

PEKING REVIEW

35

August 30, 1963

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No One Can Save Indian Reaction From Political Bankruptcy

Renmin Ribao editorial (p. 6).

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*Cadres' Participation in Collective Productive
Labour Is Vital to Socialism*

The Struggle Between Two Lines At the Moscow World Congress Of Women

In order to help the reader to have a better understanding of the Moscow World Congress of Women, a booklet is now made available to include the following speeches and documents:

- (1) Speech Made at the World Congress of Women by Yang Yun-yu, Leader of the Chinese Women's Delegation,
- (2) Statement of the Chinese Women's Delegation on the Draft "Programme of the W.I.D.F.",
- (3) Statement on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question,
- (4) Statement on the "Appeal to the Women of the World",
- (5) Yang Yun-yu's Report on the Moscow World Congress of Women Made at the Peking Rally of Welcome,
- (6) Resolution of Support for Actions of Chinese Women's Delegations Adopted at the Peking Rally.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

August 30, 1963 Vol. VI No. 35

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- In another outrageous step to damage the Sino-Czechoslovak relations the Czechoslovak Government last week announced the closing down of the Prague Office of the Hsinhua News Agency. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman issued a statement protesting strongly against this unwarranted measure.

- Commenting on New Delhi's latest rumour-mongering against China and the Soviet leaders' alliance with India against China *Renmin Ribao* published on August 22 an editorial entitled "No One Can Save Indian Reactionaries From Political Bankruptcy."

- The Chinese press gave wide coverage to Afro-Asian press opinion ridiculing India's "non-alignment." It also reported how the Indian press exploited the capitulationist policies of the Soviet Union for its anti-China campaign.

- Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, wrote to Premier Chou En-lai expressing support for the Chinese government proposal for a conference of the government heads of all countries to discuss the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

- Chairman Mao's statement against racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and in support of the American Negroes' struggle against it is winning an increasingly widespread and more warm response from various parts of the world. Among those who praised the statement last week was Robert Williams, noted American Negro leader.

- Peking citizens rallied to salute the success of the 9th World Conference Against A and H Bombs held recently in Hiroshima.

- The position taken by the leaders of the Communist Party of India on the Sino-Indian border issue runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, says an article published in the August issue of *Hoc Tap*, theoretical journal of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

- Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, said in recent speeches that the Yugoslav state power was one of revisionist dictatorship and that the denunciation of the Tito group by the Moscow Statement should be adhered to.

- The Chinese press published excerpts of an article by the editorial board of the Albanian paper *Zeri I Popullit* which stressed that the imperialist reactionaries remain the worst enemy of socialism and peace; and an article carried in the August issue of the Vietnamese journal *Hoc Tap*, calling for vigilance against Kennedy's "strategy of peace."

- The national conference on cotton production convened recently by the State Council forecasted a bigger cotton harvest than last year despite inopportune heavy rains in some cotton-growing areas.

Czechoslovak Government's Outrageous Action

In a deliberate attempt to wreck the unity of the socialist countries, the Czechoslovak Government announced on August 22 the closing down of the Prague Office of the Hsinhua News Agency. This follows hard on the heels of the Czechoslovak Government's unreasonable demand in July

for the recall of the head of the Hsinhua Office in Prague and two other Hsinhua correspondents. It is another grave step taken by the Czechoslovak Government to vitiate relations between the Governments and Communist Parties of China and Czechoslovakia.

Since the latter part of July, the Czechoslovak Government has been

withholding by covert means large quantities of the daily news release published by the Hsinhua Office in Prague. Now it has taken more drastic steps to discontinue its publication. In announcing the closing down of the Hsinhua Office, the Czechoslovak Government now proves to the hilt that its persecution of the Hsinhua Office in Prague has been premeditated and planned well in advance. On August 24, a spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement strongly protesting against this outrageous action. (For full text of the statement, see p. 9.)

On August 22, Czechoslovak Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Klicka informed Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in Prague Hu Cheng-fang that the Hsinhua Office in Prague would have to be closed down within a month. Hu Cheng-fang immediately lodged a strong protest against this oral notification and the unreasonable demands and rebutted them point by point. He described the actions taken as a carefully worked out plot and another grave step to vitiate Sino-Czechoslovak relations, for which the Czechoslovak side must assume full responsibility for all the consequences. On the same day the Czechoslovak News Agency, Ceteka, put out a notice concerning the Prague Office of the Hsinhua News Agency, arbitrarily accusing the latter of intensifying "the spreading of slanderous materials in its bulletin." Flying in the face of facts, it alleged that the Hsinhua Prague Office had published materials in Czech. It is most revealing that the notice said that the Czechoslovak Government had been notified by friendly countries that materials containing slanderous attacks against the policy of their Parties and Governments were being spread in their territories and that these materials originated from the Prague Office of the Hsinhua News Agency. In this way, the notice said, the Hsinhua Office had grossly violated valid Czechoslovak press regulations. These remarks unwittingly reveal the role played by the conductor's baton and exposes the sycophantic nature of the Czechoslovak Government.

The Hsinhua News Agency issued a statement strongly protesting against the Czechoslovak Government's truculent action in closing its Prague branch office. "We consider this as in no way representing the wish of

the masses of the Czechoslovak people who demand unity," said the statement. "When the Indian reactionaries embarked on their frenzied anti-China campaign in 1960, they demanded the evacuation of the Hsinhua Office in New Delhi. Now, a socialist country has gone so far as to follow the example of the Indian reactionaries. Is this not a disgrace? We would like to tell those who are afraid of the truth and of the facts and who are bent on creating a split that truth cannot be shut out. Hsinhua serves the cause of justice and, therefore, its work cannot be blotted out. By undermining unity and creating a split, you are acting provocatively against the people, from whom you will eventually isolate yourselves."

The All-China Journalists' Association has come out in full support of the statements issued by the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry and by the Hsinhua News Agency.

Supporting Cuba

China's resolute support to the Cuban people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the defence of the fruits of their revolution was reaffirmed in a note delivered to Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa by Shen Chien, Chinese Ambassador in Havana, on August 22.

On July 22, Foreign Minister Raul Roa addressed a note to Ambassador Shen Chien, enclosing a copy of the note of the Cuban Revolutionary Government to the U.S. Government protesting against the U.S. aggressive act of freezing Cuban property in the United States and banning financial relations with Cuba. The Chinese government note was in reply to this. It strongly condemned the U.S. imperialists for their criminal acts of hostility to the Cuban people and resolutely supported the Cuban Revolutionary Government in its just stand and counter-measures against these U.S. aggressive acts.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and eight other people's organizations sent cables to their counterparts in Cuba denouncing the latest U.S. imperialist provocations against Cuba.

Chairman Mao Receives Visitors

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on August 25 received and had a cordial talk with the delegation of the Korean

Academy of Sciences led by its President Kang Yung Chang.

Earlier, on August 22, Chairman Mao met and had a cordial, friendly talk with members of the Belgian trade union delegation: Paul Bourdouxhe, head of the delegation and secretary of the Belgian railway workers' trade union; Maurice Massoz and Willy de Waele of the railway workers' trade union; and Roger Van Geen of the educational workers' trade union.

Anshan Rings the Bell

In the steel industry's drive for better quality and a bigger range of products, the Anshan iron and steel complex continues to lead the nation. A recent survey shows that in the past two and a half years this big steel centre has designed and produced 140 kinds of steel products never before made in this country. Most of these new products are for farm machinery and motor vehicles, the chemical and light industries. Their manufacture requires a higher level of technique than for those produced before 1960. All the knotty production problems met with were solved by China's own technical personnel.

Anshan's outstanding achievements since 1961 include the successful trial manufacture of types of steel shapes with complex technical requirements, such as channel piles and tyre rims for motor vehicles. Now these are being mass-produced to fulfil mounting orders from various parts of the country.

Anshan is also turning out many new kinds of structural steel. These include big I-beams with a depth of 55 cm. and large channel beams for tractors. Steel plates for metal pit-props, alloy steel plates for high-pressure containers used in the chemical industry and other new varieties of steel plates are also being produced here in increasing quantities. A notable feature of these successes is that all the steel used in making these new products is supplied by Anshan itself or by other steelworks in China.

In the steel industry, as in other fields of socialist construction in China, large numbers of young technicians and engineers have made their mark in the past few years. The group in charge of the trial manufacture of new products in Anshan is made up entirely of young people; most of them took up research work in steel-making tech-

niques only after liberation. All the designers in the roll pass designing room—an important department for designing equipment and making rolled steel—are post-liberation college graduates. This designing room is headed by Lung Chun-man, one of three young engineers in special charge of designing channel piles, a particularly difficult steel product to make. By pooling the efforts of all the designers, and consulting the technicians and workers of the rolling mills, Lung Chun-man and his mates have succeeded in overcoming the difficulties that cropped up and evolved new methods of designing the roll pass for steel shapes. It is through the application of this well-tested method of integrating the efforts of workers, technicians and engineers that Anshan and other steelworks have achieved their successes in the advanced techniques of making rolled steel.

Rumania's Liberation Anniversary

August 23 this year marked the 19th anniversary of the liberation of Rumania.

In Peking, Rumanian Charge d'Affaires ad interim Agop Bezerian was host at an anniversary reception attended by Premier Chou En-lai and other government leaders. In his reception speech, Rumanian Charge d'Affaires Agop Bezerian reviewed Rumania's successes in socialist construction in the past 19 years and expressed the conviction that the friendly relations between China and Rumania would develop in a way benefiting the interests of the two peoples and contributing to the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, in his address, also spoke of the deep friendship between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples. "Based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," he said, "this friendship has further developed. Our two countries have carried on friendly mutual assistance and co-operation based on the principle of equality in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields. We have always held that the relations between socialist countries—big or small, economically more developed or otherwise—must be based on the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, state sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and on the principles of mutual support and mutual assistance

in accordance with proletarian internationalism. All the socialist countries have only the obligation to adhere strictly to these principles and have no right to violate them. We note with pleasure that the relations between China and Rumania conform to these principles. The Chinese Government and people will unswervingly follow the principles guiding the relations between fraternal countries as laid down in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and develop the relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation between China and Rumania and between China and the other countries in the socialist camp so as to promote a common upsurge in the construction of all the socialist countries."

The Vice-Premier stressed that the socialist countries were all confronted with the following common urgent tasks: to strive for general disarmament and the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, eliminate the danger of a nuclear war and defend world peace; to strive for peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. "To this end," he said, "it is necessary to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and it is necessary for the socialist countries to support each other on the basis of proletarian internationalism. The imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists are now trying by every possible means to sow discord among the socialist countries and undermine their unity in an attempt to disintegrate the socialist camp and the international communist movement. It is, therefore, of especially great and practical significance today for all the countries in the socialist camp to persevere in principle, eliminate differences, strengthen unity and wage a common struggle against the enemy. The Chinese people will, together with the Rumanian people and the people of the other socialist countries, carry forward to the end the struggle to safeguard and strengthen this unity."

Socialist Armies' Basketball Championship Opens

The 1963 basketball championship among the army teams of the socialist

countries opened in Peking on August 24. Ten teams from Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and China are competing. September 3 will see the final match. Marshal Ho Lung, Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission; Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army; senior officers of the P.L.A. and diplomatic envoys and military attaches from the socialist countries attended the colourful opening ceremony.

The Peking Workers' Gymnasium, filled with a capacity crowd of 15,000, was festively decked out. Over the rostrum hung the national flags of the 13 countries of the socialist camp, and facing it two huge banners with the slogans: "Workers of all countries, unite!" and "Long live the friendship between the peoples, armies and sportsmen of socialist countries!" The teams marched into the hall to a long burst of applause. The band played the *Internationale*. Then Lieutenant-General Liu Chih-chien, Deputy Director of the General Political Department of the P.L.A., delivered the opening address. Welcoming the teams from the fraternal countries, he said that they brought with them not only their technical prowess and rich experience in basketball but also the deep friendship of their peoples and armies for the Chinese people and the P.L.A. "Taught by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the P.L.A. has always attached great importance to educating all its officers and men in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and has made unflagging efforts to safeguard the security of the socialist camp and strengthen unity between the peoples and armies of the fraternal countries." He expressed confidence that the present championships would contribute to the further strengthening of this unity and friendship.

Marshal Ho Lung and Senior General Lo Jui-ching received all the members of the participating teams and had cordial talks with them.

Earlier, on August 23, the Ministry of National Defence gave a banquet for all the teams participating in the competitions.

No One Can Save the Indian Reactionaries From Their Political Bankruptcy

Following is a translation of the August 22 editorial of "Renmin Ribao." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

RECENTLY the Indian Government and the Indian propaganda machine, following Nehru's lead, have spread a series of rumours, alleging that there have been big Chinese troop movements and concentrations on the Sino-Indian border and that China is preparing to "launch a new attack" on India, and so on and so forth. The Chinese government statement of August 20, which gave the lie to these rumours, has once again exposed the true character of the Indian Government in all its ugliness.

The Indian Government has degenerated into a rumour mill. The Indian reactionaries are driven to rely on rumour to maintain their tottering rule. It is precisely because the Nehru government faces an increasingly grave political crisis that it has been raising a hue and cry about what it calls "imminent new incursions from China"—something which it manufactures out of thin air.

Nehru Losing Control Over Internal Situation

Since the Nehru government failed in the massive offensive it launched against China last year, it has made use of the so-called "state of emergency" to intensify the suppression and plunder of the Indian people. It has openly deprived them of their fundamental rights and thrown thousands of progressives into jail. At the same time, by levying extortionate taxes and duties, it has fleeced the Indian people to a greater degree than before, plunging them into the dark abyss of poverty and misery. In sharp contrast to this, a handful of Indian big families have fattened on the sweat and blood of tens of millions of people; the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords have made huge ill-gotten fortunes out of the so-called "national calamity." Even the weekly *Blitz* which vigorously supports the anti-China campaign of the Nehru government, has to admit that in India today the rich are growing richer, "and they are growing richer because of the emergency," while the poor are getting poorer and "the burden on the unwealthy people has reached a breaking point." It points out that "the people are angry" and that "a burning class hatred is accumulating."

Meanwhile, India's military expenditures rise sharply, production drops, foreign exchange becomes very tight, and all this has aggravated the country's insuperable difficulties in the financial and economic fields. The Indian Government needs 1,000 million U.S. dollars in foreign exchange for military outlays and imports of military and related goods within the coming 12 months alone.

The British and U.S. press has revealed that India needs 5,000 million U.S. dollars from abroad to solve problems it faces in the next three years. The Nehru government does not scruple to auction off India's national interests at low prices in order to get more alms in U.S. dollars, thus enfolded itself deeper in the embrace of U.S. imperialism and acting as a tool for U.S. aggression in Asia. The Nehru government not long ago agreed to make India a relay station for the Voice of America's cold war propaganda in Southeast Asia. It even went so far as to conclude with the United States an "air defence agreement" which is in the nature of a military treaty, turning Indian soil into a U.S. air force base. The Nehru government's cloak of "non-alignment" has turned into the "emperor's new clothes" of the Hans Christian Andersen fairy tale. This course of action, which humiliates the nation and forfeits its sovereignty, is likewise arousing more and more powerful opposition, from the Indian people.

All these difficulties have been accompanied by the growth of acute strife within the Indian ruling circles. The Congress Party, riddled with graft and corruption, grows more and more unpopular. The opposition has made use of this opportunity to move a vote of no-confidence in the Nehru government. Fifteen to twenty thousand people demonstrated on August 14 before parliament house and demanded that Nehru resign. In recent days, Western news agencies have repeatedly reported a sharp drop in Nehru's prestige; they consider that he has largely lost his control over the internal situation.

This all goes to show the political bankruptcy of the Nehru government. As early as June this year, *Blitz* warned of "impending storms" for those in power in India. It said: "There is thunder in the air, as clouds of crisis and demoralization darken our land." The gale is raging and the storm is about to burst—that is the kind of political situation in which India finds itself today.

Invoking the Ghost of Goebbels

At this critical moment, the Nehru government once more invokes the ghost of Goebbels, and cooks up a potage of rumours about so-called "new Chinese incursions," hoping to camouflage its policy which is so disastrous to the nation and the people, to divert the attention of the people at home, to quieten the internal squabbles among the ruling circles, and in this way to beg for more foreign aid.

But who will be deceived by these crude rumours of the Nehru government? They will only raise a laugh from anyone who thinks with his head and not with his foot.

Even Western imperialist opinion, never friendly to China, ridicules the stories spread by the Indian Government about so-called "concentrations of Chinese troops" and their "launching of new incursions" and even calls them "unfounded myths."

A London *Times* editorial on August 13 pointed out that "a hostile China has become a necessity without which India could not live."

The West German DPA News Agency reported from New Delhi on August 2 that it is firmly believed in the Indian capital that "concentration on the border dispute is designed to distract attention from the internal political scene."

The French paper *L'Aurore* commented on July 31 that the Nehru government "made this story up" "in the possible hope of stimulating the national sentiments of the Indian people, already gasping for breath under their heavy burden. But the real reason is that Nehru, who is adept at two-faced tactics, wants to get larger military and financial aid from the West and from the Soviet Union as well."

Even R.M. Lohia, leader of the Indian Socialist Party which has always been rabidly hostile to China, said that the Nehru government had raised the alarm about the so-called Chinese "threat" to India, "to soften the mounting opposition to heavy taxation, the abnormal rise in prices and corruption."

Of course, the Nehru government's policy of being deliberately hostile to China fully meets the needs of U.S. imperialism. The Kennedy Administration is trying to exploit the situation to the full so as to bring India completely within its "global strategy." This would make it easier for the United States to control India and, at the same time, to turn it into its base for threatening China and for aggression in Southeast Asia. So, there is nothing strange about the fact that the U.S. Government has now stepped up its assistance to India.

New Chapter in Soviet Leaders' Collaboration With U.S. Imperialism

At a time when everyone in the world with an elementary knowledge of the facts feels that the Indian Government's rumours are getting too fantastic altogether, the Soviet paper, *Pravda*, has come out into the open in defence of the Indian reactionaries. In two articles published on August 13 and 16, this paper, completely disregarding the facts, attacked the Chinese Government's position on the border conflict with India as one of "maintaining tension in that region and rejecting a speedy settlement of the territorial dispute by means of negotiation." It seems that following the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty among the United States, Britain and the U.S.S.R., the Soviet leaders are seeking to utilize the lies put out by the Indian rumour mill as the latest evidence that China is bellicose and the "most dangerous of the war forces."

It became noticeable around the time of the signing of the Moscow tripartite treaty that Soviet-Indian relations had become extraordinarily intimate. Nehru's personal envoy, his daughter, Madame Indira Gandhi, the Indian national defence delegation and others went in succession

to Moscow. The Indian reactionaries' intention of allying themselves with the Soviet Union to oppose China was all too clear. And it is not difficult to fathom what lies behind the cordiality and hospitality shown by Khrushchov and other Soviet leaders to the "distinguished guests" from India.

It is reported that the Soviet Government has agreed to increase its military aid to the Indian reactionaries, to ship more weapons of still newer types to the anti-communist and anti-popular Nehru government which has become an advance detachment of U.S. imperialism in its campaign against China. Nehru's lackey, Dange, who recently returned home triumphantly from a visit to Moscow, gleefully played up the "disinterested assistance" of the Soviet Union the moment he arrived in New Delhi. According to the Indian Information Service, Dange told reporters: "The Soviet Union has been giving and is ready to give aid, including that of a military nature. Soviet assistance has no conditions. That government has already decided to set up a factory in this country for the manufacture of arms. The aim is that in future also, India should not have to depend upon others for spare parts." No wonder the Indian press could not refrain from acclaiming the "opening of a new and brighter chapter of co-operation" in Indian-Soviet relations.

Indeed, this is not just a "new chapter" in Indian-Soviet relations. It is also a new chapter of collaboration between the Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism to ally themselves with India against China.

In September 1959, the Soviet leaders, hoping to please U.S. imperialism and to show the flexibility of their own "destalinization" diplomacy, stepped forward and, as Western circles put it, fired a diplomatic "rocket" at China, at a time when a capitalist country was engaging in provocations against a socialist country. That was the Tass News Agency statement, applauded and welcomed by the West. In that statement, the Soviet Government, making no distinction at all between right and wrong, expressed its "regret" over the Sino-Indian border conflict. This Soviet government act which is a betrayal of proletarian internationalism amounted to tipping off the enemy that the socialist camp was not a monolithic whole, and that there were great possibilities for deals between the U.S. imperialist government and the Soviet Government headed by Khrushchov. This betrayal by the Soviet leaders greatly encouraged the insolence of the Indian reactionaries in their campaign against China and supported the stubborn, uncompromising stand which Nehru has always maintained on the Sino-Indian boundary question.

During the next three years and more, the Indian reactionaries repeatedly created tension in the Sino-Indian border areas, and stirred up mounting waves of anti-China activity. Every time Nehru badly needed support for his aggravation of the border dispute, Soviet leaders went to India to bolster him up. In collusion with U.S. imperialism, they openly distorted the facts, blaming China for the Sino-Indian border conflicts provoked by the Indian reactionaries and prettifying the latter.

The Soviet leaders not only encourage and support the Indian reactionaries politically. They also speed assistance to them economically and even militarily.

As is the case with the aid of the U.S. imperialists to the Indian reactionaries, the more frenzied the Nehru government became in its anti-China campaign, the greater were the large-scale increases which the Soviet leaders made in their aid to India. From 1955 to April 1963, the Soviet Government agreed to give India 5,000 million rupees in aid, two-thirds of it after India provoked the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1959.

During India's massive attack on China in October 1962, the Indian Government used equipment supplied by the Soviet Union. After the Indian military attack met with failure, the Soviet Union, together with the U.S. and British imperialists, further supplied the Indian Government with aircraft and helped it build factories to manufacture military aircraft.

The Indian press values this support from the Soviet leaders very highly. The weekly *Blitz* described the Soviet aid to the Indian reactionaries as of "extreme utility" and "a help in India's defence efforts." It even held that "had Russia not befriended India and the combined might of the communist bloc been directed against India, no amount of military aid from the United States would have been of any avail." Nehru himself said that the Soviet Union's support of India during the Sino-Indian border conflict outweighed "all the military aid India obtained from the West."

Now, when the Nehru government's rule is hanging by a thread because of the failure of its anti-China campaign and its political bankruptcy, the Soviet paper, *Pravda*, has openly struck up the same tune as the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries on the Sino-Indian boundary question. This serves to reveal the fact that the Soviet leaders in their alliance with India against China have started "a new chapter" in which they collaborate with U.S. imperialism.

Soviet Leaders Support Nehru Government's Reactionary Domestic Policy

The Soviet leaders hurl charge after charge against China in order to cover up their own sell-out of their ally, their betrayal of the socialist camp and their abandonment of proletarian internationalism.

N.S. Khrushchov, in his report to the December 12, 1962, session of the Supreme Soviet, went so far as to ignore the fact that Nehru had ordered a massive military attack against China in the Sino-Indian border areas and claimed that the Soviet side "did not think that India wanted to start a war with China."

Even the peaceful measures adopted by the Chinese side on its initiative to cease fire and withdraw its frontier guards were used in a negative manner by the Soviet leaders to back up the charge that China opposed a settlement of the boundary question through negotiations. Khrushchov said, "There may, of course, be people who say: the People's Republic of China is now withdrawing its troops actually to the line on which the conflict began. Would it not have been better not to move from the positions on which these troops stood at one time? These arguments are understandable. They show that people display concern, and regret over what has happened."

On the other hand, the Soviet leaders present one bouquet after another to the Indian reactionaries.

They describe them as "progressive Indian forces," and "a major sector of the peace zone."

Khrushchov lauds the Nehru government at a time when it has become discredited for making use of its anti-China campaign to beg for U.S. aid and for openly throwing itself into the arms of U.S. imperialism. He says: "The policy of non-alignment with blocs, India's neutralist policy has won great moral and political weight in the world."

At a time when Nehru's anti-popular, anti-communist domestic policies arouse opposition from the Indian people and when large numbers of them go hungry, the leaders and the press of the Soviet Union praise what they call India's "remarkable achievements" in national construction under Nehru's leadership, and "improvement" in the livelihood of the people.

All this shows not only that the Soviet leaders have long become supporters of Nehru's anti-China policy, do their best to defend the Nehru government's going over to U.S. imperialism, and try to patch up Nehru's ragged cloak of "non-alignment" for him. It also shows that they openly support the Nehru government's reactionary domestic policy and so range themselves in opposition to the Indian people.

Flying in the face of iron-hard facts, the Soviet leaders even describe their erroneous stand and action on the Sino-Indian border issue as an effort to safeguard the so-called "neutrality" and "non-alignment" of the Nehru government and to prevent it from going over to the side of imperialism, and allege that it is China that pushes Nehru to the side of imperialism.

These are strange tales, indeed!

All the facts are at hand. Can it be said that the ever more vigorous support the Soviet leaders have given the Indian reactionaries during the past few years has brought about the slightest change in the reactionary Indian policy of de facto alliance with U.S. imperialism against China, against the Communists and against the people?

U.S.-Soviet Joint Stock Company

On the contrary, people see quite a different picture. It is true that, as the Soviet leaders put it, the Soviet Union is having a "real competition" with the Western imperialists in providing economic and military aid to India. But for the Soviet Union, a socialist country, is competing with U.S. imperialism in the dirty game of supporting the Indian reactionaries against socialist China anything to brag about? As a matter of fact, this is not a competition, it is a joint stock company, with Kennedy the big shareholder and the Soviet leaders the small shareholder. This "competition" only shows their overall collaboration in allying themselves with India against China.

Precisely because of this, the Soviet leaders' position on the Sino-Indian border issue has won heaps of praise

(Continued on p.10.)

Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement

Protesting Against Closure of Hsinhua's Prague Office

Following is the text of the statement made by the spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on August 24, protesting strongly against the closing down of the Hsinhua News Agency's Prague Office by the Czechoslovak Government.—Ed.

VICE-MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Klicka of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, on behalf of his Government, orally notified the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Czechoslovakia on August 22 that 1. the privilege of the Prague Office of the Hsinhua News Agency to perform its functions was immediately abolished; 2. the permit for the publication of news release by the Prague Office of the Hsinhua News Agency was cancelled; and 3. the lease of the telegraphic lines from Prague to Peking and from Prague to Havana was stopped. In his oral notification, Klicka ordered the abolition of the Hsinhua branch office within one month. This constitutes a very serious step taken by the Czechoslovak Government to further vitiate the relations between Czechoslovakia and China and undermine the unity of the socialist camp following its unreasonable demand for the recall of three Hsinhua correspondents from Prague last July. The Chinese Government hereby expresses its great indignation at this step and lodges a strong protest against it.

The Czechoslovak Government has levelled many "charges" against the Prague Office of the Hsinhua News Agency, but they boil down to the one complaint that the Hsinhua Prague Office in its release carried documents issued by the Chinese Party and Government according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of the socialist state and other news items sent out by the Hsinhua Head Office. The Czechoslovak Vice-Foreign Minister said that the distribution of these documents and news items was forbidden because their viewpoint contradicted the policy of the Czechoslovak Party and Government. This was most absurd.

It is clearly stipulated in the permit of the Czechoslovak Government approving the publication of Hsinhua Prague Office release that the main purpose of the release is to "carry news issued by the Hsinhua Head Office in Peking." This of course includes the documents of the Chinese Party and Government issued by the Hsinhua Head Office. As a matter of fact, to transmit the documents of the Party and Government of its country is the duty of the news agency of any socialist country. The news release sent by the Czechoslovak News Agency to China includes the documents of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the statement of

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the members of the C.P.S.U., the Czechoslovak Government's statement welcoming the Moscow partial nuclear test ban treaty, and the statement which the Czechoslovak News Agency was authorized to make on the Chinese Government's Statement of July 31. While the Czechoslovak News Agency can do so, what justification does the Czechoslovak Government have to forbid the Hsinhua Office to do the same? It is only natural that the dispatches of the Hsinhua News Agency reflect the viewpoint of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government. How can one ask the Hsinhua news release to conform with the viewpoint of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Government? Does the Czechoslovak Government think that the Chinese Government agrees with the vilifications and slanders against the Chinese Party and Government, which are contained in the news release sent by the Czechoslovak News Agency to China? The relations between socialist countries should be based on the principle of reciprocity. It is in total violation of the principles guiding relations among socialist countries for the Czechoslovak Government to abuse others while forbidding others to talk reason. It is quite obvious that the pretexts advanced by the Czechoslovak Government for closing down the Hsinhua branch office are completely untenable and unjustifiable.

To put it bluntly, the real reason behind the Czechoslovak Government's measure of closing down the Hsinhua branch office is its fear of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of the Chinese Party and Government and its fear of the revolutionary truth. In order to widen the differences within the socialist camp and create a split, the Czechoslovak Government has not hesitated again and again to extend ideological differences to the sphere of state relations by closing down the Hsinhua branch office and unilaterally tearing up the agreement between the Chinese and Czechoslovak post and telegraphic authorities on telegraphic lines for special use. It attempts by these forcible means to prevent the Czechoslovak people from knowing the truth about the differences in the international communist movement and China's correct viewpoint. However, it is absolutely impossible to shut out the truth. The Hsinhua branch office can be closed down by the Czechoslovak Government, but the truth-carrying voice of the Hsinhua News Agency can in no way be blocked.

In his oral notification, Czechoslovak Vice-Foreign Minister Klicka attacked the Chinese Government especially for its position on the partial nuclear test ban treaty of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. The

Chinese Government has acted in full conformity with the fundamental interests of world peace and the common aspiration of the people of the world when it exposed the big fraud of the tripartite treaty and the act of betrayal of the Soviet Government and pointed out the correct path for the struggle for the prohibition of nuclear weapons. The position persisted in by the Chinese Government is the common position which was once adhered to by the whole socialist camp, including the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia. Following the Soviet Government's policy of capitulation, the Czechoslovak Government has now changed its original position and turned round to attack the Chinese Government. This only indicates that the Czechoslovak Government is deliberately damaging the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and those of the Czechoslovak people.

(Continued from p.8.)

from U.S. imperialism and the Indian reactionaries. Averell Harriman stated publicly that he thought "it would be very much to our [U.S.] interests as well as that of India for them to maintain as friendly relations as they can with Moscow." He also said that the United States "desires to see the Soviet Union assist in bolstering India's defence set-up."

The Soviet leaders have been more eager than ever to form an anti-China alliance with U.S. imperialism and the Indian reactionaries, since they made that dirty political deal—the tripartite treaty—with the United States. The U.S. paper, *Evening Star*, openly paraded the idea that India will become "the place where the United States and the Soviet Union will first embark on a tacit understanding about their roles against China." To build a "wall to contain China" as conceived by imperialism has become the new objective of co-operation between the Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism.

It is with the moral and material encouragement and support of the Soviet leaders and under cover of this support that the Indian reactionaries dare to become still more reckless in allying themselves with U.S. imperialism and still more frenzied in carrying on their dirty campaign against China, against the Communists and against the people. The Burmese paper, *Hanthawaddy*, recently wrote: "In these circumstances, India will of course become tougher because it receives aid not only from Britain and the United States but also from the Soviet Union." The Cambodian paper, *Sochivathor*, said in its August 1 commentary: "Since securing military aid from the Soviet Union, the collaboration between the Indian reactionaries and U.S. imperialism has become tighter not looser." This is precisely how things stand.

Soviet Aid Cannot Save Nehru From Bankruptcy

What is even more preposterous is that the Soviet leaders have gone so far as to say that China is responsible for the Indian reactionaries' anti-communist, anti-popular policy.

If the Soviet leaders do not have poor memories or are not purposely ignoring the facts of history, they

The Chinese Government has time and again tried to dissuade the Czechoslovak Government from its series of acts to vitiate the relations between Czechoslovakia and China, but the Czechoslovak Government completely ignored our advice and obstinately persisted in its own way. The Czechoslovak Government's vicious act of closing down the Hsinhua branch office is indeed very grave. But the Chinese Government, persevering in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policy of the unity of the socialist countries, does not intend to take the corresponding measure; it still hopes that the Czechoslovak Government will proceed from protection of the interests of the unity of the socialist camp, wake up to the fact that it has gone astray and refrain from going farther and farther along this course, because otherwise nothing good will come of it.

* should remember that after the founding of the socialist Soviet Union she also met with incessant provocations from the bourgeois reactionaries of various countries.

In 1921, the Kemal government of Turkey carried out military provocations against the Soviet Union and at the same time suppressed the Turkish Communists at home. Should Lenin, who decided to strike back against the Turkish troops' provocations, be held responsible for this?

In 1929, the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime of China provoked an armed conflict on the Sino-Soviet border and launched a big campaign against the Soviet Union, against the Communists and against the people. Should the Soviet Government, which decided to strike back against Chiang Kai-shek's provocations, be held responsible for this?

The Indian Government, representing the interests of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords, enters the fold of imperialism to oppose the socialist countries internationally and also opposes the Communists and the people at home. This is entirely determined by its reactionary nature and by the daily sharpening class struggle at home. The Soviet Government's assistance cannot change this inevitable trend. On the contrary, it can only add grist to the mill of the Nehru government's reactionary policy. As for the necessary counter-blows China struck against the provocations of the Nehru government, these have jolted the arrogance of the Indian reactionaries. They have helped to ease tension along the Sino-Indian border and have also helped the patriotic anti-imperialist struggle of the Indian people.

It seems that the Soviet leaders are extraordinarily worried about the increasing political bankruptcy of the Indian reactionaries. Hence they hasten to join with the Kennedy Administration in stepping up propaganda support and economic and military aid, so as to give a shot in the arm to the rule of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords. But, the laws of class struggle are independent of the will of man. No anti-popular reactionary regime in the world can escape the ultimate fate of complete bankruptcy. Anyone who tries to rescue those cast into the gutter by history only goes bankrupt himself together with them.

Chairman Shehu's Reply to Premier Chou En-lai

**Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council
of the People's Republic of China,**

Comrade Premier:

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has received and has studied most carefully your letter dated August 2, 1963. The Government of the People's Republic of China in its letter proposed the holding of a conference of the heads of government of all nations of the world to discuss the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

This most important proposal is an expression of the consistent policy of peace of the Government of the People's Republic of China and an expression of the deep concern of the Chinese Government in seeking a correct solution for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and for the removal of the danger of nuclear war with which imperialism threatens mankind.

As was pointed out in its Statement of August 15, 1963, on the Moscow partial nuclear test ban treaty, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania heartily welcomes and fully approves the Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China of July 31, 1963, and supports the proposal for the holding of a conference of the heads of government of all nations of the world to discuss the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, faithfully pursuing the principled policy worked out collectively by the nations of the socialist camp on the questions of nuclear weapons and disarmament, has always called and is still calling for the prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and for their complete and thorough destruction as well as for a ban on all nuclear tests and removal of military bases including nuclear bases on foreign soil, and for general and complete disarmament. The Albanian Government supports the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons in Central Europe, in the Balkan and Adriatic region, in the Mediterranean, in the Asian and Pacific region, in Africa and Latin America.

All questions relating to a ban on nuclear tests are an integral whole which cannot be settled separately. Therefore, as you proposed in your letter to the heads of government of all nations of the world on August 2, 1963, measures for the gradual settlement of these questions should also be taken as an integral whole. The Albanian Government notes with satisfaction that the positions taken by our two Governments on this question, like those on all other questions, are in full accord, because our common policy is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and inspired by the common ideal of socialism and peace.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania considers that the danger menacing world peace is in-

creasing. The United States is intensifying the arms race, especially that in the field of nuclear arms and is stepping up its activities to weaken the defence capabilities of the socialist countries, split the socialist camp and suppress the revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. It is increasing its nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail against the peace-loving peoples and is accelerating its preparations for a nuclear war against the socialist camp and other peace-loving nations. The conclusion of the partial nuclear test ban treaty by the U.S.S.R., the United States and the United Kingdom on August 5, 1963, greatly encouraged the bellicose U.S. imperialists on this perilous path. The Moscow partial nuclear weapons test ban treaty cannot guarantee a ban on nuclear weapons and their testing; what is more, it is designed for infringement upon the sovereignty of the majority of nations in the world and encroachment upon the socialist camp and the vital interests of the people of the world and of peace by means of nuclear blackmail. It serves the policies of aggression of U.S. imperialism. It cannot lead to peace, but will bring the danger of nuclear war nearer.

Under the circumstances, the only correct way to remove the danger of nuclear war lies in complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, as was proposed by the Government of the People's Republic of China, and this conforms to the interests and legitimate demands of the people throughout the world.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania agrees fully with the view of the Government of the People's Republic of China that the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons including the prohibition of nuclear tests is a question with which the peoples of the world are concerned and its settlement should be worked out collectively at a conference of the heads of government of all nations. Comrade Premier, I, on behalf of the Albanian people and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, therefore assure you once again that we fully and energetically support the proposal of the Government of the People's Republic of China for a conference of the heads of government of all nations of the world to discuss the complete and thorough prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

The Albanian people and Government will remain united with the People's Republic of China, other socialist countries and peace-loving countries, and struggle, as in the past, against the policies of aggression of U.S. imperialism and its partners and for the removal of the danger of nuclear war and for the defence of world peace.

With my profound respect.

MEHMET SHEHU

*Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the People's Republic of Albania*

Tirana, August 19, 1963.

Prince Sihanouk's Reply to Premier Chou En-lai

His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

Mr. Premier:

I have just read with great interest your letter of August 2, 1963, containing the proposal of the Government of the People's Republic of China for the convocation of a conference of the government heads of all countries to seek an overall settlement of the question of nuclear disarmament. For my part, I fully endorse your viewpoint on the importance of the question which affects the destiny of mankind.

I inform you with pleasure that peace-loving Cambodia favourably and positively responds to the Chinese government proposal for such a conference. We hope very sincerely that your appeal will be heeded and approved. The proposed conference in which we shall certainly participate will bring all peoples of the world greater confidence in their future. I would like to avail

myself of this opportunity to express to you once again my profound conviction that a "round table conference" of the heads of state of all the countries of Asia could become a prelude to the world conference proposed by the Chinese Government. Dissensions, stirred up by all the imperialist powers, which split the Asian countries and peoples can and must be replaced by confident cooperation in accordance with the Bandung spirit. In my opinion, the awareness of all that unites us and all that menaces us is one of the principal conditions that we must fulfil in order to play our role effectively in the present-day world.

I hope you, Mr. Premier, will accept the assurances of my most friendly and high considerations.

NORODOM SIHANOUK

Head of State of Cambodia

Phnom-Penh, August 21, 1963.

Undermining the G.D.R.'s Position

by COMMENTATOR

On August 23, "Renmin Ribao" published a commentary entitled "In What Position Is the German Democratic Republic Placed?" Following is a translation of its text. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

ON August 19 the West German authorities signed the partial nuclear test ban treaty simultaneously in Moscow, Washington and London. The U.S. and British Governments, however, have rejected the Soviet Government's notice to them concerning the accession of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the tripartite treaty. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk actually declared that the United States would oppose the German Democratic Republic having such rights as voting or participating in a meeting called under the treaty. This was a great insult to the German Democratic Republic and the Chinese people are indignant at it.

Soviet Leaders Bartering Away G.D.R. Interests

As a Chinese saying has it, once a fish succeeds in getting into the Dragon Gate, its position becomes ten times higher. Similarly encouraged, the West German militarists have become extremely arrogant. The Bonn authorities declared vaingloriously in a statement that the Bonn government "has the right to speak in the name of the entire German people, thus expressing the wishes of the entire German people." The statement said that the Bonn government continued to refuse to recognize the German Democratic Republic "as a state, and the public services

set up there as a government." Bonn also claimed that it had the right to annex Germany as a whole.

Now it is common knowledge that such a situation results solely from the Soviet leaders' sell-out of the interests of the German people. To curry favour with U.S. imperialism and collaborate with it in a nuclear fraud to fool the people of the world, the Soviet leaders even gave up what they insisted on before, that is, the position of recognizing the two German states, and accepted the tall order of U.S. imperialism that they should agree that the signing of this treaty does not imply the recognition of the G.D.R. as a state. This amounts to annulling the international status of the G.D.R. and in fact recognizing the Bonn regime as the sole representative of the German people. This is an extremely ignoble act of betrayal which not only seriously impairs the interests of the German Democratic Republic but also greatly encourages the aggressive ambitions of the West German militarists.

Who Has Ganged Up With Warmaniacs?

The Soviet leaders and press have done their utmost in propagandizing that, as the partial nuclear test ban treaty does not suit the appetite of the West German militarists and revanchists planning new military adventures, they will oppose that treaty. The Soviet leaders and press at the same time accused the Chinese Government of having ganged up with the warmaniacs in West Germany. But, as facts show, the West German militarists welcome it. They not only have signed it but also lavished

the same praise on it as the Soviet leaders, saying that it was "a first step towards more important things to lessen the tensions in the world." So is it not now very clear who has really ganged up with these warmaniacs?

The Soviet leaders in the past used to refer to the West German militarists as the enemy who are thousands of times more dangerous than U.S. imperialism. But now they are happily joining in that "beginning" of peace which the Soviet leaders like to talk about. What will the Soviet leaders want to say now? Does it mean that the West German militarists have resolved to give up their revanchist ideas and new war schemes, or does it mean that the tripartite treaty will help them carry them out? The answer should be very clear.

The West German militarists see clearly that the tripartite treaty in no way hinders and actually helps their revanchist movement. On the day when the treaty was initialled the West German Defence Minister von Hassel immediately declared that the treaty affected neither the building of a "multilateral armed force" nor the conception of NATO, nor the West German armed forces as a whole. And things are just as he said. The tripartite treaty cannot possibly prevent the Bonn militarist forces from obtaining nuclear arms to augment their strength for aggression through the U.S. "multilateral nuclear force" scheme or any other channel. But in the eyes of the Soviet leaders it is all right for West German mili-

tarism to obtain nuclear weapons as long as this is under U.S. imperialist control. As a result, the tripartite treaty brings the Soviet leaders not only onto the side of U.S. imperialism but also onto the side of the West German militarists whom they used to consider their most ferocious enemy.

So it is not so strange that the Bonn regime, representing the West German militarist forces, should be bold enough to consider itself the spokesman of the entire German population.

Beware of the Soviet Leaders' Betrayal

In order to seek a moment of ease for themselves and please U.S. imperialism, the Soviet leaders have not scrupled to sell out the interests of the fraternal countries. Their treachery cannot but arouse the keen vigilance of the socialist countries and the people of the whole world. If the Soviet leaders can sell out the interests of the German Democratic Republic today, who knows who else they will betray tomorrow?

The present ways of the Soviet leaders have already done serious harm to the cause of German reunification and to European peace; and, moreover, it looks as though they are going farther on this road of betrayal. But we firmly believe that the 18 million people of the German Democratic Republic will not allow others to dictate their destiny.

Peking Rally

Salute the Victory of the Hiroshima Conference

by **OUR CORRESPONDENT**

"THE 9th World Conference Against the Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs is an important victory for the Japanese people in their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle, for the people of the world in their struggle against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and for world peace, as well as for the revolutionary people opposing the capitulationist line of the modern revisionists." This appraisal was given by the mass rally held in Peking on August 24 to celebrate the success of the recent world meeting at Hiroshima.

The Peking rally of more than 10,000 people was convened by the China Peace Committee and 13 other people's organizations. It gave a great ovation to the Chinese delegation and the peace champions of other lands who had come to Peking after attending the conference.

Success — A Result of Struggle

First tribute to the Hiroshima conference came from **Liao Cheng-chih**, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, in his opening address. The conference, he said, "has not only charted a programme of action for the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs in the future, but also serves as a great inspiration in the current

struggle against U.S. imperialism and for world peace and against the capitulationist line of modern revisionism."

In greeting the Chinese delegation and the peace fighters of other lands, Liao Cheng-chih pointed out that while the success of the Hiroshima conference must be attributed in particular to the Japanese people and their resolute struggle, it was also inseparable from the joint efforts of most of the peace fighters from various countries. Together with the Japanese people and the majority of the foreign delegates, he said, the Chinese delegation had upheld principle and voiced correct views, thereby contributing their share to the success of the conference.

In his speech **Chao Pu-chu**, head of the Chinese delegation to the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, said that the victory of the conference proved once again that "the strength of the united revolutionary peoples is boundless and no reactionary force can ever stop it."

The majority of the delegates to the conference condemned the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty, he continued. With the exception of the Soviet delegates and a handful of their followers, the delegates condemned the crimes of U.S. imperialism and denounced the conduct of those who surrendered to it.

The vast majority of the delegates endorsed the statement of the Chinese Government advocating the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and proposing a conference of government heads of all countries, said the head of the Chinese delegation.

Soviet Delegation Denounced

Chao Pu-chu denounced the Soviet delegation for trying to torpedo the conference. They and their followers, the delegates of the World Peace Council, played a most disgraceful role, he said.

"The Soviet delegation brought along from Moscow a whole package of ignominious plans to obstruct and sabotage the conference; it tried by every means first to prevent it from taking place and then to make it follow its capitulationist line and serve U.S. imperialism.

"In order to create confusion and throttle the world conference, Zhukov, leader of the Soviet delegation, together with the delegates of the World Peace Council, Yves Choliere of France and Pirinsky of Bulgaria, went so far as to make insulting remarks about the right of representation of the foreign delegates, especially the delegates from Africa, all of whom had received formal invitations from the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs."

Chao Pu-chu pointed out that the activities of the Soviet delegation at the conference were part and parcel of the general scheme of the Soviet leaders to push through their line of capitulation to U.S. imperialism and of opposition to China and the revolutionary people of the world. The Secretariat of the World Peace Council, dominated by A. Korneichuk and his gang, had become increasingly a tool of the Soviet Government's diplomacy and an organization serving U.S. imperialism.

During the Hiroshima conference, and before and after it, Chao Pu-chu recalled, the Soviet press published numerous articles, including those by Korneichuk, Zhukov, Chkhikvadze and other responsible members of the Soviet Peace Committee, who were the very people who had so often wielded the baton in the World Peace Council, which had viciously slandered and attacked the correct views and stand of the Chinese leaders, the responsible members of the China Peace Committee and the Chinese delegation to the Hiroshima conference. The Soviet paper *Pravda* published documents released in the name of the editorial department of the World Peace Council Bulletin which made similar attacks on China.

"However, the modern revisionists and the propaganda organs, particularly the Secretariat of the World Peace Council under their control, dare not offend U.S. imperialism," Chao Pu-chu continued. "It is indeed painful for us to find that the Secretariat of the World Peace Council under the baton of the modern revisionists should have sunk so low as to become an organ propagating the line of capitulation," he added.

The Hiroshima conference, he stressed, showed that the modern revisionists who bent the knee to imperialism were unwelcomed and isolated wherever they went.

The head of the Chinese delegation spoke warmly of the struggle of the Japanese people and the foreign delegates at the conference.

Voice of Peace Fighters

The audience listened with eager attention to the stirring speeches of the peace champions from other lands

hailing the achievement of the conference and censuring the disruptive activities of the modern revisionists.

Madame Theja Gunawardhana, Vice-Chairman of the Ceylon Peace Council and Chairman of the Ceylon Afro-Asian Solidarity Association, said that with the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the leadership of the Soviet Union had sold out for a very cheap price the October Revolution, the European, Asian, African and Latin American revolution and the national-independence struggles of the peoples. With this treaty, she said, the imperialists "would be left free to manufacture and use these deadly weapons."

Madame Flora Gould, National Secretary of the New Zealand Peace Council, pointed out in her speech, that for those fighting for freedom and peace, as in the struggle to prevent nuclear war, there was only one way to victory — to know their enemy and to struggle against that enemy to the end, and never to capitulate. She said that it was regrettable that some delegates at the conference were opposed to a militant line of struggle and tried to insist that the partial test ban treaty showed the way to end the threat of nuclear war. "Like a snake in the grass some spread the poison that it was China that threatened peace. But the Japanese people and the great majority of the delegates refused to allow the conference to be diverted from its aim," she added.

George Awooner Williams, delegate from Ghana, emphasized that "total peace means the destruction of all nuclear arms, the prohibition of all tests including underground tests, and the participation of all peace forces in deliberations for peace."

Rewi Alley of New Zealand, delegate of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions, in strong terms denounced the disruptive activities of the modern revisionists. "It was sad to see how those who attempted to disrupt the conference were so shamefully assisted by members of the Soviet delegation and their handful of European supporters."

"Some Europeans," he said, "despite the fact that they claimed to be Marxist-Leninists, seemed eager to pick up the white man's burden of racism, for at the Hiroshima conference Soviet delegates poured scorn on some from Africa and indeed tried to raise doubts about the status of any delegates other than those of their own small side, in a completely unprincipled way. Their behaviour being quite an eye-opener to the Japanese people who watched the performance. Yet despite all the opposition could do, it was evident that the Japanese masses welcomed the realistic Chinese point of view."

Referring to the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty, Rewi Alley said: "Today three big powers serve notice as it were on the people of all lands, that henceforth they will be under the domination and at the mercy of the bomb-possessing groups. Since the so-called test ban treaty was signed, moreover, the United States have arrogantly conducted two new atomic tests, thinking in their own peculiar crooked way, to show who is really boss. Increasingly mankind will gain true understanding, and eventually mankind will crush the bomb."

Ahmed Mohammed Kheir, delegate of Sudan, condemned the Soviet delegation for openly standing "on the side of the most reactionary forces in Japan, with the Right-wingers and fascists, against the progressive, genuine

peace fighters in Japan and against the vast majority of foreign delegates."

"We feel it is our duty," he said, "to record that the attitude of the Soviet delegation had nothing to do with the democracy they so much like to speak about. They unreasonably demanded that no delegate should criticize the treacherous partial test ban treaty concluded between the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States of America. When the Chinese delegate began to criticize the treaty, the Soviet delegation left the platform and went to pray in front of the tomb of the atomic victims. When the delegate from Czechoslovakia took the floor after the Chinese speaker, he said without shame that he did not want to see the Chinese delegation in Hiroshima. Isn't this dictatorship of the West? Isn't it the mentality of the 18th century? Isn't it naked fascist behaviour?"

"The African people fighting against imperialism and colonialism, old and new," he continued, "see clearly who is their enemy and who is their friend. Those who prettify Kennedy and call him a man working for peace, and helped him to murder Lumumba, the son of Africa, and do everything in their power to make the Africans lay down their arms in the battle against imperialism and colonialism are not friends of the Africans. They are not the friends of the Asians and they are not the friends of the Latin Americans."

Ndeh Akanga, delegate of the Cameroons, said that the achievements at the Hiroshima conference proved once more to the imperialists, revisionists and all the reactionaries that no one single person or nation owned the world. The world belonged to all the people of the world and its destiny should be decided by all its peoples. He said, "Today the world is called upon to support a partial

nuclear test ban treaty and at the same time, ships are parading the seas with arms to South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, North Kalimantan, south Viet Nam, south Korea and Japan, while supersonic aircraft are darting through the air from Moscow to New Delhi. Only the crazy, deaf, blind and bloodthirsty will support that deceitful document."

Madame Aysha Ali Sultan, delegate of Zanzibar, pointed out that the modern revisionists and their running dogs had all pretended to help the Japanese people's struggle and said quite a lot about the horrors of bombardment but did not mention who was responsible for it. Nor did they mention anything about the American nuclear submarines calling at Japanese ports, did not mention American jet bombers carrying nuclear weapons, and did not mention either the restoration of Okinawa to Japan.

The 9th World Conference had been a blow to all the imperialists and their lackeys who had tried their best to sabotage the conference, she added.

Kinkazu Saionji, Japanese peace champion, said that the success of the conference was a victory for the Japanese people and the people of the various countries who were now struggling at their side. Thanks to the united strength of international solidarity at the conference, the imperialists, revisionists, reactionaries and pseudo-democrats were unmasked, their betrayal of the people exposed.

Amidst deafening applause the rally resolved to send a telegram to the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, expressing the Chinese people's full endorsement of the resolution of the 9th World Conference.

Cadres' Participation in Collective Productive Labour Is Vital to Socialism

Following is an abridged translation of the editorial published in the July 10 combined issue (Nos. 13-14) of "Hongqi" under the title "Cadres' Participation in Collective Productive Labour Is a Matter of Fundamental Importance to the Socialist System." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

"UNDER the capitalist mode of production," said Lenin, "the significance of individual example, say the example of some co-operative workshop, was inevitably exceedingly restricted, and only those imbued with petty-bourgeois illusions could dream of 'correcting' capitalism by the influence of example of virtuous institutions. After political power has passed to the proletariat, after the expropriators have been expropriated, the situation radically changes and—as prominent Socialists have repeatedly pointed out—force of example for the first time is able to exercise influence on the masses."*

*"The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part I, p.472-473.

The practice of our socialist revolution and socialist construction has proved again and again the truth of this thesis of Lenin.

The 14 articles published in this combined issue* describe a number of exemplary instances of participation in collective productive labour by cadres at the levels of production teams, production brigades, people's communes, counties, and special administrative regions. The brilliant examples of these individuals and groups greatly inspire and encourage the mass of cadres (both those working in the sphere of the collective economy and those working in the economy owned by the whole people) to take an active part in collective productive labour in accordance with the systems established by the Communist Party and the state. At the same time, these fine examples help us to appreciate more deeply the far-reaching signi-

*This issue of *Hongqi* contained 14 articles describing the exemplary ways cadres have participated in collective productive labour.

ficance of cadres' participation in collective productive labour.

Ten Advantages

What are the advantages of cadres taking part in collective productive labour according to the systems established?

The articles published in this issue of *Hongqi* and other related materials tell us:

1. By working together with the masses, our cadres prove by actual deeds that they are also part of the working people; in consequence, the masses will look on them as their close friends, talk with them without reservation and become very close to them.

2. By taking a regular part in labour, cadres will be able to retain the true qualities of working people, foster a hard-working and plain-living style of doing things and resist the influence of bourgeois ideology.

3. Participation of rural cadres in labour will help strengthen their class consciousness and class feeling, and help them to carry out still better the Party's class line in the countryside by relying on the poor peasants and the lower middle peasants.

4. By taking an active part in labour and setting a good example themselves, cadres can greatly stimulate the labour enthusiasm of the masses and encourage their initiative in production.

5. Active participation in labour by cadres increases the material wealth of society, lightens the burden of the producers, consolidates the collective economy and the economy owned by the whole people, and promotes the development of production. Having sweated in productive toil themselves, cadres will show still greater concern for the fruits of labour and become good and frugal housekeepers of the socialist economy.

6. Cadres' participation in labour will bring about changes in customs and habits, and help create a new social attitude which regards labour as honourable and not taking part in labour as shameful. In these circumstances, anyone who is able to work but will not take part in labour will feel in the wrong and ashamed.

7. With the example of the cadres taking part in labour before them, the younger generation will grow up soundly, advancing along the road of industry, frugality and ardent love for the collective.

8. Participation in labour by cadres at the basic levels will enable them to become still more familiar with the situation in production and further enrich their knowledge of production. Those cadres who do not know much about production techniques, should take veteran peasants or workers as their teachers, learn the production techniques from them and gain experience in production, so as to be able to give more concrete and down-to-earth guidance in production.

9. Regular participation in labour will make it more convenient for cadres to carry out scientific experiments in the course of production. By painstaking study, they will be able to temper and turn themselves into functionaries who are politically advanced and professionally proficient.

10. While working together with the masses, cadres have the opportunity to give timely explanations of the

Party's policies and lines and implement them better and to hear the opinions of the masses and understand the actual situation. This will further promote democratic life and help to solve correctly questions arising in the course of work.

Matter of Fundamental Importance

In short, participation by the mass of cadres, particularly cadres at the basic levels, in the collective productive labour of the collective economy or the economy owned by the whole people according to the systems established by the Party and the state proves that our Party cadres are ordinary working people and not bosses lording it over the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, cadres are able to keep in the broadest, closest and most constant contacts with the mass of workers and peasants, get timely knowledge of the state of existing class relations, the problems of the masses and the situation in production, consult with the masses in a timely way, bring democracy into fuller play and solve questions by following the mass line.

On the contrary, if our cadres, especially those working at the basic levels, do not take an active part in collective productive labour, the masses will regard them as "lordly officials." They will be separated from the broad masses and bear a distance from the working people in thought and feeling; the masses will not open up their hearts to them. Such cadres will thus be unable to get a deep understanding of the actual situation and give true reports of the situation. Certain cadres at the basic levels have rightly commented: "If we do not take part in labour, all we can get is a superficial understanding of the questions involved" and "without taking part in labour, our work is like duckweed floating on the water and it cannot take root in the ground." As a result, cadres cannot get to hear the opinions of the masses or know what they want, cannot make proposals suited to the actual situation, carry out the mass line, strengthen democratic life, solve questions correctly or do a really good job. By divorcing themselves from labour for a long time, some cadres may start to despise labour, fail to take part in labour and finally end up by getting a dislike for labour and a taste for idleness and pleasure; they may also go from extravagance and waste to embezzlement and even to taking bribes and stealing public property, slithering further down the road of degeneration.

It is clear that serious participation in collective productive labour by the broad masses of cadres according to the systems established is a matter of fundamental importance to the socialist system.

In our socialist society every functionary, irrespective of his position or rank, is an ordinary worker and a servant of the people. All cadres work for the common aim of serving the people. Though there is a division of labour and a relationship as between those who lead and those whom they lead, between cadres and the masses, their fundamental interests are identical and politically speaking they are completely equal. The relations between the cadres and the masses are those of comradesly co-operation and mutual help, and these relations reflect the nature of our socialist system. Under the system of exploitation in the old society, officials at all levels were lords sitting over the people; they oppressed and exploited

the people. Their relations with the masses of people were antagonistic relations, the sort of relations that exist between oppressors and oppressed, between exploiters and exploited. The relations between the cadres and the masses in our new society are essentially different from those between the officials and the people in the old society. If anyone who becomes a functionary regards himself as an "official" and puts on "lordly" airs, he is confusing the relations between cadres and the masses in the new society with those between officials and the people in the old society.

To be really able to take part in labour conscientiously, our revolutionary cadres must have a firm proletarian stand and a profound desire to serve the people. On the other hand, sharing joys and hardships with the masses while working together with them will help our cadres raise their level of class consciousness still higher and foster their class sentiment still better. Many examples in city and countryside or in the collective economy and the economy owned by the whole people prove that when cadres coming from the working people continue to take part in labour, they can preserve and develop the fine qualities of the working people and consistently maintain a firm proletarian stand. When cadres not coming originally from the ranks of the working people identify themselves with the masses of workers and peasants in productive labour, they can remould their thinking, and become genuine members of the working people and revolutionary cadres with a proletarian ideology and stand. By this means, our cadres can unite still better with the masses of workers and peasants and with concerted efforts promote the advance of the socialist cause.

Regarding Labour as Honourable

Active participation in collective productive labour with the masses by the mass of cadres, particularly cadres at the basic levels, according to the system established, testifies that cadres are waging a resolute struggle by force of their own example against the bad habits of indulging in idleness and despising labour, against those who want to get rich by exploiting others, and against all the old concepts, ideas and habits which show contempt for the working people.

In Hsiyang County of Shansi Province and in the Zhengxi People's Commune of Pingyang County, Chekiang Province, a brand-new social attitude of regarding labour as honourable and idleness as disgraceful has been established in the course of active participation in collective productive labour by the masses of cadres. This sets a seal of disapproval on those who indulge in idleness and despise labour, so that they can no longer feel at ease. Loafers come under the supervision of the masses and they can no longer feel complacent about being idle. In these places this new social attitude has become a powerful force in sweeping away bourgeois ideology and modes of life, and an important guarantee for the promotion and development of socialist construction. Another extremely important question to be mentioned here is the fact that we now have a total of more than 10 million cadres and the number of their children is even larger than this. By taking part in collective productive labour as regularly as possible, they can set a good example to their children, so that the youngsters while still in their childhood can form the habit of love

of labour and foster the sentiment of respect for labour. This will undoubtedly have a far-reaching influence on the future of our cause.

Indulgence in idleness and despising labour is one of the worst of the forces of habit created by systems of exploitation; they are one of the most dangerous contagions left by the exploiting classes. To struggle against this force of habit and contagion, we must greatly raise the level of self-consciousness of the working people, stimulate their enthusiasm and help them take a positive attitude towards socialist labour. As Lenin rightly pointed out: "In order to save the working people for all time from the yoke of the landlords and capitalists, from the restoration of their power, it is necessary to create a great red army of labour. It will be invincible if it has labour discipline. The workers and peasants must prove and they will prove that without the landlords and against the landlords, without the capitalists and against the capitalists, they themselves can establish a correct division of labour, and selfless discipline and devotion to labour for the common good." Then Lenin continued: "Labour discipline, furious energy in labour, readiness for self-sacrifice, the close alliance of the peasants with the workers—this is what will save the working people for all time from the yoke of the landlords and capitalists."*

At the same time, we must rely on the masses and organize them to exercise strict supervision over the former exploiters and parasites and compel them to reform themselves through labour. Again as Lenin said: "The voluntary and conscientious, marked by revolutionary enthusiasm, co-operation of the masses of the workers and peasants in accounting and controlling the rich, the rogues, the idlers and hooligans can alone conquer these survivals of accursed capitalist society, this offal of humanity, these hopelessly decayed and atrophied limbs, this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that Socialism has inherited from capitalism."**

Important Aspect of Class Struggle in Socialist Period

To indulge in idleness and despise labour or to labour honestly? To have a contempt for labour or ardently love labour?—This question is an important aspect of the class struggle on the political, economic and ideological fronts in the period of socialism. If our cadres do not have a sufficient understanding of this question and have a relatively low level of political consciousness, if they do not take an active part in labour in accordance with the systems established by the Party and the state, and if they do not set an example among the masses of working honestly and loving labour; we will then be unable to enhance the labour enthusiasm of the masses effectively, uphold socialist labour discipline effectively or organize properly the ranks of the revolutionary classes to exercise strict supervision over all exploiters and parasites in the matter of labour. If this state of affairs should last long,

* "Speeches Recorded on Gramophone Discs: (7) How to Save the Working People for All Time from the Yoke of the Landlords and Capitalists," *Works*, 4th Russian edition, State Publishing House of Political Literature, U.S.S.R., 1950, Vol. 29, p.226.

** "How to Organize Competition," *Selected Works* in two volumes, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Volume II, Part I, p.372.

the reactionary elements of the exploiting classes, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, would take advantage of the opportunities resulting from the divorce of certain cadres from labour and from the masses and use every means to corrupt and demoralize them. These elements would turn degenerated and corrupt cadres into their agents or plant their men in certain organizations, so that they could usurp the leadership in some of our units and change the character of certain Party and state bodies and economic and people's organizations. Unable to stand up against the enemy's insidious schemes of threats and inducements, some of the less stable elements among the masses of workers and peasants and intellectuals might then fall into his trap or even wallow in the same dirty stream with him. Should this go on unchecked, a grave situation extremely disadvantageous to the proletariat and socialism and a grave danger of a counter-revolutionary comeback could arise in the struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism.

The Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party points out that there is class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road throughout the historical period of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism. It also points out that this class struggle is complicated and tortuous, rising and falling and at times becoming very sharp. Though the struggle will last for quite a long period, the proletariat will eventually triumph over the bourgeoisie, and socialism will eventually overcome capitalism. This is an irresistible, objective law independent of man's will. We look to the future with full confidence: the whole of China will advance gradually from socialism to the wonderful life of communism.

Fundamental Guarantee for Realizing Communism

The fundamental guarantee for the realization of this great ideal lies in the fact that under the leadership of the revolutionary proletarian party we have long ago established in our country the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revolutionary proletarian dictatorship in China is a people's democratic dictatorship led (through the Communist Party) by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. It practises a broad democracy among the people and exercises a revolutionary dictatorship over the enemies of the people. In our country, only landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, speculators, corrupt elements, embezzlers of public funds, parasites, swindlers and hooligans are opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat and they constitute only a very small part of the whole population. The overwhelming majority (more than 95 per cent) of the population support the revolutionary dictatorship. They are the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, the patriotic national bourgeoisie, our patriotic overseas compatriots and other patriotic democrats. The proletariat, allied with the broad masses of the working people and united with all those forces that can be united, are fully confident of fulfilling the historical tasks of the

proletarian dictatorship. On the one hand, they organize the ranks of the revolutionary classes to wage a fierce, blow-for-blow struggle against those capitalist and feudal forces which are trying to stage a comeback, put down their counter-revolutionary arrogance and rage and remould the vast majority of them into workers for socialism. On the other hand, they deal correctly with the contradictions among the people and the relations between the working class and peasantry, consolidate the political and economic alliance between the working class and peasantry and create conditions for the gradual elimination of class differences between workers and peasants.

The Chinese Communist Party is the revolutionary proletarian party that leads the revolutionary proletarian dictatorship in our country. It is a revolutionary party built according to the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism. It is a revolutionary party able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution and construction in China. It is a revolutionary party able to link the leadership closely with the broad masses of the people. It is a revolutionary party that perseveres in the truth, corrects its errors and knows how to conduct criticism and self-criticism. It is a revolutionary party able to integrate patriotism with internationalism. And it is a glorious, great, correct, long-tested and long-steered revolutionary party that is led by its Central Committee headed by our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is under the leadership of this party that the Chinese people have won complete victory in the national and democratic revolution and a basic victory in the socialist revolution and have scored important victories in socialist construction guided by the great red banner of the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. It is under the leadership of this party that the Chinese people are carrying the socialist revolution forward to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts. Discharging the sacred duties entrusted to it by the Chinese working class and the international proletariat and by the Chinese people and the rest of the people of the world, the Chinese Communist Party has waged a resolute struggle against modern revisionism, the main danger in the international communist movement, and continues and will continue to do so in order to safeguard the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, uphold the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, safeguard the interests of the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples and nations and uphold the interests of the cause of the struggle against imperialism and for world peace and the cause of the proletarian world revolution.

Effective System to Further Strengthen Revolutionary Proletarian Dictatorship

Aiming at pushing forward the socialist revolution and socialist construction and at realizing the great ideal of communism in China, all our people and all members of our Party are faced with a serious task, namely, the task of further consolidating and strengthening the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary party of the proletariat in our country. We must

wage a serious struggle against all tendencies that attempt to weaken the revolutionary proletarian dictatorship and revolutionary proletarian party of our country, even though such tendencies exist only in embryo. We must wage a serious struggle against those tendencies that may cause our revolutionary proletarian dictatorship and our revolutionary proletarian party to change their character, when those tendencies are still only in their embryonic stage. We must listen to the voices of the masses, sum up our practical experience, learn from the lessons of the international communist movement and introduce effective systems in order to strengthen further the revolutionary proletarian dictatorship and the revolutionary proletarian party of our country and more effectively safeguard the character of the revolutionary proletarian dictatorship and the revolutionary proletarian party of our country. In this regard, implementation of the practice of cadres taking part in collective productive labour is a question of vital importance. Our government and Party organizations at all levels are duty bound to keep close to the working masses; they have no right to divorce themselves from the masses. Our government and Party organizations at the grass-roots levels must be entrusted to those advanced elements who are active in labour. Our government cadres and Party secretaries at the grass-roots levels must be people who are not only the most advanced politically but also the keenest in productive labour. They should strive to become master hands in production and model farm workers. So long as the broad masses of our cadres, particularly the cadres working at the grass-roots levels, take an active part in the collective productive labour of our socialist economy in accordance with Party and state regulations, our cadres and our government and Party organizations at all levels will certainly be able to maintain the closest contacts with the working masses, we will certainly be able to smash and even root out the reactionary forces of all types trying vainly to erode and undermine the revolutionary proletarian dictatorship and the revolutionary proletarian party of our country, and we will assuredly achieve continual victories in the cause of socialism and communism.

Battle Against Nature

During the period of socialist construction, we must make a distinction between the two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people—and continue to deal with the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and properly handle contradictions among the people. This, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, is for the purpose of rallying the people of the whole country to wage a new battle—the battle against nature, to develop our economy and culture, consolidate our new system and build up our new state.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Ours is still a very poor country . . . we can't change this situation radically in a short time . . . only through the united efforts of our younger generation and all our people working with their own hands can our country be made strong and prosperous within a period of several decades. It is true that the establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal state of the future, but we

must work hard, very hard indeed, if we are to make that ideal a reality."*

Productive activity is the most fundamental activity in human life and the determinant of all other activities. In the various kinds of class society, members of society of all classes enter, in different ways, into certain relations of production and engage in productive activity to solve the problem of the material life of mankind. In our country, socialist relations of production have long been established, ever since the abolition of the system of exploitation, and the people of the whole country have entered into relations of comradesly co-operation and mutual help in engaging in the struggle for production. The more developed the struggle for production is, the better will our socialist economy thrive, the greater will be our socialist accumulation and the richer and more prosperous will the life of our people become. To the working people of our country, the struggle for production is, therefore, not just a means of subsistence to keep them from starvation or death as it was in the old society; it has become the fundamental way to create a new, happy life and build a great, new society. It is necessary to mobilize all the forces that can be mobilized and organize all the people who can be organized into the struggle for production. Everyone who is able to take part in this struggle should be enabled to do so. No one should be allowed to stand aside from productive labour without cause.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in 1942 that it was necessary to have a number of professional revolutionaries not engaged in productive work and also a number of physicians, literary and art workers, etc., but there should not be too great a number of such people, otherwise there would be danger. He has also said that even those personnel who had to be excused from regular productive work should join in production as much as possible in order to increase the material wealth and lessen the burden of the labourers. He said: "All armed units and public agencies must engage in production during their spare time from battles, training or work."** He has said: "Now the troops of our border region have acquired skill in production and some of the troops at the front have also acquired it while others are learning. If in our Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, so heroic and resourceful on the battlefield, everyone is not only able to fight and do mass work, but is also skilled in production, we need not fear any difficulty and shall be, in the words of Mencius, 'invincible under the sun.' Our offices and schools have also made great strides forward this year: only a small part of their expenses is paid by the government while the greater part comes from the proceeds of their own production; they have grown this year 100 per cent of the vegetables they consume as compared with 50 per cent last year; the pigs and sheep they have raised increase considerably their meat consumption and they have established many workshops for making articles of daily use. As the armed forces, offices and schools have themselves wholly or for the most part solved the problem of material supplies, less tax is collected from the people, who can therefore retain more of the fruits of their labour for their own enjoyment.

* *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1960, p.44.

** "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work."

As the soldiers and the civilians alike are developing production, so all are well-clad, well-fed and happy.”*

These words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung were spoken at a time when our Party had not yet taken political power throughout the country. But even today they still have the utmost practical importance for us. With the liberation, our Party became the Party in power. This position demands that we give even more care and attention to the question of properly distributing our manpower as between the production and non-production departments, to increasing with greater effect the number of production workers and reducing the number of non-production personnel as much as possible so as to economize on materials, increase accumulation of funds and promote production. Full attention must be given to this question in the cities, and in the countryside too.

Increasing Socialist Accumulation of Funds

The problem can arise where there are persons who should not give up productive labour but who, following their own inclination, do give up doing productive labour and also persons who can and should take part in productive labour but who do not take as much part in productive labour as they can. This is a problem of great importance which has a vital bearing on whether socialist accumulation can be rapid or not.

As is well known, our socialist accumulation, as Stalin has said, cannot be brought about in the imperialist way by the plunder of colonies, nor as in capitalist countries by launching aggressive wars against other countries and wringing indemnities out of them, nor by getting loans from foreign countries with enslaving strings attached. The imperialists will not give us loans, nor will the foreign reactionaries who are the lackeys of the imperialists. Above all we have absolutely no intention of accepting any loans from the imperialists, foreign reactionaries or others on unequal terms.

We want to conduct international trade with other countries of the world and exchange what each side needs according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit. We want to develop economic co-operation among the socialist countries on the basis of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance. But our socialist construction must rely mainly on our own efforts. Socialist accumulation in our country solely depends on our own resources, i.e., on the hard work of the whole people to increase production, on carrying out consistently the policy of practising strict economy and opposing extravagance.

Our country, with its vast expanses and rich natural resources, has over 600 million brave and industrious people and close to 10 million cadres who have fine qualities and a fine style of work, who keep close contact with the masses and enjoy their esteem. China has the biggest domestic market of any country in the world and a socialist political and economic system far superior to capitalism. What is more, our country has the correct leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. By making full use of these very favourable conditions it is quite possible for us to increase the accumulation of funds for socialist construction out of our internal resources and further the cause of socialist

construction. And we can be fully confident that we can do it.

Overcoming Bureaucracy

However, can it be said that there will be no difficulties in our forward march? Can it be said that the advance of our socialist cause will not meet with any obstacles? The answer is: No. Apart from the trouble and sabotage created by our class enemies at home and abroad, it must be pointed out that some of our cadres have been affected by bureaucracy in varying degrees.

The existence and growth of bureaucracy, which leads to a divorce from reality and the masses, invariably impairs unity between the leadership and the masses and unity among the people; it inevitably hampers the initiative of the working people in waging the class struggle and the struggle for production; it inevitably makes it impossible to tap to the full the immense productive potentialities of our country and to achieve a smooth growth of our socialist production; invariably it leads to failure to make rational use of the fruits of production by the working people and even causes heavy losses which are avoidable. As a result, the funds accumulated by socialist means, far from being increased, will be wasted; and the speed of socialist accumulation, far from being accelerated, will be slowed down.

Bureaucracy is an evil left over by the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes. The proletarian dictatorship and the leadership of the Party have nevertheless enabled us to combat bureaucracy most effectively. Therefore, we must do everything in our power to overcome bureaucracy effectively through long and repeated struggles carried out within the revolutionary ranks, in government organs at all levels, in our various undertakings and enterprises and popular organizations. If only we work earnestly and gradually succeed in doing this, this will certainly strengthen unity between the leadership and the masses and the unity of the whole nation, consolidate and develop still better the economy owned by the whole people and the collective economy, immensely stimulate the working people's initiative in waging the class struggle and the struggle for production, and enable us to exploit our productive potentialities fully and advance the cause of socialist production and construction smoothly. It will then be quite possible for us to bring about a sharp increase in socialist funds and greatly accelerate the speed of accumulation.

Bureaucracy has deep social, historical and ideological roots. To eliminate it needs serious work from various angles. Correct political leadership must be strengthened; organizational adjustments must be carried out on a rational basis; still greater attention must be given to ideological education and methods of persuasion; irrational rules and regulations that enable bureaucracy to exist and grow must be abolished, and rational rules and regulations that can prevent and overcome bureaucracy must be established and adhered to. One of the important regulations that must be adhered to is that laid down by the Party and the state concerning participation of cadres in collective productive labour. The directive issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on May 10, 1957, concerning leading personnel at all levels taking part in physical labour states that cadres at all levels who can and should take part in physical

* "Let Us Get Organized."

labour must take steps to do some sort of physical work for a certain period of time every year. It further points out that "this is a matter of vital significance in socialist construction in our country. The participation of cadres in productive labour does not by any means weaken the work of giving leadership; on the contrary, the participation of leading personnel in productive labour and their merging with the masses are conducive to discovering and settling problems promptly and concretely and improving the work of giving leadership. Hence, many errors resulting from bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism can be more easily prevented and overcome and favourable conditions created to change the attitude of despising physical labour that still exists in society."

In September 1958, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council jointly issued a decision on cadres taking part in physical labour. For the past few years, many of our cadres have resolutely implemented this Party directive and the joint decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council and have, as a result, made notable achievements in getting a grip on reality, linking themselves more closely with the masses and combating bureaucracy more successfully. We must continue to implement resolutely this directive and this decision and sum up our practical experience so as to perfect the regulations concerning the participation of cadres at all levels in collective productive labour.

In the past, during periods of revolutionary war, our cadres learnt the art of commanding and conducting military operations in the course of waging war. If they had not plunged into the war but indulged in empty talk and become armchair strategists, they could not possibly have learnt how to command and conduct military operations and the Chinese people would never have been able to carry their revolutionary war to victory. Now we are in the period of socialist construction in which the waging of the struggle for production along with the class struggle has become the task of primary importance for the people of the whole country. Cadres must throw themselves into this production struggle and learn to lead and conduct it as production goes ahead; they must learn and master the laws of the struggle for production and organize the people throughout the country better so as to bring about a great revolutionary movement in the struggle for production and build China into a powerful socialist country.

Correct Way to Lead the Three Great Revolutionary Movements

In order to consolidate and strengthen further the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and make our great motherland invincible, we must steadfastly launch three great revolutionary movements throughout the country: namely, the class struggle, the production struggle and scientific experiment. Our country is still economically poor and our technical level is still very low. It will take us a decade or two to catch up with the most advanced levels in the world in science and technology and build our country into a powerful socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defence and modern science and technology. So in conducting the revolutionary movements of class strug-

gle and the struggle for production, we must at the same time bring into full play the initiative of our present scientific and technical workers, train new scientists and technicians in a big way and unfold a revolutionary movement of scientific experiment in a planned way throughout China.

These three great revolutionary movements will be of far-reaching significance. They will be waged on an extremely large scale, their content will be extremely rich and their problems extremely complicated. It is utterly impossible to lead these revolutionary movements by bureaucratic and subjective methods. Only when a strictly scientific Marxist-Leninist attitude and precise Marxist-Leninist scientific methods are adopted can these movements be led in a satisfactory way.

To work with a strictly scientific attitude and use precise scientific methods means, first of all, systematic and deep investigation and study, accurate and complete knowledge of the actual situation, so as to acquire ideas that correctly reflect reality, work out measures that solve problems and ensure that subjective guidance conforms to objective reality. Investigation and study do not mean "taking a ride on horseback to enjoy the flowers," glancing this way and that, listening to hearsay and justifying one's own subjective fancies by collecting some fragments of superficial and one-sided information. It calls for really going into the midst of the work at the grass-roots level, keeping in close touch with the masses, settling down among the masses and working together with and consulting with them, so as to acquire a systematic and fundamental knowledge about the important problems in hand. One of the best methods for making investigation and study is for cadres to take part in collective productive labour. This is because in the course of productive labour, cadres become one with the masses who in turn will speak their minds out to them. As a result, they can really understand the feelings, demands and desires of the masses and can thus give true reports on the actual situation and make a careful analysis of problems. No investigation and study can be satisfactory if cadres, divorced from productive labour and the masses, make their investigations on the basis of subjective, bold surmises and fancies and then go to great pains to bolster them up with subjectively collected evidence.

To mobilize the masses freely and do everything on the basis of experiment is a principle which must be strictly observed in our work. The opinions collected from the masses through investigation and study and experiment on typical cases should be brought back to the masses for implementation and put to the test in the course of the practice of the masses. By repeated investigation and examination, the opinions of the leadership can be gradually perfected and transformed into mass action. This is also indispensable in carrying out our work with a strictly scientific attitude and precise scientific method. With such an attitude and method, we can do our work more smoothly and confidently and avoid or reduce errors.

Such an attitude and method of work are based on the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. Our cadres face an important task — to learn to work according to a strictly scientific attitude and scientific methods and to study the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge.

All our cadres must join the masses in the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment in accordance with the directives of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. By doing this earnestly, they can become really good cadres who are politically advanced and professionally proficient, with a good knowledge of politics and their work, closely identified with the masses and enjoying their support and not persons who sit up on high, put on lordly airs and are divorced from the masses; in this

way they can maintain a steadfast stand through all tempests at home and abroad without degenerating. By this means too, our Party can become a still more glorious, great and correct Party; our country can greatly thrive and prosper; our socialist system can be more firmly consolidated; our socialist construction can proceed more rapidly and we can give more help to the oppressed people and nations of the world and better fulfil the great internationalist duties entrusted to us by the international proletariat and the people of the world.

Support for Chairman Mao's Statement

The Torch That Sets Alight the Hearts of All Negro Peoples

IT is "a torch which set alight the hearts of all Negroes, and opened their eyes. It dissipated the existing illusions that U.S. imperialism has changed its nature. It made clear to all peoples that American imperialism is not a friend of the peoples, of peace, and of freedom. It proves that the struggle of the American Negroes is just. So the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have warmly welcomed it." This is how Cameroon's nationalist fighters Madame Moumie and Ossende Afana saw Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement of August 8 calling upon the people of the world to unite to oppose racial discrimination by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes' struggle against it (see *Peking Review*, Aug. 16). Many other African leaders have been deeply stirred by its publication (see *Peking Review*, Aug. 23). Following are another collection of what the African nationalist leaders said to Hsinhua correspondents in Conakry, Cairo and Algiers in support of Chairman Mao's statement.

African Leaders Acclaim the Statement

Contribution to Marxism-Leninism. Madame Moumie and Ossende said that the August 8 statement of Chairman Mao Tse-tung in support of the struggle of the American Negroes proved once again that he was a great friend of the Negroes. Refuting the allegation that the Chinese are racists, they said: "Our encouragement to all the oppressed peoples to struggle against their main enemy—U.S. imperialism—comes only from the point of view of class struggle. So Chairman Mao's argument concerning the close connection between the struggle against racial discrimination and that of class is really a contribution to Marxism-Leninism."

Brito Domingos Antonio Sozinho and Jao Badsta Pedro, representatives in Conakry of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, said: "Chairman Mao's statement is not only an encouragement to the oppressed Negroes but is also support for the struggle of the Angolan people who are fighting against old and new colonialism."

A Statement the People Will Remember. Robert Resha, permanent representative in Algiers of the African National Congress of South Africa (A.N.C.) called Chairman Mao's statement "a very good document" and held that this statement of great significance would doubtless always remain in the memory of the people of the whole world until imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination were completely eliminated.

Tennyson Makiwane, another A.N.C. representative, described Chairman Mao's statement as very timely. It would strengthen the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination.

Cortez, representative of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola in Algiers, said that he was very pleased with and encouraged by the statement because it "has extremely great significance for the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination."

Aquino Braganca, representative of the Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of Portuguese Colonies, considered the point raised in Chairman Mao's statement that "in the last analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle" not only very correct politically but also in conformity with reality. Braganca said: "No one can separate the struggle against racial discrimination from class struggle. We are against racial discrimination; that is to say, we oppose imperialism, colonialism and the system of exploitation of man by man."

Solidarity Among Oppressed Classes. Declared Hogbe Nlend, permanent representative in Algiers of the Union of the People of the Cameroons, "we welcome Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement not as solidarity among races, but as solidarity among oppressed classes and nations."

C.Z. Mahlayeye, Joint General Secretary of the Mozambique African People's Anti-Imperialist United Front and General Secretary of the Mozambique National Democratic Union, declared: "We fully support Chairman Mao's statement in support of the U.S. Negroes' struggle." He added: "I fully agree with Chairman Mao's viewpoint on the inner link between the U.S. reactionary policies at home and its aggressive policies abroad. It's

"Mao Tse-tung's Emancipation Proclamation For Afro-Americans"

THE above is the title of an article by Robert F. Williams, the noted leader of American Negroes who is now residing in Cuba after being forced to leave the U.S.A. It was at his request that Chairman Mao Tse-tung made his now world-famous statement of August 8.

After pointing out that the tragedy of Lincoln's Proclamation was that the great emancipation it promised was never fully realized, Williams writes:

"It is significant that 100 years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the great revolutionary leader and emancipator of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has proclaimed in the name of the Chinese people the right of the Afro-American to liberty and equality. His proclamation marks a new era in the almost 400 years struggle of black Americans for human rights. His appeal to all of the civilized peoples of the world to support our struggle against the oppressive, racist and imperialist savages of the U.S.A. lifts it to its proper perspective on the international scene. It gives it international scope instead of its former narrow national characteristic."

Racism Follows the Star-Spangled Banner. Williams asserts that it is nothing but the class struggle that makes the black American a special target for brutal exploitation, vicious oppression and violence. "It is a well known fact," he says, "that racial discrimination and prejudice in the U.S.A. grew out of capitalist exploitation. However, it has now permeated the whole of the decadent society. . . . It is now a part of the Yankee way of life."

"U.S. racism," he stresses, "is a menace to the whole world. It is a threat to the peace and security of the world. It is no longer a national problem, it is now an international problem. Wherever the U.S. flag flies, racism follows in its wake."

The author also challenges the U.S.A. which, he says, wants others to believe that it is "the only nation qualified and fit to lead the world." But "the peoples of the world must ask where the U.S.A. proposes to lead them. They must ask where is this democracy we hear the

U.S.A. so loudly boasting about." To this he replies: the coloured peoples of the world have seen U.S. democracy in action. They have seen it in Birmingham, Alabama, in Jackson, Mississippi and all over the nation. Random shooting, "detention centres," police dogs, court frame-ups, terror and violence in the United States, he declares, could be "equalled only by South Africa and Portugal" and "in the racist U.S.A. a coloured person's life is valued less than that of a common street dog."

To Meet Violence With Violence. "As the lines of struggle become sharper," Williams says, "more and more of our people are turning to the philosophy of self-defence and violent resistance to the forces of reaction and racist oppression. The masses of our people are beginning to meet violence with violence."

He and other Negroes, Williams says, are however disappointed when some so-called socialists denounce their moral right of militant struggle and violent resistance. "We who advocate a policy of self-defence against racist savages are labelled racist divisionists by these pseudo-Marxists. These hypocritical chauvinists urge us to be patient and long suffering. They speak of national security, our recourse to the racist courts, the potential power of liberation through the vote and the reliability of Kennedy's civil rights promises. We differ with them because we believe that we have a right to defend ourselves against racist terrorists, and as oppressed people, we believe that we have the right to use whatever means are at our disposal to abolish the savage tyranny directed at our people."

They Are Not Alone. Concluding, Williams writes:

"Today we are witnessing a new era of mankind's struggle for liberation. The mass rally of the Chinese people in support of black liberation in racist America ushered in this new era. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's appeal to the world to come to the aid of our embattled people is a new emancipation proclamation. It has struck terror into the hearts of our brutal imperialist, racist oppressors. . . . We hail the friendship of the great Chinese people and we struggle with more confidence in the knowledge that we are not alone."

true from our own experiences. The United States is now penetrating into Mozambique rapidly. . . . The same is the case in other parts of Africa. So the American Negroes' struggle is closely linked with the liberation movement in Africa, and our enemy is the same, U.S. imperialism."

Representing the Views of All Peace-Loving Peoples. Phiri, Secretary of the North Rhodesian United National Independence Party (U.N.I.P.), Cairo Office, said that Chairman Mao Tse-tung's views in support of the Negroes' struggle for justice in the United States represented the views held by all peace-loving people of the world. He said that the American Negroes' struggle is a just one and of immense significance, adding, "We of U.N.I.P. support

the American Negroes' struggle and condemn racial discrimination in its various manifestations."

Others who voiced their support for Chairman Mao's statement include Luis Cabral and Abilio Duarte, representatives of the African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands in Conakry and Algiers respectively, David Mabunda, Vice-President of the Mozambique National Democratic Union, and Peter Molotsi, representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa in Cairo.

Sidi Diallo, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of Mali, also gave full support to Chairman Mao's statement in the name of the committee.

He said: "All the African countries must take measures to rid their land of all kinds of racial discrimination and to oust colonialism, new and old, especially U.S. imperialism which is a great danger."

African students studying in Cuba recently held a meeting in Havana in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination and hailing Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement of August 8.

A statement adopted at the meeting declared: "We African students in Cuba express our wholehearted support for the Negro struggle which is raging in the United States."

"We," it went on, "like all the peoples of the world who love justice and freedom, appreciate highly the statement supporting the American Negroes' struggle made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the request of the American Negro leader Robert Williams."

Voice of Support From Indonesia and Burma

On August 23, the Indonesian daily *Bintang Timur* published an editorial entitled "All Sympathies Go to the Struggles of the American Negroes" acclaiming Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement. The paper saw the correctness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement that there are

close links between the U.S. imperialist reactionary policies at home and its aggressive policies abroad. It said that American Negroes' struggles were, therefore, inseparable from the struggles of the three continents—Asia, Africa and Latin America—for complete independence and freedom. It called on independence-loving and freedom-loving progressive mankind the world over and on all anti-imperialist and anti-colonial forces to support the fight of over 10 million American Negroes.

Madame Aminah Hidajat, General Chairman of the Indonesian Peace Committee, issued a written statement (August 25) entitled "The Struggle of the American Negroes Must Be Supported." Her statement, fully agreeing with President Sukarno's expressed opinion that the present struggle of the American Negroes is one for equal treatment and for treatment in conformity with man's social conscience, endorses Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination.

Daw Ah Mah, famous Burmese writer, recently sent an article to *Zin Min Pao* showing her support for the just struggle of the American Negroes. While agreeing with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement she stressed in her article that "all Communist Parties correctly following Marxism-Leninism must give warm support to the struggle of the oppressed peoples."

Uphold the Revolutionary Line of the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement

by FANG CHI

Fang Chi was a member of the Chinese delegation to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, held from July 16 to 20, 1963, in Bali, Indonesia's fabled "Isle of Poetry." In the following article he reports on the meeting.—Ed.

OUR thanks must go to the Indonesian Organizing Committee for the A.A.W.C., to the Indonesian writers and the Indonesian people as a whole, the hosts of the meeting. The warm hospitality they extended to the writers' delegations of various Afro-Asian countries and the excellent arrangements they made for the meeting, as well as the efforts they made while the meeting was in progress all worked to ensure its success.

The many expressions of friendship we met—President Sukarno's greetings, Chairman Aidit's congratulatory message, the brightly lit torches which the people of Bali used to light the road leading to the hall where the meeting took place—all gave encouragement to us Afro-Asian writers in our solidarity and militancy.

The executive chairman of the meeting, the outstanding Indonesian poet Sitor Situmorang, gave highly successful leadership to the meeting and the general report made by the Ceylonese writer R.D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Permanent Bureau of the A.A.W.C., laid a firm foundation for the gathering's great success.

The meeting was attended by 57 delegates from 17 Afro-Asian countries, specially invited guests as well as representatives from fighting North Kalimantan.

Anti-Imperialism — the Keynote

The meeting strongly condemned imperialist aggression against the Afro-Asian countries and the oppression practised in these countries by the imperialists and old and new colonialists, and especially by the U.S. imperialists, and also the activities of subversion and infiltration carried out in the Afro-Asian countries by them in the name of cultural work. The meeting warmly praised the struggles of the Afro-Asian peoples for independence and liberation; in the name of the writers of Asia and Africa, it pledged its support to these struggles until complete victory. It pointed out the great importance of the solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples and writers. It carried forward the Afro-Asian writers' movement which is closely integrated with the struggles of the Afro-Asian peoples.

The meeting adopted "An Appeal of the A.A.W.C. Executive Committee"; resolutions on the burning issues of various Afro-Asian countries, a resolution on the role of poetry in the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples and of the publishing houses, and a decision on questions relat-

ing to the convocation of the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference. All these decisions have further enhanced the glorious traditions of the A.A.W.C., and upheld the revolutionary line of the Afro-Asian writers' movement.

The meeting was convened in conditions of a rapid development of the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples fighting for national independence and liberation, and its gaining of a series of fresh victories. As Senanayake pointed out in the general report: "The revolutionary movement of the two continents is surging forward. The general situation is favourable to the peoples in Asia, Africa and the world in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, and not favourable to their enemies."

The struggle waged by the Afro-Asian peoples has helped to carry forward the movement of the Asian and African writers. The writers are becoming increasingly conscious of their responsibilities to their peoples, and the vital relation between the writer and the people's struggle. In considering the role they can play in the people's struggle, they fully endorse the viewpoint expressed by Senanayake in the general report: "The contradiction between the Afro-Asian peoples on the one hand and the imperialist bloc headed by the United States on the other is irreconcilable. . . . When we discuss the role of the Afro-Asian writers, we should be guided by the above-mentioned situation."

Speakers at the conference made damning exposures of the crimes committed by imperialism and colonialism against the Afro-Asian peoples; they also expressed their confidence in the final victory of the Afro-Asian peoples' struggle. They pointed out that standing firmly on the side of their peoples, the Afro-Asian writers are determined to use their literary weapons to serve the cause of independence and liberation of their peoples.

Delegates to the conference pointed out in unequivocal terms that U.S. imperialism is the arch enemy of the Afro-Asian peoples, the common enemy of the people of the whole world, the enemy of peace. The movement for independence and liberation launched by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has become the focal point in the surging world revolution at the present time, and it is determining the course of world history. The rise of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples will eventually bury the imperialist system.

Soviet Delegates Harp on Different Tune

Magnificent and powerful as the roaring waves at Sanur Beach near which the meeting was held, a resounding anti-imperialist note rang through the speeches made by the overwhelming majority of delegates. The Soviet delegate in his speech, however, harped on an entirely different tune. In his torrent of words not a single phrase could be found which was directed against the crimes of U.S. imperialism.

Was it because that he had no knowledge of the heinous crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Afro-Asian peoples? No, definitely not. The many speeches made at the meeting are proof of this. The South African delegate pointed out that U.S. imperialism, after occupying the Congo, is extending its aggression to the African hinterland; is laying its grasping hand on South Africa's gold mines which yield one half of the

world's gold output, and is shipping arms to the colonialist authorities in South Africa to strengthen their ruthless racist rule.

In her speech, the Japanese delegate charged that U.S. imperialism still occupies Japan's Okinawa and is moving nuclear-powered submarines and nuclear-capable F-105D planes to Japan. "U.S. imperialism's nuclear war policy has taken the place of Japanese militarism," she said. "It is trying its utmost to bind Japan to its war chariot" thus creating a threat to Asia and the world as a whole.

New Threat of Neo-Colonialism

The Sudanese delegate told the conference: "U.S. neo-colonialism constitutes a serious new threat to what has been gained by the African peoples. The United States is making every effort to invade the newly independent countries, to rob them of their independence and convert them into new-type U.S. colonies by means of its so-called aid, direct and indirect economic infiltration, and through the United Nations." After condemning the Kennedy Administration for its cruel persecution of the Negro people in the United States, the Kenya delegate pointed out that "this can only prove that Kennedy is even worse than Eisenhower."

There is no need to give further examples. Sitting at the sessions, the Soviet delegates could not but hear what was said. But the speech made by the Soviet delegate was clearly divorced from the reality of the struggle waged by the Afro-Asian peoples. With the exception of a few sentences aimed at putting up a front, it contained not a single word in condemnation of U.S. imperialism, not a single reference to U.S. imperialism as the enemy of the people of Asia and Africa, the enemy of the people of the world and the enemy of peace.

Essentially, the speech of the Soviet delegate was to publicize their "general line of peaceful coexistence" under the pretext that "the problem of preventing a new world war is the main political question of our time." He threatened that "the ending of this coexistence would mean the beginning of destructive nuclear war," in an attempt to bind the Afro-Asian peoples hand and foot, so that the latter will bow to the U.S. imperialist policy of war and aggression, give up their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence and liberation, and remain eternally enslaved by imperialism.

The South African delegate Basner gave an apt answer in this connection: "As far as we South African people are concerned, to accept peaceful coexistence [with imperialism] means eternal enslavement. . . . Despite the fact that some writers try to advertise the horrors of a world nuclear conflict, they cannot be understood by the people. The people will eventually spit on and revile them."

The Soviet delegate declared in his speech: "Our moral motto is—a man is man's friend, comrade and brother." Adapting the words of the Bible, he was preaching at the Afro-Asian writers forum with the purpose of paralysing the will of the Afro-Asian peoples so that they should take the imperialists and colonialists as "friends, comrades and brothers," so that aggressors and

the victims of aggression, oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited should become "friends, comrades and brothers," so that the injured people the world over would take their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, as their "friend, comrade and brother."

Refuting this fantasy and nonsense, the Sudanese delegate A.M. Kheir said: "It is said by some people that man is man's friend, comrade and brother. Kennedy, the leader of the blood suckers, Ngo Dinh Diem, Salazar, Verwoerd and the like are men. Can we be their friends, comrades and brothers?"

The Soviet delegation had the hypocrisy to say that they support the liberation movement of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples, but hastened to add that this movement "can be successful only" with the help of certain socialist powers. The Indonesian delegate Ajob answered this forthrightly: "The West Irian problem is not decided in Amsterdam, New York or Moscow, but in Indonesia itself."

Soviet Literature Reflects Wrong Political Line

The Soviet delegate in his speech also extolled contemporary Soviet literature to the skies, citing many writers and their works to show that "for the heroes of all these books war is horrible bloodshed." His speech also claimed: "Soviet literature strives to portray before the whole world the new man and show the place, role and value of the individual in society . . . a man who organically feels the inseparability of his own fate and that of mankind. The creative works of Soviet writers are permeated with efficacious love for human beings. . . ." It pointed out: "Our literature is advancing wide-fronted into the depth of human inner world. It is now speaking more profoundly of the stirrings of the human soul, of human thoughts, searches and dreams, of human sufferings and joys."

Sharply critical of this kind of literature, the Korean delegate Choi Yung Hwa said in his speech: "Now, some writers scared by the war hysteria of the imperialists, are spreading the fear of war among the people and dampening their morale by painting only a tragic picture in dealing with war and, through such works, they are paralysing the revolutionary consciousness of the people and turning them away from struggle." He went on to say: "To profess 'pure humanity,' 'supra-class humanism embracing the whole of mankind' and deal with 'eternal themes' while rooting out the revolutionary spirit and class character of militant literature at a time when the struggle for the national and social liberation of the people is growing in intensity day by day means to take the road of compromise and depart from the stand of revolutionary writers."

All utterances by the Soviet delegate actually laid bare the emptiness of the inner world of these Soviet writers, their alarm and confusion; they showed that contemporary Soviet literature reflects exactly the erroneous political line followed by the Soviet Government. These writers have directly betrayed Lenin's teaching on the Party character of literature, forsaken the revolutionary tradition of the October Revolution, become tools for publicizing the horrors of war, for slandering socialism, benumbing the people and opposing the revolution. In a word, they have become willing tools in the service of imperialism.

It is crystal clear that at the Executive Committee meeting of the A.A.W.C. the Soviet delegates took a stand which was contrary to that of the rest of the delegates, that they put forward a line which ran counter to the line adopted at all the previous conferences of Afro-Asian writers. Moreover, they resorted to all sorts of unjustifiable means to undermine the Afro-Asian writers' movement.

Stand of Soviet Delegates Rebuffed

People have not forgotten that when the revolutionary line for the Afro-Asian writers' movement was further charted by the 1962 Cairo Conference, the Soviet delegates attacked the conference behind its back, saying that it talked "too much about politics and too little about literature," and that it was "a failure." At the recent meeting the Soviet delegates again gave voluble expression to their political and literary views which run counter to the interests of the Afro-Asian peoples, in order to intimidate these peoples with the horrors of war, make them wait for "independence" to be given them by imperialism and the "peace" of slaves, while urging them to follow the Soviet "moral motto" of befriending the enemy. This stand of the Soviet delegates could only meet with a rebuff from the rest of the Afro-Asian writers. They also attempted to stand in the way of the Afro-Asian peoples' progressive movement at the recent meeting, saying that they did not support the Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference and the forthcoming conference of the Afro-Asian trade unions. Discussing the agenda of the future Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, they made proposals which separate literature from politics, which entirely leave out the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, trying in this way to divorce the Afro-Asian writers' movement from the Afro-Asian peoples' struggle, and thus achieve their aim of changing the movement's revolutionary line. They also attempted to exclude anti-imperialist writers from the Afro-Asian writers' movement in the vain hope of splitting it organizationally.

All these activities on the part of the Soviet delegation, however, were seen through and exposed by the rest of the delegates at the conference. It was quite natural therefore that it found itself isolated and received the counter-blows which it deserved.

The victory scored at the Executive Committee meeting was a victory for the safeguarding of the revolutionary line of the Afro-Asian writers' movement in opposition to the line of compromise and capitulation proposed by the Soviet delegates. The revolutionary line decided upon for the movement at the previous A.A.W.C. meetings is a correct line. The banner raised for the movement is bright. On this banner is inscribed: "Oppose imperialism and colonialism! Support national independence! Defend world peace!" All Afro-Asian writers who are upright and loyal to the people have united under this banner to fight heroically to win and consolidate the independence and liberation of their own nations, and to defend and develop the cultures of the Afro-Asian peoples.

The Executive Committee meeting of the A.A.W.C. waged a victorious struggle to uphold the revolutionary line of the Afro-Asian writers' movement. It has laid a good foundation for the Third A.A.W.C. to be held in 1964 in Indonesia. It has paved the way for the further growth of the Afro-Asian writers' movement.

The World Revolution's Vanguard and Leading Force

by MAURICIO GRABOIS

Following are excerpts from an article published by the Brazilian fortnightly "A Classe Operaria" (July 1-15), written by Mauricio Grabois on the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

UNDER the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, great thinker and statesman, and outstanding Marxist-Leninist, the Chinese Communist Party has led the people in liberating a huge country of several hundreds of millions and carried out the greatest revolution in history since the Great October Revolution. The activities of the Party throughout its life splendidly demonstrate the correctness of the invincible scientific theory of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese revolution marks a new stage in the struggle waged by the peoples of various countries, mainly the oppressed countries, since the end of World War II. Its experience is a precious part of the experience of the working-class revolutionary movement of the world and an inexhaustible textbook both for those who are devoting themselves to the struggle against imperialism and fighting to break the shackles of the latifundia owners, and for those who face the task of building a new society.

Great Influence of Chinese Revolution

The great revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party took place in a country whose population is almost one-fourth of the world's population, a country which suffered from the rule of both landlords and imperialism. That is why this most magnificent international event has had an enormous influence far beyond the bounds of China. Precisely because of this, the Marxist-Leninists of today cannot fail to see the outstanding contribution made by the Chinese Communists, and particularly by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, to working-class revolutionary theory. It is no exaggeration to say that they have creatively enriched Marxism-Leninism.

No other proletarian party has had such a rich and long experience as the Chinese Communist Party has had in struggling against dogmatism, adventurism, sectarianism and mechanically copying the experience of other countries. Therefore, the present attacks made by the revisionists of all types on the Chinese Communist Party, charging it with "dogmatism," are absolutely untenable. The Chinese Communist Party has never let up in its struggle against Right-opportunism. It has resolutely exposed capitulationist manifestations of class conciliation and reformism. All the activities of the Chinese Communists under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung have manifested the correct integration of the universal

truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. That is why the works of Mao Tse-tung are playing the same role as those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in training revolutionary cadres.

The study of the history of the Chinese Communist Party has a special significance for the revolutionaries of Brazil and other parts of Latin America. The conditions of the struggle in Brazil are in some respects similar to those of the Chinese people's struggle before they defeated their enemies and gained final victory. That is why in the light of Brazil's specific conditions, the road travelled by the Chinese Communist Party is a reliable chart for the Brazilian people in their struggle for national and social emancipation. The Chinese Communists have always said that the revolution in their country basically follows the line of the Russian October Revolution. To achieve complete victory, the Brazilian revolution must also follow the common laws of these two great revolutions in history.

C.P.C. in Van of All-Out Anti-Revisionist Struggle

The Chinese Communist Party, in accordance with its traditions, demonstrates unbounded loyalty to revolutionary principles; together with the Marxist-Leninists of the world, it is waging an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism. At the present moment it is difficult to estimate the depth of the influence of this struggle. The erroneous ideas which have made inroads into the international working-class movement are jeopardizing the great fruits gained by the peoples of various countries in their advance towards communism. The solution of the questions involved affects the acceleration or retardation of the complete liberation of the peoples suffering from the unjust system of oppression and exploitation.

Adverse currents appeared in the history of the world's communist movement in other years. On the pretext of developing Marxism-Leninism and taking account of realities, these adverse currents tried to induce the working class and its allies to deviate from the correct road of the struggle for socialism, distort proletarian theories and wipe out their essentials. The great teachers of Marxism displayed great enthusiasm in defending the purity of these perfect theories. In our time, the trend to opportunism is the more dangerous because it is upheld by certain Communist Parties in power and certain other Parties which exert an influence on the working-class movement. The revisionist Tito group of Yugoslavia is an out-and-out embodiment of this revisionist trend which seriously undermines the unity of communist ranks.

Genuine revolutionaries cannot but wage relentless struggles against the opportunist trends and so deal with the attacks of the anti-Marxist trends aiming to extend their sphere of activities. As the 1957 Moscow Declaration said, these opportunist trends are the main danger in the working-class movement. The Chinese Communist Party therefore has unhesitatingly adopted a brave and resolute attitude in going all out to deliver a counter-blow against revisionism and it is courageously standing in the van of the struggle. This act of the Chinese Communist Party, a powerful organization that has stood the test of struggle and enjoys undisputed prestige, is warmly supported by all those who want revolution and hope for the triumph of socialism throughout the world. In this struggle against modern revisionism, Mao Tse-tung's Party adds new lustre to the proud position it has already won in the course of its life.

"Renmin Ribao" Articles – Sharp Weapons Against Opportunism

Long Live Leninism published by the Chinese Communists awakened the attention of the revolutionaries of various countries to certain questions distorted by revisionism. Subsequently, in face of the open and unreason-

able attacks made by the leaders of certain Communist Parties, the Chinese Communist Party published a number of important articles comprehensively expounding its clearly defined viewpoints in the great ideological debate within communist ranks. The contents of these articles published by *Renmin Ribao* in Peking, and already printed by *A Classe Operaria*, enrich Marxism-Leninism; they are sharp weapons in the anti-opportunist struggle and in promoting the revolutionary movements in various places. They are most valuable instruments helping the fighters in the van keep correct bearings today.

The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China dated June 14 in reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, printed in the current issue of *A Classe Operaria*, is similarly of far-reaching and important significance in defending Marxism-Leninism, and ensuring the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of principle.

All these articles have a high degree of theoretical and practical significance and a profound revolutionary content. They greatly help the struggle now being waged in Brazil against imperialism and the domestic reactionary forces and against the opportunists who try to deceive the people and induce them to submit to the ruling class.

Soviet Scene

"Cucumber Plague"

On July 7, the Soviet paper, "Izvestia," published a letter from K.I. Panyushkina, a woman worker of the Kherson Cotton Textile Combine, describing how almost everyone in the Michurin State Farm in the Kherson region, U.S.S.R., spend time and energy on their large personal plots, growing cucumbers for profit.

In a note appended to the letter, the editor of *Izvestia* said that a reporter was sent to the farm on receipt of the letter and that "what he saw not only substantiates K. Panyushkina's opinion but goes much farther."

The editor's note went on to say: "The former collective farmers, now workers of the Michurin State Farm, keep for their own use plots as large as a hectare. Some 'land-holders' are unable to take care of their whole plots themselves and so they turn parts over to 'share-croppers' to cultivate, and even (it got to this!) hire people.

"Right now it is harvest time at the state farm and there is no end of work. The gardens and vineyards are covered with weeds, but almost half of the workers fail to turn up in the fields — 'people have their hands full with the cucumber business.' Owing to the shortage of labour, the state farm had to liquidate its cattle farm. Though it is situated on the most fertile land, the farm is becoming unremunerative. The same disgraceful picture ... can be seen on the state farms at Kamennyi Pod in Zaporozhe, also founded on the basis of collective farms."

Following are excerpts from the letter to "Izvestia."
— Ed.

In our Kherson region, there is a village called the Cossacks' Camp. It is situated on the banks of a river, and is very rich in fruits, vegetables, grapes and melons. Formerly, there were six collective farms here, now the one Michurin Wine-Making State Farm has been established here.

Every villager has his or her own personal plot of from 0.15 to half a hectare. Side by side with these plots are the state farm gardens and vineyards. My fellow villagers took up cucumber-growing from the year 1949-50 or thereabouts. At first, only a few households, and they grew just a small amount, but now almost all are engaged in growing cucumbers on the whole of their plots; it even happens that people have to go to the city to buy potatoes. This "cucumber plague" has spread to the centre of the village and to the surrounding hamlets.

The State Farm Suffers. In these circumstances, the state farm suffers. From March onwards, the villagers spend all their time on their personal plots, and go to work on the state farm almost as if it is to get some relaxation.

Judge for yourself. Growing cucumbers is a labour-consuming occupation. You have to water them every morning. There are wells in every garden. One has to invest much time and money to sink and equip a well. A motor, tubes, centrifugal pumps and fire-hoses must be obtained for them. All these things are not available in local shops, but, you see, they are found in all the cucumber plots. Besides, fertilizer, and that the very best, is needed. This fertilizer should have been used in the state farm fields, where there is a shortage of it. But everyone managed to buy one or two motorcar loads of it for his own garden by illegal means, and there are not less than 500 of these gardens!

Then in July the cucumber harvest begins, and there is a real hustle and bustle, as cucumbers are perishable and you have to hurry to sell them at a good price. You can imagine what the turnout for (state farm) work is like at this time.

Trading Far Afield. I don't know, maybe there are some sort of paper resolutions (about this) passed by the regional organizations, but in fact they are making concessions. You can get a car freely from any motor transport office, if you have money, and there is plenty of money in the "private sector." They pay for the car at the beginning and end of the trip, and you may say that they drive all over the country. Going to such cities as Moscow, Kursk, Ivanovo and Leningrad is regarded as a "domestic matter." And you can get a certificate from the village Soviet whenever you like, because everything is according to the law: the gardens are your own, the cucumbers are your own, so no speculation is involved.

Since almost the entire leadership and almost all the intellectuals in the village are captivated by these cucumbers, how can one not encourage these trading operations? For the teachers it is even easier. They are having holidays in the season and can go on an "excursion" to any city. What a sorry sight they are! You can see these people covered with dust, jolting at the back of the lorries, while the cucumbers are loaded up front so that they won't be crushed. But on their way back, our businessmen have their purses full. You may presume evidently that all their sufferings have been compensated for in full.

Local Authorities Know It. This year a genuine moral tragedy grew from the "soil of cucumbers." A mother left her two children to go with the man she went trading with. He, you see, is a man "in the full sense of the word." Not long ago he went to another village to steal humus (vegetable mould). But there he was caught by a woman cattle technician. She seized the key from his car, so he twisted her arm — what bravery, and how could one help falling in love with him!

Do the local authorities know all this? I think they are obliged to know, must know and, of course, they know about it. Motor transport facilities are given with their knowledge, and our "cucumber-growers" drive around openly. Sometimes more motor vehicles are gathered together than on a big construction site. They are also bound to have learnt of the beginnings of this moral degradation, as there are Communist Party members here, and the regional leaders themselves come to the Cossacks' camp to rest. The Ostap Vishni Rest Home here is a national one. Writers and other respected comrades often come, and they should have seen and heard something. But the state farm grows and expands, and this evidently puts those who come here at ease.

Private "Hotels" Mushroom in Orenburg

The bosses of the hundreds of private hotels operating in the Orenburg region, U.S.S.R., are making much money at the expense of the collective and state farms, wrote Z. Mavlyuberdinov, correspondent of the Soviet

paper, "Rural Life," in a newsletter published by the paper on July 17. Following are excerpts from this newsletter. — Ed.

HUNDREDS of so-called travellers' hostels and dispatcher points are being maintained in the cities and district centres of the Orenburg region. Part of them are trans-shipment points for goods going to the collective and state farms. The rest serve as homes where collective farmers or state farm workers who come to the city for the market or on other business spend the night. These are the private "hotels" whose proprietors are making quite a lot of money out of the collective and state farms.

Yefim Yudin is such a one. He lives in Orenburg, but draws a monthly salary of 80 rubles from the "Magnitostroi" State Farm. This is no small sum, but it's not enough to get rich on. Yet Yudin managed to throw up a two-storied private residence on Ural Riverside Street. Only the upper storey of 66 square metres was registered.

"The first story is uninhabited." He explained, though the "uninhabited" rooms were furnished. Here, people coming from state farms put up for the night.

"Beware! Fierce Dog." Almost every "travellers' hostel" in Orenburg is a two-storied private residence. Such are the two houses owned by the Gorkov brothers which receive visitors from Saraktash. As a rule, these private hotels are surrounded by high fences with massive metal gates on which hangs the fearsome sign: "Beware, fierce dog."

There are nearly 50 open or secret travellers' hostels in Orenburg. There are no fewer in Buzuluk, Orsk, Sorochinsk and other cities. And large sums of money are paid to the owners of these hostels in a lawful form by some collective farms. The Lenin Collective Farm under the Buzuluk Administration maintains three travellers' hostels and pays each owner 65 rubles. Each collective farm household of the Sverdlov Collective Farm under the same administration pays 6 rubles and a pood of wheat a year to the landlady of a travellers' hostel at which members of that collective farm stay.

Official Decisions Remain on Paper. Thus collective farm and state funds flow into the pockets of the owners of these travellers' hostels and the number of idlers grows in Orenburg. There is no one to call to order the leaders of the collective and state farms and make them answer for their actions. The Regional Executive Committee has more than once passed decisions to close these travellers' hostels and dispatcher points. But these decisions remained on paper. In one of these decisions, the Executive Committee pointed out that the state farms had to spend 5,736 rubles a year for the upkeep of 17 dispatcher points in Orenburg alone, and 4,700 rubles in Orsk. And for the whole region — 15,000 rubles without counting payments in kind. That's quite some time ago. But the private hotels continue to flourish.

The decision taken by the Orenburg Municipal Executive Committee a year ago also did not help. It called for the closing down of the travellers' hostels before August 1. Thirty such hostels were named in a list appended to the decision. But after that the number of private hotels in Orenburg rose . . . to 46.

ROUND THE WORLD

In the Caribbean

Aggression Unlimited

An inveterate enemy of the peoples on all continents, the Kennedy Administration has never bothered to hide its ambition to subvert or crush revolutionary Cuba. Even after the Caribbean crisis last October, Washington officials, Kennedy included, denied that they had given any "assurances" against an invasion of Cuba — despite the Soviet leader's claim that they had. On the contrary, these gentlemen time and again affirmed that they could not "coexist" with the island republic, that the U.S. policy of doing away with the revolutionary regime was not subject to change. Last week, there was fresh and dramatic evidence that they meant what they said.

On August 19, two landing craft manned by U.S. mercenaries staged a sneak attack on a metal processing plant in Pinar del Rio Province. Earlier, there were two aerial raids against factories in Camaguey and Las Villas Provinces respectively. These piratical assaults against a peaceful country, carried out by U.S.-financed, trained and directed counter-revolutionaries, and all taking place within a few days, show that their masters in Washington are planning something big.

The fact is: the Kennedy Administration has never relaxed its aggression against Cuba. Subversion and sabotage are continuing, as is the economic blockade. Efforts to isolate the rest of Latin America from Cuba have been stepped up. While U.S. violations of Cuba's sovereignty have become routine under the so-called joint air-naval supervision programme, Washington is trying to line up the Latin American countries for collective intervention against Cuba. The arming and training of Cuban counter-revolutionaries is also continuing on an increasing scale.

As before, revolutionary Cuba is standing rock firm in the face of these assaults. On August 20, the Cuban Government issued a communique denouncing the Washington-directed piratical attacks. Calling the attention of the world to the danger of the

U.S. provocations, it has reiterated Cuba's five just demands and her readiness to defend herself. Premier Castro has declared that the imperialists cannot prevent the onward march of the Cuban revolution.

The latest U.S. raids on Cuba are no isolated incidents. Coming on the heels of the nuclear fraud masterminded by Kennedy together with the Soviet leaders, they are another example of U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary dual tactics. They are a slap in the face for those who try to advertise the arch imperialist as a "sensible statesman."

American Negroes

To the Streets

Hundreds of thousands of American Negroes and Whites have converged on Washington to demonstrate against racial discrimination in their country. The march marks a high point in the Negro people's mounting struggle for their rights. Since the Birmingham, Alabama, events last April, a militant campaign has erupted within the very citadel of world reaction, sweeping almost all states and major cities and using such diverse forms of mass action as demonstrations, sit-ins, picketing and rallies.

"Jobs and freedom" is the marchers' slogan. This reflects the serious nature of the unemployment problem in the present-day United States, particularly the overall deterioration of the conditions of the Negroes. It also demonstrates the awakening of the American Negroes in the new contemporary situation of world national-liberation movements. Bayard Rustin, one of the organizers of the March on Washington, has declared that the emergence of the newly independent African states has inspired the American Negroes by giving them a new sense of dignity. The march, he emphasized, shows that the Negro people no longer tolerate the flouting of their civil and human rights. Other Negro leaders have pointed out that their struggle is part of the worldwide struggle for freedom.

The militancy of the Negroes' struggle has greatly alarmed the Kennedy

Administration, watchdog of U.S. monopoly capital. To contain this powerful popular force, the Kennedy brothers John and Robert (President and Attorney General) are playing an ever more subtle double-dealing game. Conniving at and even abetting the racists in their persecution and oppression of the Negro people, they have at the same time sent to Congress a phoney civil rights bill. In fact, their chief concern is to put the Negro people's movement in a straitjacket. Thus, when the idea for a national march on Washington was first mooted by Negro organizations, Kennedy attacked it as "unruly tactics." Later, when he saw that it was impossible to prevent the march, he somersaulted and promised to receive the marchers' representatives in Washington. All the same, he banned any march near the White House and mobilized a huge army and police force with special "anti-riot" training and equipment to "keep a close watch."

The Kennedy brothers want to remove the Negroes "from the streets to the courts." They are trying to pacify the Negroes with empty promises and to confine their campaigning for their rights to "legislative action." However, as the U.S. Negro paper *Afro-American* has pointed out, "nice-sounding words no longer satisfy." By staging the march on Washington, the American Negroes have shown that they will resort to mass action to fight for their rights and will stay in the streets until freedom is won.

South Viet Nam

U.S.-Diem Rule Tottering

The news coming out from Saigon reveals the utter bankruptcy of the U.S.-Diem rule. The south Viet Nam puppet regime has discarded the last and least pretense at democracy and is resorting to open white terror to retain power.

Following the proclamation of martial law, Diem's army units ransacked the leading pagodas in Saigon, Da Nang and Hue and arrested more than 1,000 monks and nuns in a massive crackdown on Buddhists. They also banned all meetings "harmful to public security and order," and took over control of communications and transport, publishing houses and radio stations. Students who protested the savage suppression were attacked by

Diem's security forces and jailed in large numbers. Universities and schools were closed down.

The U.S.-Diem regime is resorting to these moves of desperation because it is cornered. Defeated in the fields and mountains by the people's forces, it is fast losing control of the countryside and has to rely on repression to maintain its hold on the cities. At the same time, the bickerings between Diem and his U.S. masters, and among the various puppet factions inside south Viet Nam, have become still more bitter. This is the background to the brutal suppression of the Buddhists and martial law.

Washington rushed its newly appointed "ambassador" Lodge to Saigon. His job is to work out ways and means to solve the crisis. Washington would like to strengthen its control over its puppet regime and at the same time bolster the dirty colonial war which it is fighting and losing.

The situation in south Viet Nam is speedily moving ahead. The U.S.-Diem regime is thoroughly discredited. No matter what new tricks Washington will think up in an attempt to salvage its position, it will be the people of south Viet Nam who will have the final word.

Khrushchov in Yugoslavia

Buddies Together

"Vacationing" in Yugoslavia, N.S. Khrushchov is doing his best to curry favour with his host Tito.

The Soviet leader has made several speeches in which he touched on the purpose of his current visit. At the Belgrade airport, he said that he wanted to continue talks with "Comrade Tito and other Yugoslav leaders begun in Moscow (last December) and exchange views on questions of interest." At the dinner given in his honour by Tito, Khrushchov stated that he "highly appreciated" Tito's "active efforts aimed at the relaxation of international tension and elimination of a world war." At Split, he announced that "the identity of views and action of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the international arena is an essential factor of world politics."

At the Rakovica Motor and Tractor Works where he addressed the workers, Khrushchov urged the Tito group

to look upon the Soviet Union as their "dependable and faithful ally." He stressed the "favourable conditions" for the development of all-round co-operation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia: their positions on "major international issues coincide or are quite close to each other"; there are sound economic ties ("Compared with 1955, the volume of trade has risen approximately sixfold. In 1963 mutual deliveries of goods will be 50 per cent higher than last year.") and great possibilities for mutually beneficial "specialization in production and co-operation in a number of industrial departments." On another occasion, Khrushchov said that he was pleased Yugoslavia has "shown its readiness to take part in the socialist division of labour which is now being organized among countries of the socialist community."

The Soviet leader also declared that he wanted to familiarize himself with the "Yugoslav experience in building socialism." While at the Rakovica

Works, Khrushchov lauded the Yugoslav "workers' self-management" and disparaged the organizational form of Soviet enterprises. He told the works' manager and trade union officials, "I like the form of the workers' councils and this is a progressive form." Describing the form of management in Soviet enterprises as "out-dated" and "bureaucratic," Khrushchov said, "the Yugoslav experience in self-management is interesting and may be useful to the Soviet Union. We may send a working team of Party workers, trade union and economic officials to Yugoslavia to make a more detailed study of this question." As Chairman of the Soviet Constitutional Committee, Khrushchov added, he was considering writing some "democratization of factory management" into the draft of his country's new constitution.

Not surprisingly, the Titoites have given the Soviet leader an enthusiastic welcome. At the same time, they have stressed that it is not they who are going to make any concessions.

THE PASSING SHOW

Fowl-Out Over NATO



Passions are running high on both sides of the Atlantic because of the rising Common Market import duties on American chickens. Stiff tariff barriers have frozen out U.S. broilers, imports of which to the C.M. countries fell from a monthly average of 6,000 tons in 1962 to only 2,000 in the first four months of 1963. Herter, President Kennedy's special representative on trade and tariff negotiations, has threatened that the U.S. will retaliate by imposing higher duties on a long list of C.M. goods including wine and brandy, films, lorries and coaches. Senator Fulbright warned West Germany that if the attacks on U.S. chickens continue "some U.S. troops now in Europe may have to be withdrawn." A Bonn spokesman was shocked at this and said: "Those troops are symbolic!" "Those chickens are symbolic, too!" said the Senator who, by the way, comes from chicken-raising Arkansas.

Don't Hurt the Poor Oppressors!

The magazine *U.S. News and World Report* cannot deny that Negroes are maltreated in the "land of freedom" but, in a "you too" article, it argues: "Oppression, segregation, colour bar are common in most countries. In many, racial antagonism is far worse than anything in America." To illustrate this startling discovery, it devotes seven pages to a round-up of "racial troubles" on the other continents. Whites are being discriminated against in Africa, it claims, and cites as example the fact that Africans are entering and will gradually replace the colonialists in the British-controlled civil service in Kenya!



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