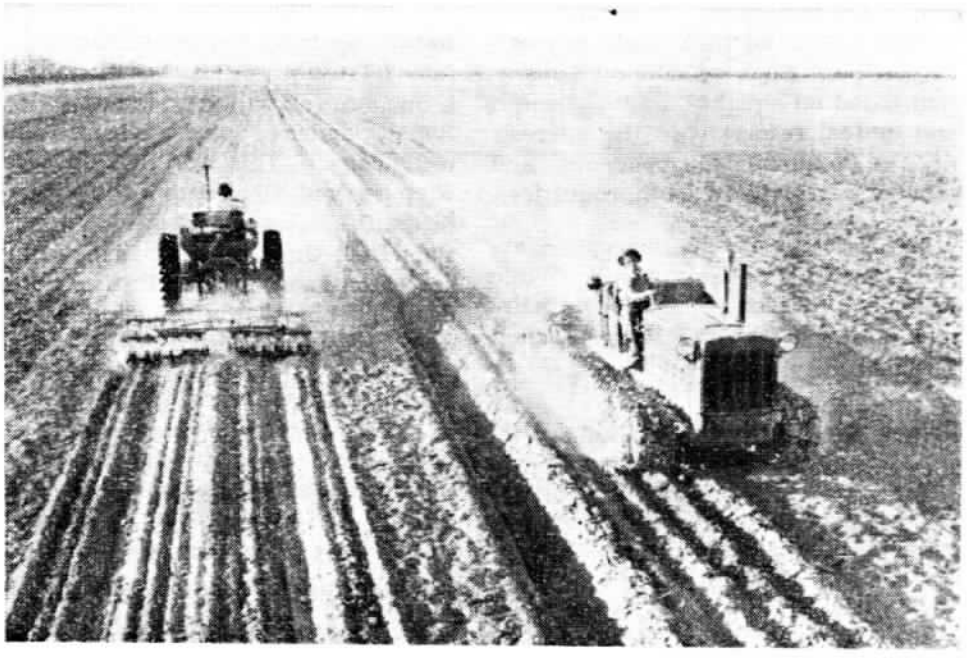
The agricultural science and technology conference which opened in Peking on February 8 continues to be a focus of national attention. Here leading government officials and experts from every branch of agricultural science are discussing key problems relating to the application of their knowledge to agriculture. Long-term development plans are being mapped out too.

"The development of science and technology constitutes an important part of China's socialist construction, and the modernization of science and technology is the key to building China into a strong socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology." This was said by Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Scientific and Technological Commission Nieh Jung-chen in his opening speech on February 8 and was stressed again by him at the conference's plenary session on February 21. He called on scientists and technologists throughout the country to provide, through research and experiment, scientific and technological bases for the planned development of the national economy and for getting greater, faster, better and more economical results in production and construction.

The conference has as one of its chief aims the pooling of the nation's scientific resources and collective wisdom to speed up the technical transformation of agriculture and boost farm output. This is no easy task in a country like China, with its vast territory, its very varied natural conditions and, not the least, backward agricultural techniques inherited from the past. Much headway has been made since liberation, but a good deal more remains to be done to modernize her agriculture.

The relatively low labour productivity in China's agriculture today is expressed in low yields. Higher yields depend in large measure on mechanizing farming, irrigation, more chemical fertilizer, soil improvement, improved seeds and much else. All these point the way technically to higher yields and bigger output; they also point to the big scope there is for the application of science and technology in China's agriculture. This is what Vice-Premier Nieh had in mind when he said: "There is the greatest scope for scientists and technologists working in the fields of agriculture and industry, on surveys of resources, the basic sciences and technology, medicine and public health to display their abilities in modernizing our agriculture. Everyone can and should make his contribution in this."

Referring to the current tasks confronting agricultural scientists and technologists, Vice-Premier Nieh said that, first and foremost, they should work to fulfil the national programme for agricultural development and help the technical transformation of agri-



**Preparing the land for spring sowing**

culture by fruitful research and experiment. Agronomists should centre research on soil amelioration, rational application of fertilizer, irrigation, improving seed strains, rational close planting, plant protection, field management and improvement of farm implements. "These," he said, "comprise the programme for increasing farm yields, and a focus for scientific research in agriculture."

The Vice-Premier reiterated how necessary it was to adopt methods suited to local conditions in bringing about the technical reform of agriculture in different regions. While relying on our own efforts to solve our special problems in agricultural science and technology, to sum up the experience of the masses in production, and systematize the agronomic heritage of our country, he said that it was necessary, among other things, to draw on the advanced science and technology of other lands, to spread the results of research and popularize agricultural science and technology. Vice-Premier Nieh concluded by calling on all scientists and experts to work hard and make fresh contributions to speed up the growth of agricultural production.

## Industry Looks Ahead

Striding into March, the nation's industries are off to a good start. Hundreds of factories in the major industrial centres have fulfilled or overfulfilled their January-February production plans for the goods that socialist construction needs. Farm machines, equipment for making chemical fertilizers and pesticides figure high on their order lists.

**Special Light Tractor.** The Shanghai engineering industry is stepping up production of a special type of 7 h.p. small tractor specially suited to the small farm plots, typical of some parts of southern China. About a dozen plants in this industrial centre pooled resources to design and make the prototype. Serial production on a small scale started early this year, and the first batch of these tractors came off the assembly line at the Shanghai Tractor Works a few weeks ago. These are being rushed to the farms in various provinces to reinforce the tractor force already readied there for the spring ploughing.

**Fertilizers.** More chemical fertilizer plants are being built to answer the mounting farm demand for fertilizer. Over a hundred engineering and power equipment factories in Shanghai, Shenyang, Harbin and other cities have shouldered the task of making the needed equipment. They are producing whole sets of equipment, including high-pressure compressors and containers and synthesizing towers which have been designed as a result of several years of combined, painstaking research by a large number of engineering works. Factories so equipped have an annual capacity of 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia which in turn can be made into 100,000 tons of ammonium sulphate.

Only a few years ago China still had to import most of the essential equipment for her large chemical fertilizer plants. Those built in Lanchow, Kirin and elsewhere during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) were mostly equipped with foreign-made machinery. Now the first important step has been taken to build an independent industry for the manufacture of machinery for producing chemical fertilizers. The significance of this cannot be overestimated. It will pay off in steadily increasing yields from enriched farmland.

**Emulation.** While keeping a weather eye open at all times to the needs of agriculture, workers in large and small industrial centres producing consumer goods for the people are engaged in emulation campaigns between factories, workshops, groups and individuals for better work and increased production. One emulation campaign between 33 textile mills in Shanghai resulted in an average increase of 11 per cent in labour productivity since the last quarter of last year, compared to the third quarter, coupled with notable economies in raw materials and lowered costs. A number of advanced groups and individuals have distinguished themselves, and these are helping the less advanced ones along as the campaign rolls on.

## Chinese Skaters in Japan

Chinese speed-skaters gave a good account of themselves at the 1963 World Championships held at Karuizawa, Japan, from February 20 to 24. Lo Chih-huan won the men's 1,500 metres in 2 min. 9.2 sec.

Another Chinese skater who figured prominently was Wang Chin-yu. In the all-round championship, won by Sweden's Jonny Nilsson, Wang Chin-yu held his position as the world's No. 5 speed-skater.

China's 19-year-old Wang Shu-yuan made an impressive debut. She came second in the 1,000 metres and placed sixth in the all-round championship won by Lidia Skoblikova of the Soviet Union.

Among the nations participating in the world championships, China, according to the unofficial rating, while maintaining her second place for the women's events, has advanced from fourth to third place for the men's events.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

# WHENCE THE DIFFERENCES?

## — A Reply to Thorez and Other Comrades —

*The following is a translation of the editorial of "Renmin Ribao" published on February 27, 1963. Subheads and emphases are ours. — Ed.*

COMRADE Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, and certain other members of the C.P.F. have a prominent place in the present adverse current of attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, a current which is undermining the unity of the international communist movement.

Since the latter part of November 1962, they have made numerous statements in quick succession attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties and published many related inner-Party documents. The following are among the main ones:

Thorez' speech at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on December 14, 1962;

The report on problems relating to the international situation and to the unity of the international communist and working-class movement, made by R. Guyot, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.F., at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.F. on December 14, 1962;

The resolution on problems relating to the international situation and to the unity of the international communist and working-class movement adopted by the plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.F. on December 14, 1962;

The editorial written by R. Guyot in *L'Humanite*, organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.F., on January 9, 1963;

The article entitled "War, Peace and Dogmatism," which appeared on the same day in *France Nouvelle*, a weekly published by the Central Committee of the C.P.F.;

Ten successive articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name in *L'Humanite* from January 5 to January 16, 1963;

The article entitled "In What Epoch Do We Live?" in *France Nouvelle* on January 16, 1963;

The pamphlet entitled *Problems of the International Communist Movement*, published by the Central Committee of the C.P.F. in January 1963, containing 15 documents attacking the Chinese Communist Party written by C.P.F. leaders over the last three years, including Thorez' speech at the Moscow meeting of the fraternal Parties in November 1960 and his subsequent report on the Moscow meeting to a plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.F.;

The article by R. Guyot in *L'Humanite* on February 15, 1963.

### Particularly Energetic in Anti-Chinese Chorus

The main content of these statements has already been published in the *Renmin Ribao* of February 24. It is evident from these statements that in the recent anti-Chinese chorus and in the emulation campaign against the Chinese Communist Party, Thorez and other comrades have been particularly energetic and have outdone many other comrades in assailing the Chinese Communist Party.

**Besides their assaults on us, Thorez and other comrades have levelled malevolent attacks at the Albanian Party of Labour, censured the fraternal Parties of Korea, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, Viet Nam and Japan and even gone so far as to assail the national-liberation movement, which is heroically fighting imperialism and colonialism.** They have slanderously alleged that the "sectarian and adventurist" positions taken by the Chinese Communist Party "have found some echoes in certain Communist Parties, particularly in Asia, and within nationalist movements," and that they "feed the 'Leftism' which exists at times in these Parties and movements." The attitude of certain French comrades towards the revolutionary cause of the oppressed nations is indeed shocking. They have truly gone too far in disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party has long held, and still holds, that differences between fraternal Parties should and must be settled within our own ranks, and through full and comradely discussion and consultation on an equal footing in accordance with the principles set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In no instance have we been the first to launch public criticism of any fraternal Party or to provoke public debate. Nevertheless, it would be a miscalculation for anyone to suppose that he can take advantage of our correct stand of giving first place to the interests of unity against the enemy and that he can launch public attacks on the Chinese Communist Party at will without evoking a deserved rebuff.

### Returning Compliments

We should like to tell those comrades who have wantonly attacked the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties: **The fraternal Parties are equal.**

**Since you have publicly lashed out at the Chinese Communist Party, you have no right to demand that we should refrain from publicly answering you. Similarly, since you have made public and vicious attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian comrades have the full and equal right to answer you publicly. At present, certain comrades of fraternal Parties, while talking about a halt to the public polemics, are themselves continuing to attack the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties. This double-faced attitude actually implies that only you are permitted to attack others and that it is impermissible for others to reply. This will never work.** In the words of an old Chinese saying, "Courtesy demands reciprocity. It is discourteous not to give after receiving." In all seriousness we feel it necessary to bring this point to the attention of those who have been assailing the Chinese Communist Party.

In attacking the Chinese Communist Party, Thorez and other comrades have touched on the nature of our epoch, the appraisal of imperialism, war and peace, peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition, and other questions. But a close look reveals that they have merely repeated other people's stale arguments. Since we have already answered their erroneous arguments on these questions in our editorials entitled "Workers of All Countries, Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy!", "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us" and "Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement," and also in the editorial entitled "Leninism and Modern Revisionism" in the periodical *Hongqi* (Red Flag), there is no need to go over the same ground again.

It is worth pointing out that in their speeches, reports and articles, Thorez and the other comrades use a great many words to distort the facts, confound right and wrong and mislead the people, thus seeking to make the Chinese Communist Party shoulder the responsibility for undermining the unity of the international communist movement and creating a split. They endlessly repeat that the differences in the international communist movement "were in particular the act of the Chinese comrades," and that the differences arose because the Chinese comrades "have not yet fundamentally accepted the theses of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." They also allege that the greater the lapse of time since the first and second Moscow meetings of the fraternal Parties, the more does the position of the Chinese comrades "diverge from the theses which they had nevertheless approved and voted for."

## Who Should Be Held Responsible for the Emergence of Differences?

Since Thorez and other comrades have brought up the question of who is responsible for the emergence of differences in the international communist movement, let us discuss it.

Whence the differences in the international communist movement?

Thorez and other comrades state that these differences arose because the Chinese Communist Party did not accept the theses of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. **This very statement is a violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and Statement. According to these two documents which were jointly agreed upon, the fraternal Parties are equal and independent in their relations. No one has the right to demand that all fraternal Parties should accept the theses of any one Party. No resolution of any congress of any one Party can be taken as the common line of the international communist movement or be binding on other fraternal Parties. If Thorez and other comrades are willing to accept the viewpoints and resolutions of another Party, that is their business. As for the Chinese Communist Party, we have always held that the only common principles of action which can have binding force on us and on all other fraternal Parties are Marxism-Leninism and the common documents unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, and not the resolutions of the congress of any one fraternal Party, or anything else.**

**As for the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., it had both its positive and negative aspects. We have expressed our support for its positive aspects. As for its negative aspects, namely, the wrong viewpoints it put forward on certain important questions of principle relating to the international communist movement, we have held different views all along. In talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and at meetings of fraternal Parties, we have made no secret of our views and have clearly set forth our opinions on many occasions. But in the interests of the international communist movement, we have never publicly discussed this matter, nor do we intend to do so in the present article.**

The facts are clear. The differences in the international communist movement in recent years arose entirely because certain comrades of a fraternal Party had violated the Moscow Declaration which was unanimously agreed upon by all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

As is well known, the 1957 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, eliminated certain differences among the fraternal Parties, reached agreement on the current major issues in the international communist movement, and produced the Moscow Declaration as a result of comradely consultation and collective effort. The Declaration is the common programme of the international communist movement. Every fraternal Party has proclaimed its acceptance of this programme.

If the Declaration had been strictly adhered to by all the fraternal Parties in their practice and had not been violated, the unity of the international communist movement would have been strengthened and our common struggle advanced.

For some time after the Moscow meeting of 1957, the Communist and Workers' Parties were fairly successful and effective in their united struggle against the common enemy, and above all against U.S. imperialism, and in their struggle against Yugoslav revisionists, who had betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

## A Series of Erroneous Views

**But, because certain comrades of a fraternal Party repeatedly attempted to place the resolutions of the congress of one Party above the Moscow Declaration,**

**above the common programme of all the fraternal Parties, differences within the international communist movement inevitably ensued. Particularly around the time of the Camp David talks in September 1959, certain comrades of a fraternal Party put forward a series of erroneous views on many important issues relating to the international situation and the international communist movement, views which departed from Marxism-Leninism and violated the Moscow Declaration.**

They contravened the Moscow Declaration's scientific thesis that imperialism is the source of modern wars, and that "so long as imperialism exists, there will always be soil for aggressive wars." They incessantly proclaimed that even while the imperialist system and the system of exploitation and oppression of man by man continue to exist in the greater part of the world, "already in our time, the practical possibility is being created of banishing war from the life of society finally and for ever," and "a world without weapons, without armies and without wars" can be brought into being. They also predicted that 1960 "would go down in history as a year in which the long-cherished hope of mankind for a world without weapons and armies and a world without wars begins to come true."

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that in order to prevent another world war we should rely on the joint struggle of the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement, the international working class and the mass movement of the peoples for peace. They pinned their hopes for defending world peace on the "wisdom" of the heads of the major powers, holding that the historical fate of the present epoch is actually decided by individual "great men" and their "wisdom," and that summit meetings of the major powers can determine and change the course of history. They made such statements as: "We have already said more than once that it is only the heads of governments who are invested with great powers, who are able to settle the most complicated international questions." They portrayed the Camp David talks as a "new stage," a "new era" in international relations, and even "a turning-point in the history of mankind."

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that the U.S. imperialists "are becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people." They were especially ardent in lauding Dwight Eisenhower, the chieftain of U.S. imperialism, as one who had "a sincere desire for peace," who "sincerely hopes to eliminate the state of 'cold war,' " and who "also worries about ensuring peace just as we do."

They violated the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems as set forth in the Moscow Declaration, and interpreted peaceful coexistence as nothing but ideological struggle and economic competition, saying: "The inevitable struggle between the two systems must be made to take the form exclusively of a struggle of ideas and peaceful emulation, as we say, or competition, to use a word more common in the capitalist lexicon." They even extended peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems to the relations between oppressor and oppressed classes and between oppressor and oppressed nations, maintaining that for various countries peaceful coexistence is the road leading to socialism. All this represents a complete departure from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of class struggle. They thus actually used the pretext of peaceful coexistence to negate the political struggle against imperialism and for the liberation cause of the people of all countries, and to negate the international class struggle.

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that U.S. imperialism vigorously seeks "to enmesh the liberated peoples in new forms of colonialism," and proclaimed far and wide that imperialism could help the underdeveloped countries to develop their economies on an unprecedented scale, thus virtually denying that it is the nature of imperialism to plunder the underdeveloped countries. They made such statements as: "General and complete disarmament would also create entirely new opportunities for aid to the countries whose economies are still underdeveloped and need assistance on the part of more developed countries. Even if only a small part of the money released by the termination of the military expenditures of the great powers were devoted to such aid, it could open up literally a new epoch in the economic development of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that in our day the liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the working class of various countries are powerful forces for the defence of world peace, and counterposed the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary struggle in various countries to the struggle for the defence of world peace. Although they occasionally spoke of the necessity of supporting national-liberation wars and people's revolutionary wars, they repeatedly stressed that "a war under contemporary conditions would inevitably become a world war," that "even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration" and that it was necessary to "oppose all kinds of wars." This amounts to making no distinction between just and unjust wars and to opposing wars of national liberation, people's revolutionary wars and just wars of all kinds on the pretext of preventing a world war.

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that there are two possibilities, peaceful and non-peaceful, with regard to the transition from capitalism to socialism, and that "the ruling classes will never relinquish power voluntarily," and laid a one-sided stress on the "growing immediate possibility" of peaceful transition, alleging that peaceful transition "is already a realistic perspective in a number of countries."

**From this series of erroneous views, one can only draw the conclusions that the nature of imperialism has changed, that all its insuperable inherent contradictions no longer exist, that Marxism-Leninism is outmoded and that the Moscow Declaration should be cast aside.**

**But no matter what pretexts they may resort to, whether "diplomatic language" or "flexibility," the comrades of a fraternal Party who spread these erroneous views cannot cover up their deviations from Marxism-Leninism and from the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration or absolve themselves from their responsibility**

**for the creation of differences in the international communist movement.**

Such is the origin of the differences in the international communist movement which have arisen in recent years.

### How the Differences Were Exposed Before the Enemy

How did these differences come to be exposed before the enemy?

Thorez and other comrades allege that the differences were brought into the open with "the Chinese Communist Party's publication of the pamphlet *Long Live Leninism!* in all languages in the summer of 1960." But what are the actual facts?

**The truth is that the internal differences among the fraternal Parties were first brought into the open, not in the summer of 1960, but on the eve of the Camp David talks in September 1959 — on September 9, 1959, to be exact. On that day a socialist country, turning a deaf ear to China's repeated explanations of the true situation and to China's advice, hastily issued a statement on a Sino-Indian border incident through its official news agency. Making no distinction between right and wrong, the statement expressed "regret" over the border clash and in reality condemned China's correct stand. They even said that it was "tragic" and "deplorable." Here is the first instance in history in which a socialist country, instead of condemning the armed provocations of the reactionaries of a capitalist country, condemned another fraternal socialist country when it was confronted with such armed provocation.** The imperialists and reactionaries immediately sensed that there were differences among the socialist countries, and they made venomous use of this erroneous statement to sow dissension. The bourgeois propaganda machines at that time made a great deal of it, saying that the statement was like a "diplomatic rocket launched at China" and that "the language of the statement was to some extent like that of a stern father coldly rebuking a child and telling him to behave himself."

### Attacks on the Chinese Communist Party

**After the Camp David talks, the heads of certain comrades were turned and they became more and more intemperate in their public attacks on the foreign and domestic policies of the Chinese Communist Party.** They publicly abused the Chinese Communist Party as attempting "to test by force the stability of the capitalist system," and as "craving for war like a cock for a fight." They also attacked the Chinese Communist Party for its general line of socialist construction, its big leap forward and its people's communes, and they spread the slander that the Chinese Party was carrying out an "adventurist" policy in its direction of the state.

For a long time these comrades have eagerly propagated their erroneous views and attacked the Chinese Communist Party, banishing the Moscow Declaration from their minds. They have thus created confusion within the international communist movement and placed the peoples of the world in danger of losing their bearings in the struggle against imperialism. Comrade Thorez can no doubt recall what was vigorously propagated at the time in the organ of the French Communist Party, *L'Humanite*, "Between Washington and Moscow a common language has been found, that of peaceful coexistence. America has taken the turning."

It was in those circumstances and for the sake of upholding the Moscow Declaration, defending Marxism-Leninism and enabling the people of the world to understand our point of view on the current international situation that the Chinese Communist Party published, on the ninetieth anniversary of Lenin's birth, the three articles, "Long Live Leninism!", "Forward Along the Path of the Great Lenin!", and "Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!". Although we had already been under attack for more than half a year, we set store by unity and made imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism the targets of the struggle in our discussion of the erroneous views which contravened the Moscow Declaration.

Thorez and other comrades turned the truth upside down when they alleged that the publication of the three articles was the point at which the differences in the international communist movement were brought into the open.

### An Extremely Bad Precedent

In May 1960, the American U-2 spy plane intruded into the Soviet Union, and the four-power summit meeting in Paris was aborted. We then hoped that the comrades who had so loudly sung the praises of the so-called spirit of Camp David would draw a lesson from these events, and would strengthen the unity of the fraternal Parties and countries in the common struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. But, contrary to our hopes, at the Peking session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions held early in June of the same year, certain comrades of fraternal Parties still refused to denounce Eisenhower, spread many erroneous views and opposed the correct views put forward by the Chinese comrades. **It was a fact of particular gravity that late in June 1960 someone went so far as to wave his baton and launch an all-out and converging surprise attack on the Chinese Communist Party at the meeting of the fraternal Parties in Bucharest. This action was a crude violation of the principle that questions of common interest should be solved through consultation among fraternal Parties. It set an extremely bad precedent for the international communist movement.**

Thorez and other comrades have alleged that the delegate of the Albanian Party of Labour "attacked the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" at the meeting in Bucharest. But all the comrades who attended the meeting are very well aware that **the Albanian comrade did not attack anyone during the meeting. All he did was to adhere to his own views, disobey the baton and take exception to the attack on China. In the eyes of those who regard the relations between fraternal Parties as those between patriarchal father and son, it was indeed an appalling act of impudent insubordination for tiny Albania to dare to disobey the baton. From that time on they harboured a grudge against the Albanian comrades, employed all kinds of base devices against them and would not be satisfied until they had destroyed them.**

**After the Bucharest meeting, some comrades who had attacked the Chinese Communist Party lost no time in taking a series of grave steps to apply economic and political pressure, even to the extent of perfidiously and unilaterally tearing up agreements and contracts they had concluded with a fraternal country, in disregard of international practice. These agreements and contracts are to be counted, not in twos or threes or in scores, but in hundreds. These malicious acts, which extended ideological differences to state relations, were out and out violations of proletarian internationalism and of the principles guiding relations among fraternal socialist countries as set forth in the Moscow Declaration.** Instead of criticizing their own errors of great-nation chauvinism, these comrades charged the Chinese Communist Party with the errors of "going it alone," sectarianism, splitting, national communism, etc. Does this accord with communist ethics? Thorez and other comrades were aware of the facts, yet they dared not criticize those who actually committed the error of extending political and ideological disputes to the damage of state relations, but on the contrary charged the Chinese comrades with "mixing problems of state with ideological and political questions." This attitude which confuses right and wrong and makes black white and white black is indeed deplorable.

It is clear from the foregoing facts that the aggravation of differences in the international communist movement after the Moscow meeting of 1957 was due entirely to the fact that with respect to a series of important issues certain comrades of fraternal Parties committed increasingly serious violations of the common line unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties and of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries.

## Lies Nailed

The fact that Comrade Thorez disregards the facts and perverts the truth is also strikingly manifested in his distortion of what actually happened at the 1960 Moscow meeting. He has charged that the Chinese Communist Party "did not approve the line of the international working-class movement . . . and thus created a difficult situation" for the meeting.

For the good of the international communist movement we prefer not to go into detail here about what went on at this internal meeting of the fraternal Parties; we intend to give the true picture and clarify right and wrong at the proper time and place. It must be pointed out here, however, that the Chinese Communist Party was an initiator of the 1960 meeting of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world. We made great efforts to bring about its convocation. During the meeting, we upheld Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and opposed the erroneous views put forward by certain comrades of fraternal Parties; at the same time, we made necessary compromises on certain questions. Together with other fraternal Parties, we made concerted efforts to overcome a variety of difficulties and enabled the meeting to achieve positive results, reach unanimous agreement and issue the Moscow Statement. These facts alone give the lie to Thorez and certain other comrades.

After the Moscow meeting of 1960, the fraternal Parties should have strengthened the unity of the international communist movement and concentrated their forces for the common struggle against the enemy in accordance with the Statement to which they had unanimously agreed. In the Resolution on the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties adopted at the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in January 1961, we pointed out:

> The Communist Party of China, always unswervingly upholding Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, will uphold the Statement of this meeting, just as it has upheld the Moscow Declaration of 1957, and will resolutely strive for the realization of the common tasks set forth by this document.

In the two years and more that have passed, the Chinese Communist Party has faithfully carried out the common agreements of the international communist movement and devoted sustained efforts to upholding the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

Yet Thorez and other comrades have charged that after the Moscow meeting of 1960 the Chinese Communist Party "continued to express divergences on essential aspects of the policy worked out in common by all the Parties," and that "the positions taken by the Chinese comrades are prejudicial to the interests of the whole movement."

Since the Moscow meeting of 1960, who is it that has committed increasingly serious violations of the Moscow Declaration and Statement with respect to a number of issues?

## Responsibility for Deterioration of Soviet-Albanian Relations

Shortly after the Moscow meeting there was a further deterioration in the relations between the Soviet Union and Albania. Comrade Thorez has tried to shift the responsibility for this deterioration on to the Chinese Communist Party. He has accused China of failing "to use its influence to bring the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour to a more correct understanding of their duty."

In fact, the Chinese Communist Party has always maintained that the relations between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries should be guided by the principles of independence, equality and the attainment of unanimity through consultation as laid down in the Moscow Declaration and Statement. We have consistently upheld this view in regard to Soviet-Albanian relations. **It has been our earnest hope that the relations between the two countries would improve and we have done our internationalist duty to this end. We have offered our advice to the Soviet comrades many times, stating that the larger Party and the larger country should take the initiative in improving Soviet-Albanian relations and settle the differences through inter-Party consultation on an equal footing, and that even if it were not possible to settle some differences for the time being, they should exercise patience instead of taking any steps that might worsen relations. Accordingly, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party wrote to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, expressing the hope that the question of Soviet-Albanian relations would be resolved through consultation.**

But no consideration was given to our sincere efforts. A number of incidents occurred — the withdrawal of the fleet from the naval base of Vlore, the recall of experts

from Albania, the cessation of aid to Albania, interference in her internal affairs, etc.

### Grieving the Friends and Gladdening the Enemy

The Chinese Communist Party was pained by these crude violations of the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries. On the eve of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party once again gave the Soviet comrades comradely advice concerning the improvement of Soviet-Albanian relations. But to our surprise, at the 22nd congress there occurred the grave incident in which the Albanian Party of Labour was publicly named and attacked, and the odious precedent was thus created of one Party using its own congress to make a public attack on another fraternal Party. In defence of the principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement guiding relations among fraternal Parties and in the interest of unity against the enemy, the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party attending the congress explicitly stated our objection to a course of behaviour which can only grieve those near and dear to us all and gladden the enemy.

It is a matter for regret that this serious and just attitude of ours should have been censured. One comrade even said, "If the Chinese comrades wish to contribute to normalizing relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and fraternal Parties, there is hardly anyone who could do more than the Communist Party of China to help solve this problem." What did this remark mean? If it meant to hold the Chinese comrades responsible for the deterioration of Soviet-Albanian relations, that was shirking one's own responsibility and trying to impute it to others. If it meant that the Chinese comrades should help to bring about an improvement in Soviet-Albanian relations, we would point out that some comrades actually deprived other fraternal Parties of the possibility of effectively contributing to the improvement of those relations by completely ignoring our repeated advice and by obdurately exacerbating Soviet-Albanian relations even to the length of openly calling for a change in the leadership of the Albanian Party and state. After the C.P.S.U. Congress these comrades broke off the Soviet Union's diplomatic relations with the fraternal socialist country of Albania without any scruples. Did this not convincingly demonstrate that they had not the slightest desire to improve relations between the Soviet Union and Albania?

Thorez and other comrades have blamed the Chinese press for "spreading the erroneous propositions of the Albanian leaders." We must point out that the Chinese Communist Party has always opposed bringing inter-Party differences into the open and that it was certain comrades of a fraternal Party who insisted on doing this and maintained, moreover, that not to do so was inconsistent with the Marxist-Leninist stand. In these circumstances, when the differences between the Soviet Union and Albania came into the open, we simultaneously published some of the material on both sides of the controversy in order to let the Chinese people understand how matters actually stood. Can it possibly be considered right that certain comrades of a fraternal Party may repeatedly and freely condemn another fraternal Party, may say that its leaders are anti-Leninist, that those leaders want to earn the privilege of receiving an imperialist hand-out of 30 pieces of silver, that they are executioners with blood on their hands, and so on and so forth, while this fraternal Party is not allowed to defend itself, and other fraternal Parties are not allowed to publish material on both sides of the controversy simultaneously? **Those who claim to be "completely correct" have published one article after another attacking Albania, but they are mortally afraid of the Albanian comrades' replies, they dare not publish them and are afraid of others doing so. It simply shows that justice is not on their side and that they have a guilty conscience.**

### "A Movement for Piling Up Corpses"

Furthermore, Comrade Thorez and other comrades accuse the Chinese Communist Party of having "transferred into the mass movements the differences which may exist or arise among Communists," referring especially to the Stockholm conference of the World Peace Council in December 1961, where, they say, the Chinese Communist Party "counterposed the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for disarmament and peace."

But this is the diametrical opposite of the facts. It is not the Chinese comrades but certain comrades of a fraternal Party who have injected the differences between fraternal Parties into the international democratic organizations. They have repeatedly tried to impose on these international democratic organizations their own wrong line, which runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. They have counterposed the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for world peace. In disregard of the widespread desire of the masses represented by these organizations to oppose imperialism and colonialism, to win or safeguard national independence, these comrades insist on making "every effort for disarmament" the overriding task and they energetically peddle the wrong idea that "a world without weapons, without armies, without wars" can be realized while imperialism and the system of exploitation still exist. It is this that has given rise to continual sharp controversies in these organizations. Similar controversies broke out at the Stockholm conference of the World Peace Council in December 1961. The demand made by certain persons at this conference was that colonial and semi-colonial peoples living under the bayonets of imperialism and colonialism should wait until the imperialists and colonialists accept general and complete disarmament, renounce their armed suppression of the national-independence movement and help the underdeveloped countries with the money saved from disarmament. In fact, what these persons want is that, while waiting for all this, the oppressed nations should not fight imperialism and colonialism or resist the armed suppression by their colonial rulers, for otherwise, they say, a world war would be touched off, causing the death of millions upon millions of people. Proceeding from precisely this absurd "theory," these persons have vilified the national-independence movement as a "movement for piling up corpses." It is these persons, and not the Chinese comrades, who violated the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The two most recent major issues in the international situation were the Caribbean crisis and the Sino-Indian border conflict. The stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party on these issues conforms entirely with

Marxism-Leninism and with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Yet in this connection Thorez and other comrades have made vicious attacks on the Chinese Communist Party.

With regard to the Caribbean crisis, Thorez and the other comrades have accused China of wanting to "bring on a war between the Soviet Union and the United States and so plunge the world into a thermonuclear catastrophe." Do the facts bear out this charge? What did the Chinese people do during the Caribbean crisis? They firmly condemned the acts of aggression perpetrated by U.S. imperialism, they firmly supported the five demands of the Cuban people in defence of their independence and sovereignty, and they firmly opposed the attempt to impose "international inspection" on Cuba which was made for the sake of an unprincipled compromise. In all this, what exactly did we do that was wrong? Did not the French Communist Party's statement of October 23, 1962, also call for "vigorously protesting U.S. imperialism's warlike and provocative actions"? Did not *L'Humanite* of the same date condemn the U.S. aggression as "pure and simple aggression prepared a long time ago against Cuba" and did it not appeal to the people of all countries as "a matter of urgency that the peoples reinforce their solidarity with Cuba and intensify their struggle"? May we ask Comrade Thorez: In thus supporting the Cuban people and opposing U.S. aggression, did you, too, want to plunge the world into a thermonuclear catastrophe? Why was it all right for you to do this at one time, and why has it become a crime for China consistently to do the same thing? Plainly the reason is that, following the baton, you suddenly changed your stand and began to hold forth about the need for "reasonable concessions" and "sensible compromise" in the face of the U.S. acts of aggression. That is why you turned your artillery from the Yankee pirates to those fraternal Parties which have consistently maintained a correct stand.

## Power Politics and Fetish of Nuclear Weapons

Worse still, certain comrades in the C.P.F. have vilified all who stand firm against the U.S. aggressors, calling them such insulting names as "heroes of the revolutionary phrase" and accusing them of "using fine words" and "speculating on the admiration which the Cuban people's courage has legitimately inspired." These comrades said that "against hydrogen bombs courage alone is not sufficient" and "let us beware of sacrificing Cuban breasts on the altar of revolutionary phrases." What kind of talk is this? Whom are you accusing? If you are accusing the heroic Cuban people, that is disgraceful. If you are accusing the Chinese people and the people of other countries who oppose the U.S. pirates and support the Cuban people, does this not expose your support of the Cuban people as an utter fraud? As Thorez and certain other French comrades see it, if those who do not possess hydrogen bombs support the Cuban people, they are simply using "fine words" and indulging in "speculation," while the Cuban people who do not possess hydrogen bombs must submit to the countries which have them, sell out their state sovereignty, accept "international inspection" and allow themselves to be sacrificed on the altar of U.S. imperialist aggression. This is naked power politics. It makes an unqualified fetish of nuclear weapons. It is no way for Communists to talk.

**We should like to say to Thorez and the other comrades that the eyes of the people of the world are clear; it is not we but you who have committed mistakes in connection with the Caribbean crisis. For you have tried to help out the Kennedy Administration, which provoked the crisis in the Caribbean, by insisting that people should believe the U.S. promise not to attack Cuba, although the Kennedy Administration has itself denied having made any such promise. You have defended those comrades who committed both the error of adventurism and the error of capitulationism. You have defended infringements upon the sovereignty of a fraternal country. And you are making the fight against the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties, rather than the fight against U.S. imperialism, your prime concern.**

## Who Is to Blame on the Sino-Indian Border Question?

On the Sino-Indian boundary question, Thorez and other comrades have accused China of lacking the "minimum of goodwill" for a settlement of the dispute. This charge is ludicrous.

We have already had occasion to deal at length with the Chinese Government's consistent stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border issue and with the efforts it has exerted in this connection over a number of years. At the moment, the situation on the border has begun to relax, as a result of the serious defeat which the Indian forces sustained in their massive attacks and of the ceasefire and withdrawal which the Chinese forces effected on China's initiative after having fought back successfully in self-defence. The three years and more of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute have furnished conclusive proof that the Chinese Government has been absolutely right in waging a necessary struggle against the reactionary policy of the Nehru government of India.

**The surprising thing is that when a fraternal socialist country was facing the Nehru government's provocations and attacks, certain self-styled Marxist-Leninists should abandon the principle of proletarian internationalism and assume a "neutral" stand. In practice, they have not only been giving political support to the anti-China policy of the Nehru government, but have been supplying that government with war materiel. Instead of condemning these wrong actions, Thorez and other comrades have described them as a "sensible policy." What has happened to your Marxism-Leninism and your proletarian internationalism?**

Time and again, Comrade Thorez has denounced China's policy towards India as benefiting imperialism. As early as 1960, he said that the Chinese Communist Party "gives Eisenhower the opportunity to obtain a welcome in India which he would not have received in other circumstances." To this day, some French comrades are repeating this charge.

## Welcoming the Chieftain of U.S. Imperialism

To anybody with political judgment, it is hardly necessary to dwell on the fact that one of the objects of the Nehru government in stirring up conflict on the Sino-

Indian border was to serve the needs of U.S. imperialism and secure more U.S. aid. We would only like to ask Comrade Thorez and certain other members of the C.P.F.: Is it possible you have forgotten that Eisenhower was accorded not only a welcome in India but a rousing welcome in France too. Comrade Thorez sharply criticized a number of elected communist municipal and general councillors of the Paris region at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party for not attending the reception to welcome Eisenhower when the latter was visiting Paris in September 1959. To quote Comrade Thorez, "It is necessary to say that we considered it a mistake that in spite of the decision of the Political Bureau, which wanted the elected municipal and general councillors of the Paris region to be present, they were not all present at the reception for Eisenhower at the town hall. That was an erroneous position. I have also criticized it since my return. (Comrade Thorez had just returned from a trip abroad. — *Renmin Ribao Ed.*) I wish to repeat that the Political Bureau had taken a correct decision but that it did not know how to secure its application." (*L'Humanite*, November 11, 1959.) If the Chinese Communist Party is to blame for the welcome Nehru gave to Eisenhower, who is to blame, we would like to ask Comrade Thorez, for his endeavours to get all the elected communist municipal and general councillors of the Paris region to attend the reception welcoming Eisenhower? From the class viewpoint of Marxism, no one need be surprised at Nehru's welcome to Eisenhower, but when a Communist Party leader shows such eagerness to welcome the chieftain of U.S. imperialism and uses such stern language in criticism of comrades for failing to attend the reception, one cannot help being amazed.

**These two issues, the Caribbean crisis and the Sino-Indian border question, have once again thoroughly exposed the line and policy followed by those who claim to be "completely correct" and shown them to be contrary to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Nevertheless, they did not draw the proper lessons or show any desire to correct their errors and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and Statement. Instead, angrier and more red-faced than ever, they have slid further and further down the wrong path; and in an effort to divert people's attention and cover up their mistakes, they have started a still bigger adverse current directed against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, a current that is destructive of the unity of the international communist movement.**

Several fraternal European Parties held their congresses between November 1962 and January 1963. At these congresses, by careful arrangements, a disgusting situation was created with large-scale and systematic public attacks made on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties by name. In particular, at the recent congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, this adverse current reached a new high in the attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties and the disruption of the unity of the international communist movement. At this congress, certain comrades, while talking about ending the attacks, continued violently to assail the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties and, moreover, they openly tried to reverse the verdict on the traitorous Tito clique. Can these comrades deceive anybody by their double-dealing? Obviously not. Such double-dealing just shows that they are not sincere about stopping the polemics and restoring unity.

## How to Treat the Tito Clique — A Question of Principle

**In particular, it must be pointed out that the question of how to treat the Tito clique is a major question of principle. It is not a question of how to interpret the Moscow Statement but of whether to defend it or tear it up. It is not a question of what attitude to take towards a fraternal Party, but of what attitude to take towards traitors to the communist cause. It is not a question of helping comrades rectify the mistakes they have made, but of unmasking and denouncing enemies of Marxism-Leninism. Adhering faithfully to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Statement, the Chinese Communist Party will never allow the common agreement of the fraternal Parties to be either doctored or scrapped, will never allow traitors to be pulled into our ranks, and will never agree to any trading in Marxist-Leninist principles or bartering away of the interests of the international communist movement.**

From the facts cited above one can clearly see that on a whole series of questions it is not we but certain comrades of fraternal Parties who have been committing increasingly serious violations of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. **It is not we but certain comrades of fraternal Parties who have failed to try to remove the differences among fraternal Parties in accordance with these two common documents, but have on the contrary exacerbated these differences. It is not we but certain comrades of fraternal Parties who have further exposed to the enemy the differences among fraternal Parties and publicly attacked fraternal Parties by name and with increasing violence. It is not we but certain comrades of fraternal Parties who have counterposed to the common line of the international communist movement *their own erroneous line and who have thus exposed the* socialist camp and the international communist movement to the more and more serious danger of a split.**

## Let the French Working Class Pass Judgment

From the facts cited above, one can also clearly see that Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Communist Party have been taking a surprisingly irresponsible attitude towards the present serious debate in the international communist movement. They have been resorting to deception, blocking information, concealing facts and distorting the views of the Chinese Communist Party in order to be able to make unbridled attacks on it. This is certainly not the proper way to carry on a debate, nor does it show a responsible attitude towards the members of the French Communist Party and the French working class. **If Thorez and the other comrades dare to face the facts and believe themselves to be right, they ought to publish the material of the Chinese Communist Party which explains its views, including the relevant articles we have published recently, and let all the members of the French Communist Party and the French working class learn the truth and decide**

**for themselves what is right and what is wrong. Comrade Thorez and the other comrades! We have already published your statements accusing us. Will you do the same? Do you have that kind of statesmanship? Do you have that kind of courage?**

Comrade Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Communist Party have distorted facts and reversed right and wrong to an extent that is really astonishing and yet they keep on calling themselves "creative Marxist-Leninists." Very well, let's look at this kind of "creativeness."

### Turning in Response to the Baton

We note that, prior to 1959, Thorez and the other comrades rightly pointed out that U.S. imperialism was the leader of the forces of aggression and that they denounced the U.S. Government's policies of aggression and war. But on the eve of the Camp David talks someone said that Eisenhower hoped for "the elimination of tension in the relation between states," and so Thorez and the others vied with each other in lauding Eisenhower and decided that the parliamentary deputies of the French Communist Party should welcome this "peace emissary." This was a complete turn of 180 degrees in response to the baton.

We also note that in September 1959 after de Gaulle had issued a statement about "self-determination" for Algeria in which he totally refused to recognize her independence and sovereignty, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party issued a statement which rightly exposed this as a "purely demagogic manoeuvre." At that time Comrade Thorez himself said that it was "nothing but a political manoeuvre." But in little more than a month, as soon as a foreign comrade said that de Gaulle's statement had "great significance," Comrade Thorez severely criticized the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party for having made a "false appreciation," declaring that the Political Bureau's original statement had been "hasty, precipitate." This was another complete turn of 180 degrees in response to the baton.

We note further that in the past Thorez and the other comrades correctly denounced the revisionist programme of the Yugoslav Tito clique, saying that the Tito clique was accepting "the subsidies of the American capitalists," and that these "capitalists clearly do not bestow them in order to facilitate the construction of socialism." But recently someone spoke of "helping" the Tito clique "to resume its place in the great family of all fraternal Parties," and so Thorez and other comrades began to talk a great deal about "helping the League of Yugoslav Communists to return once again to the fold of the great communist family." This was another complete turn of 180 degrees in response to the baton.

We also note that a year or so ago when the Chinese Communist Party opposed the practice of one Party publicly attacking another fraternal Party at its own congress, someone condemned this as being "contrary to the Marxist-Leninist stand." And then, Comrade Thorez followed him by saying that the Chinese comrades were "wrong" to take such an attitude, which was "not right." Recently, someone continued the attacks while saying that open polemics should halt, and so certain comrades of the French Communist Party again followed suit and said this was "sensible, Leninist." This was still another turn in response to the baton.

### Talking Like a Parrot

**Instances of this sort are too numerous to mention. Turning about in this way and following the baton so unconditionally cannot possibly be regarded as indicative of the normal relationship of independence and equality that should exist among fraternal Parties, but rather of abnormal, feudal, patriarchal relationships. Some comrades apparently believe that the interests of the proletariat and of the people in their own country may be disregarded completely, that the interests of the international proletariat and of the people of the world may also be completely disregarded, and that it is good enough just to follow others. Is it right to go east or is it right to go west? Is it right to advance or is it right to retreat? — about all such questions they do not care at all. What someone else says, they repeat word for word. If someone else takes one step, they follow with the same step. Here there is all too much ability to parrot and all too little of Marxist-Leninist principle. Are "creative Marxist-Leninists" of this kind something to be proud of?**

However much Comrade Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Party publish in order to slander and viciously attack the Chinese Communist Party, they cannot in the least sully the glory of the great Chinese Communist Party. These practices of theirs run counter to the desire of all Communists to remove differences and strengthen unity and they are not in keeping with the glorious tradition of the French working class and the French Communist Party.

### The Glorious Revolutionary Tradition of The French Working Class

The working class and the labouring people of France have a long and glorious revolutionary tradition. In their heroic endeavour to found the Paris Commune the French working class set a brilliant example for the proletarian revolution in all countries of the world. The *Internationale*, the immortal battle-march created by an outstanding fighter and gifted composer of the French working class, is a clarion call to the people of the world to fight for their own emancipation and carry the revolution to the end. Founded under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the French Communist Party gathered together a vast number of the finest sons and daughters of the French people and waged determined struggles jointly with the French working class and the labouring people. In the resistance movement against fascism the French people under the leadership of the French Party enriched the revolutionary tradition of the French working class and showed dauntless heroism. In the postwar period the French Communists played an important role in the struggle to defend world peace, to preserve democratic rights, to better the living conditions of the working people and to oppose monopoly capital. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always had the greatest respect for the French Communist Party and the French working class.

Comrade Thorez and the other comrades have repeatedly stressed that the Chinese comrades should correct

their mistakes. But it is Comrade Thorez and the others, and not we, who really need to correct mistakes. In spite of the fact that we have no alternative but to debate with Comrade Thorez and certain other French comrades in this article, we sincerely hope that they will honour the history of the French Communist Party and treasure their own record of militant struggle for the cause of communism. We hope that they will take the basic interests of the international communist movement to heart, correct their errors which are out of keeping with the revolutionary tradition of the French proletariat, out of keeping with the glorious tradition of the French Communist Party and out of keeping with their oath of dedication to communism, and will return to the banner of Marxism-Leninism and to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

## C.P.C. Upholds Principle and Unity

As always, the Chinese Communist Party firmly upholds the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist movement and the unity of the revolutionary people throughout the world, and opposes any disruption of this unity by word or deed. As always, we firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and we are against all words and deeds that run counter to these revolutionary principles.

Naturally, the occurrence of one kind of difference or another in the international communist movement can hardly be avoided. When differences do occur, and especially when they concern the line of the movement, the only way to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement is to start from the desire for unity and, through serious debate, to eliminate these differences on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The question is not whether to debate, but through what channels and by what methods to conduct the debate. We have always maintained that debates should be conducted only among the fraternal Parties and not in public. Although this stand of ours is irrefutable, it has been under attack by certain comrades of fraternal Parties. After having publicly attacked us and other fraternal Parties for more than a year, they have now changed their tune and say they want to stop open polemics. **We should like to ask: Do you or do you not consider now that the public attacks you have been making on fraternal Parties were a mistake? Are you or are you not ready to admit this mistake and to apologize to the fraternal Parties you have attacked? Are you truly and sincerely ready to return to the proper course of inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality?**

In order to eliminate differences and strengthen unity, the Chinese Communist Party has many times proposed, and still holds today, that a meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries should be convened; moreover, the Chinese Communist Party is ready to take the necessary steps together with all the fraternal Parties to prepare the conditions for the convening of such a meeting.

## Cessation of Polemics in Deeds As Well As in Words

One of the preparatory steps for such a meeting is the cessation of the public polemics which are still going on. The Chinese Communist Party made this proposal long ago. **We are of the opinion that in ceasing public polemics the actions must suit the words, and that the cessation must be mutual and general. While professing to terminate these polemics, some persons have continued to make attacks. Actually they want to forbid you to strike back after they have beaten you up. This will not do. Not only must attacks on the Chinese Communist Party cease, the attacks levelled at the Albanian Party of Labour and other fraternal Parties must also stop. Moreover, it is absolutely impermissible to use the pretext of stopping polemics in order to forbid the exposure and condemnation of Yugoslav revisionism because this violates the provision of the Moscow Statement on the obligation to expose further the revisionist leaders of Yugoslavia. Some persons now want to oust the fraternal Albanian Party of Labour from the international communist movement on the one hand, and to pull in the renegade Tito clique on the other. We want to tell these people frankly that this is absolutely impossible.**

## Bilateral and Multilateral Talks

A necessary step for preparing such a meeting is to hold bilateral and multilateral talks among the fraternal Parties. This was proposed by the Chinese Communist Party as far back as ten months ago. We have always been willing to have talks with all the fraternal Parties which share our desire to eliminate differences and strengthen unity. As a matter of fact, we have had such talks with a number of fraternal Parties. We have never refused to hold bilateral talks with any fraternal Party. In their statement of January 12 the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party alleged that the Chinese Communist Party had not accepted the C.P.S.U.'s request "for joint discussion." It has been said they were told this by another Party. However, we must point out in all seriousness that this is a sheer fabrication. **We wish to reiterate that we are ready to hold talks and to exchange views with any fraternal Party or Parties in order to facilitate the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist Parties of all countries.**

At present the imperialists, and particularly the U.S. imperialists, are stepping up their policies of aggression and war, are frantically opposing the Communist Parties and the socialist camp, and are savagely suppressing national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries. At this juncture all Communist Parties, the proletariat of the world and the people of all countries are urgently calling for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist ranks and the unity of the people of the whole world against our common enemy. Let us eliminate differences and strengthen unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement! Let us work together to strengthen our struggle against imperialism, to win victory for the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, and to attain our great goal of communism.

# Rapid Disintegration of Imperialist Bloc

**by OBSERVER**

*Following is a translation of a commentary in "Renmin Ribao" on February 24. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

RECENTLY, contradictions among the imperialist powers in various spheres have broken out in quick succession. Their rivalries, covert and overt, are extraordinarily acute. A scene of division and confusion has appeared within the imperialist camp.

The recent breakdown of the Brussels negotiations is a result of the further aggravation of imperialist contradictions in the postwar period; it is a head-on clash among the imperialist countries, more violent in nature than any since the Suez crisis. On the face of it, this conflict has arisen from France's refusal to let Britain into the Common Market. In fact, it shows that the sharpening struggle of the West European countries against U.S. domination has been brought to the surface, and that the strife within the imperialist camp has reached the stage where France, backed by West Germany, openly competes with the United States for hegemony in Western Europe.

## Serious Setback for U.S. Imperialism

France's rejection of British application for membership to the Common Market is a sharp rebuff to the U.S. "Atlantic community" project aimed at controlling Western Europe. De Gaulle has made it very clear on this point. The entry by Britain and other countries into the Common Market, he said, would transform it into a "colossal Atlantic community dependent upon and controlled by the United States, which would tend to absorb the European community." This will not be tolerated by de Gaulle who himself seeks to dominate Western Europe by means of the Common Market. He has openly proposed the creation of "a Europe for Europeans," that is, a Europe from which the influence of the United States will be excluded. That is why, when the United States stepped up its coercion of the Six to admit Britain, and Britain herself quickened her pace to gatecrash the Common Market, de Gaulle took the bull by the horns and slammed the door shut. The U.S. plan for dominating Western Europe thus suffered a serious setback.

The intensified U.S. struggle for domination and the increased resistance by West European countries, France in particular, are not only reflected in the breakdown of the Brussels negotiations. They have much wider implications; they are a most profound and full-scale trial of strength.

## U.S. Nuclear Monopoly Challenged

While slamming shut the Common Market door, de Gaulle has also turned down the U.S. multilateral nuclear force project and pressed ahead with the development of France's independent nuclear force. Reports say that the de Gaulle government will succeed in building France's first nuclear striking force by the end of this year. The U.S. nuclear monopoly position in the capitalist world is openly challenged. Washington wants to use the multilateral nuclear force scheme to dispose of the British and French independent nuclear forces and thus continue its military control of the imperialist camp, particularly its control of Western Europe. Special mention should be made of the fact that because the economic strength of the United States has been relatively weakened in recent years, it has to depend more and more on its nuclear monopoly for control of the imperialist camp. It is true that during the Nassau talks Kennedy succeeded in forcing Macmillan to accept his multilateral nuclear force plan and scored partial successes in preventing Britain from developing her independent nuclear force. The rejection of this plan by France, however, remains a big defeat for Kennedy. The reason is that, in relations among the imperialist powers, nuclear force is equated with "position of strength." De Gaulle's stubborn determination to oppose U.S. nuclear monopoly and develop France's independent nuclear force shows how far he has gone in his struggle with the United States for hegemony in Western Europe.

## Paris-Bonn Axis Strengthened

This is not all. In the sharp conflict between France and the U.S., de Gaulle has also legitimized the Paris-Bonn axis by signing with Adenauer the French-West German "Treaty of Co-operation," thus strengthening France's political position in the imperialist camp. West Germany, which has achieved her economic recovery with the backing of the United States, and which has tried hard to stage a comeback politically and militarily, is an important force in the imperialist struggle for power. In reviving West German nonopoly capital and militarist forces in the postwar period, the United States, on the one hand, aims at using West Germany as a cat's-paw against the socialist camp and, on the other, wants to turn it into an instrument for controlling and containing other imperialist powers in Western Europe. But facts contradict Washington's wishful thinking. Monopoly capital and militarist forces in West Germany, which have become stronger, have step by step strengthened their collaboration with de Gaulle who is determined to struggle with the United States for hegemony. Although West Germany at the present time still depends on the United States in many respects, and Adenauer has affirmed that West Germany will not weaken her co-operation with the United States, the strengthening of the Paris-Bonn axis provides powerful support for de Gaulle's bold counter-blow against the United States.

With the formation of the West European Common Market, economically, the imperialist camp was split into three blocs — the Six (the Common Market), the Seven (the European Free Trade Association led by Britain) as well as the United States. Now France and West Germany have concluded their treaty of alliance of all-round political, economic and military co-operation. This will inevitably deepen the rift within the imperialist camp.

France, moreover, has also strengthened her military "co-operation" with Franco's Spain. As a result, the United States has postponed its talks with Spain on the prolongation of the military base agreement, and the U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defence Gilpatric has cancelled his planned visit. This means that de Gaulle has also extended his influence in Spain.

### Sharp Struggle in Africa

Apart from their rivalry for control of Western Europe, the United States and the old European colonialist powers including France are also engaged in an extremely bitter tussle in Africa. Since the end of World War II, the United States, with its huge financial power, has steadily penetrated the spheres of influence of Britain, France, Belgium and other colonialist countries. This has met with resistance from the latter. France, in particular, has tried her best to preserve her sphere of influence in Africa by taking advantage of the fact that a number of African countries are associate members of the Common Market. The struggle between the old and new colonialists has even developed into recurrent, open clashes in the Congo. Early this year, the United States, under the banner of the "U.N. force," grabbed and occupied Katanga which is rich in natural resources. The U.S.-French scramble for spheres of influence is also mirrored in the recent armed revolt in Togo. France's refusal to let Britain into the Common Market is an indication of her resistance to the U.S. and British attempts to penetrate further, by means of the Common Market, into her sphere of influence in Africa.

In short, the recent outburst of the contradictions within the imperialist camp is the most acute both in scope and in extent in postwar years. It is an all-round outburst of political, economic and military contradictions among the imperialist powers. The struggle is focused on the control of Western Europe, the principal strategic base of the North Atlantic military bloc. That is why in nature it threatens to shake to its foundations the dominant U.S. position in the imperialist camp. Precisely because of this, the leaders of the U.S. ruling circles have made many alarmed statements. U.S. President Kennedy openly accused de Gaulle of opposing NATO. U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Dillon said: "We [the Western camp] have a split in Europe." William Fulbright, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee bemoaned that this was "the most serious setback for our [U.S.] principal foreign policy, the most important of all of them, that we, [the U.S.] have suffered" since the end of World War II. This shows how deep are the wounds the current conflict within the imperialist camp has inflicted on the United States.

### Result of Uneven Development of Capitalism

The current bitter struggle among the imperialist powers is not an accident. It is a natural result of the uneven development of capitalism as the general crisis of capitalism has deepened since World War II. At the same time it is an indication of the resistance inevitably aroused by the steady U.S. expansion in Western Europe and the oppression imposed on its "allies."

It is well known that since World War II, the U.S. imperialists have stepped into the shoes of German, Italian and Japanese fascism and persistently pursued a policy of expansion throughout the world. U.S. ruling circles arrogantly described the second half of the 20th century as "the American age." They have done all they could to dominate the world and build an unprecedentedly big empire in the capitalist world. To this end, they have, first of all, under the anti-Soviet signboard, invaded, swallowed and controlled the former colonies and spheres of influence of Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Italy.

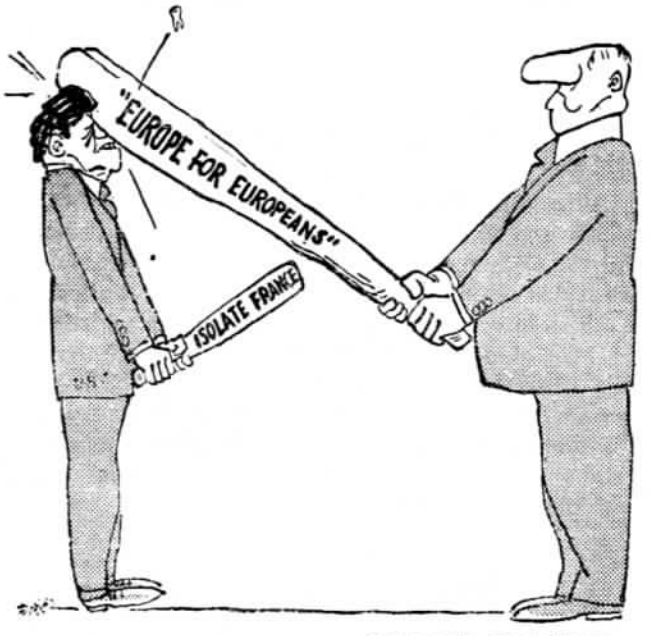
Taking advantage of its unchallenged supremacy in the capitalist world since World War II and the weakening of its competitors, the United States has also put a number of capitalist countries including Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan under its control and oppressed them mercilessly. The "European unification" plan pushed forward by the United States in the postwar period is, in fact, a plan for bringing the West European countries under its direct control and enslaving them. By means of the Marshall plan and other "aid" programmes, the United States has penetrated the economies of these countries and turned them into markets and investment fields. By forming the NATO military alliance, it has tightened both its military and political grip on Western Europe. The West European countries have, to the best of their ability, countered this U.S. plan of controlling Europe. However, owing to the great disparity in the balance of forces between the United States and the West European countries in the early postwar years, and particularly owing to their economic and military dependence on the United States, the West European countries had to put up with U.S. control and oppression and for the time being accept its dominant position in the imperialist camp. But their struggle against U.S. control has continued unabated.

### Changed Balance of Forces

In the last few years, the balance of forces within the imperialist camp has rapidly changed. France and other countries, which were greatly weakened during World War II, have revived. The defeated countries like West Germany, Italy, and Japan, have also recovered their military and economic potential. For the present, the United States remains the most powerful country in the imperialist camp; it still has considerable financial strength and military superiority over its "allies." Despite this, the West European countries no longer depend absolutely on the United States as they did in the past. They have grown strong enough to stand up in opposition to the United States. For this reason, it is natural that West Germany and France, which have become relatively strong, and even Italy are unwilling to continue to submit to the miserable fate of satellites at the disposal of the United States. In accordance with the principle pointed out by Lenin on the redivision of the world by the imperialist powers in proportion to strength, the West European countries certainly want to secure political and military status and spheres of influence compatible with

their economic strength. The formation of the Common Market is an important step taken by the West European countries to fight for markets and spheres of influence and to seek a redivision of the world. It is clear that it is first of all spearheaded against the United States. This shows that the West European countries which have become increasingly strong are out to gain equal status with the United States.

The West European Common Market is not only an economic bloc; it is also developing in the direction of a political union. This is the so-called political and economic "integration" of Western Europe planned by the Common Market countries. Considerable differences on the formula of "political integration" still exist among them. But de Gaulle and Adenauer have already reached compromise to a certain extent on the question. Such being the case, de Gaulle has made great efforts to push ahead with his "Little Europe" programme to resist U.S. control of Western Europe. That is why the economic development of the West European Common Market and its advance to political and economic "integration" cannot but arouse the greatest anxiety of U.S. imperialism. U.S. President Kennedy has clamoured that the Common Market is a grave challenge to the United States affecting its national fortunes. To meet this challenge, economically, the Kennedy Administration, has, on the one hand, stepped up its efforts to invest and establish factories in the Common Market countries and use the export of capital as a means of attaining its purpose of controlling the Common Market. On the other hand, it has produced the "trade expansion Act" designed to dismantle the tariff barriers of the Common Market and find an outlet for U.S. goods. Politically, the United States has actively supported Britain's entry into the Common Market and thus weaken from within the French influence and position in this bloc and merge the Common Market into the U.S.-designed "Atlantic community." Militarily, the United States has tried by every possible means to hold fast to its nuclear monopoly in the Western camp, and prevent the West European countries from acquiring independent nuclear forces, so that it can take the power of policy-making in the North Atlantic bloc into its own hands and get other imperialist countries to submit to its plans for war and aggression throughout the world.




Cartoon by Fang Cheng

**Clubs Are Trumps**

### All-Out U.S. Offensive

After the Cuban event, the Kennedy Administration has become outrageously arrogant, thinking that the United States' "position of strength" has been improved. It has openly clamoured for the exercise of "stronger leadership" over the West "even at the risk of offending sensitive allies." In the past two months, the United States has launched an all-out offensive against the West European countries. It unilaterally decided to stop the trial manufacture of the Skybolt missile — a programme undertaken by joint agreement with Britain, thus hitting hard at the British plan to build an independent nuclear force. At the council meeting of the North Atlantic bloc in Paris, the United States exerted further pressure on its "allies," demanding that they give up the development of an independent nuclear force, provide more conventional units and bear greater military expenses. During the Nassau talks, by coercion and the dangling of economic bait, the United States induced Britain to accept the so-called multilateral nuclear force plan in an attempt to further compel France to toe Washington's line. Through diplomatic channels, the United States urged the Common Market countries to admit Britain and sent Herter and others on a tour to Western Europe so as to pave the way for more U.S. exports to Western Europe. It is clear that all these high-handed measures are mainly spearheaded against France. But the days when the United States could push around its West European "allies" at will are gone for ever. Angered, France is set to launch an all-out counter-offensive against the United States. And hence the unfolding of her open struggle with the United States for hegemony in Western Europe.

### De Gaulle's Hands Strengthened

Facts have shown that in the current struggle with the United States, de Gaulle's position is not weak at all. Economic growth in the past few years, the strengthening of de Gaulle's rule at home and the end of the Algerian war have enabled France to get rid of her political, economic and military dependence on the United States. Dealing with the U.S. position in his article published in *Newsweek* of February 18, Lippmann, an idea-man of the U.S. ruling circles, had to admit: "De Gaulle is disconcerting because he is in the very strong position of not wanting something from us [the U.S.]." Furthermore, the Common Market is to a certain extent manipulated by de Gaulle. This has also strengthened his hand in the struggle. To be sure, the Common Market itself is riddled with contradictions. Italy and the other small countries are highly vigilant towards the alliance between France and West Germany. They invariably seek to check France and West Germany with the backing of Britain and the United States. However, in the years since the Common Market was formed, monopoly capitalists of all its member countries have got handsome profits out of it. Therefore, despite the fact that after the breakdown of the Brussels negotiations, the United States tried its best to win over the other Common Market countries to isolate de Gaulle and raised a great hue and cry for a time, they remain, after all, France's partners in the Common Market. This makes it hardly possible for the United

States to get any tangible results from its plan to isolate de Gaulle. Although Britain, flatly denied entry into the Common Market by de Gaulle, was deeply angered, she is still trying to associate herself in one way or another with the Common Market in the hope that she may get in eventually. Austria, Denmark and other members of the European Free Trade Association led by Britain are anxious to enter the Common Market or to associate with it in a way favourable to them. This shows that the Common Market remains a very powerful bloc to be reckoned with in the present struggle within the imperialist camp, and that de Gaulle's position in it will remain unshaken for some time.

### Growing Anti-U.S. Sentiments

On the other hand, although Kennedy was the first to launch the offensive in the struggle, he could do nothing about de Gaulle's counter-offensive. This is not only because the West European countries no longer so much depend on the U.S. as they did before. What is more important, the United States, facing an unstable economic situation, has to rely on the West European countries in some respects for support and help. Today with its gold reserves going down steadily, the position of the dollar to a certain extent needs the backing of the West European countries. Moreover, the United States is energetically endeavouring to expand its exports to improve its economic situation. In the trade sphere, therefore, it cannot stand retaliation by the West European countries, particularly by the Common Market countries. Consequently, after suffering serious setbacks, Kennedy, on the one hand, cried that "the loss of Western Europe would be destructive to U.S. interests" and, on the other, indicated that he was not prepared to resort to political and economic retaliation against France. Moreover, at the same time as its leadership in Western Europe is openly challenged, the United States is in serious trouble with Canada on placing nuclear weapons in that country, and with Japan on restrictions of cotton textile imports. Anti-U.S. sentiments are growing in the capitalist world. This clearly demonstrates that the U.S. position in the imperialist camp is declining still further.

### Life-and-Death Struggle

The fight between the West European countries and the United States for hegemony in Western Europe is just beginning. Such a concentration of the imperialist rivalries in Europe, the cradle of capitalism, and such an acute struggle for control of industrially developed Western Europe is something which was rarely seen in the past. This shows that as a result of the national revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the capitalist world market has shrunk more and more and that the general crisis of capitalism has further deepened. With the lapse of time, the struggle among the imperialist countries for control of Western Europe will become ever more bitter. The United States, in particular, is facing a new economic crisis. The economic development of the West European countries has either stagnated, or slowed down. This will make the imperialist scramble for Western Europe acquire the nature of a life-and-death struggle. The tendency among the West European countries to shake off U.S. control will become ever stronger no matter what counter-measures and actions the United States is going to take.

The imperialist camp is fast heading for division and disintegration. This shows that imperialism is rotting day by day. The insurmountable internal contradictions within the imperialist camp reveal that it is in serious difficulties. The world situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the peoples. Kennedy and his ilk are simply daydreaming when they talk about "world trends being favourable to the West."

## *Exposing U.S. Imperialism*

# Dark Clouds Over the Caribbean

**by WANG LIN**

ON February 13, two Cuban Sigma-type fishing boats were machine-gunned and seized in the vicinity of Roque Island by a launch which had come from Florida in the United States. On the afternoon of February 20, two reconnaissance planes of the Cuban Air Force were flying over a zone north of the Cuban coast in search of the missing boats. When they spotted a small craft which appeared to be of the Sigma type, they flew low to identify it, but without opening fire or taking any other hostile action. Finding that it was not one of the Cuban boats, they left immediately.

Then from Washington came a story spread by the U.S. Defence Department that Cuban planes had attacked a U.S. shrimping boat. This is sheer fabrication. As the Cuban Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces pointed out in a statement issued on February 21, "it is absurd to think that two fighters could have attacked a small fishing boat without inflicting injury on any of its crew."

Using this incident of their own making, the U.S. imperialists are doing everything they can to create tension in the Caribbean. At his news conference on February 21, President Kennedy threatened that "the United States will take action against any vessel or plane which attacks our [U.S.] planes or vessels." Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 22, Defence Secretary McNamara declared that the U.S. policy was to "eliminate Castroism and communism from Cuba." All signs in Washington point to the fact that the U.S. ruling bloc is bringing to a new peak its anti-Cuban campaign.

### Bitter U.S. Hostility to Cuba

Since the Cuban people won their tremendous victory in their struggle against the U.S. military blockade last

year, the U.S. imperialists have never ceased to pursue their aim of destroying revolutionary Cuba. On December 29, 1962, Kennedy went especially to Miami to welcome the released U.S. mercenaries who had been captured during the invasion of Giron Beach in 1961. Speaking to them, he said that it was "the strongest wish" of the United States that "Cuba shall one day be free again."

On January 11, addressing a session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk asserted that the U.S. pledge against an invasion of Cuba now "no longer exists."

In early February, U.S. senators, officials and newspapers raised a hue and cry against Cuba. Democratic Senator John Stennis, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Sub-Committee, said on February 6 that the situation might lead to a new "show of strength, force and determination" by the United States as in the naval blockade against Cuba last year. On the same day, McNamara declared in a television speech that the United States already had "contingency plans" to cope with the situation.

On February 16, the U.S. Government announced its plan for enlisting and training the Cuban counter-revolutionary mercenaries. On February 18, U.S. Democratic and Republican Congressional leaders were summoned to the White House for a secret meeting with President Kennedy. After the meeting, the Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield described it as "a general intelligence roundup on Cuba." The next day, a U.S. warship appeared near the port of Havana to carry out espionage and provocative activities.

Viewed in this context, the U.S. imperialists' ravings about their fabricated incident of the shrimping boat can only expose all the more clearly their scheme to find an excuse for their aggression against the first socialist country in Latin America.

Another pretext the U.S. imperialists have used for carrying on their scheming activities against Cuba is the so-called threat of the presence of the Soviet military personnel in Cuba. In a statement issued on February 21, the White House said: "The Soviet Government has informed the U.S. Government of its intention to withdraw from Cuba by the middle of March several thousand Soviet military personnel." But the U.S. rulers do not feel content with this. At his news conference on the same day, Kennedy indicated that the U. S. Government still insisted on the complete withdrawal of Soviet military personnel. He said that the United States had "indicated very clearly that we [U.S. imperialists] would find it difficult to accept with equanimity a situation which continued Soviet troop presence in Cuba."

To pave the way for the launching of a new military attack on Cuba, it has become an important U.S. imperialist policy to organize counter-revolutionary sabotage and subversive activities in Cuba. The Cuban Government announced on January 27 the smashing of two U.S. spy networks which had extended widely in Oriente Province and whose members had received orders of the Central Intelligence Agency both from the United States and the U.S. naval base of Guantanamo. In recovering the two fishing boats seized by U.S. agents on February 13, the Cuban Navy captured 8 C.I.A. men on board. These admitted that they belonged to an espionage group which the C.I.A. had organized to smuggle agents and arms into Cuba for counter-revolutionary purposes, to upset the economy and create terror in the countryside.

In addition to preparing for a military invasion of Cuba the U.S. Government has done its utmost to strangle the country economically. State Department Press Officer Joseph Reap said on January 11 that "steps are being taken" by the department to notify countries whose ships trade with Cuba to "withdraw ships of their flag from the Cuban trade," otherwise, the United States would stop its "aid" to them. The White House announced on February 6 that President Kennedy had ordered all government departments and agencies not to permit U.S. "government-financed cargoes" to be shipped in any foreign flag vessels engaging in trade with Cuba. As explained by White House officials, "government-financed cargoes" apply mainly to materials supplied by the United States to foreign countries as economic and military "aid" and the government-subsidized "surplus" farm produce dumped abroad.

### Planning Collective Action

Another favourite U.S. tactic is to instigate collective action by other Latin American countries against Cuba under the pretext that Cuba is carrying out subversive activities in the Western hemisphere. After the negotiations over the Cuban question between the U.S. and Soviet delegates in the United Nations ended in January, the United States called a series of closed-door meetings of the Organization of the American States (OAS) to discuss its plan for collective action against Cuba. In a note delivered on January 30 to the OAS, the U.S. Government slandered Cuban Prime Minister Castro as "advocating the path of violence" at the Women's Congress of the Americas. The note urged the governments and the appropriate organs of the OAS to "redouble their vigilance against Castro-communist subversion" and declared that "it becomes of major importance that the member governments develop their capacity of counteracting this threat through individual and co-operative measures."

But whatever the measures the Kennedy Administration may take on its own or together with its lackeys in Latin American countries, they will only show, as events in the past years have shown, that the U.S. threat to Cuba is not over. The fact is that the Cuban Revolutionary Government is becoming ever more consolidated. The influence of the Cuban revolution is making itself more and more felt in other Latin American countries where the national and democratic movements are surging forward. It seems that this situation has led to a new hysteria of the U.S. ruling bloc and they are again stepping up their preparations for aggression against Cuba.

It is also noted that the Kennedy Administration is floundering in the quagmire of the most acute internal conflicts the imperialist camp has faced. A number of people in the United States have pointed out that only international tension can tide their country over its present difficulties. Obviously, in the view of U.S. rulers, the Caribbean is the place best suited for creating such tension.

# Chinese Foreign Ministry's Notes to India

THE Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 21 and 23 handed over two notes to the Indian Embassy in China. In the note of February 21, the Chinese Government solemnly refuted the Indian Government's slanders against China concerning the reaching of an agreement in principle between China and Pakistan in their boundary negotiations. The note of February 23, a reply to the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated December 28, 1962, strongly protested against the Indian Government's measures of freezing and seizing the deposits and all the property of the Bank of China in India, and further persecution of the staff members of the Bank of China and their families.

### Attempt to Sabotage Sino-Pakistan Relations

The Indian Government, in a deliberate attempt to make trouble, delivered a note of protest on December 31, 1962, to the Chinese Government. It alleged that the issuance of the joint communique by China and Pakistan on the reaching of an agreement in principle between the two countries with regard to the location and alignment of the boundary actually existing between them manifested China's desire to exploit the differences between India and Pakistan and was an "aggressive and expansionist move."

The Chinese note categorically rejected the totally unreasonable protest made by India in this connection. It says:

"In its notes of May 31 and September 12, 1962, the Chinese Government already sternly refuted the Indian Government's crude interference with and malicious attacks on the boundary negotiations held between the Governments of China and Pakistan. Now that the Indian Government is once again vociferously slandering China after China and Pakistan have reached an agreement in principle with regard to the location and alignment of the boundary actually existing between the two countries, this can only show that the Indian side is deliberately seeking a pretext to continue poisoning the atmosphere between China and India and sabotage Sino-Pakistan relations.

"The Indian note arbitrarily asserts that the issuance of the joint communique on the reaching of an agreement on the boundary between China and Pakistan manifests a desire to exploit the differences between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir question, and is therefore a so-called aggressive and expansionist move. This is indeed preposterous to the extreme.

"As is known to the whole world, the Chinese Government has never involved itself in the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir, the Sino-Pakistan boundary negotiations and the related agreement have not at all touched on the question of the ownership of Kashmir, and have even less to do with the India-Pakistan talks on this question. It is a good thing that China and Pakistan have held boundary negotiations and reached an agreement in principle through friendly consultations. It has not only promoted the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples, but is also in the interests of Asian and world peace. What is it if not a malicious reversal of right and wrong to term such a good thing an 'aggressive and expansionist move'?

"China has never committed aggression against India. It is India which has occupied large tracts of Chinese territory and launched massive armed attacks against China. If there is anyone who tries to exploit something to realize its ulterior aims, it is none other than India itself. After the defeat of its military adventure against China, India, encouraged by certain Western powers, has redoubled its efforts to entice Pakistan into a joint anti-China campaign. This is no secret at all, Pakistan has repeatedly exposed such an attempt by India. India has not only brushed aside the traditional Sino-Indian friendship of thousands of years standing, but is deliberately sowing discord and sabotaging the relations between China and her other neighbours. There is no need to cite any more facts to show to what lengths the Indian Government has gone in its opposition and hostility to China. The Indian Government's attitude is indeed that of downright big-nation chauvinism and expansionism.

"Proceeding from the sincere desire to strengthen Asian-African solidarity and safeguard world peace, China hopes as she has always hoped, that the two sister countries India and Pakistan will be able to solve their dispute peacefully. China wishes to be friendly to both Pakistan and India, and hopes that India and Pakistan will live together in amity. This frank and above-board stand of China's is not to be distorted by any Indian slanders or calumnies."

### Protest Against Bank of China Seizure and Persecution of Staff

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's note of February 23 refuted the "explanation" given by the Indian Government in its note of December 28, 1962, regarding the seizing of the assets in India of the Bank of China and persecution of Chinese bank personnel, and reiterated the demands it made in its previous notes.

The Chinese note states in part:

"The Indian Government arbitrarily stated in its note that the actions it took against the Bank of China were all the 'result of normal legal processes,' attempting thereby to escape its criminal responsibility for the forcible closing down and taking over of the bank and the persecution of the bank personnel. This is entirely futile. The Indian authorities have never given and simply cannot give any tenable reason for the closing down and taking over of the Bank of China and the persecution of the bank personnel. It is evident that the aim of the Indian authorities was but to take over the property and assets of the Bank of China and worsen the relations between China and India.

"The acts of forcibly closing down and taking over the Calcutta branch and the Bombay agency of the Bank of China by the Indian authorities are completely illegal and unjustified. And moreover, since December 1962 the Indian authorities have gone from bad to worse and took a series of measures in freezing and seizing the

## Pen Probes

# STATUS SYMBOLS

THE old ruling classes have always had "status symbols." These have ranged from pyramids for their royal corpses, to castles, to the orb and sceptre. In Latin America there has been a preference for bullet-proof Cadillacs and safe deposits in Switzerland. Another status symbol currently in vogue among Latin American dictators is the "election." This is designed by Washington's Central Intelligence Agency not only to show that its tame dictators can count but that they can afford to. This is a status symbol which has a higher market value the shakier these dictatorships get with the people hacking away at their foundations.

In Nicaragua the ruling Somoza family recently held a presidential "election" in which their candidate (his name is immaterial) ran away with the votes. The "election" preparations included a reign of terror. Armed police and soldiers patrolled the streets. They ransacked houses and hunted down opposition supporters. Come voting day, they fired on defenceless demonstrators, killing and wounding, and made mass arrests in Managua, the capital. Both presidential candidates were yes-men of the U.S. State Department and the election commissions were packed with Somoza placemen.

This last February "elections" in land-locked Paraguay were also held strictly to the C.I.A. recipe. Strongman Adolfo Stroessner lifted the prevailing state of siege for exactly 24 hours — just long enough for his goon squads to herd people to the polls. Immediately after the "elections," martial law, which has been in force in Paraguay for most of the nine years since Stroessner seized power, was clamped down again.

Stroessner as usual put himself up as presidential candidate and for his opponent picked one Ernesto Gavilan, one-time chairman of a physical culture club. For this service, Gavilan and his pals were promised one-third of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies so that they could form a "loyal opposition" — another status symbol of the best-run dictatorships.

Stroessner, of course, won hands down. UPI reports that he had an eight-to-one majority of 388,250 to Gavilan's 49,374. The figure admittedly is low but it must be remembered that over 500,000 Paraguayans, nearly a third of the population, are now in exile. All the opposition parties, banned anyway, boycotted the "election" and other thousands in Stroessner's labour camps and prisons couldn't vote.

Haitian dictator President Francois Duvalier, not to be outdone, has just declared himself to be in favour of "the revolution of independence, liberty and the dignity of man." His last "election" gave him 1,320,748 votes; none against. But more important to his health is his personal pistol-toting bodyguard, his U.S.-trained army, his 12,000 gunmen and *ton-ton macoutes* (bogeymen) and the last U.S. loan of $2.8 million.

These old-line despots have just been joined by another State Department stooge, Juan Bosch, foisted on the Dominican people by the C.I.A. One of the first things the new U.S. "Alliance for Progress" aid administrator Newell Williams did in the Dominican Republic was to bring in two Spanish-speaking detectives from the Los Angeles police department. These angels saw to it that only U.S. yes-men were on the list of presidential candidates and that Bosch got the vote. The American magazine *Newsweek* says Williams found that the "root of discontent" was not the near starvation of the people and the suppression of their democratic rights but simply that ex-dictator "Trujillo's demoralized police force was incapable of maintaining law and order. . . . Within almost a matter of weeks, the Los Angeles detectives . . . had worked the police up from a state of dithering incompetence to the point where, armed only with nightsticks, they could and did take on ugly street mobs."

So there we have it: "elections" and visits to Washington are all very well as status symbols; they are useful fig-leaves, but what really counts with the "Alliance for Progress" is the proper and more efficient use of nightsticks.

---

deposits and all the property and assets of the head office and the other establishments of the Bank of China lying with their correspondents in India, and further stepped up persecution of the staff members of the Bank of China and their families in Calcutta and Bombay. The Chinese Government expresses its great indignation at and once again lodges a strong protest against such wanton practice and outrageous attitude of the Indian Government. The Chinese Government demands that the Indian Government immediately return the whole property and assets of the Bank of China which have been taken over, frozen or seized by the Indian Government and immediately stop its persecution against the bank personnel. The Chinese Government reiterates that the Indian Government is held fully responsible for all the losses suffered by China as a result of the closing down and taking over of the establishments of the Bank of China in India and the freezing and seizure of the property and assets of the Bank of China in India, and the Chinese Government reserves its full right to ask for compensation."

# ROUND THE WORLD

## U.S. IMPERIALISM

### The Going Is Tough

U.S. imperialism, which acted the almighty god after its October gamble in Cuba, is reaping as it has sown. Its aggressive moves are being blocked, and quarrels flare as it puts pressure on its partners.

In Europe, after de Gaulle's double veto on Britain's entry to the Common Market and the setting up of a NATO "multilateral nuclear force," Washington suddenly found its "grand design" for a U.S.-dominated "united Europe" without legs to stand on. And the U.S.-France rifts seem to be widening, with France showing no sign of backing down.

The sharp Canadian reaction to Kennedy's antics to browbeat the Diefenbaker government into accepting U.S. nuclear warheads, the trouble Washington has with the other West European countries, and now the bitter wrangle with Japan over the cotton textile imports — all reflect the weakening of the U.S. hold on its junior partners.

In Asia, a conspicuous example of the failure of the Kennedy Administration's policies is provided by south Viet Nam. There U.S. troops and the Ngo Dinh Diem puppets are reeling back under the counter-blows of the patriotic forces. "Special war," much vaunted by Kennedy, has proved no match for the people's war.

In Latin America, socialist Cuba continues to stand rock firm in the Caribbean in the face of continuing Yankee provocations. Far from stemming the tide of the revolutionary movements in Latin America, the "Alliance for Progress" scheme itself is in danger of dying an unnatural death. The situation in Venezuela shows which way the wind is blowing in that continent.

U.S. imperialism is having a hard time, but it still makes trouble.

## JAPAN

### The Textile Trouble

The trade row among the Common Market Six, the Little Free Trade Area Seven and the United States, now extends to Japan. With both Governments joining in the squabble, trade contradictions between the U.S. and Japan have come out into the open. Pleading "disruption of the U.S. market," Washington insists on restricting the import of 40 categories of Japanese cotton textile goods. As a result, negotiations between the two countries have bogged down. Supported by loud cries of "unfair discrimination" from Japanese businessmen, Tokyo lodged a strong protest with Washington, charging agreement violations. She has also complained to the Council of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in Geneva.

As many Japanese papers have pointed out, the question is one of life-and-death for the Japanese economy. Cotton goods make up about 50 per cent of Japanese textile exports to the United States; these in turn constitute one-fourth of all Japanese exports. The latest restrictions would cut by 20 per cent Japanese textile exports to the U.S. This would be a big blow not only to the Japanese textile industry, but to Japanese overseas trade.

What makes it so hard for Tokyo to swallow this loss is that, simultaneously with her protectionist moves, Washington is still pressing Japan hard to "liberalize" her import policy. Tokyo has already lifted restrictions on 88 per cent of its imports; Washington wants the figure to be increased to 90 per cent by April, and this despite the fact that the Japanese market is already flooded with U.S. goods, including raw cotton for the Japanese textile industry and other surplus farm produce. Another headache for Tokyo is the "Buy American" and "Ship American" policy introduced by the Kennedy Administration to save the dollar. This also robs Japan of overseas income and greatly aggravates her over-production crisis, which emerged last year as a result of excessive capital investment in equipment.

Adding to the bitterness of this three-pronged trade squeeze is Washington's attempt to interfere with Japan's trade with the socialist countries. The Kennedy Administration has openly demanded that Japan make sacrifices in the interest of the U.S. campaign against China.

## PAKISTAN

### Rebuff to Washington's Bossing

After Ceylon's rebuff to Washington's outrageous blackmail (see *Peking Review*, No. 8), another Asian country, Pakistan, has sharply reacted to U.S. interference in its internal affairs. The Pakistan public has long resented American pressure tactics as well as the way individual Americans throw their weight around. Recently, after a N.B.C. correspondent was expelled from the country for insulting the Pakistan Government, the U.S. Ambassador McConaughy himself came under heavy fire in the press for a published statement on relations between East Pakistan and the United States.

The mood of the Pakistan nation was reflected by the leading newspaper *Dawn*. In an editorial entitled "American Interference," it noted that there had been many acts of impropriety towards Pakistan by members of the U.S. Government, including a recent statement by Secretary of Defence McNamara, that "both the Indians and Pakistanis must now recognize that they face a common enemy to the north in communist China" and "their efforts must be directed against the real threat in Asia rather than be dissipated against each other." "This," the editorial said, "was an outrageous attempt by Washington to dictate the foreign policy of Pakistan."

In a subsequent editorial on Foreign Minister Bhutto's visit to China, *Dawn* drew attention to a Washington report that U.S. Secretary of State Rusk had sent for the Pakistan Ambassador to express his "concern" over the latest development in Sino-Pakistan relations. If it was the privilege of the U.S. to take that line, it was Pakistan's privilege to reject it, stated the editorial. It added that the imperialist intriguers did not want Asia to become peaceful, united and strong; that was why they looked with dismay and disfavour on Pakistan's policy of peaceful coexistence with China and had been putting pressure on her to refrain from signing the Sino-Pakistan boundary agreement.

## INDIA

### "Emergency" for What?

Speaking at a seminar for Indian press representatives on February 17, Indian Prime Minister Nehru categorically rejected the suggestion that he put an end to the "state of emergency" introduced throughout the country last October. Any such move would create the most dangerous situation, he pleaded. This is in line with his recent statements, which are marked by calls for a long-term Indian military build-up and the demand that the Indian people shoulder still greater burdens in the way of taxes and other things as well.

As usual, Nehru used the non-existent threat of "Chinese aggression" as the pretext for such emergency measures. He seemed to think this was a panacea for all his political troubles. Since the promulgation of the "emergency," hundreds of Indian Communists have been jailed for their opposition to the anti-China campaign and there are fresh arrests every month. In a recent speech, the Indian Home Minister Shastri gave the state governments "discretion to go into individual cases of detention." He made it clear that anybody found to be "impeding the war effort" could be imprisoned. He also advised the chief ministers to keep an eye on whatever was published in the press in their states.

Already the "emergency" is proving a money-getter. While the Indian people are being asked to hand in donations for the "war effort," an unending assortment of new taxes is being introduced, and prices are rocketing.

But the biggest "benefit" Nehru has reaped from his anti-China campaign is foreign aid. According to no less an authority than Dean Rusk, U.S. Secretary of State, the United States has sent India about U.S. $60 million worth of military aid since India launched her large-scale border attacks against China last October. About the same amount of aid was given to India by the other Western nations during the same period.

Thanks to Nehru's anti-Chinese stand, India is also asking, and getting, more foreign aid for her Third Five-Year Plan. According to the Indian paper *Sunday Standard*, the United States contributed nearly 50 per cent of the more than U.S. $2,000 million provided by the Western countries for the first two years (from April 1961 to March 1963) of India's Third Five-Year Plan. There would be even more U.S. aid for the remaining three years. The *Indian Express* also reported that India's requirements of foreign economic assistance from now up to 1970 were estimated at roughly U.S. $13,000 million and nearly half of this amount would be provided by the United States by way of loans and aid.

Meanwhile, Soviet aid is also coming in. The first consignment of four MIG fighters arrived in Bombay early in February. Speaking to the Council of States, Indian Minister of Defence Production Raghuramaiah said that a project report on the construction of MIG factories in India would be prepared in consultation with Soviet specialists.

All this explains why Nehru is adamant in having his "emergency."

## IRAQ

### The Persecution of Patriots

Right after the February 8 military coup in Iraq which overthrew Premier Kassim's government, the Iraqi "National Council of Revolution" authorized a campaign of terror against the Communists and progressives. To date, thousands of people, including workers, students, government employees, journalists, lawyers and professors, have been arrested, and a large number of them shot down in cold blood.

Such repressive moves have aroused widespread indignation in all parts of the world. In China, expressing the sentiments of the Chinese people, *Renmin Ribao*'s Commentator, in an article on February 23, voiced strong protest against these brutalities. "The Iraqi authorities' persecution of the patriotic progressive forces," he wrote, "is not only detrimental to the fundamental interests of the Iraqi nation, but will weaken the Arab peoples' common struggle against imperialism.... In the interests of the common fight against imperialism and for upholding the fundamental democratic rights of the Iraqi people, an immediate stop must be put to the arrests and massacre of Iraqi Communists and other patriotic progressives. This is the demand of all people of the world who love justice."

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Eating Crow Handbook

Making the opponent eat his own words is a regular tactic in U.S. electioneering. Fighting Nixon for the presidency in the 1960 election campaign, Kennedy, especially for this purpose, kept a little black book of everything foolish his opponent had said. Now he is keeping one for Nelson Rockefeller, his probable opponent in the 1964 presidential election.

If Rockefeller is doing the same for him, we can suggest the following from Kennedy's latest State of the Union message:

> "How fares the grand alliance? [NATO] . . . the era of national rivalries is fading; and a new era of interdependence and unity is taking shape."

This was spoken on the same day that de Gaulle blackballed Britain's application to join the Common Market because she was not "truly" European.

### Busy Little Hands

There are three areas of maximum employment in Washington, U.S.A. It has the highest concentration of politicians in the States. But apart from politics, the crime wave is mounting steadily. In the first month of the new year the number of major crimes, including robbery and assault, rape and auto-thefts, increased by 17.4 per cent compared to January 1962. This made the police so busy that where many other students can't find a job even after graduation, the police school students were brought out on patrol even before they had finished their lessons and had learnt properly to take a bribe.

The Iraqi Communists played a noble role in the country's protracted struggle against imperialist rule. Together with other progressive and patriotic forces, they fought for the overthrow of the imperialist lackey, the Faisal monarchy. Although the Arab peoples have won one victory after another, the imperialists are still trying by fair means and foul to disrupt their unity and strangle their national independence. In this respect, U.S. imperialism is particularly active in turning the Arab peoples against each other. Already they are applauding the terror campaign in Iraq. This should warrant the heightened vigilance of the Arab peoples.

## VENEZUELA

### Imperialism on the High Seas

On the evening of February 12, a message was flashed to Caracas from the freighter *Anzoategui* in the Caribbean Sea. It announced the capture of the vessel by members of the Venezuelan National Liberation Army and offered to exchange crew members for political prisoners held in Betancourt's jails. Although this was a patriotic move which concerned the Venezuelans only, the U.S. Government immediately massed an air and sea force to intercept the *Anzoategui*. When the freighter was located on the high seas, U.S. planes fired rockets in an attempt to force it to change course. However, the freighter eventually entered Brazil's territorial waters and the members of the liberation army gained political asylum.

The *Anzoategui* event shows that, with Betancourt's rule shakier than ever, Washington is increasingly taking a direct hand in the armed suppression of the people's struggle in Venezuela. The national command of the liberation army recently protested against the participation of U.S. military personnel in government operations against the guerrillas. U.S. officers even served as company commanders in the Betancourt army. In the State of Falcon, where guerrillas are active, F.B.I. agents and U.S. military intelligence men have personally conducted trials and torture of the peasants. In the meantime, of course, the supply of U.S. arms and other equipment and help of various kinds by U.S. oil companies to the Betancourt army are continuing.

Such open Yankee intervention has only helped to swell the current upsurge of anti-U.S. activities in Venezuela. Attacks against U.S. monopoly property have become more frequent. After two big explosions which caused severe damage to the installations of the U.S. Shell Oil Company and the Creole Petroleum Company, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Caracas was recently raided and a warehouse of the local U.S. Sears, Roebuck's department store set on fire.

In fact, the situation in Venezuela today resembles that under the previous Jimenez dictatorship. Like Jimenez, Betancourt has jailed large numbers of patriots and banned the progressive parties. While the people are poverty-stricken, the Wall Street consortium continues to control Venezuela's economy, pumping out huge oil profits year after year. This is the economic and political backdrop to the *Anzoategui* drama.

## SWAZILAND

### Fruitless Talks

In the face of the rising national-liberation movement in Africa, the British colonialists are still playing the game they learnt from imperial Rome — divide and rule.

A constitutional conference for Swaziland, the smallest of the three British high commission territories in South Africa, has just ended inconclusively in London. No agreement was reached and no date fixed for Swaziland's independence.

As in so many of these constitutional talks, the British Colonial Office arranged to include in the Swazi delegation representatives of the nationalist parties on the one hand and of the local European settlers and the African feudal forces on the other. It made use of their differences on African and European representation in the future legislature to play the role of the arbiter in the talks.

The nationalist parties demand a legislature elected by adult suffrage on a common roll for all races and a fixed date for independence. The Progressive Party, for example, stands for the outlawing of racial discrimination, no union with the Republic of South Africa, the redistribution of land and self-determination.

The European colonialists, supported by the paramount chief and his national council, want the 9,700 Europeans to have the same representation in the legislature as the 261,500 Africans. According to their proposal, the Europeans would elect 12 members by secret ballot, while the other 12 Swazi members would be selected by the national council through the traditional method of "acclamation" at a public meeting. In addition, they insist on the constitution being written into a new treaty with Britain to guarantee privileges for the European colonialists and feudal chiefs.

Of late, there has been a mounting demand among the Swazi people for their country's independence. The Africans comprise 97 per cent of the population but possess only half of the land. The Europeans who account for less than 3 per cent of the population own some 38 per cent of the land. At present, there is no legislature. The decrees of the British High Commissioner (resident in South Africa) are law. Europeans elect their own advisory council on European affairs. African affairs are administered by the paramount chief who owns large estates and claims all the mineral rights in Swaziland.

## AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

### Journalists to Meet

Following the successful Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Moshi, another Afro-Asian conference, this time of the journalists of the two continents, is to be held in Indonesia from April 24 to 30. Journalists from some 60 countries are expected to attend; they will be invited by the organizing nation, Indonesia, in accordance with the Bandung principles. This means that the delegates will be invited from Asia and Africa on a political and ideological basis, i.e., opposition to imperialism and colonialism and to racial discrimination and apartheid, and struggle for complete national independence, emancipation, solidarity and peace.

Representatives of 14 countries approved plans for the conference at a preparatory meeting at Djakarta in February. The meeting adopted a Djakarta declaration on principles for the work of Afro-Asian journalists and a constitution of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, which will be submitted as drafts to the conference. The preparatory meeting has also suggested that a conference of Asian, African and Latin American journalists be held in Cuba.

# Modernizing China's Agriculture

by WANG WEI

CHINA is concentrating a major effort on agriculture. This entails, on the one hand, the further consolidation of the collective economy of the people's communes and, on the other, technical reform in farming aiming at the all-round modernization of its agriculture.

The following article deals with the purpose of this technical reform in farming, its connection with industrialization, what it mainly comprises and how it is being carried out.

## Policy for Agricultural Growth – Two Steps

China's basic policy for the development of agriculture envisages two steps: first, agricultural collectivization and secondly, the mechanization of agriculture on the basis of collective farming. As early as July 1955, Chairman Mao Tse-tung explained this very clearly in *The Question of Agricultural Co-operation:*

> During the First and Second Five-Year Plans, the main feature of reform in the countryside will still be social reform. Technical reform will take second place. The amount of sizable farm machinery will certainly have increased, but not to any great extent. . . . Only when socialist transformation of the social-economic system is complete and when, in the technical field, all branches of production and places wherein work can be done by machinery are using it, will the social and economic appearance of China be radically changed.

The basic line of policy here described conforms to the objective conditions of development of socialist agriculture in China.

These two steps in agricultural growth are closely linked to each other. They are mutually dependent and promote each other. Only when these two steps are completed will China's once backward agriculture be transformed into a large-scale, modern socialist agriculture. There can be no solid foundation for a modern industry, modern science and techniques in China until such a modern agriculture has been created.

Collective farming is the first prerequisite for a large-scale modern agriculture run on socialist lines. It is also the only assurance for the growth of agriculture and its modernization, including mechanization. A small-peasant economy with its tiny, scattered plots is hardly able to keep itself going, much less expand production constantly. It is impossible on such an economic basis to bring about the technical reform of agriculture. Moreover, a small-peasant economy is bound to lead to economic differentiation among the peasants. While the majority sink deeper into poverty, a few become richer and richer. Such an economy cannot but lead the peasants into taking the capitalist road.

The Chinese Communist Party, dedicated to building socialism, has led the working peasants step by step to collective farming. Following the liberation of the country in 1949, the land reform was carried out in 1952 and then the peasants advanced through the stages of mutual-aid teams to co-operative farms. In 1956 the socialist transformation of agriculture was, in the main, completed and the vast majority of the Chinese peasants had joined farm co-ops. By pooling land, manpower and other resources together and putting them under unified management, the co-ops had increased their output steadily. In 1958, agricultural collectivization made another step forward when people's communes were established throughout the countryside. Now the further consolidation and growth of the people's communes is creating ever more favourable conditions for the technical reform of agriculture and, in general, for the thoroughgoing modernization of China's farms. With the collectivization of farming completed, the technical reform of agriculture has now naturally become a major task in rural China.

Both social and technical reforms are essential for the creation of a large-scale, modern socialist agriculture in China. While collective farming is the prerequisite for the modernization of farming, this modernization will, in turn, consolidate the collective farming units, raise them to a higher level, and further enhance the nation's agricultural productive forces.

## Modernization of Industry and Agriculture – Their Inter-Relation

The technical reform of agriculture will promote the modernization of both agriculture and industry and thereby speed up the growth of China's national economy as a whole. But the realization of technical reform needs not only the collectivization of farming, but also industrial modernization. Only a modern industry can provide the material and technical supplies and equipment needed for technical reform. Agricultural modernization cannot be realized without industrial modernization. This does not, however, mean that the modernization of agriculture can go ahead only after the modernization of industry is completed.

The modernization of industry and of agriculture are closely linked and mutually dependent, promoting each other's progress. Chairman Mao Tse-tung directed attention to this relationship when he said:

> Industry and agriculture, socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, cannot on any account be separated, cannot be dealt with in isolation from each other. Moreover, there must be no attempt to over-estimate the one and underrate the other. (*The Question of Agricultural Co-operation*)

China's experience in developing agriculture not only proves that collective farming can proceed without the mechanization of agriculture, but it also confirms that the work to carry out the modernization of agriculture can be started before the country has modernized its in-

dustry. It is only in the process of bringing about the technical reform of agriculture that a clear-cut goal is given to the modernization of industry, that modernized industry can know whom it should serve, and that the industrialization of the country can go ahead, perfect itself and rest on a reliable basis.

This concept of the progress of technical reform in agriculture by no means reduces the relative importance of industry. The pace of this reform is determined by the level of industrial development and industry's capacity to arm agriculture with modern equipment. The need to press forward with the technical reform of agriculture has to be linked with the capacity of industry to answer those needs, and this co-ordinated advance of the two actually is the best way to carry out agricultural technical reform rapidly and on a reliable basis.

### Increasing Industrial Aid

The technical reform of agriculture in China has been going ahead steadily in accordance with the basic line of policy formulated by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao — on the basis of collective farming and in co-ordination with industrial development. The nation's industry made remarkable advances in the First and the Second Five-Year Plans, 1953-62, particularly since 1958. During this period, the industries producing tractors, internal combustion engines, steel, electricity, coal, petroleum and chemicals were either newly established or greatly expanded. They have already supplied a great deal of equipment for the technical reform of agriculture and they will continue to supply it in ever larger quantities.

By the end of 1962 Chinese farms were using more than 100,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units) and drainage and irrigation equipment with a total capacity of nearly 6 million h.p., including 1.4 million kw. of electric pumping equipment. Compared with 1957, there was a more than fourfold increase in the number of tractors, a more than tenfold increase in drainage and irrigation equipment, including a 20-fold increase in the amount of electric pumping equipment alone. At the same time, there has also been considerable progress in water conservancy, in the use of chemical fertilizers and the training of scientific and technical personnel for agriculture. All these have been important in spurring the advance of technical reform in agriculture.

China now gives top priority to agriculture and it has made the technical reform of agriculture a major item in building its national economy. Will this delay the pace of the nation's industrialization and the rate of heavy industrial growth?

This question was clearly dealt with by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in 1957. He pointed out then:

> But it is not so clearly understood that agriculture provides heavy industry with an important market. This fact, however, will be more readily appreciated as the gradual progress of technological improvement and modernization of agriculture calls for more and more machinery, fertilizers, water conservancy and electric power projects and transport facilities for the farms, as well as fuel and building materials for the rural consumers. . . . Hence what may seem to be a slower pace of industrialization is actually not so and indeed the tempo may even be speeded up. (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*)

The actual experience of the development of China's national economy fully bears out this scientific Marxist-Leninist conclusion.

### What Technical Reform Means

The technical reform of agriculture or agricultural modernization mainly comprises mechanization, electrification, the extensive building of water conservancy works and the widespread use of chemical fertilizers and other farm chemicals; in a word, it means the application of modern science and techniques to Chinese farming. When it is completed, the present mode of production in agriculture, which depends largely on the use of manual labour and draught animals, will be transformed to the use of mainly mechanical and electrical power. This technical reform will bring a fundamental increase in the productivity of labour in agriculture.

The core of technical reform is mechanization. Everything else is inseparable from this. Mechanization is the only means of replacing manual work by machines, and thus raising labour productivity in agriculture to the extent of opening up broad new prospects in farming. Mechanization is also necessary if China is to make proper use of its vast mountain regions, grasslands and virgin lands, deserts, alkaline areas and other resources, and get from them an inexhaustible supply of food and raw materials.

Though mechanization forms the core of the technical reform of agriculture, this must not be taken to belittle in any way the importance of water conservancy work, the use of farm chemicals and other farming aids. On the contrary, under present circumstances the provision of adequate drainage and irrigation and the application of fertilizers are two of the most effective ways of boosting farm output. So emphasis on technical reform centring on mechanization in no way contradicts giving top priority to fertilizers and water conservancy in actual farming.

The Eight-Point Charter for Agricultural Production lays down eight co-ordinated steps for raising per-*mu* yields: soil amelioration, increased use of fertilizers, extension and improvement of water conservancy, popularization of good strains of seed, rational close planting, better plant protection, better field management and tools reform, these to be applied according to specific local conditions. Energetic efforts must be made to integrate mechanization with the terms of the Eight-Point Charter so as to raise farm output rapidly and steadily.

### Stage-by-Stage Reform

The technical reform of agriculture is being carried out stage by stage and in a manner suited to local conditions. This is a long-term programme and it is estimated that it will take between 20 and 25 years to implement it in the main throughout the country. It is a planned process that will first be implemented in a number of selected areas. Precedence will be given to areas known for their high output of grain and cotton or districts supplying marketable grain and other farm produce in large quantities. In carrying out technical reform priority will be given to measures that can produce immediate results and that fall within the limits of available resources.

While this campaign for agricultural modernization is going ahead, China's peasants are not neglecting the im-

portance of semi-mechanized, improved and ordinary farming tools. For quite some time to come, these will continue to play an important role in agriculture and will be used side by side with more advanced farming machines. Draught animals and small and medium-sized farming tools will be necessary on the farms even when agricultural mechanization has made considerable progress.

Technical reform of agriculture will be carried out throughout the country, but it would be unwise to set a uniform standard for every district and farm. It has to be carried out in a way suited to local conditions, taking into account differences in topography, climate, soil, crops, social and historical development, industry, resources and agricultural demands. For instance, tractors seem to be the more urgently needed machines for mechanized farming north of the Huai River, while there is a pressing need for drainage and irrigation equipment on the farms to the south of it. Only by catering to the needs of each locality, can technical reform be effectively carried out with the most economical use of manpower, materials and financial resources.

The Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1962 called on the whole people to help the technical reform of agriculture get ahead. Since then every trade and profession in the country has been giving serious thought to how to respond to this call. Some have already made a good start with actual deeds. There is no doubt that their efforts will be of great help in accelerating the pace of technical reform and in bringing about swifter progress in China's agriculture, industry and the national economy as a whole.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

A score of scientists specializing in paddyrice cultivation met recently in Canton to review and sum up the results of research work done in 1962 concerning the reaction of rice plants to changing conditions of light and temperature. Prof. Ting Ying, President of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Science and a leading rice specialist, presided.

Research in this field is regarded as one of the most important current activities of rice specialists. China's paddyrice belt spans tropical, temperate and sub-temperate zones where natural conditions vary greatly. A better understanding of light and temperature conditions in various areas and their effect on rice growth will help boost the nation's rice output.

* * *

Peking residents today consume ten times as much milk daily as they did before liberation in 1949.

Last year Peking's milk output was upped by some 30 per cent, compared with 1961.

Few Chinese drank milk in old China. Today, however, the number of consumers is growing steadily. Since the new year began 10,000 more families in the capital have placed regular orders for milk.

Peking now has 40 dairy farms, run either by the state or by the rural people's communes.

* * *

To cope with the growing thirst for knowledge among miners, the Fushun coalfield trade union in Liaoning Province is running 20 libraries with a total of 300,000 books. Most of the libraries in this mining centre of northeast China were set up in the last decade.

Nearly half the books are on mining technology, with some 40,000 technical and reference books in Russian, English and Japanese specially for engineers and technicians. Other books cover the arts, literature and social sciences.

For the convenience of the miners the libraries have set up about a hundred reading-rooms near pitheads and workshops.

The expanding library service is a sign of the miners' rising educational level. A decade or so ago nine out of every ten Fushun miners were illiterate. Now nearly 75 per cent of them can read and write.

* * *

Eight new lumber areas are being opened up in the forests of Fukien Province, east China.

Some 800 kilometres of highways, 48 kilometres of railway lines and over 200 kilometres of railway spurs have been built through these forests during the past few years. Completion of current projects to tap the tree wealth of these areas will greatly increase the province's output of timber. Fukien is rich in forest resources. Over a thousand kinds of trees grow in its subtropical climate.

* * *

What must surely be one of the most unique multinational theatrical groups in the world has just been formed in Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

Regularly presenting modern plays and song and dance programmes it has 300 artists and staff members from eight nationalities in the region — Uighurs, Kazakhs, Khalkhas, Uzbeks, Sibos, Huis, Manchus and Hans. They comprise three troupes, one gives concerts of music, songs and dances; the other two stage modern plays in the Uighur and Han languages.

* * *

A large number of former Tibetan serfs and slaves have been trained since 1959 as veterinary surgeons for the livestock breeding areas of Tibet. Formerly only a few veterinarians from other parts of China worked in Shigatse. Now each of its 12 counties has a number of veterinary stations and 70 per cent of their skilled staff are local Tibetans. These either received training in a special class set up by the people's government in Shigatse in 1959, or graduated from the Northwest China Agricultural College or Lanchow University.

* * *

Literary workers of Shensi Province in the northwest have compiled a volume of folk tales about Huashan Mountain, three volumes of love songs popular in the province, and a volume of local proverbs. These are the first results of a research work-team set up by the provincial authorities to study and collect the folk literature of the province.

# LITERATURE

### *Chinese Novels of 1962*

More Chinese novels were published in 1962 than in 1961.* Revolutionary history continued to be the dominant theme. It was the subject of nearly 50 per cent of the works published. Next in popularity came themes from contemporary life and struggles in the countryside. Recent short stories have frequently dealt with themes taken from life in industry and on the farm during the big leap forward, and now such themes are beginning to get treatment in novels. The life and doings of intellectuals and international solidarity are the themes of other new novels. The new books are written in many styles, including the biographical style seldom seen lately. At least one historical novel is written in the classical style. One-third of the new works were first novels.

One notable feature of the year was that most of the literary magazines and some of the daily newspapers carried novels in instalments. Of the 21 novels published in full during the year, several were published in this way. Extracts of 27 others appeared in magazines and newspapers; five are still being published serially.

#### Welcome Return

Readers have welcomed the return to print of the veteran writer Sun Li whom illness had forced to abandon the pen for several years. Now he is back with the long-expected Part III of his popular novel *The Early Phase of the War*. In this third and last volume of his trilogy he gives a stirring picture of the awakening of the masses in the central Hopei plain when the Communist-led Eighth Route Army set up one of its important revolutionary bases there during the early part of the war of resistance against the Japanese invaders. Through individual characters and scenes of mass action he shows the people of the plain growing in national and class consciousness, awakening to the historic role that they must play in the salvation of their country and in the building of a new society.

Sun Li is adept at writing vivid and meticulously conceived genre vignettes and literary "set-pieces," and at giving the reader intimate pictures of life in the midst of earth-shaking events. His style has a poetic touch; he can bring a scene to life through a single revealing incident or a snatch of dialogue. He shows in his latest novel that he has lost none of these gifts. He has developed a distinctive way of building up and revealing his characters: he appears as a "narrator" who quietly and unobtrusively comments on the events taking place and on the characters involved. But this device has its disadvantages: while his novel as a whole has the beauty of poetic prose, it suffers from the lack of a closely knit plot and full-bodied characterization.

#### Ouyang Shan's New Contribution

1962 saw the appearance of *Bitter Struggles*, the second volume of Ouyang Shan's *An Age of Heroes* (also known as *Guiding Spirit of This Age*). This maintains the high artistic standards of *Three Families Lane* of which it is the sequel. It has the same strong local colour, the same life-like vividness in description of detail, and the same apt use of dialect and proverbs to add spice to its humour. In this volume, Chou Ping, the hero of the novel, has left his native province of Kwangtung after the defeat of the Great Revolution in 1927 and arrives in Shanghai to get in touch with the underground revolutionary organization. Returning to Kwangtung he starts organizing Red Guards in the rural areas. His efforts suffer many setbacks but he presses doggedly on. In the first volume, Three Families Lane—the hero's home—was used by the author to epitomize the society of the time. In this second volume the canvas has broadened but through the hero's attachment to a young girl who still lives in the lane, the link is maintained.

Another noteworthy novel of the year is Liu Shu-teh's *Home-Coming*, Part I. This is a story of the new countryside and its people; a major thread in the narrative is the love between a young peasant lad and lass which is wrecked partly as a result of an old quarrel which divided their parents during the initial struggles for building socialist farms. Through the stories of the village and of the young people's love, the author shows the high moral qualities of the new people of China's socialist farms and their political enthusiasm. He also touches upon the new outlook of the rural people's commune members since the 1961 campaign to rectify the style of work in the communes.

#### The Big-Leap Spirit

Shao Hua's *Rolling Waves* is a short novel describing the building of a big reservoir during the big leap forward. It might be called a novel of "contradictions among the people." There are many differences of opinion about how fast the work can be done. These lead to many contradictions within the leadership itself, between the leadership and the rank-and file, and even between husband and wife. The crux of these contradictions is essentially the choice of which line to follow in socialist construction. In resolving them to the advantage of building socialism, the author has most successfully revealed the character of the woman secretary of the engineering bureau's Party committee. This is an image that embodies the victory of the big-leap spirit.

**Illustration to "Morning in Shanghai" by Hua San-chuan**

* For a survey of the novels of 1961, see *Peking Review*, No. 13, 1962.

Up to now, only three novels have taken as their theme the remoulding of China's national bourgeoisie. *Morning in Shanghai* by Chou Erh-fu is one of these, and its first volume was well received by readers and critics. The second volume that appeared in 1962 focuses mainly on the "5-Anti's" (anti-bribery, tax evasion, cheating, etc.) campaign in which the Chinese working people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, beat back the first large-scale offensive launched by the bourgeoisie after the liberation. In this struggle, one of the chief characters, the capitalist Hsu Yi-teh and his shady dealings are thoroughly exposed, but as the book closes, this sly fraud of a cotton mill owner is seen still standing at the cross-roads of history, not yet having made up his mind which road to take. He is typical of one group of capitalists who, as events take their course, split into three sections: the Left, the Right and the middle-of-the-roaders. This novel is a profound social study. In telling the story of the complex and deep-going changes which took place among the national bourgeoisie, it reflects the far-reaching significance of China's socialist revolution as well as the historical fate of the national bourgeoisie in China. As in the first volume, the author gives a more vivid portrayal of the capitalists, than of the government cadres and mill workers and employees.

Excerpts from *Battle at the Great Wall*, a short novel by Liu Chi, were first published in the magazine *Liberation Army Literature* in 1960. Following that the novel underwent a careful revision, and was only published in book form last year. Its outstanding merit is the projection of the inner world of that complex character General Ade of the Japanese Imperial Army, who, for all his arrogance, is at heart a coward. A killer high in the favour of the Japanese imperial house, he comes to China accompanied by a great publicity fanfare determined to demonstrate to the world the invincibility of the Japanese Army. His encounter with the Communist-led Eighth Route Army at Huangtu Ridge, however, turns him into a bad household joke with the ignominious title of "famous blooming general withered on Taihang Mountain." Liu Chi himself took part in the battle of Huangtu and he has drawn a convincing, true-to-life portrait of the general and similar "heroes."

*Song of the Chingkiang River* by Ma Shih-tu is another novel which is interesting for its portrayal of the central figure — a woman Communist Party member, selfless and undaunted, who even behind the bars of the enemy's prison leads the struggle until her last breath.

### People of the Northern Wasteland

*Wild Geese Fly North of the Great Wall* by the young writer Lin Yu describes the trials and triumph of a team of demobilized P.L.A. men in opening up a section of the vast Northern Wasteland. They conquer not only the fury of the elements with its blizzards and cold but also the negative and conservative attitude of some members of the team. This is a heart-warming story about a triumph of revolutionary optimism: these men finally succeed in wresting a harvest from a vast stretch of former marshland, a feat beyond the powers of emperors of the Ching Dynasty, and of the Japanese invaders with all their modern technology.

Other 1962 novels include *Heart-to-Heart Lock* by Keh Yang and Ko Chi, dealing with the fraternal relations between the Chinese and Korean peoples; *The Chase on the Central Plain* by Ko Kang, describing the decisive Huaihai Campaign during the War of Liberation; *Spring Comes Early* by Li Chiao, a writer of the Yi nationality, describing democratic reforms among the Yis of the Liangshan Mountains in China's southwest; *On the Long, Long Road* by Wang Hsi-yen, describing the bitter experiences of intellectuals in the old society; and *People of This Generation* by Shu Chun, about life in a steel mill during the early period of China's socialist construction.

Two novels which have not yet come out in full but have already aroused deep interest among readers are *Life of Liu Hu-lan* by the well-known writer Ma Feng and *The Raging Sea* by Chin Mu. The former, now being published serially in *Sparks* since its May issue, 1962, tells the story of the young heroine who laid down her life during the War of Resistance Against Japan; the latter dealing with the long-standing friendship between the overseas Chinese in Cuba and the Cuban people, is appearing serially in the *Canton News*.

Finally, mention must be made of the peasant-writer Wang Hsing-yuan. So far readers have only seen some excerpts from his novel *Changes in the Green Bamboo Village* published in the literary magazine *Creative Work*, but what has appeared promises well. His characters stand out in bold relief, his language has a delightful natural ease and the beauty of fine peasant folk songs.

— KAI HSIEH

## SHORT NOTES

**"On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights."** A recent hit in Shanghai and Nanking, this play will soon be performed in Peking by the visiting Modern Drama "Frontier" Troupe, well remembered on a previous tour to the capital for its staging of *Prelude to the Eastward March*.

The new play is set in Shanghai in the early summer of 1949. The city is liberated. The U.S.-backed Chiang army has fled. But the reactionaries are not reconciled to their defeat. They have left behind another army of secret agents trained in sabotage and murder. As one of them puts it: "We'll see to it that these reds turn black in no more than three months' time, and stink and rot right here on Nanking Road!" (Shanghai's main bustling shopping centre.) So the fight is on the moment the men of the Eighth Battalion of the P.L.A. take up their positions on Nanking Road. This warfare is totally different to what they have been accustomed to wage on the battlefield, it is an infinitely more complicated struggle to the sounds of loud jazz and the flickering of neon lights. But with the people wholeheartedly on its side, the battalion eventually succeeds in rounding up the agents and spies, armed or unarmed.

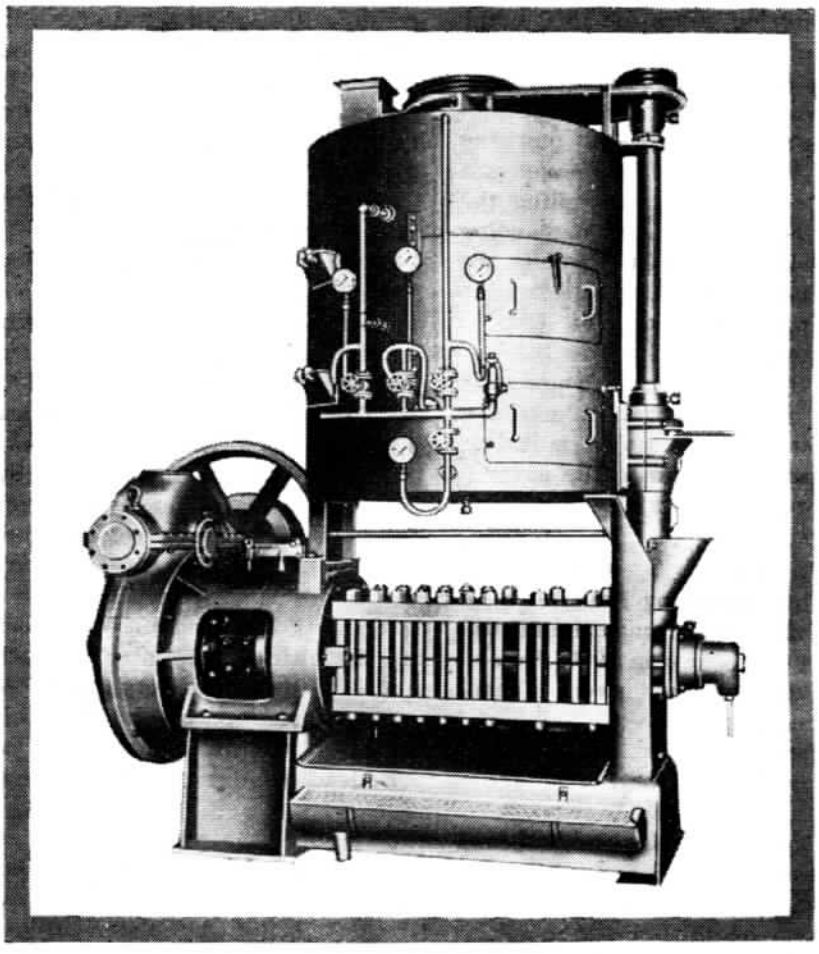
**"Li Hsiu-cheng."** The China Youth Art Theatre's latest production is *Li Hsiu-cheng*, a historical play about the 19th century Taiping Revolution by the well-known playwright Yang Hansheng. It opens with the siege of Sungkiang (near Shanghai) by the Taiping Army, a successful operation which dealt a telling blow to the Ching imperial forces supported by the foreign imperialists; it ends with the fall of the Taiping capital at Nanking and the tragic death of Li Hsiu-cheng, a well-beloved Taiping leader. It shows Li, a truly heroic figure, and the peasant revolutionary masses in triumph and defeat in the course of this great anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle.

# OIL EXPELLER

Automatic, continuous operation gives up to 10,000 kg. of oil from oil-seeds or nuts every 24 hours. The standard model has a triple heating kettle with a 22-kw. motor, (220/380 V. 50 cycle, 6 phase). Ancillary machines also available.

*Model*

*200*



Robust construction, high productivity and ease in operation are the outstanding features of this fine machine.

*Write for particulars to:*

**CHINA NATIONAL MACHINERY IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION**

**Tientsin Branch**

14 Chang Teh Road, Tientsin, China

Cable Address: "MACHIMPEX" Tientsin