

PEKING REVIEW

6

February 7, 1964

The Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are the Greatest Splitters Of Our Times

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Round the World and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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Dare, Dare, and Dare Again!

D.N. Aidit

— Political report presented on February 10, 1963,
to the First Plenary Session of the Seventh
Central Committee of the Communist Party of
Indonesia

Certain International Questions Affecting Malaya

(Reprinted from *Malayan Monitor*,
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北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

February 7, 1964 Vol. VII No. 6

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February 7, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* published "The Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are the Greatest Splitters of Our Times" — their seventh commentary on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

- It is announced that Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, will pay a goodwill visit to Ceylon.

- Premier Chou En-lai, after visiting Ethiopia, flew to Mogadishu on a friendship visit to Somalia. The Premier will later visit Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon.

Premier Chou has accepted President Abeid Amani Karume's invitation to visit Zanzibar at a time convenient to both sides.

- Press comments from all parts of the world hail the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France.

- The Chinese press reported:

— a resolution on the revolutions of the Southeast Asian peoples adopted at a recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party. It outlines the basic tasks of Marxist-Leninist parties in that region in the struggle to overthrow the four demons: imperialism, feudalism, comprador capitalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

— an article in the December 1963 issue of the monthly *Malayan Monitor* commemorating the third anniversary of the Moscow Statement, pointing out that the modern revisionists have suffered a crushing defeat in the great debate.

— the Fourth National Conference of the Peruvian Communist Party held on January 18-19, which condemned the treacherous activities of the revisionist leading group and expelled it from the Party.

Premier Chou En-lai in Somalia

The whole city of Mogadishu, capital of Somalia, turned out on February 1 to give Premier Chou En-lai and his party a grand welcome when they arrived there for a visit at the invitation of Prime Minister Abdirashid Ali Shermarke. Crowds thronged the streets leading from the airport to the Guest House, carrying miniature national flags of the two countries, portraits of Premier Chou, bouquets and streamers with the slogans: "Welcome, Chou En-lai!" "Down with imperialism!" Men and women, young and old, dressed in their holiday best, danced their welcome and sang under the green foliage of the tropical city. When Premier Chou and his party drove past, they cheered the guests to the echo: "Long live Sino-Somali friendship!" "Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!" "Long live peace!" and "Chou En-lai! Chou En-lai!"

The special plane carrying Premier Chou, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other members of the party, landed at noon. As Premier Chou stepped from it, the crowd of welcomers at the airport burst into applause and a 21-gun salute boomed. Prime Minister Abdirashid Ali Shermarke greeted Premier Chou at the plane-side and warmly embraced him. Then, in the company of his host, Premier Chou reviewed a guard of honour.

Speaking at the ceremony held at the airport, Prime Minister Shermarke said: "Friendly relations between the Chinese and the Somali people are nothing new. It was only after the advent of colonialism in Africa and Asia that the old ties between our two nations were disrupted. I am proud to say that, soon after gaining our independence, my government and the Somali people sought to re-establish contact with the People's Republic of

China and the glorious Chinese people. Since then, our friendly and fruitful co-operation has continued to flourish, and I assure Your Excellency that we shall do everything possible to maintain and further strengthen such co-operation in future." The Somali Prime Minister praised Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and other leaders of China for leading the Chinese people in the fight against imperialism and for helping those countries in Africa and Asia still under colonialism and assisting the newly independent nations to consolidate their freedom. "This," he emphasized, "is why the Chinese people and their leaders have won the hearts of millions of people in Africa and Asia."

Premier Chou said in reply that he had been waiting for an opportunity to visit Somalia ever since Prime Minister Shermarke's visit to Peking last August. "Now," he said, "this wish has come true at last." Recalling that Prime Minister Shermarke had brought the profound friendship of the Somali people to the Chinese people during his visit to China last year, Premier Chou said that that visit was a new milestone in friendly relations between the two countries. He expressed the hope that his visit would further strengthen these relations of friendship and co-operation.

On that evening, Premier Chou was guest of honour at a banquet given by Prime Minister Shermarke.

At a ceremony held on the same evening in the magnificent municipal hall, Kenadit Ahmed Yusuf, Commissioner Extraordinary of Mogadishu, presented Premier Chou with a large ivory key bearing the words "Freedom of the City of Mogadishu."

On February 2, President Aden Abdullah Osman of the Somali Republic received Premier Chou. That evening the Premier and his party were entertained at a reception given jointly by General Daud Abdulla Hersi, Commander of the Somali National Army, and General Mohamed Abshir Musa, Commander of the Police Force.

Visit by Comrade Wilcox

V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, arrived in Peking on February 2 with his wife. They have come for a visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist

Party. Li Fu-chun, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee; Tsai Chang and Liu Ning-I, Members of the Party's Central Committee; and others welcomed them at the airport.

Chairman Mao Meets Vietnamese Comrades

A five-member delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, led by First Secretary of its Central Committee Le Duan, stopped over in Peking on its way to the Soviet Union. They were met at the airport on their arrival on January 28 by high-ranking officials of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, including Li Fu-chun and Li Hsien-nien, members of its Political Bureau.

On January 30, Chairman Mao Tse-tung had a cordial talk with all members of the delegation. Later, he gave a banquet in their honour.

Support for Japanese People's Anti-U.S. Struggle

The Japanese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism has the full sympathy of China's 650 million people. The January 26 united popular action in Japan, with its mammoth demonstrations in Yokoda against the stationing of F-105D aircraft there and around 40 other U.S. military bases demanding that U.S. forces pack up and go home, has been widely reported in the Chinese press. The nation's leading newspapers published editorials or commentaries backing the united action, while mass organizations sent messages to their Japanese counterparts pledging firm support.

The China Peace Committee and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in their joint message paid tribute to the Japanese people's resistance to U.S. nuclear blackmail and described their great struggle as an important part of the actions of the world's people in defence of peace. The message pointed out that U.S. imperialism had intensified its preparations for nuclear war by re-deploying its forces in Japan so as to use that country as a stronghold for aggression in Asia.

The China-Japan Friendship Association, in its message, pointed out

that the expansion of U.S. nuclear bases in Japan was a war provocation and serious threat to Asian and world peace. "The nationwide anti-U.S. imperialist united action of the Japanese people," the message said, "constitutes an important part of the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is a great inspiration to the oppressed nations striving for liberation and independence and an important step safeguarding Asian and world peace." Praising the valiant Japanese people for standing in the vanguard of the struggle against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, for their steadfast efforts and brilliant victories, the message declared: "As always, the Chinese people will stand on the side of the Japanese people and give them resolute support." It expressed confidence that the Japanese people would force the United States to withdraw its aircraft capable of carrying nuclear arms and finally drive the U.S. imperialists out of Japan.

Similar messages were sent by China's scientists, lawyers, writers and artists, journalists, women and youth leaders, pledging solidarity with the Japanese people in the fight against U.S. imperialism — their common enemy.

Chairman Mao's Works Printed Abroad

Foreign language editions of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works are being published abroad in increasing numbers. Several translations of his works were recently published in Cuba, Italy and Greece.

The Cuban Political Publishing House under the National Directorate of the United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba has printed 50,000 copies of "On Contradiction" in Spanish and another 50,000 copies of "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan."

An Italian edition of ten articles from the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume IV, was published by the Eastern Publishing House of Italy. Entitled *Carry the Revolution Through to the End*, the collection includes "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War

(Continued on p. 32.)

Peking Review, No. 6

The Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Are the Greatest Splitters of Our Times

Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (7)

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

A Review of History . . . Experience and Lessons . . . The Greatest Splitters of Our Times . . . Refutation of the Charge of Being Anti-Soviet . . . Refutation of the Charge of Seizing the Leadership . . . Refutation of the Charge of Frustrating the Will of the Majority and Violating International Discipline . . . Refutation of the Charge of Supporting the Anti-Party Groups in Fraternal Parties . . . The Present Public Debate . . . The Way to Defend and Strengthen Unity

NEVER before has the unity of the international communist movement been so gravely threatened as it is today when we are witnessing a deluge of modern revisionist ideology. Both internationally and inside individual Parties, fierce struggles are going on between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. The international communist movement is confronted with an unprecedentedly serious danger of a split.

It is the urgent task of the Communists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world to defend the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement.

The Communist Party of China has made consistent and unremitting efforts to defend and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It has been and remains the unswerving position of the Chinese Communist Party to uphold principle, uphold unity, eliminate differences and strengthen the struggle against our common enemy.

Ever since they embarked on the path of revisionism, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have tirelessly professed their devotion to the unity of the international communist movement. Of late, they have been particularly active in crying for "unity." This calls to mind what Engels said ninety years ago. "One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity.' Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most dissension. . . ." ". . . the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues at times shout loudest for unity." ("Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p.345.)

While presenting themselves as champions of unity, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are trying to pin the label of

splittism on the Chinese Communist Party. In its open letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. says:

The Chinese leaders are undermining the unity not only of the socialist camp but of the entire world communist movement, trampling on the principles of proletarian internationalism and grossly violating accepted standards of relations between fraternal Parties.

And the subsequent articles published in the Soviet press have been condemning the Chinese Communists as "sectarians" and "splitters."

But what are the facts? Who is undermining the unity of the socialist camp? Who is undermining the unity of the international communist movement? Who is trampling on the principles of proletarian internationalism? And who is grossly violating the accepted standards of relations between fraternal Parties? In other words, who are the real, out-and-out splitters?

Only when these questions are properly answered can we find the way to defend and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and overcome the danger of a split.

A Review of History

In order to gain a clear understanding of the nature of splittism in the present international communist movement and to struggle against it in the correct way, let us look back on the history of the international communist movement over the past century or so.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and between the forces defending unity and those creating splits runs through the history of the development of the communist movement. This is the case both in individual countries and on the international plane. In this prolonged struggle, Marx, Engels and Lenin expounded the true essence of proletarian unity on a theoret-

ical level and, by their deeds, set brilliant examples in combating opportunism, revisionism and splittism.

In 1847 Marx and Engels founded the earliest international working-class organization—the Communist League. In the *Communist Manifesto*, which they wrote as the programme of the League, Marx and Engels advanced the militant call, “Workers of All Countries, Unite!” and gave a systematic and profound exposition of scientific communism, thus laying the ideological basis for the unity of the international proletariat.

Throughout their lives Marx and Engels worked unremittingly for this principled unity of the international proletariat.

In 1864 they established the First International, the International Working Men’s Association, to unite the workers’ movements of all countries. Throughout the period of the First International they waged principled struggles against the Bakuninists, Proudhonists, Blanquists, Lassalleans, etc., the fiercest struggle being that against the Bakuninist splitters.

The Bakuninists attacked Marx’s theory from the very beginning. They charged Marx with wanting to make his “particular programme and personal doctrine dominant in the International.” In fact, however, it was they who tried to impose the dogmas of their sect on the International and to replace the programme of the International with Bakunin’s opportunist programme. They resorted to one intrigue after another, lined up a “majority” by hook or by crook and engaged in sectarian and divisive activities.

To defend the genuine unity of the international proletariat, Marx and Engels took an uncompromising and principled stand against the open challenge of the Bakuninist splitters to the First International. In 1872 the Bakuninists who persisted in their splitting activities were expelled from the International at its Hague Congress, in which Marx personally participated.

Engels said that if the Marxists had adopted an unprincipled and conciliatory attitude towards the divisive activities of the Bakuninists at the Hague, it would have had grave consequences for the international working-class movement. He stated, “Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces—gone to pieces through ‘unity!’” (“Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873,” *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.346.)

Led by Marx and Engels, the First International fought against opportunism and splittism and laid the basis for the supremacy of Marxism in the international working-class movement.

With the announcement of the end of the First International in 1876 there began the successive establishment of mass socialist workers’ parties in many countries. Marx and Engels followed the establishment and development of these parties with close attention in the hope that they would be established and developed on the basis of scientific communism.

Marx and Engels devoted particular attention and concern to the German Social-Democratic Party which then occupied an important position in the working-class movement in Europe. On many occasions, they sharply

criticized the German Party for its rotten spirit of compromise with opportunism in the pursuit of “unity.”

In 1875 they criticized the German Social-Democratic Party for its union with the Lassalleans at the expense of principle and for the resultant Gotha Programme. Marx pointed out that this union was “bought too dearly” and that the Gotha Programme was “a thoroughly objectionable programme that demoralizes the Party.” (“Marx to W. Bracke, May 5, 1875,” *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, pp.360, 361.) Engels pointed out that it was a “bending of the knee to Lassalleanism on the part of the whole German socialist proletariat,” adding, “I am convinced that a union on this basis will not last a year.” (“Engels to A. Bebel, March 18-28, 1875,” *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.358.)

In criticizing the Gotha Programme, Marx put forward the well-known principle that for Marxists “there would be no haggling about principles.” (“Marx to W. Bracke, May 5, 1875,” *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.361.)

Later Marx and Engels again sharply criticized the leaders of the German Party for tolerating the activities of the opportunists inside the Party. Marx said that these opportunists tried “to replace its materialistic basis . . . by modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity” (“Marx to F.A. Sorge, October 19, 1877,” *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.376.) and that this was a “vulgarization of Party and theory.” (“Marx to F.A. Sorge, September 19, 1879,” *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.396.) In their “Circular Letter” to the leaders of the German Party, Marx and Engels wrote:

For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. (“Marx and Engels to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others [‘Circular Letter’], September 17-18, 1879,” *Selected Correspondence*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.395.)

Founded under Engels’ influence in 1889, the Second International existed in a period when capitalism was developing “peacefully.” While Marxism became widespread and the *Communist Manifesto* became the common programme of tens of millions of workers everywhere during this period, the socialist parties in many countries blindly worshipped bourgeois legality instead of utilizing it and became legalists, thus opening the floodgates for opportunism.

Hence, throughout the period of the Second International, the international working-class movement was divided into two main groups, the revolutionary Marxists and the pseudo-Marxian opportunists.

Engels waged irreconcilable struggles against the opportunists. He refuted with particular sharpness their fallacies on the peaceful evolution of capitalism into socialism. He said of those opportunists who posed as Marxists that Marx “would repeat to these gentlemen what Heine had said of his imitators: I sowed dragons

but I reaped fleas." ("Engels' Letter to Paul Lafargue, October 27, 1890," quoted in *Marx and Engels on Literature and Art*, French ed., Edition Sociales, Paris, 1954, p.258.)

After the death of Engels in 1895, these fleas came out for the open and systematic revision of Marxism and gradually took over the leadership of the Second International.

As the outstanding revolutionary in the international working-class movement after Engels, the great Lenin shouldered the heavy responsibility of defending Marxism and opposing the revisionism of the Second International.

When the revisionists of the Second International howled that Marxism was "incomplete" and "outmoded," Lenin solemnly declared, "We take our stand entirely on the Marxist theoretical position," because only such a theory "unites all socialists." ("Our Programme," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1960, Vol. 4, pp.210, 211.)

Above all, Lenin fought to create a Marxist party in Russia. In order to build a party of the new type, differing fundamentally from the opportunist parties of the Second International, he waged uncompromising struggles against the various anti-Marxist factions inside the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

Like other parties of the Second International, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party had a revolutionary as well as an opportunist group. The Bolsheviks led by Lenin constituted the former and the Mensheviks the latter.

The Bolsheviks led by Lenin conducted prolonged theoretical and political struggles against the Mensheviks in order to safeguard the unity of the proletarian party and the purity of its ranks, and finally in 1912 expelled the Mensheviks for their persistence in opportunism and splitting activities.

All the opportunist factions abused Lenin in the most vicious language. They tried by every means to label him a splitter. Lining up with all the anti-Leninist factions and raising the banner of "non-factionalism," Trotsky wantonly attacked the Bolshevik Party and Lenin, whom he called a "usurper" and "splitter." Lenin replied that Trotsky, who paraded as "non-factional," was "a representative of the 'worst remnants of factionalism'" ("Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity," Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. 1, Part 2, p.251) and "the worst of splitters." ("The Collapse of the 'August' Bloc," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 20, p.142.)

Lenin put it clearly: "Unity—a great cause and a great slogan! But the workers' cause requires the *unity of the Marxists* and not the unity of the Marxists with the opponents and distorters of Marxism." ("Unity," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 20, p.211.)

Lenin's struggle against the Mensheviks was of great international significance, for Menshevism was a Russian form and variant of the revisionism of the Second International and was supported by the revisionist leaders of the Second International.

While combating the Mensheviks, Lenin also waged a series of struggles against the revisionism of the Second International.

Before World War I, Lenin criticized the revisionists of the Second International on the theoretical and political plane and fought them face to face at the Stuttgart and Copenhagen Congresses.

When World War I broke out, the leaders of the Second International openly betrayed the proletariat. Serving the imperialists' interests, they urged the proletarians of different countries to slaughter each other and thus brought about a most serious split in the international proletariat. As Rosa Luxemburg said, the revisionists turned the previous proud slogan of "Workers of all countries, unite!" into the command on the battlefield, "Workers of all countries, slay one another!" ("Either—Or," *Selected Speeches and Writings of Rosa Luxemburg*, German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1951, Vol. 2, p.534.)

The Social-Democratic Party of Germany, Marx's native land, was then the most powerful and influential party in the Second International. It was the first to side with the imperialists of its own country, and thus became the arch-criminal splitting the international working-class movement.

At this critical juncture, Lenin stepped forward to fight resolutely in defence of the unity of the international proletariat.

In his article "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War" circulated in August 1914, Lenin proclaimed the collapse of the Second International and sternly condemned most of its leaders, and in particular those of the German Social-Democratic Party, for their overt betrayal of socialism.

In view of the fact that the revisionists of the Second International had turned their secret alliance with the bourgeoisie into an open alliance and that they had made the split in the international working-class movement irrevocable, Lenin stated,

It is impossible to carry out the tasks of Socialism at the present time, it is impossible to achieve real international unity of the workers, without a determined rupture with opportunism and explaining to the masses the inevitability of its bankruptcy. ("The War and Russian Social-Democracy," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 1, Part 2, p.403.)

For this reason, Lenin staunchly supported the Marxists in breaking with the opportunists in many European countries and boldly called for the establishment of a third International to replace the bankrupt Second International so as to rebuild the revolutionary unity of the international proletariat.

The Third International was founded in March 1919. It inherited the positive achievements of the Second International and discarded its opportunist, social chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois rubbish. Thus it enabled the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat to grow both in breadth and depth.

Lenin's theory and practice carried Marxism to a new stage in its development—the stage of Leninism. On

the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the unity of the international proletariat and the international communist movement was further strengthened and expanded.

Experience and Lessons

What does the history of the development of the international communist movement demonstrate?

First, it demonstrates that like everything else, the international working-class movement tends to divide itself in two. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is inevitably reflected in the communist ranks. It is inevitable that opportunism of one kind or another should arise in the course of the development of the communist movement, that opportunists should engage in anti-Marxist-Leninist splitting activities and that Marxist-Leninists should wage struggles against opportunism and splittism. It is precisely through this struggle of opposites that Marxism-Leninism and the international working-class movement have developed. And it is also through this struggle that the international working-class movement has strengthened and consolidated its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Engels said:

The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and this alone explains why it is that actually the "solidarity of the proletariat" is everywhere being realized in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another. . . . ("Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.347.)

This is exactly what happened. The Communist League, the First International and the Second International, all of which were originally unified, divided in two in the course of their development and became two conflicting parts. Each time the international struggle against opportunism and splittism carried the international working-class movement forward to a new stage and enabled it to forge a firmer and broader unity on a new basis. The victory of the October Revolution and the founding of the Third International were the greatest achievements in the struggle against the Second International's revisionism and splittism.

Unity, struggle or even splits, and a new unity on a new basis — such is the dialectics of the development of the international working-class movement.

Secondly, the history of the international communist movement demonstrates that in every period the struggle between the defenders of unity and the creators of splits is in essence one between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism-revisionism, between the upholders of Marxism and the traitors to Marxism.

Both internationally and in individual countries, genuine proletarian unity is possible only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Both internationally and in individual countries, wherever opportunism and revisionism are rampant, a split becomes inevitable in the proletarian ranks. Every split in the communist movement is invariably caused

by the opportunist-revisionist opposition to and betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

What is splittism?

It means a split with Marxism-Leninism. Anyone who opposes and betrays Marxism-Leninism and undermines the basis of proletarian unity is a splitter.

It means a split with the revolutionary proletarian party. Anyone who persists in a revisionist line and turns a revolutionary proletarian party into a reformist bourgeois party is a splitter.

It means a split with the revolutionary proletariat and the broad masses of the working people. Anyone who follows a programme and line running counter to the revolutionary will and fundamental interests of the proletariat and the working people is a splitter.

Lenin said, "Where the *majority* of the class-conscious workers have rallied around precise and definite decisions there is *unity* of opinion and action," while opportunism "is, in fact, schism, in that it most unblushingly thwarts the will of the majority of the workers." ("Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 1, Part 2, pp.255 and 258.)

By disrupting proletarian unity, splittism serves the bourgeoisie and meets its needs. It is the constant policy of the bourgeoisie to create splits within the ranks of the proletariat. Its most sinister method of doing so is to buy over or cultivate agents within the proletarian ranks. And agents of the bourgeoisie are exactly what the opportunists and revisionists are. So far from seeking to unite the proletariat in the fight against the bourgeoisie, they want the proletariat to co-operate with it. This was what the revisionists of the Second International, such as Bernstein and Kautsky, did. At a time when the imperialists were most afraid that the proletariat of all countries would unite to turn the imperialist war into civil wars, they came forward to create a split in the international working-class movement and advocate co-operation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The splitters in the communist ranks are those who, to meet the needs of the bourgeoisie, split with Marxism-Leninism, with the revolutionary proletarian party and with the revolutionary proletariat and the broad masses of the labouring people; and they remain splitters even when for a time they are in the majority or hold the leading posts.

In the days of the Second International, the revisionists represented by Bernstein and Kautsky were in the majority, and the Marxists represented by Lenin were in the minority. Yet obviously it was Bernstein, Kautsky and other opportunists who were the splitters, and not revolutionaries like Lenin.

In 1904 the Mensheviks were the splitters although they held leading positions which they had usurped in the central organs of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Lenin pointed out at the time, "The leading centres (the Central Organ, the Central Committee, and the Council) *have broken* with the Party," and "the centres *have put themselves outside* the Party. There is no middle ground; one is either with the centres or with

the Party." ("A Letter to the Zurich Group of Bolsheviks," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 8, pp.63 and 64.)

In brief, opportunism and revisionism are the political and ideological roots of splittism. And splittism is the organizational manifestation of opportunism and revisionism. It can also be said that opportunism and revisionism are splittism as well as sectarianism. The revisionists are the greatest and vilest splitters and sectarians in the communist movement.

Thirdly, the history of the international communist movement demonstrates that proletarian unity has been consolidated and has developed through struggle against opportunism, revisionism and splittism. The struggle for unity is inseparably connected with the struggle for principle.

The unity the proletariat requires is class unity, revolutionary unity, unity against the common enemy and for the great goal of communism. The unity of the international proletariat has its theoretical and political basis in Marxism-Leninism. Only when it has theoretical and political unity can the international proletariat have organizational cohesion and unity of action.

The genuine revolutionary unity of the proletariat can be attained only by upholding principle and upholding Marxism-Leninism. Unity bought by forsaking principles and by wallowing in the mire with opportunists ceases to be proletarian unity; instead, as Lenin said, it "means in practice unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and a split in the international proletariat, unity of lackeys and a split among the revolutionists." ("The Honest Voice of a French Socialist," *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. 18, p.329.)

He also pointed out that "as the bourgeoisie will not die until it is overthrown," so the opportunist current bribed and supported by the bourgeoisie "will not die if it is not 'killed,' i.e., overthrown, deprived of every influence among the Socialist proletariat." Hence, it is necessary to wage "a merciless struggle against the current of opportunism." (ibid.)

Faced with the challenge of the opportunist-revisionists who are openly splitting the international communist movement, the Marxist-Leninists must make no compromise in matters of principle, but must resolutely combat this splittism. This is an invaluable behest of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as well as the only correct way to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement.

The Greatest Splitters of Our Times

The events of recent years show that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov have become the chief representatives of modern revisionism as well as the greatest splitters in the international communist movement.

Between the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U., the leaders of the C.P.S.U. developed a rounded system of revisionism. They put forward a revisionist line which contravenes the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a line which consists of

"peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition," "a state of the whole people" and "a party of the entire people." They have tried to impose this revisionist line on all fraternal Parties as a substitute for the common line of the international communist movement which was laid down at the meetings of fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960. And they have attacked anyone who perseveres in the Marxist-Leninist line and resists their revisionist line.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have themselves undermined the basis of the unity of the international communist movement and created the present grave danger of a split by betraying Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and pushing their revisionist and divisive line.

Far from working to consolidate and expand the socialist camp, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have endeavoured to split and disintegrate it. They have thus made a mess of the splendid socialist camp.

They have violated the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement, pursued a policy of great-power chauvinism and national egoism towards fraternal socialist countries and thus disrupted the unity of the socialist camp.

They have arbitrarily infringed the sovereignty of fraternal countries, interfered in their internal affairs, carried on subversive activities and striven in every way to control fraternal countries.

In the name of the "international division of labour," the leaders of the C.P.S.U. oppose the adoption by fraternal countries of the policy of building socialism by their own efforts and developing their economies on an independent basis, and attempt to turn them into economic appendages. They have tried to force those fraternal countries which are comparatively backward economically to abandon industrialization and become their sources of raw materials and markets for surplus products.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. are quite unscrupulous in their pursuit of the policy of great-power chauvinism. They have constantly brought political, economic and even military pressure to bear on fraternal countries.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have openly called for the overthrow of the Party and government leaders of Albania, brashly severed all economic and diplomatic relations with her and tyrannically deprived her of her legitimate rights as a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have violated the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, made a unilateral decision to withdraw 1,390 Soviet experts working in China, to tear up 343 contracts and supplementary contracts on the employment of experts and to cancel 257 projects of scientific and technical cooperation, and pursued a restrictive and discriminatory trade policy against China. They have provoked incidents on the Sino-Soviet border and carried on large-scale subversive activities in Sinkiang. On more than one occasion, Khrushchov went so far as to tell leading com-

rades of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. that certain anti-Party elements in the Chinese Communist Party were his "good friends." He has praised Chinese anti-Party elements for attacking the Chinese Party's general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's communes, describing their action as a "manly act."

Such measures which gravely worsen state relations are rare even between capitalist countries. But again and again the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have adopted shocking and extreme measures of this kind against fraternal socialist countries. Yet they go on prating about being "faithful to proletarian internationalism." We would like to ask, is there a shred of internationalism in all these deeds of yours?

The great-power chauvinism and splittism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are equally glaring in their conduct vis-a-vis fraternal Parties.

Since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. its leaders have tried, on the pretext of "combating the personality cult," to change the leadership of other fraternal Parties to conform to their will. Right up to the present they have insisted on "combating the personality cult" as a precondition for the restoration of unity and as a "principle" which is "obligatory on every Communist Party."¹

Contrary to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties laid down in the Declaration and the Statement, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. ignore the independent and equal status of fraternal Parties, insist on establishing a kind of feudal patriarchal domination over the international communist movement and turn the relations between brother Parties into those between a patriarchal father and his sons. Khrushchov has more than once described a fraternal Party as a "silly boy" and called himself its "mother."² With his feudal psychology of self-exaltation, he has absolutely no sense of shame.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have completely ignored the principle of achieving unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties and habitually make dictatorial decisions and order others about. They have recklessly torn up joint agreements with fraternal Parties, taken arbitrary decisions on important matters of common concern to fraternal Parties and forced *faits accomplis* on them.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have violated the principle that differences among fraternal Parties should be settled through inter-Party consultation; they first used their own Party congress and then the congresses of other fraternal Parties as rostrums for large-scale public attacks against those fraternal Parties which firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. regard fraternal Parties as pawns on their diplomatic chessboard. Khrushchov plays fast and loose, he blows hot and cold, he talks one way one day and another the next, and yet he insists on the fraternal Parties dancing to his every tune without knowing whence or whither.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have stirred up trouble and created splits in many Communist Parties by en-

couraging the followers of their revisionist line in these Parties to attack the leadership, or usurp leading positions, persecute Marxist-Leninists and even expel them from the Party. It is this divisive policy of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. that has given rise to organizational splits in the fraternal Parties of many capitalist countries.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have turned the magazine *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, originally the common journal of fraternal Parties, into an instrument for spreading revisionism, sectarianism and splittism and for making unscrupulous attacks on Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties in violation of the agreement reached at the meeting at which the magazine was founded.

In addition, they are imposing the revisionist line on the international democratic organizations, changing the correct line pursued by these organizations and trying to create splits in them.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have completely reversed enemies and comrades. They have directed the edge of struggle, which should be against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, against the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties and countries.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. are bent on seeking Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world, they regard U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world, as their most reliable friend, and they treat the fraternal Parties and countries adhering to Marxism-Leninism as their enemy. They collude with U.S. imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries, the renegade Tito clique and the Right-wing social democrats in a partnership against the socialist fraternal countries, the fraternal Parties, the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of all countries.

When they snatch at a straw from Eisenhower or Kennedy or others like them, or think that things are going smoothly for them, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are beside themselves with joy, hit out wildly at the fraternal Parties and countries adhering to Marxism-Leninism, and endeavour to sacrifice fraternal Parties and countries on the altar of their political dealings with U.S. imperialism.

When their wrong policies come to grief and they find themselves in difficulties, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. become angrier and more red-faced than ever, again hit out wildly at the fraternal Parties and countries adhering to Marxism-Leninism, and try to make others their scapegoats.

These facts show that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have taken the road of complete betrayal of proletarian internationalism, in contravention of the interests of the Soviet people, the socialist camp and the international communist movement and those of all revolutionary people.

These facts clearly demonstrate that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. counterpose their revisionism to Marxism-Leninism, their great-power chauvinism and national egoism to proletarian internationalism and their sectarianism and splittism to the international unity of the proletariat. Thus, like all the opportunists and revisionists of the past, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have turned into

creators of splits in many fraternal Parties, the socialist camp and the entire international communist movement.

The revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. constitute a greater danger than those of any other opportunists and splitters, whether past or present. As everyone knows, this revisionism is occurring in the C.P.S.U., the Party which was created by Lenin and which has enjoyed the highest prestige among all Communist Parties; it is occurring in the great Soviet Union, the first socialist country. For many years, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over have held the C.P.S.U. in high esteem and regarded the Soviet Union as the base of world revolution and the model of struggle. And the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have taken advantage of all this—of the prestige of the Party created by Lenin and of the first socialist country—to cover up the essence of their revisionism and splittism and deceive those who are still unaware of the truth. At the same time, these past masters in double-dealing are shouting “unity, unity,” while actually engaged in splitting. To a certain extent, their tricks do temporarily confuse people. Traditional confidence in the C.P.S.U. and ignorance of the facts have prevented quite a few people from recognizing the revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. sooner.

Because the leaders of the C.P.S.U. exercise state power in a large socialist country which exerts worldwide influence, their revisionist and divisive line has done far greater harm to the international communist movement and the proletarian cause of world revolution than that of any of the opportunists and splitters of the past.

It can be said that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are the greatest of all revisionists as well as the greatest of all sectarians and splitters known to history.

It is already clear that the revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have greatly assisted the spread of the revisionist torrent internationally and rendered enormous service to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries.

The revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are the product both of the lush growth of the bourgeois elements inside the Soviet Union, and of imperialist policy, and particularly of the U.S. imperialist policies of nuclear blackmail and “peaceful evolution.” In turn, their revisionist and divisive theories and policies cater not only to the widespread capitalist forces at home but also to imperialism, and serve to paralyse the revolutionary will and to obstruct the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

Indeed, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have already won warm praise and applause from imperialism and its lackeys.

The U.S. imperialists praise Khrushchov especially for his splitting activities in the international communist movement. They say, “It seems clear that Khrushchov is sufficiently in earnest in his desire for a *detente* with the West that he is willing to risk a split in the communist movement to achieve it.”³ “Nikita Khrushchov has destroyed, irrevocably, the unified bloc of Stalin’s day. That is perhaps Khrushchov’s greatest service—not to communism, but to the Western world.”⁴ “We ought to be

grateful for his mishandling of his relationship with the Chinese. . . . We should be grateful for his introducing disarray into international communism by a lot of quite bumptious and sudden initiatives.”⁵

They firmly believe that Khrushchov is “the best Soviet Prime Minister the West can expect to treat with and . . . it must try for the time being to avoid any action that might further weaken his position.”⁶ They say, “The Administration is now convinced that the U.S. should offer Khrushchov maximum support in his dispute with Red China.”⁷

The Trotskyites, who have long been politically bankrupt, are among those applauding the leaders of the C.P.S.U. The former actively support the latter on such fundamental issues as the attitude one should take towards Stalin, towards U.S. imperialism and towards the Yugoslav revisionists. They say, “The situation created by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and still more by the Twenty-Second Congress is eminently favourable for the revival of our movement in the workers states themselves.”⁸ “We have prepared for this for more than 25 years. Now we must move in, and move energetically.”⁹ “In relation to the Khrushchov tendency, we will give a critical support to its struggle for destalinization against the more conservative tendencies. . . .”¹⁰

Just consider! All the enemies of revolution support the leaders of the C.P.S.U. with alacrity. The reason is that they have found a common language with the leaders of the C.P.S.U. in their approach to Marxism-Leninism and world revolution, and that the revisionist and divisive line of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. meets the counter-revolutionary needs of U.S. imperialism.

As Lenin said, the bourgeoisie understands that “the active people in the working-class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie, than the bourgeoisie itself.” (“The International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International,” *Selected Works*, New York, Vol. 10, p.196.) The imperialist lords and masters are gleefully letting the leaders of the C.P.S.U. clear the way for the destruction of the proletarian cause of world revolution.

Having brought on the serious danger of a split in the international communist movement, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are trying to shift the blame, vilifying the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties as guilty of “splittism” and “sectarianism” and fabricating a host of charges against them.

Here we deem it necessary to take up some of their chief slanders and to refute them one by one.

Refutation of the Charge of Being Anti-Soviet

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. accuse all who resist and criticize their revisionism and splittism of being anti-Soviet. This is a terrifying charge. To oppose the first socialist country in the world and the Party founded by the great Lenin—what insolence!

But we advise the leaders of the C.P.S.U. not to indulge in histrionics. The anti-Soviet charge can never apply to us.

We also advise the leaders of the C.P.S.U. not to become self-intoxicated. The anti-Soviet charge can never silence Marxist-Leninists.

Together with all other Communists and revolutionary people the world over, we Chinese Communists have always cherished sincere respect and love for the great Soviet people, the Soviet state and the Soviet Communist Party. For it was the people of the Soviet Union who, under the leadership of Lenin's Party, lit the triumphant torch of the October Revolution, opened up the new era of world proletarian revolution and marched in the van along the road to communism in the years that followed. It was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state which, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, pursued a Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policy, scored unprecedented achievements in socialist construction, made the greatest contribution to victory in the war against fascism and gave internationalist support to the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all other countries.

Not long before his death, Stalin said:

... representatives of the fraternal Parties, in their admiration for the daring and success of our Party, conferred upon it the title of the "Shock Brigade" of the world revolutionary and labour movement. By this, they were expressing the hope that the successes of the "Shock Brigade" would help to ease the position of the peoples languishing under the yoke of capitalism. I think that our Party has justified these hopes. . . . (*Speech at the Nineteenth Congress of the Party, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, p.9.*)

He was right in saying that the Soviet Party built by Lenin had justified the hopes of all Communists. The Soviet Party was worthy of the admiration and support it won from all the fraternal Parties, including the Chinese Communist Party.

But, beginning with the 20th Congress, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov have been launching violent attacks on Stalin and taking the road of revisionism. Is it possible to say that they have justified the hopes of all Communists? No, it is not.

In its *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China points out that it is the common demand of the people in the countries of the socialist camp and of the international proletariat and working people that all Communist Parties in the socialist camp should:

1. adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line and pursue correct Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policies;
2. consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution forward to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts;
3. promote the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses, carry out socialist construction in a planned way, develop production, improve the people's livelihood and strengthen national defence;
4. strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and support other socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism;

5. oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and defend world peace;

6. oppose the anti-communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries; and

7. help the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and nations of the world.

It adds that all Communist Parties in the socialist camp "owe it to their own people and to the international proletariat and working people to fulfil these demands."

But instead, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have abandoned these demands, disappointed the hopes of the fraternal Parties and pursued a revisionist and divisive line. This violates the interests not only of the international proletariat and working people but also of the C.P.S.U., the Soviet state and the Soviet people themselves.

It is none other than the leaders of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov who are anti-Soviet.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have completely negated Stalin and painted the first dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist system as dark and dreadful. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have proclaimed the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, altered the proletarian character of the C.P.S.U. and opened the floodgates for capitalist forces in the Soviet Union. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. seek U.S.-Soviet co-operation and tirelessly fawn upon U.S. imperialism, and have thus disgraced the great Soviet Union. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. pursue the policy of great-power chauvinism and treat fraternal socialist countries as dependencies, and have thus damaged the prestige of the Soviet state. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. obstruct and oppose the revolutionary struggles of other peoples and act as apologists for imperialism and neo-colonialism, and have thus tarnished the glorious internationalist tradition of Lenin's Party. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

In short, the actions of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have brought deep shame upon the great Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U. and seriously damaged the fundamental interests of the Soviet people. They are anti-Soviet action through and through.

Naturally, in these circumstances, the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties and Marxist-Leninists are bound to subject the revisionist and divisive line of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to serious criticism for the purpose of defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement and unholding the principle of proletarian internationalism. We oppose only the revisionist and divisive errors of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. And we do so for the sake of defending the C.P.S.U. founded by Lenin and safeguarding the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, and of the Soviet people. How can this be described as anti-Soviet?

Whether one defends or opposes the Soviet Union depends on whether or not one truly defends the line of Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism and whether or not one truly defends the fundamental interests of the Soviet Party, the Soviet state and the Soviet people. To subject the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to serious criticism for their revisionism and splittism is to defend the Soviet Union. On the other hand, to pursue a revisionist and divisive line, as the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are doing, is actually to oppose the Soviet Union; and to copy this wrong line or submit to it is not genuinely to defend the Soviet Union but to help the leaders of the C.P.S.U. damage the fundamental interests of the Soviet people.

Here we may recall Lenin's attitude to the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party in the early years of the 20th century. The German Social-Democratic Party was then the biggest and most influential party in the Second International. But as soon as Lenin discovered opportunism among its leaders, he made it clear to the Russian Social-Democrats that they should not take "the least creditable features of German Social-Democracy as a model worthy of imitation." ("The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart," *Selected Works*, New York, Vol. 4, p.315.) He further stated:

We must criticize the mistakes of the German leaders fearlessly and openly if we wish to be true to the spirit of Marx and help the Russian socialists to be equal to the present-day tasks of the workers' movement." ("Preface to the Pamphlet by Voinov [A.V. Lunacharsky] on the Attitude of the Party Towards the Trade Unions," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 13, p.165.)

In the spirit of Lenin's behest, we would advise the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: If you do not correct your revisionist errors, we will continue to criticize you "fearlessly and openly" in the interests of the C.P.S.U., the Soviet state and the Soviet people, and in the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and for the sake of their unity.

Refutation of the Charge of Seizing the Leadership

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. ascribe our criticisms and our opposition to their revisionist and divisive line to a desire to "seize the leadership."

First, we would like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: You say we want to seize the leadership. From whom? Who now holds the leadership? In the international communist movement, is there such a thing as a leadership which lords it over all fraternal Parties? And is this leadership in your hands?

Apparently, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. consider themselves the natural leaders who can lord it over all fraternal Parties. According to their logic, their programme, resolutions and statements are all infallible laws. Every remark and every word of Khrushchov's are imperial edicts, however wrong or absurd they may be. All fraternal Parties must submissively hear and obey and are absolutely forbidden to criticize or oppose them. This is outright tyranny. It is the ideology of feudal autocrats, pure and simple.

However, we must tell the leaders of the C.P.S.U. that the international communist movement is not some feudal clique. Whether large or small, whether new or old, and whether in or out of power, all fraternal Parties are independent and equal. No meeting of fraternal Parties and no agreement unanimously adopted by them has ever stipulated that there are superior and subordinate Parties, one Party which leads and other Parties which are led, a Party which is a father and Parties which are sons, or that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are the supreme rulers over other fraternal Parties.

The history of the international proletarian revolutionary movement shows that, owing to the uneven development of revolution, at a particular historical stage the proletariat and its party in one country or another marched in the van of the movement.

Marx and Engels pointed out that the trade union movement in Britain and the political struggle of the French working class were successively in the van of the international proletarian movement. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, Engels said that "the German workers have for the moment been placed in the vanguard of the proletarian struggle." He went on to say:

How long events will allow them to occupy this post of honour cannot be foretold. . . . The main point, however, is to safeguard the true international spirit, which allows no patriotic chauvinism to arise, and which joyfully welcomes each new advance of the proletarian movement, no matter from which nation it comes. ("Prefatory Note to *The Peasant War in Germany*," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 1, pp.653-54.)

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Russian working class, standing at the forefront of the international proletarian movement, won victory in the proletarian revolution for the first time in history.

Lenin said in 1919:

Hegemony in the revolutionary proletarian International has passed for the time being—but not for long, it goes without saying—to the Russians, just as at various periods of the nineteenth century it was in the hands of the English, then of the French, then of the Germans. ("The Third International and Its Place in History," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 2, Part 2, p.203.)

The "vanguard" referred to by Engels, or the "hegemony" referred to by Lenin, in no way means that any Party which is in the van of the international working-class movement can order other fraternal Parties about, or that other Parties must obey it. When the Social-Democratic Party of Germany was in the forefront of the movement, Engels said that "it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat and especially no right to say something false." ("Engels to A. Bebel, March 18-28, 1875," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.354.) When the Russian Bolshevik Party was in the van, Lenin said, ". . . while foreseeing every stage of development in other countries, we must decree nothing from Moscow." ("Report on the Party Program, Delivered at the Eighth Congress of the R.C.P. [B]," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 2, Part 2, p.159.)

Even the vanguard position referred to by Engels and Lenin does not remain unchanged for a long time but

shifts according to changing conditions. This shift is decided not by the subjective wishes of any individual or Party, but by the conditions shaped by history. If conditions change, other Parties may come to the van of the movement. When a Party which formerly held the position of vanguard takes the path of revisionism, it is bound to forfeit this position despite the fact that it has been the largest Party and has exerted the greatest influence. The German Social-Democratic Party was a case in point.

At one period in the history of the international communist movement, the Communist International gave centralized leadership to the Communist Parties of the world. It played a great historic role in promoting the establishment and growth of Communist Parties in many countries. But when the Communist Parties matured and the situation of the international communist movement grew more complicated, centralized leadership on the part of the Communist International ceased to be either feasible or necessary. In 1943 the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International stated in a resolution proposing to dissolve the Comintern:

... to the extent that the internal as well as the international situation of individual countries became more complicated, the solution of the problems of the labour movement of each country through the medium of some international centre would meet with insuperable obstacles.

Events have shown that this resolution corresponded to reality and was correct.

In the present international communist movement, the question of who has the right to lead whom simply does not arise. Fraternal Parties should be independent and completely equal, and at the same time they should be united. On questions of common concern they should reach unanimity of views through consultation, and they should concert their actions in the struggle for the common goal. These principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties are clearly stipulated in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960.

It is a flagrant violation of these principles, as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement, for the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to consider themselves the leaders of the international communist movement and to treat all fraternal Parties as their subordinates.

Because of their different historical backgrounds, the fraternal Parties naturally find themselves in different situations. Those Parties which have won victory in their revolutions differ from those which have not yet done so, and those which won victory earlier differ from those which did so later. But these differences only mean that the victorious Parties, and in particular the Parties which won victory earlier, have to bear a greater internationalist responsibility in supporting other fraternal Parties, and they have absolutely no right to dominate other fraternal Parties.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was built by Lenin and Stalin. It was the first Party to win the victory of the proletarian revolution, realize the dictatorship of the proletariat and engage in socialist construction. It was only logical that the C.P.S.U. should carry forward the revolutionary tradition of Lenin and Stalin, shoulder

greater responsibility in supporting other fraternal Parties and countries and stand in the van of the international communist movement.

Taking these historical circumstances into account, the Chinese Communist Party expressed the sincere hope that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would shoulder this glorious historic mission. At the 1957 Moscow Meeting of the fraternal Parties, our delegation emphasized that the socialist camp should have the Soviet Union at its head. The reason was that, although they had committed some mistakes, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. did finally accept the Moscow Declaration which was unanimously adopted by the fraternal Parties. Our proposal that the socialist camp should have the Soviet Union at its head was written into the Declaration.

We hold that the existence of the position of head does not contradict the principle of equality among fraternal Parties. It does not mean that the C.P.S.U. has any right to control other Parties; what it means is that the C.P.S.U. carries greater responsibility and duties on its shoulders.

However, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have not been satisfied with this position of "head." Khrushchov complained of it on many occasions. He said, "What does 'at the head' give us materially? It gives us neither milk nor butter, neither potatoes nor vegetables nor flats. Perhaps it gives us something morally? Nothing at all!"¹¹ Later he said, "What is the use of 'at the head' for us? To hell with it!"¹²

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. say they have no desire for the position of "head," but in practice they demand the privilege of lording it over all fraternal Parties. They do not require themselves to stand in the van of the international communist movement in pursuing the Marxist-Leninist line and fulfilling their proletarian internationalist duty, but they do require all fraternal Parties to obey their baton and follow them along the path of revisionism and splittism.

By embarking on the path of revisionism and splittism, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. automatically forfeited the position of "head" in the international communist movement. If the word "head" is now to be applied to them, it can only mean that they are at the head of the revisionists and splitters.

The question confronting all Communists and the entire international communist movement today is not who is the leader over whom, but whether one should uphold Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism or submit to the revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. In spreading the slander that we want to seize the leadership, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are in fact insisting that all fraternal Parties, including our own, must bow to their revisionist and divisive leadership.

Refutation of the Charge of Frustrating the Will of the Majority and Violating International Discipline

In their attacks on the Chinese Communist Party since 1960, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have most frequently resorted to the charge that we "frustrate the will of the

majority" and "violate international discipline." Let us review our debate with them on this question.

At the Bucharest meeting in June 1960 the leaders of the C.P.S.U. made a surprise assault on the Chinese Communist Party by distributing their Letter of Information attacking it and tried to coerce it into submission by lining up a majority. Their attempt did not succeed. But after the meeting they advanced the argument that the minority must submit to the majority in relations among fraternal Parties, and demanded that the C.P.C. should respect the "views and will unanimously expressed" at the Bucharest meeting on the pretext that the delegates of scores of Parties had opposed the views of the C.P.C.

This erroneous argument was refuted by the Central Committee of the C.P.C. in its Letter of Reply, dated September 10, 1960, to the Letter of Information of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. It pointed out:

... where the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are concerned, the problem of exactly who is right and who is wrong cannot in every case be judged by who has the majority. After all, truth is truth. Error cannot be turned into truth because of a temporary majority, nor will truth be turned into error because of a temporary minority.

Yet in its letter of November 5, 1960, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. repeated the fallacy about the minority's submitting to the majority in the international communist movement. Quoting a passage from Lenin's article "The Duma 'Seven,'" it accused the C.P.C., saying that "he who does not wish to respect the opinion of the majority of the fraternal Parties is in essence coming out against the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement."

At the Moscow Meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1960, the delegation of the C.P.C. once more refuted this fallacy of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. It declared that it is totally wrong to apply the principle of the minority's submitting to the majority to the relations among fraternal Parties in actual present-day conditions in which centralized leadership such as that of the Comintern neither exists nor is desirable. Within a Party the principle that the minority should submit to the majority and the lower Party organization to the higher one should be observed. But it cannot be applied to relations among fraternal Parties. In their mutual relations, each fraternal Party maintains its independence and at the same time unites with all the others. Here, the relationship in which the minority should submit to the majority does not exist, and still less so the relationship in which a lower Party organization should submit to a higher one. The only way to deal with problems of common concern to fraternal Parties is to hold discussions and reach unanimous agreement in accordance with the principle of consultation.

The delegation of the C.P.C. pointed out that by advancing the principle that the minority should submit to the majority in its letter, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. had obviously repudiated the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation. Our delegation asked, "On what supra-Party constitution does the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. base itself in advancing such an organizational principle? When and where did the Com-

munist and Workers' Parties of all countries ever adopt such a supra-Party constitution?"

The delegation of the C.P.C. then proceeded to expose the ruse of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in deliberately omitting the word "Russian" from its citation of a passage dealing with the situation within the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party from Lenin's article "The Duma 'Seven,'" in order to extend the principle of the minority's submitting to the majority, which is valid within a Party, to the relations among fraternal Parties.

The delegation of the C.P.C. further stated:

... even within a Party, where the principle of the minority's submitting to the majority must be observed organizationally, it cannot be said that on questions of ideological understanding truth can always be told from error on the basis of which is the majority and which the minority opinion. It was in this very article, "The Duma 'Seven,'" that Lenin severely denounced the despicable action of the seven liquidationists in the Party fraction in the Duma who took advantage of a majority of one to suppress the Marxists who were in the minority. Lenin pointed out that although the seven liquidationists constituted the majority, they could not possibly represent the united will, united resolutions, united tactics of the majority of the advanced and conscious Russian workers who were organized in a Marxist way, and that therefore all shouts about unity were sheer hypocrisy. "The non-Party seven want to eat up the six Marxists and demand that this be called 'unity.'" (*Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 19, p.407.) He continued that it was precisely these six Marxists in the Party fraction in the Duma who were acting in accordance with the will of the majority of the proletariat, and that unity could be preserved only if those seven delegates "renounce their policy of suppression." (*ibid.*, p.425.)

The delegation of the C.P.C. continued that Lenin's words show:

... that even within a Party group the majority is not always correct, that on the contrary sometimes the majority have to "renounce the policy of suppression" if unity is to be preserved, and this is particularly the case where relations among fraternal Parties are concerned. The comrades of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. rashly quoted a passage from Lenin without having fully grasped its meaning. Moreover, they purposely deleted an important word. Even so, they failed in their aim!

We have quoted at length from a speech of the delegation of the C.P.C. at the 1960 Moscow Meeting in order to show that the absurd charge of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. that we "frustrate the will of the majority" was completely refuted by us some time ago. It is precisely because the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties persistently opposed this fallacy that the principle of achieving unanimity through consultation among the fraternal Parties was written into the Statement of 1960.

Yet even now the leaders of the C.P.S.U. keep on clamouring that "the minority should submit to the majority." This can only mean that they wish to deny the independent and equal status of all fraternal Parties and to abolish the principle of achieving unanimity through consultation. They are trying to force some fraternal Parties to submit to their will on the pretext of a "majority,"

and to use the sham preponderance thus obtained to attack fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. Their very actions are sectarian and divisive and violate the Declaration and the Statement.

Today, if one speaks of an international discipline binding on all Communist Parties, it can only mean observance of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement. We have cited a great many facts to prove that these principles have been violated by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. themselves.

If the C.P.S.U. leaders insist on marking off the "majority" from the "minority," then we would like to tell them quite frankly that we do not recognize their majority. The majority you bank on is a false one. The genuine majority is not on your side. Is it true that the members of fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism are a minority in the international communist movement? You and your followers are profoundly alienated from the masses, so how can the great mass of Party members and people who disapprove of your wrong line be counted as part of your majority?

The fundamental question is: Who stands with the broad masses of the people? Who represents their basic interests? And who reflects their revolutionary will?

In 1916 Lenin said of the situation in the German Social-Democratic Party:

Liebknicht and Rühle are only 2 against 108. But these two represent millions of people, the exploited masses, the vast majority of the population, the future of mankind, the revolution which is growing and maturing with each day. The 108 represent only the grovelling spirit of a small handful of bourgeois lackeys among the proletariat. (Lenin, "An Open Letter to Boris Souvarine," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. 23, pp.190-91.)

Today, more than 90 per cent of the world's population desire revolution, including those who are not yet but will eventually become politically conscious. The real majority are the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and Marxist-Leninists who represent the fundamental interests of the people, and not the handful of revisionists who have betrayed these interests.

Refutation of the Charge of Supporting the Anti-Party Groups of Fraternal Parties

In its open letter, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. makes the slanderous charge that "the C.P.C. leadership organizes and supports various anti-Party groups of defectors, which oppose the Communist Parties of the United States, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia and India."

What are the facts?

The fact is, the splits that have occurred in certain Communist Parties in recent years have largely been due to the forcible application by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. of their revisionist and divisive line.

The leaders of certain Communist Parties have led the revolutionary movement of their own countries astray and brought serious losses to the revolutionary cause either

because they accepted the revisionist line imposed on them by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. or because their own revisionist line was encouraged by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. By following the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and banging the drum for them in the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement, they adversely affect the unity of the movement. Inevitably this arouses widespread dissatisfaction inside their own Parties and resistance and opposition from the Marxist-Leninists in them.

Aping the leaders of the C.P.S.U., their followers practise a divisive policy inside their own Parties. Violating the principle of democratic centralism, they forbid normal inner-Party discussion of differences concerning the Party line and of major problems confronting the international communist movement. Moreover, they illegitimately ostracize, attack and even expel Communists who adhere to principle. As a result the struggle between the two lines within the Parties inevitably takes on a particularly acute form.

In essence, the struggle within these Communist Parties turns on whether to follow the Marxist-Leninist line or the revisionist line, and whether to make the Communist Party a genuine vanguard of the proletariat and a genuine revolutionary proletarian party or to convert it into a servant of the bourgeoisie and a variant of the Social-Democratic Party.

In the open letter, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. present a distorted picture of the struggles within the Communist Parties of the United States of America, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia and India. They vilify in the most malicious language those Marxist-Leninists who have been attacked and ostracized by the revisionist group in their own Parties.

Is it possible for the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to conceal or alter the truth about the struggles within these Communist Parties by calling white black and black white? No. They certainly cannot!

Take for example the inner-Party struggle in the Belgian Communist Party.

Differences have existed inside the Belgian Communist Party for a long time. The struggle within the Party has become increasingly acute as the original leading group has sunk deeper and deeper into the quagmire of revisionism and abandoned Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

During the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary, the revisionist group in the Belgian Communist Party went so far as to issue a statement condemning the Soviet Union for helping the Hungarian working people to put down the rebellion.

This revisionist group opposed the Congolese people's armed resistance to the bloody repression of the Belgian colonialists and supported the U.S. imperialists' utilization of the United Nations to interfere in and suppress the movement for national independence in the Congo. It shamelessly prided itself on being the first to appeal to the United Nations, "desiring the rapid and integral application of the U.N. decisions."¹³

It praised the Tito clique's revisionist programme, saying that it "contains ideas which enrich Marxism-Leninism."¹⁴

It denigrated the 1960 Statement, saying that its contents were all mixed up and that "in every twenty lines there is a phrase contradicting the general line of the Statement."¹⁵

During the great strike of the Belgian workers towards the end of 1960 and at the beginning of 1961, this revisionist group undermined the workers' will to fight by denouncing their resistance to suppression by the police and gendarmes as "rash and irresponsible actions."¹⁶

In the face of these betrayals of the interests of the Belgian working class and the international proletariat, it is only natural that Belgian Marxist-Leninists headed by Comrade Jacques Grippa earnestly struggled against this revisionist group. They have exposed and repudiated the errors of the revisionist group inside the Party and have firmly resisted and opposed its revisionist line.

Thus it is clear that the struggle inside the Belgian Communist Party is a struggle between the Marxist-Leninist and the revisionist line.

How has the revisionist group in the Belgian Communist Party handled this inner-Party struggle? They have pursued a sectarian and divisive policy and used illegitimate means to attack and ostracize those Communists who have persevered in a principled Marxist-Leninist stand. At the 14th Congress of the Belgian Communist Party they refused to allow Jacques Grippa and other comrades to speak and, disregarding the widespread opposition of the membership, illegitimately declared them expelled from the Party.

It is in these circumstances that Belgian Marxist-Leninists headed by Comrade Jacques Grippa, upholding the revolutionary line, have firmly combated the revisionist and divisive line pursued by the original leading group and fought to rebuild the Belgian Communist Party. Are not their actions absolutely correct and above reproach?

In openly supporting the revisionist group in the Belgian Party and encouraging it to attack and ostracize Belgian Marxist-Leninists, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have simply exposed themselves as creators of splits in fraternal Parties.

As for the Indian Communist Party, its situation is even graver.

On the basis of a wealth of facts, we pointed out in "A Mirror for Revisionists," published by the Editorial Department of the *Renmin Ribao* on March 9, 1963, that the renegade clique headed by Dange had betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Indian proletariat and people and embarked on the road of national chauvinism and class capitulationism. This clique has usurped the leadership of the Indian Communist Party and, conforming to the will of the big Indian capitalists and landlords, has been transforming the Party into a lackey of the Nehru government which represents their interests.

What has happened to the Indian Communist Party since then?

Now everybody can see that the Dange clique is still travelling on the road of betrayal. It is still advocating class collaboration and the realization of socialism in India through the Nehru government. It actively supported the Nehru government's huge budget providing for arms expansion and war preparation, and its measures for fleecing the people. In August 1963 it sabotaged the great strike of one million people in Bombay against the Nehru government's ruthless taxation policy. It tried to obstruct the holding of a mass rally in Calcutta demanding the release of the imprisoned Communists, in which one hundred thousand people participated. It is continuing its frenzied anti-China activities and supporting the Nehru government's expansionist policy. It is following the Nehru government's policy of hiring itself out to U.S. imperialism.

As their renegade features are revealed, Dange and company meet increasing opposition and resistance from the broad rank and file of the Indian Communist Party. More and more Indian Communists have come to see clearly that Dange and company are the bane of the Indian Communist Party and the Indian nation. They are now struggling to rehabilitate the Party's glorious and militant revolutionary tradition. They are the genuine representatives and the hope of the Indian proletariat and the Indian people.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. clamour about the Chinese Communist Party's support of "defectors" and "renegades," but it is they themselves who support such out-and-out defectors and renegades as Dange and company.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. denounce Communists in many countries who dare to combat revisionism and splitism as "defectors," "renegades" and "anti-Party elements." But what have these Communists done? Nothing except to adhere to Marxism-Leninism and insist on a revolutionary party and a revolutionary line. Do the leaders of the C.P.S.U. really think that their abuse can cow these Marxist-Leninists, make them abandon their struggle for the correct and against the wrong line, and prevent them from carrying it through to the end? This wishful thinking can never be transformed into reality.

Everywhere and at all times, true revolutionaries, true proletarian revolutionary fighters, true Marxist-Leninists (militant materialists), are dauntless people; they are not afraid of the abuse of the reactionaries and revisionists. For they know it is not such seemingly formidable giants as the reactionaries and revisionists, but "nobodies" like themselves who represent the future. All great men were once nobodies. Provided that they possess the truth and enjoy the support of the masses, those who are seemingly insignificant at first are sure to be victorious in the end. This was true of Lenin and of the Third International. On the other hand, the celebrities and the big battalions inevitably dwindle, decline and putrefy when they lose possession of the truth and therefore lose the support of the masses. This was the case with Bernstein, Kautsky and the Second International. Everything tends to change into its opposite in particular conditions.

Communists are makers of revolution. If they refuse to make revolutions, they cease to be Marxist-Leninists

and become revisionists and such-like. As Marxist-Leninists, Communists by their very nature should adhere to their revolutionary stand and oppose revisionism. Similarly, a Marxist-Leninist party should as a matter of course give firm support to revolutionaries and to Communists who oppose revisionism.

The Chinese Communist Party has never concealed its position. We support all revolutionary comrades who adhere to Marxism-Leninism. In the international communist movement, we have contacts with revisionists; why then can we not have contacts with Marxist-Leninists? The leaders of the C.P.S.U. describe our support for Marxist-Leninists in other countries as a divisive act. In our opinion, it is simply a proletarian internationalist obligation which it is our duty to discharge.

Fearing no difficulty or tyranny, upholding truth and daring to struggle, Marxist-Leninists in all countries have demonstrated the great revolutionary spirit of communist fighters. Among such heroic fighters are the Belgian Communists represented by Jacques Grippa and other comrades, the Brazilian Communists represented by João Amazonas, Mauricio Grabois and other comrades, the Australian Communists represented by E.F. Hill and other comrades, the Ceylonese Communists represented by Premalal Kumarasiri, Nagalingam Sanmugathan and other comrades, and the many Marxist-Leninists both inside and outside the Indian, Italian, French, U.S. and other Communist Parties. They have made important contributions to the common world proletarian cause by upholding the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, by working persistently to build revolutionary vanguard parties of the proletariat armed with Marxist-Leninist principles, and by persevering in the revolutionary line that conforms with the fundamental interests of the proletariat and other working people of their own countries. They deserve the respect, sympathy and support of all people fighting for the victory of communism throughout the world.

In short, whatever the country or place, where one finds oppression, there one finds resistance; where one finds revisionists, there one finds Marxist-Leninists fighting them, and where one finds expulsion of Marxist-Leninists from the Party and other divisive measures, there outstanding Marxist-Leninists and strong revolutionary Parties inevitably emerge. Changes contrary to the expectations of the modern revisionists are taking place. The revisionists are producing their own opposites and will eventually be buried by them. This is an inexorable law.

The Present Public Debate

In the last analysis, the present great debate in the international communist movement centres on whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to revisionism, whether to adhere to proletarian internationalism or to great-power chauvinism and whether to desire unity or a split. This dispute over fundamental principles began long ago, following the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. It went on in private talks between fraternal Parties for a considerable time until it came into the open a little more than two years ago.

As everybody knows, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. first provoked and insisted on the open polemics in the international communist movement.

At their 22nd Congress in October 1961, they made public attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour. In his address at that congress, Comrade Chou En-lai, the head of the Chinese Communist Party delegation, took exception to this action by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., pointing out that it could not be regarded as representing a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude. What was the answer of the Soviet Party leaders? They declared that they were "absolutely correct"¹⁷ and were taking "the only correct and genuinely Marxist-Leninist position of principle"¹⁸ in starting the open polemics.

Then, in January 1962, the Viet Nam Workers' Party suggested that "mutual attacks on the radio and in the press should be stopped by the Parties." This suggestion was supported by the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other fraternal Parties. But in effect the leaders of the C.P.S.U. refused to make a definite commitment to halt public polemics. Far from stopping their open attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, they proceeded to engineer open attacks on the Chinese Communist Party too at the successive congresses of five fraternal Parties in Europe in late 1962 and early 1963, and so launched another round of open polemics on an even wider scale. This gave us no choice but to make public replies to the attackers.

Although we had not yet answered all the attacks by fraternal Parties, in its reply to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in March 1963 the Central Committee of our Party stated that in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the scheduled talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties we would temporarily suspend public replies in the press from March 9, without prejudice to our rights. But on the eve of the talks the leaders of the C.P.S.U. took the further step of openly attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name in their Party statements and resolutions.

On July 14, in the midst of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Party delegations in Moscow, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. published its open letter to Party organizations and all Communists in the Soviet Union, in which it distorted the facts, confused right and wrong, and blatantly and demagogically attacked and abused the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Thus, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. took yet a further step and provoked open polemics on a still larger scale.

From July 15, 1963 onward, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. slandered and attacked China as their Enemy No. 1, using all the media at their disposal, such as government statements, speeches by leaders, meetings and articles, and setting in motion all their propaganda machinery, from the central and local press to the radio and television stations. Between July 15 and October 31, their twenty-six central newspapers and journals alone published 1,119 articles by editorial boards, editorials, commentaries, signed articles, readers' letters and cartoons, in which the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and other comrades, were as-

sailed by name. Incomplete figures based on the study of the 15 organs of the Union Republics showed that at least 728 similar anti-Chinese articles and items appeared in the Soviet local press in the same period.

We have published the most important anti-Chinese material including the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., which we printed in full twice and broadcast to the whole world in more than a dozen foreign languages in order to acquaint those interested in this open debate with the views of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. We have not printed every one of the Soviet articles attacking China simply because they are so numerous and in most cases repeat each other, and because our press has limited space. Our publishing houses have collected all these articles and will print them in book form.

The Soviet side has already put out nearly two thousand anti-Chinese articles and other items. In accordance with the principle of equality among all fraternal Parties, the Chinese side has the right to publish a commensurate number of replies.

As the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. touches upon many questions involving a series of fundamental theoretical issues in Marxism-Leninism as well as many major events of the past seven or eight years in the international communist movement, the Editorial Departments of our *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*, after careful study, started the series of comments that began on September 6, 1963. Up to now, we have published only seven comments on this open letter, including the present one.

We have not yet concluded our comments. As for the vast number of anti-Chinese articles published by the central or local press of the Soviet Union, we have not even begun to reply to them.

In his answers to newspapermen on October 25, 1963, Khrushchov called for a cessation of the public debate. Subsequently, however, the Soviet press continued to publish articles attacking China.

Recently, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. again proposed a halt to the public debate which they said had "done enormous harm to the communist movement." Yet in the past they said that public polemics were "in the interests of the whole world communist movement"¹⁹ and "the only correct and genuinely Marxist-Leninist position of principle."²⁰ We would like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: What sort of games are you playing, saying one thing at one time and another thing at another?

We would also like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: Is it in accord with the principle of equality among fraternal Parties for you to ask us to be silent after publishing less than ten articles in reply to your two thousand articles and other items attacking China, and when we have not yet even completed our reply to your open letter? Is it in accord with the principles of democratic discussion for you to become impatient and intolerant and to refuse to listen when we have said only a little while you have talked so much and for so long?

Again, we would like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: Was it not an outright threat and intimidation when you brazenly declared in the Soviet govern-

ment statement of September 21, 1963, that if the Chinese continued the polemics, "they must clearly realize that the most resolute rebuff from the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people awaits them on this road"? Do you really believe that other people are bound docilely to obey your orders and tremble at your roar? To be frank, ever since September 21 we have been eagerly waiting to see what "the most resolute rebuff" would be.

Comrades and friends! You are mistaken, completely mistaken.

Now that the public debate is on, it must proceed according to rule. If you think you have said enough, you should allow the other side ample chance to reply. If you think you still have a lot to say, please say it all. But when you do so, let the other side have his full say as well. In a word, there should be equal rights. Have not you, too, said that fraternal Parties are equal? Why then do you insist that you may start public polemics whenever you want to attack fraternal Parties and at the same time deprive the Parties so attacked of their right to make public replies whenever you choose to stop the polemics?

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. unscrupulously provoked, extended and insisted on the open polemics, but now they have begun to clamour for their cessation. What is behind all this?

Apparently, things have not developed according to the expectations of the launchers of these polemics. The public debate, which the leaders of the C.P.S.U. at first thought would be to their advantage, is developing in a way contrary to their wishes. Truth is not on the side of the leaders of the C.P.S.U., and therefore in their attacks on others they can only depend on lies, slanders, distortion of the facts and confusion of right and wrong. When argument develops and it becomes necessary to produce facts and reason things out, they find the ground slipping from under their feet and take fright.

Lenin once said that for revisionists "there is nothing more disagreeable, undesirable, unacceptable than the elucidation of the prevailing theoretical, programmatic, tactical and organizational differences." ("Once More About the International Socialist Bureau and the Liquidators," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 20, p.37.)

This is precisely the situation in which the leaders of the C.P.S.U. now find themselves.

The stand of the Chinese Communist Party on public polemics is known to all. From the very beginning, we have held that differences among fraternal Parties should be resolved through private consultations. The public polemics were neither provoked nor desired by us.

However, since the public debate is already on and since the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have said that to conduct it is to "act in Lenin's manner,"²¹ it must be conducted on the basis of democratic discussion by adducing facts and by reasoning until everything is thrashed out.

More important still, since the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have openly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and torn up the Declaration and the Statement, they cannot expect us to refrain from de-

fending Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. Since the debate concerns major issues of principle in the international communist movement, they must be thoroughly thrashed out. This, too, represents a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude.

The essence of the matter is that the existing differences in the international communist movement are between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and between proletarian internationalism and great-power chauvinism. These major differences of principle cannot be solved in a fundamental way by a cessation of the public debate. On the contrary, only through public debate, setting forth the facts and reasoning things out will it be possible to clarify matters, distinguish right from wrong and safeguard and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Marxism-Leninism is a science, and science fears no debate. Anything which fears debate is no science. The present great debate in the international communist movement is impelling Communists, revolutionists and revolutionary people in all countries to use their brains and ponder over problems concerning the revolution in their own countries and the world revolution in accordance with the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism. Through this great debate, people will be able to distinguish between right and wrong and between real and sham Marxism-Leninism. Through this great debate, all the revolutionary forces in the world will be mobilized, and all Marxist-Leninists will be tempered ideologically and politically and will be able to integrate Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice in their own countries in a more mature way. Thus, Marxism-Leninism will undoubtedly be further enriched, developed and raised to new heights.

The Way to Defend and Strengthen Unity

The revisionism and great-power chauvinism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are an unprecedented menace to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. By taking a revisionist and great-power chauvinist position, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are standing for a split. So long as they maintain such a position, they are in fact working for sham unity and a real split no matter how volubly they may talk of "unity" and abuse others as "splitters" and "sectarians."

The Chinese Communist Party, other Marxist-Leninist parties and all Marxist-Leninists persevere in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This position is the only correct one for defending and strengthening the genuine unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism constitute the basis of that unity. Only on this basis can the unity of fraternal Parties and countries be built. Such unity will be out of the question if one departs from this basis. To fight for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is to work for the unity of the international communist movement. Persevering in principle and upholding unity are inextricably bound together.

If the leaders of the C.P.S.U. genuinely want unity and are not just pretending, they should loyally abide by the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and by the Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning classes and class struggle, the state and revolution, and especially proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is absolutely impermissible for them to substitute class collaboration or class capitulation for class struggle, and social reformism or social pacifism for proletarian revolution, or abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat no matter under what pretext.

If the leaders of the C.P.S.U. genuinely want unity and are not just pretending, they should strictly abide by the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It is absolutely impermissible for them to substitute their own Party programme for the common programme which was unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties.

If the leaders of the C.P.S.U. genuinely want unity and are not just pretending, they should draw a sharp line of demarcation between enemies and comrades and should unite with all socialist countries, all fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat of the whole world, all oppressed people and nations and all peace-loving countries and people in order to oppose U.S. imperialism, the arch-enemy of the people of the world, and its lackeys. It is absolutely impermissible for them to treat enemies as friends and friends as enemies, and to ally themselves with the U.S. imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the renegade Tito clique against fraternal countries and Parties and all revolutionary people in the vain pursuit of world domination through U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

If the leaders of the C.P.S.U. genuinely want unity and are not just pretending, they should be faithful to proletarian internationalism and strictly abide by the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries and Parties, as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement. It is absolutely impermissible for them to replace these principles with policies of great-power chauvinism and national egoism. In other words, they should

observe the principle of solidarity and never line up a number of fraternal Parties to attack other fraternal Parties and engage in sectarian and divisive activities;

adhere to the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance and never try to control others in the name of assistance or, on the pretext of the "international division of labour," impair the sovereignty and interests of fraternal countries and oppose their building socialism through self-reliance;

observe the principle of independence and equality and never place themselves above other fraternal Parties or impose their own Party's programme, line and resolutions on others; never interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties and carry out subversive activities under the pretext of "combating the personality cult"; and never treat fraternal Parties as their property and fraternal countries as their dependencies;

follow the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation and never force through their own Party's

NOTES

wrong line in the name of the so-called majority or use the congresses of their own Party or of other Parties and such forms as resolutions, statements and leaders' speeches for public and explicit attacks on other fraternal Parties, and certainly never extend ideological differences to state relations.

In short, if the leaders of the C.P.S.U. genuinely desire the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, they must make a clean break with their line of revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism. The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement can be safeguarded and strengthened only by remaining loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and by opposing modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, great-power chauvinism and other forms of bourgeois nationalism, and sectarianism and splittism, and by doing so not merely in words but in deeds. This is the sole way to defend and strengthen unity.

Taken as a whole, the present world situation is most favourable. The international communist movement has already gained brilliant victories, bringing about a fundamental change in the international balance of class forces. At present the international communist movement is being assailed by an adverse current of revisionism and splittism; this phenomenon is not inconsistent with the law of historical development. Even though it creates temporary difficulties for the international communist movement and some fraternal Parties, it is a good thing that the revisionists have revealed their true features and that a struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism has ensued.

Without any doubt, Marxism-Leninism will continue to demonstrate its youthful vitality and will sweep the whole world; the international communist movement will grow stronger and more united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; and the cause of the international proletariat and the world people's revolution will win still more brilliant victories. Modern revisionism will undoubtedly go bankrupt.

We would like to advise the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to think matters over calmly: what will your clinging to revisionism and splittism lead to? Once again, we would like to make a sincere appeal to the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: We hope you will be able to return to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries as laid down in these documents, so that the differences will be eliminated and the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp and unity between China and the Soviet Union will be strengthened on these principled bases.

Despite our serious differences with the leaders of the C.P.S.U., we have full confidence in the vast membership of the C.P.S.U. and in the Soviet people, who grew up under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin. As always, the Communists and the people of China will unswervingly safeguard the unity between China and the Soviet Union, and consolidate and develop the deep-rooted friendship between our two peoples.

Communists of the world, unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism!

¹ "For the Unity and Solidarity of the International Communist Movement," article by the editorial board, *Pravda*, Dec. 6, 1963.

² cf. Khrushchov's interview with Gardner Cowles, Editor of the U.S. magazine *Look*, Apr. 20, 1962; report by Khrushchov to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Dec. 12, 1962.

³ "Openings for Diplomacy: Cracks in the Blocs," *The Nation*, Feb. 9, 1963.

⁴ "Moscow and Peking: How Wide the Split?," *Newsweek*, Mar. 26, 1962.

⁵ "With Test-Ban Treaty — Has Khrushchov Changed His Ways?," *U.S. News and World Report*, Sept. 30, 1963.

⁶ "Communist Unity Seen in U.S. as Thing of the Past," the *London Times*, Jan. 17, 1962.

⁷ "The Periscope," *Newsweek*, July 1, 1963.

⁸ "The International Situation and Our Tasks," resolution adopted by the Reunification Congress of the Trotskyites' so-called Fourth International in June 1963, *Fourth International*, No. 17, October-December 1963, p.47.

⁹ "The New Stage of the Russian Revolution and the Crisis of Stalinism," resolution adopted by a meeting of the National Committee of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers' Party of the U.S.A., Apr. 13-15, 1956, *The 20th Congress (C.P.S.U.) and World Trotskyism*, New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1957, p.36.

¹⁰ "The Repercussions of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.," resolution adopted by the International Secretariat of the Trotskyites' so-called Fourth International, Dec. 5, 1961, *Fourth International*, No. 14, winter issue, 1961-62, p.25.

¹¹ Khrushchov's speech at the banquet given in honour of the delegations of the fraternal Parties of the socialist countries on Feb. 4, 1960.

¹² Khrushchov's speech at the meeting of the delegates of twelve fraternal Parties at Bucharest, June 24, 1960.

¹³ Ernest Burnelle's interview with a correspondent of *l'Humanite* on the Congolese question, *Le Drapeau Rouge* (organ of the Belgian Communist Party), July 26, 1960.

¹⁴ "The Belgian Communist Party and the Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia," *Le Drapeau Rouge*, Apr. 22, 1958.

¹⁵ Speech by Jean Blume at the Federal Congress of Brussels on Dec. 3, 1961, cited by Jacques Grippa in "For the Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Party and for the Marxist-Leninist Unity of the International Communist Movement," *Le Drapeau Rouge*, Feb. 22, 1962.

¹⁶ Jean Blume, "For a Complete and Quick Victory: Two Communist Proposals," *Le Drapeau Rouge*, Dec. 29, 1960.

¹⁷ Khrushchov's concluding speech at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., Oct. 27, 1961, *Documents of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.334.

¹⁸ "The Banner of Our Epoch," article by the editorial board, *Pravda*, Feb. 21, 1962.

¹⁹ "Toward New Victories of Communism," article by the editorial board, *Kommunist*, No. 16, 1961.

²⁰ cf. Note 18.

²¹ "The Historic Congress of the Leninist Party," *Pravda* editorial, Nov. 4, 1961.

C.P.S.U. Leadership's Tricks in Calling For "An End to Open Polemics"

"RENMIN RIBAO" of February 3 devoted a whole page to exposing the hypocrisy of the C.P.S.U. leadership in calling for "an end to open polemics" while actually stepping up their malicious attacks on China. The page carried the banner headline "See What Tricks the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. Is up to in Calling for 'An End to Open Polemics'" and comprised, together with an editor's note, relevant materials from the Soviet and Chinese press and publications.

These included a brief report on a recent anti-China book published in Moscow by the Political Literature Publishing House in mid-January under the title "Talks on Political Subjects." Edited by L.F. Ilyichev, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., this volume vigorously publicizes the revisionist viewpoints of the C.P.S.U. leadership while slandering and attacking the Chinese Communist Party. A brief report on this book appears under the headline: "Malicious All-Out Attacks on the Communist Party of China."

On the same page was printed the full text of an article entitled "Why Mislead?" published on January 30 by Commentator of "Pravda," organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. This "Pravda" article attacks the Chinese newspaper "Beijing Ribao" for exposing in a report the substance of the letter of U.S. President Johnson to the Geneva disarmament conference and slanderously describes this report as a "distortion" of the recent letter of the head of the Soviet Government Khrushchov to other heads of governments.

"Renmin Ribao" on the same page also reprinted an article from "Beijing Ribao" entitled "A Blow at Lyndon Johnson Stings 'Pravda'." It also announced that the World Culture Publishing House of China has published "A Collection of Anti-China Material From the Soviet Press," Volume One. This volume includes 119 anti-China articles published in the Soviet press between July 15 and August 15, 1963.

— P.R. Editor.

"Renmin Ribao's" Editor's Note

Following is the text of the "Renmin Ribao" editor's note mentioned above.— P.R. Ed.

N.S. KHRUSHCHOV, leader of the C.P.S.U., proposed "an end to public polemics" on October 25, 1963, but the Soviet press has continued its anti-China propaganda without let up. Noteworthy in this connection were the publication and distribution in Moscow in mid-January of an anti-China book of more than 300 pages entitled *Talks on Political Subjects*, and an anti-China article in *Pravda* on January 30 under the title "Why Mislead?" We are publishing herewith excerpts from this anti-China book and the full text of the anti-China article in *Pravda*. People can see from this material that the C.P.S.U. leaders' proposal for "an end to public polemics" is nothing but a fraud, perpetrated for ulterior motives.

The anti-China propaganda contained in the book *Talks on Political Subjects* is nothing but stale, trite phraseology, and has nothing new in it.

The anti-China article in *Pravda* is even more utterly ridiculous. This organ of the Central Committee of the

C.P.S.U. went so far as to describe a Chinese paper's report exposing the U.S. imperialist chieftain Lyndon Johnson's letter to the disarmament conference in Geneva as a "distortion" of a letter written by N.S. Khrushchov, head of the Soviet Government, and it takes this opportunity to hurl attacks against the Chinese press. We certainly never imagined that when we struck at Johnson, *Pravda* would be stung.

The compilation for wide distribution of a whole book of anti-China jargon by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their wild vilification of China in the pages of *Pravda* seem to reflect a mentality in which the C.P.S.U. leaders are rabidly anti-China but they have nothing with which to justify their warped reasoning. It behooves one to keep a sharp look out for what other tricks the leaders of the C.P.S.U. may play.

As for the charges in *Pravda* that the Chinese press has not published Khrushchov's letter of December 31, 1963, to the heads of governments, we can frankly tell the leadership of the C.P.S.U.: Why are you in such a hurry? We will deal with it, and we'll comment on it,

too. A Chinese publishing house has already compiled your anti-China articles into separate volumes, which will be issued serially. A road must be travelled step by step, and accounts must be settled item by item. We have not

yet finished answering the open letter you published on July 14, 1963. What makes you so impatient?

Marxism-Leninism is science, and science does not fear debate. Anything that fears debate is not science.

A Blow at Lyndon Johnson Stings "Pravda"

Following is the full text of the article by Beijing Ribao's (Peiching Jihpao) Commentator published in that paper on February 3. — P.R. Ed.

IT is said that when one of the Siamese twin is hit, the other feels the pain. What puzzles one now is: how can such a curious kinship appear between the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States?

The Soviet newspaper, *Pravda*, carried on January 30 an article entitled "Why Mislead?" which angrily points an accusing finger at a report on the disarmament conference in Geneva printed by this newspaper on January 24.

Pravda accused this paper of making an erroneous evaluation of the message which Khrushchov addressed to other heads of government on December 31, 1963, proposing "an international agreement to outlaw the use of force in settling territorial disputes and boundary problems." It attacked us for having alleged in this report that "in order to 'prevent anti-imperialist struggle,' 'to prevent revolution,' the Soviet Union is 'linking arms with the West.'"

Of course we have our own judgment as to whether or not the Soviet leaders want to "prevent anti-imperialist struggle" and "prevent revolution" and are "linking arms with the West." *Pravda's* accusation that the above-mentioned report preferred "to regale the newspaper readers with hackneyed allegations and evaluations, interspersed at times with swear words," is just sheer nonsense. To borrow the words of the *Pravda* article, this is really "strange talk, which has nothing to do with realities!"

The report carried in this paper on January 24 covered the resumption of the seventeen-nation disarmament conference. It made no direct reference to Khrushchov's message at all, let alone "evaluating" it. It only reported a message addressed to the conference by Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, which was read to the conference by the U.S. representative. The relevant passages of the report read as follows:

Anti-China Material From the Soviet Press

A Collection of Anti-China Material From the Soviet Press, Volume One, published by the World Culture Publishing House is now on sale throughout China.

It is prefaced by an explanatory note by the editorial board of the publishing house, which reads in full as follows:

Since the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made public its open letter to Party organizations at all levels and all Party members in the Soviet Union on July 14, 1963, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have set their propaganda machine in motion in a flagrant, large-scale anti-China propaganda drive.

"In his message, Lyndon Johnson first of all welcomed the proposal for an international agreement for the renunciation by various countries of the use of force for the solution of territorial disputes and border issues put forward by Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, in his letter to the other heads of government on December 31, 1963.

"Johnson then presented his first proposal which forbids anti-imperialism and revolution and which says: 'In consultation with our allies, we will be prepared to discuss means of prohibiting the threat or use of force, directly or indirectly—whether by aggression, subversion, or the clandestine supply of arms—to change boundaries or demarcation lines; to interfere with access to territory; or to extend control or administration over territory by displacing established authorities.'"

What Johnson is driving at by this proposal of his is clear to all who are sober minded. Our report laid bare the substance of the proposal, and was headlined "Johnson's Message Tries to Prevent Anti-Imperialism and Revolution." Is there anything wrong about this? What is strange is that while we hit at Lyndon Johnson, the President of the United States, *Pravda*, organ of the C.P.S.U., should actually feel the pain.

In *Pravda's* opinion, exposure of the substance of Johnson's message as trying to prevent anti-imperialist struggle and revolution is tantamount to accusing the Soviet leaders of trying to prevent such struggle and revolution. What sort of "conditioned reflex" is this?

Pravda is greatly irritated by the exposure by this newspaper of Lyndon Johnson's message. Does this mean that they consider that Johnson's proposal designed to prevent anti-imperialist struggle and revolution is acceptable? Does it mean that the Soviet leaders intend to reach an agreement with Johnson, under which they would join hands in forbidding the peoples to oppose imperialism and start revolution? If so, *Pravda* has indeed good reasons for its nervousness which appears at first glance unwarranted.

According to incomplete statistics, by November 30, 1963, over 2,000 items of anti-China material of all kinds including editorials, articles, essays and letters to the editor, had been printed in 26 national papers and periodicals and 23 local papers and periodicals in the Soviet Union.

Numerous and indiscriminate, these writings are repulsive and long-winded, fantastically absurd in content, vulgar and vicious in language, and going to extremes in falsification and slander. In attacking China, they do not even hesitate to copy the platitudes printed in poorly written pamphlets edited by imperialist anti-communist agencies and to rake up old slanders used by the imperial-

ists and their running dogs against the Soviet Union, communism and the people.

To acquaint the members of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people with the current situation in the international communist movement and the vicious way the leadership of the C.P.S.U. attacks the Communist Party of China and all other Marxist-Leninists, *Renmin Ribao* has not grudged space to print one after the other the most typical examples of the anti-China material published in the Soviet press, and has advised its readers to read them patiently.

We have always thought that it would indeed be a great pity if lessons so remarkable for their negative

qualities as these were not fully used. However, these writings are too extensive, while our papers have after all only limited space. So we have had to find a different way, which is to collect anti-China editorials, articles by editorial boards, commentaries and articles carried by the 26 Soviet national papers and periodicals and to publish them serially, so that our readers may read and make use of them and so that this historical material is not consigned to oblivion.

Included in the first volume in this series are 119 items of material published between July 15 and August 15, 1963.

Vile Attacks on the Chinese Communist Party in "Talks on Political Subjects"

Following are highlights of "Renmin Ribao's" brief report on the new Soviet book "Talks on Political Subjects." — P.R. Ed.

THE authors of the book assert that peaceful coexistence is the way "to solve the social and political problems which now split the world."

They accuse China of "substituting the racial viewpoint for the class viewpoint" and of becoming a "reactionary force" and "imperialist."

Maligning the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party as the "upholders of the personality cult," the authors write: "Marxist-Leninists of all countries resolutely repudiate the attempt of the Chinese theoreticians to legalize within the communist movement the ideas and methods of the personality cult, which are alien to socialism. The Chinese leaders at first endorsed without reservation the criticism of the personality cult, and having made a sharp turn, began to make an apology for the misdeeds of Stalin and his abuse of power. This erroneous stand is by no means accidental. The reason for it is that the idea and practice of the personality cult are close to the views of the Chinese leaders."

Closing their eyes to the mass of facts revealed in the Soviet press, the authors claim that "classes no longer exist in the Soviet Union," and accuse China of "slandering the Soviet Union." They write: "It is altogether wrong to assert, as the sad Chinese theoreticians try to do, that these inconsequential elements [swindlers, speculators, idlers and hooligans] constitute an independent class in the socialist society. Anyone with a rough idea of history knows that criminals in any society do not constitute a definite class. Why should the criminal elements become an independent class in the case of socialism? The individual phenomena of crimes in the case of socialism are none other than the manifestations of the survivals of capitalism. To take an insignificant group of anti-social elements as an independent class is to deviate from Marxism-Leninism and malign the Soviet Union."

When discussing the transition from socialism to communism, the authors slander the Chinese people's com-

munes as "jumping over the unavoidable form such as the *artel*." "It is well known," they write, "how tragic are the results of the attempts of the Chinese leaders to jump over in the process of co-operation in rural economy the unavoidable form such as the *artel*, and to organize all at once communes with equal distribution. Instead of accelerating socialist transformation, a slowing down of this tempo has taken place, bringing harm to the rural economy, and the cause of socialism."

The authors go into the rigmarole that after the victory of socialism, "the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat vanishes." They write: "The Chinese leaders affirm that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are necessary until full-fledged communism has been built. But such an assertion perverts Lenin's teachings."

In dealing with international socialist division of labour, the authors brag about Soviet assistance to China and accuse China of "breaking treaties on economic co-operation." They write: "The Chinese leaders who in their public statements once highly appraised assistance from the Soviet Union, now try to belittle its significance. To this end they resort to the most dishonourable means. Cutting down, on its own initiative, its trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and breaking the treaties on economic and scientific-technical co-operation previously agreed upon, the Chinese leaders now endeavour to lay the blame on the Soviet Union for the consequences of their own unfriendly acts."

Vilifying China's line of self-reliance in building socialism, the authors write: "Of late, attempts have been made in the Chinese press to substantiate the concept of building a self-sustained national economy in which economic relations with other socialist countries are limited to trade alone. It is furthermore claimed that the division of labour among the socialist countries and their specialization are undermining the independence of the people."

"Such a course means in reality repudiating socialist internationalism, undermining unity and weakening the socialist commonwealth."

On the national-liberation movement, the authors write: "Turning away from the programmatic documents of world communism — the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, which bear their signatures, the leaders of the Communist Party of China have recently come out with the highly erroneous statement that the centre of the world revolutionary process has shifted to the regions of the national-liberation movement. This statement fundamentally contradicts the key thesis of Marxism-Leninism. . . . It means undermining the national-liberation movement and all the world revolutionary forces, making it more difficult for the peoples to struggle for their social and national emancipation, and adds grist to the mill of the imperialists and colonialists."

When discussing the revolutionary movement of the working class, the authors spread the lie that China "ties the prospects of socialist revolution to world war." Resorting to their stock method of distorting the views of the Chinese Communist Party, they write: "The world communist movement gives a firm rebuff to the anti-Leninist position of the Chinese leaders who tie the prospects of socialist revolution to world war. Such a position brings grist to the imperialist warmongers' mill. It proves that the Chinese leaders do not believe in the power of the world socialist system and the revolutionizing influence of its successes on the progress of world history. This position also proves disbelief in the revolutionary potentialities of the working class, the national-liberation struggles and democratic movement."

The authors allege that revisionism "had been crushed" before 1959 and that the main danger now is the Chinese Communist Party's "'Left' opportunism." They write: "The exceptional danger of the dogmatist, Left-sectarian views and actions of the Chinese leaders lies in that they have come out against the common Marxist-Leninist line of the world communist movement, not on individual and secondary issues, but on an overall platform, with their own 'general line,' with which they endeavour to bind other Parties."

"Why Mislead?"

— Article by "Pravda" Commentator —

Following is the full text of an article "Why Mislead?" published in the Soviet paper "Pravda" on January 30. — P.R. Ed.

NO document in world politics in recent times met with such a wealth of comment everywhere in the world as the Soviet Union's call for the conclusion of an international agreement or treaty to outlaw the use of force in settling territorial disputes and boundary problems. The message from the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers N.S. Khrushchov in which this proposal was formulated and substantiated in detail was received by the peoples as fresh evidence of the great desire of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government to avert the threat of war, to strengthen world peace.

The message has been published in the majority of the countries of the world. The people are able to read

Commenting on important international issues, the authors spread the most vicious lie that China "sees in the launching of a thermonuclear war the means of destroying imperialism." They write: "Lately in the international workers' movement, and in the Chinese Communist Party in particular, there emerged some people whose anti-Marxist views on the fundamental question of war and peace are extremely similar to the views of those ultra-reactionary imperialist elements who preach the inevitability of a thermonuclear war and deny its destructive character. Certain Chinese leaders have declared that the atom bomb is a 'paper tiger,' that one should not be afraid of a world thermonuclear war because it will be 'those monsters themselves, (that is, the imperialists) surrounded by the peoples, that will be quickly destroyed' in the war."

In the book the authors also slander China's position as "tallying with the position of the ultra-reactionary forces of the imperialist camp." After lauding the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the authors state: "To our regret, the Chinese leaders took a negative position towards the nuclear test ban treaty. In spite of their own statements in previous years, they now assert that disarmament is an unrealizable illusion and that the struggle for universal security and the prevention of war has, in essence, no future. They even regard the treaty itself as 'capitulation before imperialism' and 'a conspiracy against the peoples.'"

They add: "Such a position borders on that of the ultra-reactionary forces of the imperialist camp which stand for a continued arms drive and for an increasing number of countries possessing rocket-nuclear weapons."

The authors state: "The Chinese leaders are ready, as they have declared, to sacrifice hundreds of millions of people, including half of China's population. But the peoples have entrusted no one with the task of determining their own destiny without them and behind their back."

it, to consider the proposals made in it, to appreciate the political expediency and timeliness of the Soviet initiative.

The message from the head of the Soviet Government is being studied by governments and parliaments. Some heads of state and government have already sent positive replies supporting the Soviet proposal to renounce the use of force in settling territorial disputes. Other replies express different views and put forward different considerations.

The Soviet press publishes these answers but this does not mean at all that we agree with every one of them. This is done to enable the public to inform itself on the positions of particular states with regard to the proposal of the Soviet Union.

But it also happens that some organs of the press, without publishing either the message of the head of the

Soviet Government or the replies thereto, take it upon themselves to comment on these documents and even to evaluate them. What this leads to is clear from the example of the Chinese newspaper *Peiching Jihpao* [*Beijing Ribao*] which alleges that in order to "prevent anti-imperialist struggle," "to prevent revolution" the Soviet Union is "linking arms with the West."

Strange talk, which has nothing to do with realities! What was the purpose of the editor of the newspaper in trying to distort the peaceful initiative of the Soviet Union? Why mislead the Chinese people and set them against the Soviet people?

If anyone in China considers that an exchange of messages between heads of state on vital problems of maintenance of peace allegedly constitutes a link-up with the imperialists, let them enable the Chinese people to read both the message of the Soviet Government and the reply of the President of the United States of America, and also the replies of other heads of government to this message. But nothing of the kind has been done so far. The impression is that China prefers for the time being to regale the newspaper readers with the hackneyed

allegations and evaluations, interspersed at times with swear words, with which every honest person, who sincerely advocates the improvement of relations between the states and particularly the strengthening of the fraternal solidarity between the countries of the socialist commonwealth, is thoroughly fed up.

Many people ask why the message of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov has not been published in China although it has been made public in most countries of the world?

This question is fully justified. Indeed the message of the head of the Soviet Government touches upon vital problems of international relations and preservation of peace, in the settlement of which all the nations, including the Chinese people, are interested.

It is to be regretted that the newspaper *Peiching Jihpao* and some other Chinese papers took the road of distorting the essence of the Soviet peaceful initiative, confuse the clear matter and thus try to encumber the efforts of the Soviet Union and other states which show genuine concern for the destiny of peace, for further relaxation of international tensions.

Document

China-Guinea Joint Communiqué

Following is the full text of the China-Guinea joint communiqué issued in Conakry on January 26. Boldfaced emphases are ours. For report on Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Guinea, see "Peking Review," No. 5. — Ed.

AT the invitation of His Excellency Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea, His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, made an official visit to the Republic of Guinea from January 21 to 26, 1964.

The Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China was accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and an important delegation.

Accompanied by President Ahmed Sekou Toure and an important delegation of the National Political Bureau of the Guinean Democratic Party and the Government of the Republic, the delegation of the People's Republic of China visited the administrative regions of Conakry, Kindia and Labe.

The delegation of the People's Republic of China was able to make contact with the people of Guinea who everywhere accorded it a warm and cordial welcome. The Premier and his party were deeply moved by this.

The delegation of the People's Republic of China expressed admiration for the Guinean people who, under the leadership of President Sekou Toure, have scorned all oppressors and acted as masters of their own country; it praised the progress they had made since their independence in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

The two Heads of Government held important talks in an atmosphere of warm friendship and complete mutual understanding and with the participation of their respective colleagues. **They had a full exchange of opinions on the further development of the relations of friendship and co-**

operation between the two countries and on international questions of common interest. The results of the talks show that there is an extensive identity of views between the two parties on the questions discussed, and in particular on the questions of national independence, equality of peoples and world peace.

Both parties noted with satisfaction that since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Guinea the relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries in the diplomatic, economic and cultural fields had developed rapidly through their joint efforts. The Treaty of Friendship and the Agreements of Economic and Technical Co-operation, Trade and Payments, and Cultural Co-operation, concluded between the two countries, are being successfully carried out. The fruitful co-operation between China and Guinea in all spheres fully embodies the spirit of mutual respect, mutual support and equality, thereby setting an example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The consolidation and development of these relations of friendship and co-operation not only conform to the vital interests of the two peoples but also help strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity and safeguard world peace. **The two parties unanimously expressed their desire to make every effort to further develop the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Guinea and to enhance the friendship of the two peoples.**

The Chinese side reaffirmed its scrupulous respect for the policy of peace, positive neutrality and non-alignment pursued by the Guinean Government in international affairs, its firm support for the Guinean Government's struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and its praise for the Guinean Government's efforts to support the African national-liberation movement, to promote Afro-Asian solidarity and to safeguard peace.

The Guinean side thanked the people and Government of the People's Republic of China for their important and disinterested aid to the Republic of Guinea in its struggle to consolidate its independence and to develop its economy rapidly.

The Chinese side expressed the view that aid is always mutual and not unilateral. The Guinean people's struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and their persistence in the national-democratic revolution constitute an extremely great support for the Chinese people.

The Guinean side reaffirmed its support for the Chinese people in their just struggle to safeguard the sovereignty, territorial integrity and complete unification of their country. In the interest of the Chinese people and also of justice and world peace, the Guinean side reaffirmed its unconditional support for the restoration of the legitimate prerogatives and rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and all its specialized organs. For this, the Chinese side expressed its gratitude.

The Guinean side listened with interest to the account given by the Chinese side of its efforts to ease the situation on the Sino-Indian border and expressed the hope that inspired by the fundamental interests of the Afro-Asian community, China and India would start direct negotiations as soon as possible in order to seek a fair and reasonable settlement of the dispute.

The Chinese side thanked President Sekou Toure and the Guinean Government for their interest in, and their efforts for, a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. It reiterated that the Chinese Government would unswervingly work for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through direct negotiations between China and India.

BOTH parties reaffirmed their determination to continue their efforts in combating imperialism and defending world peace. They stand for general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The Chinese side expressed support for the decision contained in the resolution on general disarmament adopted at the African Summit Conference (Addis Ababa, 1963), proclaiming Africa to be a zone free of nuclear weapons and demanding the removal of all foreign military bases from Africa.

The prevention of a nuclear war and the defence of world peace concern the vital interests of all the peoples, and all the countries of the world, big or small, have the right to make their contribution towards these ends. The two parties are convinced that so long as all the peace-loving people and countries of the world unite and wage an unremitting struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and against colonial exploitation and oppression, a nuclear holocaust can be averted, a new world war prevented, and world peace thereby preserved.

The two parties held that to combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, win and safeguard national independence and carry the national-democratic revolution through to the end remains the most urgent task for the people of all oppressed countries.

The two parties noted with pleasure the successes achieved by the peoples of Africa and Asia in their struggle for national independence and unity, successes which constitute an important factor in consolidating peace and international security.

The two parties pointed out with satisfaction that the world's forces of progress and peace have made much headway, and that the Asian and African peoples' common strug-

gle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has achieved results and is steadily winning widespread sympathy.

The two parties strongly condemned the South African authorities' colonial rule and policy of apartheid as well as all forms of racial discrimination, and expressed their firm support for the South African people in their struggle for equality in all spheres and for national liberation.

The two parties held that to combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, it is necessary for the Asian and African countries to raise still higher the banner of solidarity and support and closely co-operate with one another. They noted with satisfaction that since the Bandung Conference the Asian-African countries' cause of unity against imperialism has made enormous progress. The African Summit Conference held in Addis Ababa contributed greatly to the promotion of the African countries' unity and solidarity and to the struggle against colonialism in all its forms. The two parties affirmed their determination to continue their efforts to promote Afro-Asian solidarity. They expressed the view that the conditions are ripe for the convocation of a second Asian-African conference and that active preparations should be made towards this end.

THE two parties decided from now onwards to increase their efforts to liquidate the arbitrary practices in international relations particularly manifested in the domination and exploitation which economically and technically highly developed countries impose on the developing countries in economic and trade exchanges.

The Chinese side reaffirmed its support for increased Afro-Asian representation in the principal organs of the United Nations to reflect the ever more important role being played by the African and Asian countries in the international arena. It reiterated that the question of increasing the number of seats of the Afro-Asian countries through the revision of the United Nations charter must not in any way be tied up with the question of restoring China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

The two parties held that differences between Asian-African countries should be settled through peaceful negotiation on the basis of Asian-African solidarity.

The two parties considered that to consolidate national independence it is necessary for the Asian and African countries to develop their national economies with a view to eliminating, step by step, their state of underdevelopment resulting from colonial domination. To this end, the Asian and African countries must first of all depend on their own efforts, rely on their people and turn their own natural resources to full account. The policy of self-reliance does not exclude foreign aid which is only an auxiliary means. Nevertheless, the two parties made it definitely clear that all aid must be based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and no political conditions or privileges whatsoever should be attached to it.

The two parties held that the exchange of visits between leaders of different countries is of great importance towards promoting mutual understanding and confidence, developing relations of friendly co-operation, and safeguarding and consolidating world peace.

The two parties noted with satisfaction that the visit of President Ahmed Sekou Toure to China in September 1960 and the current visit of Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, to certain African countries and to Guinea, have contributed and will contribute to the further strengthening of the ties of friendship and fruitful co-operation between the two countries as well as to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity.

Premier Chou En-lai's Visit to East Africa

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

In the Sudan

THE eighth red carpet in Premier Chou En-lai's current African trip was spread at the Khartoum airport on January 27. In the Sudan, as in other parts of Africa visited by the Premier and his party, many people who value Afro-Asian friendship and solidarity have been following his journey with keen interest.

The press and radio gave wide coverage to Premier Chou's arrival and his stay in the Sudan. Editorially, *El Thawra* welcomed China's Premier as the representative of the world's biggest modern revolution and a delegate of the oldest nation. Wrote *Sawt El Sudan*: "We salute Mr. Chou En-lai because we respect his great personality and China's love for justice." Radio Omdurman stated: "The Sudanese people welcome Premier Chou En-lai with deep friendly feeling and pay tribute to the people of China for their support to the African national movement."

At the meeting place of the Blue and White Nile Rivers, this tri-city of Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman was resplendent in the bright sunlight. Many hued flags fluttered over the main streets. On street



President Abboud (right) and Premier Chou En-lai exchange toasts at state banquet given by Sudanese President

crossings large posters, emblazoned with Arabic and Chinese inscriptions, avowed: "The Sudanese people salute the friendly Chinese people!" and "The Khartoum Municipal Council salutes our distinguished guests!" Portraits of President Abboud and Premier Chou were everywhere.

Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council of Sudan's Armed Forces, who met the Chinese Premier on his arrival, gave a state banquet and reception in his honour. Accompanied by Major-General Magboul El Amin El Hag, member of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces and Minister of Commerce, Industry and Supply, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and their entourage went on a sightseeing trip of the city. They visited the Sudan Ethnographical Museum and the Khalifa's House which is now a museum containing a valuable collection of relics showing the various deeds of the Sudanese people's fight against past colonial aggression.

Common Struggle

In the Khalifa's House, the Chinese visitors examined the exhibits which included portraits and sketches of fallen heroes, weapons and other equipment captured from the foreign aggressors, as well as charts and models depicting the heroic deeds of the Sudanese people.

A yellow jacket reminded the visitors of the common colonial past of the Chinese and Sudanese peoples. This was a souvenir from a Chinese emperor of the Ching Dynasty to British imperialist General Charles George Gordon for helping to suppress the Taiping revolutionary movement in China in 1863. Gordon also had a hand in burning the Yuan Ming Yuan Palace in Peking during the Second Opium War. Appointed governor of the Sudan in 1874, Gordon met his doom in 1885 in an armed revolt by the Sudanese people. Named after the Sudanese leader who fell in 1899 in a battle against colonial aggression, the museum is where Khalifa lived before his death.

Great Potentialities in Developing Agriculture

On January 29, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other members of the Chinese party visited the important cotton-producing area of Gezira in Blue Nile Province. Arriving in Wad Medani, capital of the province, they received a tremendous welcome from tens of thousands of peasants, women cotton pickers, and others who braving the tropical heat, gathered at the airport and waited along the route.

On behalf of the Municipal Council of Wad Medani, Chairman Sayed Ahmed Bokheit said, "Your visit will always remain fresh in mind as a shining symbol, directing us towards progress in our country and fraternal cooperation with other nations." In his speech Premier Chou expressed his delight at visiting this famous place. He

said that since China imported cotton from the Sudan, cotton had become a link in Sino-Sudanese friendship.

After visiting the Headquarters of the Irrigation Project, the Agriculture Research Centre, the Chinese visitors proceeded to the office of the Sudan Gezira Board which is responsible for the management of the Gezira Scheme to develop irrigation and promote cotton production. Speaking for the officials, workers, and tenants working there, Managing Director of the Board Sayed Mirghani El Amin spoke of "the great admiration for the people of the Chinese People's Republic with whom we have good and friendly relations." He also said that the Gezira people, like those in other parts of the country, were striving to build up the country's economy and play their role in the country's Ten-Year Development Plan. In the last six years the irrigated area of this region had been extended by 850,000 *feddans* (one *feddan* equals 0.42 hectares), he pointed out.

In reply, Premier Chou remarked that such achievements by the Sudanese Government since independence were no easy task. While visiting eight African countries, he and his party had witnessed great potentialities in African countries for the development of agriculture. The Chinese Premier wished the Sudanese people further success, an annual increase in cotton production, the expansion of their textile industry and other economic progress.

On January 30, the Chinese Premier and his party ended their three-day visit to the Sudan and flew to Asmara in Ethiopia. They were seen off by President Abboud and other high-ranking officials of the Sudanese Government. A joint communique issued on January 30 (for full text see p.30) reflected the identity of views by both China and the Sudan on current international questions and underlines still further understanding between the peoples of the two nations.

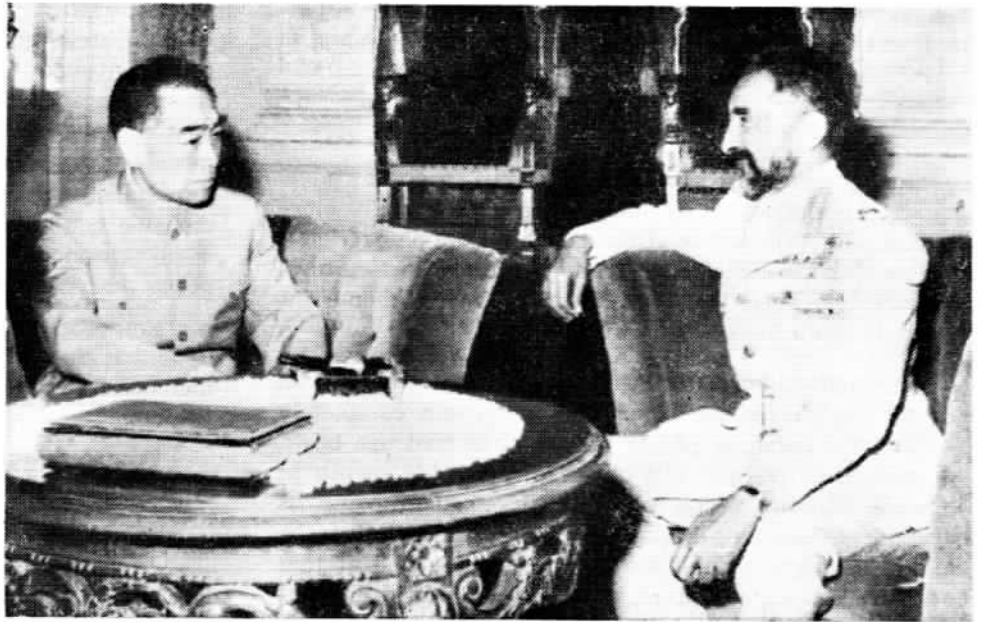
A new chapter in Sino-Sudanese friendship and cooperation has been opened.

In Ethiopia

PREMIER Chou En-lai's three-day visit to Ethiopia (January 30-February 1) was an important event in the development of Sino-Ethiopian relations.

The flags of China and Ethiopia waved under a morning sun at the Asmara airport as the Chinese Premier's plane, escorted by six Ethiopian jet fighters, touched down. On hand to welcome him and his party were Ethiopian Prime Minister Aklilu Habte Wold and other high officials.

In the beautiful city of Asmara itself, bedecked with gay flags and arches, tens of thousands of inhabitants in



Emperor Haile Selassie I (right) receives Premier Chou En-lai

national attire gave Premier Chou an enthusiastic and traditional greeting. They sang and danced with swords and shields to the accompaniment of beating drums. In the Tigrinya language they shouted: "Welcome Chou En-lai!" and "Friendship between Ethiopia and China!"

On January 31, accompanied by Emperor Haile Selassie I, the Chinese Premier and his party visited Axum, 180 kilometres south of Asmara, an ancient city rich in historical monuments and relics. Most of the residents poured into the street, beating drums, blowing traditional bugles and waving palm leaves—a national gesture wishing honoured guests happiness.

Traditional Friendship

Friendship has long existed between the Chinese and Ethiopian peoples who have encouraged and supported each other in their protracted struggles against imperialism and colonialism. With a history of more than 3,000 years, Ethiopia, like other countries in Africa, is known for its ancient civilization. The people of Ethiopia, with a long tradition of battling imperialism, have carried on consistent struggle against aggressors since the 16th century. Led by the present Emperor, they were victorious in their heroic fight against Italian fascist aggression. Afterwards, they continued to strive to safeguard their national independence and develop the national economy. In international affairs, Ethiopia pursues a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, supports the African peoples still under colonial rule in their struggle for independence and tries to bring about unity in Africa and Asia.

In the 1930s while the Chinese people were resisting Japanese fascist aggression, Ethiopian guerrillas were fighting their enemies under extremely difficult conditions. In *On Protracted War* written in 1938, Chairman Mao Tse-tung noted: "... the Abyssinians (the Ethiopians as they were then called) are still carrying on quite an extensive guerrilla war which, if kept on, will enable them to recover their country when the world situation

changes." This prophecy has been borne out by subsequent events leading to the independence of Ethiopia.

Basic Common Points

Since their respective victories in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and especially since the Bandung Conference, Chinese and Ethiopian friendship has further developed. Trade contracts and cultural exchanges between the two countries have become increasingly close in recent years.

Although China and Ethiopia have different social systems and the policies they pursue are not completely identical, the common points between the two are basic. The reason, as pointed out in Premier Chou's speech at the state banquet given by the Ethiopian Emperor, is that both China and Ethiopia were participants at the Bandung Conference and the agreements reached at that conference advocate support to Asian and African countries in their efforts to win and safeguard their national independence and oppose imperialist aggression. Both stand for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The May 1963 Summit Conference of African States in Addis Ababa achieved great success and arrived at agreement in the spirit of the Bandung Conference, which called for unity among all African countries and forces to fight colonialism in every form. "This is helpful to the defence of world peace. In this sense, our two countries share a common stand which is our common ground," the Chinese Premier declared.

Documents

China-Sudan Joint Communiqué

Following is the full text of the China-Sudan joint communiqué issued in Khartoum on January 30, 1964. Boldfaced emphases are ours.—Ed.

1. At the invitation of President Ibrahim Abboud, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, paid an official visit to the Republic of the Sudan from January 27 to 30, 1964.

2. Premier Chou En-lai was accompanied on his visit by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other high-ranking officials.

3. During their stay in the Republic of the Sudan, Premier Chou En-lai and his party made a tour of the capital, Wad Medani and the Gezira Scheme, and visited places of historical, economic, social and artistic interests. They made contact with the leaders and people of all circles of the Republic of the Sudan, and were hospitably received and warmly welcomed by the leaders of the Republic of the Sudan and the Sudanese Government and people.

4. Premier Chou En-lai praised the achievements scored by the Republic of the Sudan under the leadership of President Abboud in safeguarding national independence and developing national economy.

5. During the visit, talks were held between Premier Chou En-lai and President Abboud, and views and opinions

"Countries, big or small," the Premier continued, "should treat each other as equals. This has been our consistent stand. The aim of our present visit is to seek friendship and co-operation." Referring to the main spirit of the Bandung Conference and the Addis Ababa Conference, the Premier explained that what China opposes is imperialist aggression as stated by resolutions adopted at the two conferences. "Therefore," he emphasized, "there is no reason why our two countries cannot co-operate in peace and friendship."

Emperor Haile Selassie I, in his speech, expressed the hope that the Chinese Premier would carry with him warm memories of the friendly welcome he had received in Ethiopia.

Premier Chou En-lai, during his visit, met and talked with Emperor Haile Selassie I. A joint communiqué issued after the talks showed that the two leaders found themselves in agreement on major important points in the vital problems confronting the world today. They also agreed to make efforts for expanding economic and cultural exchanges between the two countries. Agreement was reached on taking steps to strengthen relations between China and Ethiopia including normalization of relations between them in the near future. (For full text of the communiqué see page 31.)

In a toast at his farewell banquet, Premier Chou declared that the signing and publication of the joint communiqué would further promote the development of Sino-Ethiopian relations and defeat disrupting attempts which have already appeared in the form of unfounded rumours.

were exchanged. Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs of the State Council; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tung Hsiao-peng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Wang Yu-tien, Director of the West Asian and African Affairs Department of the Foreign Ministry; and Ku Hsiao-po, Chinese Ambassador to the Sudan.

On the Sudanese side were Major-General El Magboul El Amin El Hag, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Supply; and Sayed Ahmed Kheir, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mineral Resources.

6. The talks were held in an atmosphere of amity, frankness and mutual trust, which characterize the relations between the two countries. The two parties reviewed international problems in general and Asian-African problems in particular.

7. Both parties pointed to the need for continuing the struggles against imperialism until its eradication. On the basis of this conviction both parties reaffirmed their resolute support to the Asian and African peoples in their just struggle against imperialism in all its forms. Both parties held that there will be no peace for mankind unless the direct source of world war, imperialism, is eliminated. Both parties called

upon all freedom- and peace-loving peoples to work concertedly for the realization of this goal.

8. Both parties reaffirmed that the two Governments and peoples would continue their joint efforts to eliminate international tension and defend world peace. World peace is necessary for developing the economic and social resources of the two countries and raising the living standards of the two peoples. Both parties expressed their readiness to fight together with all other countries and peoples for the realization of general disarmament, the total prohibition of nuclear weapons and complete destruction of nuclear stockpiles. In this connection, both parties made particular reference to the resolution of the Summit Conference of African States on declaring Africa a nuclear weapon free zone.

9. Both parties praised the Addis Ababa Conference as a turning-point in the history of the liberation and development of Africa, just as the Bandung Conference was a turning-point in the history of the liberation and development of Asian-African countries. Premier Chou En-lai reaffirmed his support as contained in his message of greetings delivered at the opening of the conference. Both parties held that the time was ripe for the convening of a second Asian-African conference, and that active preparations should be made for it.

10. Both parties denounced the present state of Palestine. The Chinese side expressed support for the Arab people of the Palestine in restoring their proper rights. The Chinese side was of the opinion that the recent Summit Conference of Arab Countries has contributed to promoting the Arab countries' cause of unity against imperialism, and the Chinese side supported the resolutions of this conference on the following bases:

(1) It supports the Arab and African peoples in their struggle to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence.

(2) It supports the Governments of Arab and African countries in pursuing a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment.

(3) It supports the Arab and African peoples in their desire to achieve unity and solidarity in the manner of their own choice.

(4) It supports the Arab and African countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation.

(5) It holds that the sovereignty of Arab and African countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed.

11. Both parties reviewed the situation of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. Both parties noted that there has been an improvement in the situation, which makes them optimistic and confident about a peaceful settlement of this question.

12. President Abboud expressed the Sudanese people's belief that the Chinese people must be represented in the United Nations so as to enable the United Nations to fulfil its whole mission in accordance with its charter. President Abboud pointed out that the Sudanese people had on a number of occasions denounced the act of depriving the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations. For this Premier Chou En-lai expressed his thanks.

13. The Chinese side expressed its appreciation of the positive role played by the Republic of the Sudan in strictly pursuing a policy of non-alignment in its foreign policies and in international affairs.

14. Both parties expressed satisfaction at the friendly relations between the two countries, particularly their development after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Government of the Republic of the Sudan headed by President Abboud and the People's Republic of China. At the same time, both parties noted that these relations are daily developing in various fields and this shows that countries with different social systems can coexist in peace. Both parties decided to make efforts for expanding the economic and trade co-operation and cultural exchanges between the two countries. This is not only in accord with the desire of the two peoples and the vital interests of the two countries, but is also in the interest of consolidating world peace.

15. President Abboud thanked Premier Chou En-lai for his visit, which, though short, has an important bearing on the consolidation of the friendly relations between the two peoples. Premier Chou En-lai expressed gratification at President Abboud's forthcoming visit to the People's Republic of China. Both parties were of the opinion that the exchange of visits by the leaders of the two countries will promote friendly relations and international co-operation.

China-Ethiopia Joint Communiqué

Following is the full text of the China-Ethiopia joint communiqué issued in Asmara on February 1, 1964. — Ed.

UPON the invitation of His Imperial Majesty, His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the People's Republic of China, accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs and other officials, visited Ethiopia from January 30, 1964, to February 1, 1964.

During his stay in Ethiopia, the Premier and his party visited Asmara and the historical ancient capital of Ethiopia, Axum. The Premier met in Asmara with His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and high officials of the Ethiopian Government. Taking part in the discussions on the Chinese side were His Excellency Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Excellency Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs of the State Council; His Excellency Huang Chen,

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Excellency Tung Hsiao-peng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; His Excellency Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Excellency Chen Chia-kang, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the U.A.R.; His Excellency, Wang Yu-tien, Director of the West Asian and African Affairs Department of the Foreign Ministry; and His Excellency Yu Pei-wen, Director of the Protocol Department of the Foreign Ministry. On the Ethiopian side were His Highness Ras Imru; His Excellency Tsehafi Tazaz Aklilu Habte Wold, Prime Minister; His Highness Dedjazmatch Asrate Kassa, Governor-General of Eritrea; His Excellency Ras Mesfin Sileshi, Deputy-Governor General of Shoa; His Excellency Tsehafi Tazaz Tafara Work, Minister of the Imperial Court; His Excellency Blatta Ghirmatchew Tekle-hawariat, Minister of Information; His Excellency Ketema Yifru, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Ato Yohannis Kidane Mariam, Private Secretary to His Imperial Majesty.

The talks which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality were marked by an open and frank exchange of views on vital problems facing the world today and particularly those touching the issues of disarmament and the preservation of world peace.

On all the wide variety of issues discussed, the Premier and the Emperor found themselves in agreement on major important points. Both parties agreed to continue their support to the struggle for freedom of the remaining dependent peoples of the African continent. Recalling the principles enunciated at the historic Bandung Conference, they reaffirmed the belief in the peaceful coexistence of all nations irrespective of differing social, economic and political systems. The Premier and the Emperor expressed their conviction that through the efforts of all peace-loving forces, world war in the modern age can be prevented, that peaceful means instead of force should be resorted to in the settlement of disputes between states and that all possible measures should be taken to end the arms race between the great powers and to oppose imperialist armed aggression in any quarter of the world.

They further stressed that nations should refrain from interference in the internal affairs of others and declared their continued support for the territorial integrity and sovereign equality of all states.

Both parties reaffirmed that their two Governments would continue their efforts to eliminate international tension and defend world peace. They agreed that world peace is necessary for developing the economic and social resources of the two countries and raising the living standards of their peoples. Both Governments expressed their willingness to continue the struggle for the realization of general disarmament and the total prohibition of nuclear weapons and destruction of nuclear stockpiles. The two leaders made reference to the resolution

of the Addis Ababa Summit Conference on declaring Africa to be a nuclear free zone.

Both parties praised the Addis Ababa Conference as a turning-point in the history of the independence of African countries and the development of African unity just as the Bandung Conference was a turning-point in the history of the liberation of Afro-Asian countries and the development of Afro-Asian solidarity. Both parties agreed that the time was ripe for convening a second Afro-Asian conference.

The Emperor expressed the Ethiopian Government's point of view that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be reinstated if this world organization is to fulfil effectively its mission in accordance with its charter.

The Premier and the Emperor expressed their satisfaction with the result of the visit and their hope that the discussions held between them would contribute to the easing of world tensions and the future development of friendly relations between the peoples and Governments of their two countries. They further agreed to make efforts for expanding the economic and cultural exchanges between the two countries.

Agreement was reached on the taking of measures to strengthen relations between the People's Republic of China and Ethiopia including the normalization of relations between the two Governments in the near future.

On behalf of His Excellency Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and on behalf of himself, His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai extended an invitation to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I to visit the People's Republic of China. His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I accepted with pleasure the invitation to visit the People's Republic of China after relations between the two countries have been normalized.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

of Resistance Against Japan," "On the Chungking Negotiations," "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" and other articles.

Greek translations of some of Chairman Mao's writings are now available in two collections published by the History Publishing House of Greece. One of these includes three philosophical writings: "On Practice," "On Contradiction," and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." The other collection includes ten articles from the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume IV. A Greek translation of Chairman Mao's poems was published by Fexis Publications, while *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*

Correction: In our last issue's Pen Probes, "The Presidential Breed," (p. 19), in the third line of right-hand column, for "\$50 million annually" read "\$200 million."

and *Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature* are being prepared by the History Publishing House.

Algerian Guests in Peking

Abderrachid Gherab, a leader of the National Liberation Front of Algeria and a leading member of the General Financial Administration, and an Algerian jurists' delegation led by Ben Abdallah Abdessamad, President of the Justice and Legislation Commission of the National Assembly, arrived in Peking on January 17 for a visit. Chairman Mao Tse-tung received them on January 28.

Two days later, the Algerian jurists left Peking for Shanghai on a tour of the country.

French Guests Say Farewell

After a 12-day visit, the French parliamentary delegation led by Francois-Benard left Peking on January 31 for home via Wuhan and Canton. During their short stay,

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping met them on separate occasions and had friendly talks with them.

The French parliamentarians also had an opportunity of making the acquaintance of prominent personalities in various fields—government officials, scientists, writers and artists, journalists and trade union leaders. This was at a reception given by Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, on the day after the announcement of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France. Greeting the news, both Chang Hsi-jo and Francois-Benard expressed confidence that, with Sino-French diplomatic relations established, the traditional friendship and economic and cultural relations between the two countries would grow.

On the eve of its departure Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, gave the delegation a farewell banquet.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.-Japanese Talks

Stony Silence

Despite all the high-falutin' words Dean Rusk lavished on U.S.-Japanese partnership in his recent Tokyo speech, the American Secretary of State's attempt to resolve the contradictions besetting the two countries has failed. It was to discuss trade and economic matters that Rusk journeyed to Tokyo, but during the two-day session he veered from the usual terms of reference to take up political questions with Prime Minister Ikeda and Foreign Minister Ohira. He concentrated on the question of China, which, in the words of an AP dispatch, "coloured the thinking of the American and Japanese delegates."

Rusk used strong words to present the American position on France's recognition of China. According to Kyodo, the Japanese Foreign Minister, in reply, used Japanese press comments to present Japan's views. Ohira pointed out that "there is a considerable divergence of views between the Japanese public and the U.S. side on the China question." AP reported on January 28 that "Rusk has sought unsuccessfully in two conversations with Ohira to convince his hosts of the desirability of working together to prevent the spread of the recognition fever." Ohira listened with "a stony silence." Japanese circles, AP added, insisted that they would not be pressured by the American attitude towards Peking.

From the course of the talks and the communique issued afterwards it is clear that the United States has not succeeded in making Japan toe its present anti-China line, cajolery and pressure notwithstanding. China, public opinion in Japan asserted, is a close neighbour, and it is in Japan's interests to forge close ties of friendship with the Chinese people. The Washington visitor was moreover given to understand that Japan has no intention of waiving its right to make its own decisions on policy questions of vital concern to itself. The American Secretary of State thus made no headway because the Japanese, being a proud people and jealous of their political independence,

would not allow themselves to be led by the nose.

Nor did Rusk fare any better on trade and economic matters. The "interest equalization tax" introduced by the late President Kennedy with the purpose of "saving the dollar" and shifting the U.S. financial crisis on to Japan hurts Japan's international balance of payments. Japan seeks to balance its trade with the United States, but the United States presses for the "liberalization" of Japanese foreign trade in order to dump American goods on the Japanese market. In a word, Wall Street refuses to keep its hands away from the throats of Japanese businessmen.

South Viet Nam

Another Change of Jockeys

Within three months the United States has had to engineer yet another coup in south Viet Nam. The military junta headed by General Duong Van Minh which replaced Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother Nhu in the bloody coup of last November has been found to be "weak and ineffective." Washington's man in Saigon now is General Nguyen Khanh, Commander of the First Army Corps, who is presumably more to the Pentagon's taste because of his strident avowal to the Americans that he would give undivided attention to getting on with the war against "the Viet Congs."

If the U.S. imperialists have had to change two sets of jockeys in three months, they must be in a bad way. After getting rid of the Ngo brothers they put their money on the Duong Van Minh junta, parading it as enjoying wide popular support and capable of carrying the war against the Viet Congs to final victory. But in all the operations launched since the November coup the Americans and their underlings have taken heavy drubbings from the people's forces.

To make things worse, the situation in Saigon

itself was getting out of control. On January 17 two thousand workers, mostly women, of the American-financed Vinatexco Textile Mill went on strike for better pay and working conditions. They had the backing of other working people in the city. Fifteen tanks and four armoured vehicles with marines and police were sent to put down the strike. Duong Van Minh was so zealous in protecting Wall Street's interests that he did not stop at using toxic chemicals.

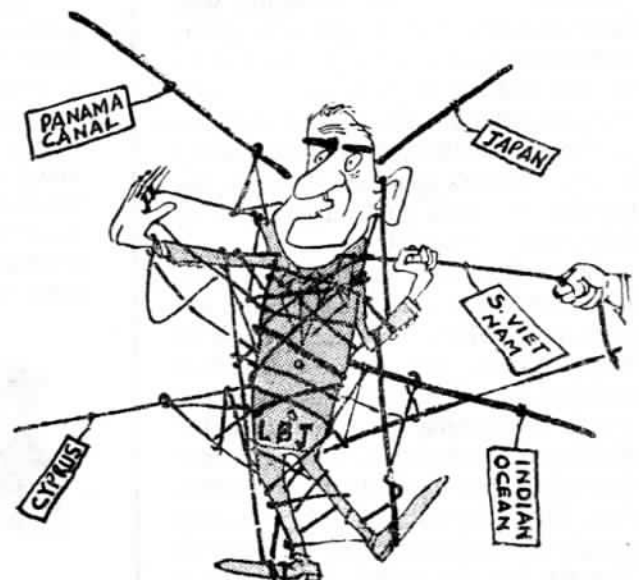
This bloody crackdown on the unarmed women workers has raised a storm in Saigon and other cities against the regime "enjoying wide popular support." Ever wider sections of the people in south Viet Nam are demanding that an end be put to all oppressions and the American imperialists be drummed out of the country.

With the war going even worse than before, the Johnson Administration took the only course it knew — it discarded the running dogs which had so early proved their uselessness. But what more can the new running dogs do for their master? The people of south Viet Nam will fight on till their country is free. The trouble is not with jockeys. It is with the lame horse of Yankee imperialism.

East Africa

Operation Return

The people of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda fought hard to win national independence. But the British imperialists never really gave up



Caught in His Own Web

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

hope of prolonging their domination. They schemed for an opportunity to stage a comeback. Their chance came in the latter part of January. British troops were landed in Tanganyika and Uganda and, in all three countries, attacked African soldiers who were demanding expulsion of British officers, Africanization of the army and a pay rise.

In actions reminiscent of the days of gunboat rule, the British colonialists used brute force to accomplish their "civilizing mission." In Tanganyika, where the African soldiers first rose against British officers, London landed commandos in Dar-es-Salaam after bombardment from the aircraft carrier *Centaur* and frigate *Rhyl*. They disarmed soldiers of the first battalion of the Tanganyika Rifles. Similar actions were taken against other military units in Tabora and Nachingwea.

In Uganda, the British flew in troops to Entebbe and launched a pre-dawn attack on the army barracks at Jinja, 50 miles from Kampala the capital. In Kenya, where British troops had stayed on after independence promising departure 12 months later, they also moved against African troops in Camp Lanet, near Nairobi. In all, two British aircraft carriers, fighters and helicopters and some 4,000 troops were employed in "Operation Return."

Rhodesia

Next Objective

Northern Rhodesia, one of the three members of the defunct Central African Federation, has achieved self-government. For the Africans who make up more than 95 per cent of the population this means the beginning of the end of alien rule. Kenneth Kaunda, who led his United National Independence Party (UNIP) to victory in last month's general election, has become the first African premier of this copper-rich land.

Under him are 13 ministers. The key portfolios of defence, foreign affairs, and police, however, remain in British hands. Until these entrenched positions of colonialism disappear the people of Zambia (ancient name for Northern Rhodesia) cannot consider themselves free from British domination. Their next objective is therefore complete independence. Kenneth Kaunda has demanded independence this year—on October 24th, to be

exact—and has declared that Northern Rhodesia will be a republic.

If the Africans in Northern Rhodesia have taken a big step forward in their struggle for freedom, their brothers in Southern Rhodesia have yet to clear the first hurdle on the road. The minority government of Winston Field, intent on keeping political power in white hands, is cracking down on the nationalist movement with increasing ferocity.

It has already banned the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the voice of Zimbabwe nationalism. Last week, on the flimsiest of pretexts, the white settlers' dictatorship sentenced ZAPU's leader Joshua Nkomo to six months imprisonment. But the flame of national liberation now sweeping through Africa will not recoil at the doorstep of Southern Rhodesia. It will burn down the iniquitous system of colonialism here, as it has done elsewhere on the emergent continent.

Panama v. U.S.

Case for All Latin America

Talks between Panama and Washington with the Inter-American Peace Committee as middleman have broken down. Panama is demanding a new canal treaty while the Johnson Administration stubbornly refuses even to negotiate treaty revision.

Since there is no meeting ground, Panama has taken up the issue with the Organization of American States

and, in its search for a just solution, has requested a special meeting. Accusing the United States of "using armed force in ugly aggression against the unarmed people of little Panama," Panamanian Ambassador to the O.A.S. Miquel Moreno declared that "the case of Panama is the case of all Latin America." The Latin American countries, he said, "cannot leave Panama at the mercy of a big power which has expressed its unwillingness to recognize Panama's national sovereignty" and subjects Panama to "the unjustified treatment of force."

There is no doubt that this stand has the backing of the Panamanian people. Over the week, more protest meetings have been held in Panama and public letters have been addressed to President Chiari urging him to stand firm. Solidarity demonstrations are taking place in sister countries on the continent as well as in Asia and Africa.

Support is also forthcoming from several Latin American governments. Uruguay backs Panama's call for an O.A.S. meeting. And President Francisco Orlich of Costa Rica deflated U.S. threats to build another canal through Central America when he called the Bryan-Chamorro Canal Treaty of 1914 on which the Yankees stake their claim "a disgrace to the Americas."

It seems that the area of manoeuvre for Mr. Johnson is shrinking.

THE PASSING SHOW

The Affluent Society

This being an election year, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson finds it good politics to "declare war" on poverty at home and promise aid to the "forgotten fifth" in the United States "who live without hope, below minimum standards of decency."

And he isn't exaggerating. Nearly one-half of all non-whites in America live in poverty. More than 40 per cent of all farm-families are poor. These, along with the elderly and the unemployed, make up 9.3 million families whose life is described in the following words by a published report of the President's Council of Economic Advisors: "It is a world where Americans are literally concerned with day-to-day survival—a roof over their heads, where the next meal is coming from. It is a world where a minor illness is a major tragedy,

where pride and privacy must be sacrificed to get help, where honesty can become a luxury and ambition a myth."

Millionaire politician Johnson cannot be expected to change any of these, but it does lift a corner of the plush curtain of affluence which Wall Street propaganda tries to drape over the American society.



SPORTS

New Records

Chinese sportsmen started 1964 in fine style. On New Year's Day in Kunming, with a throw of 17.18 metres, Ho Yung-hsien set a new national record for the men's shot put at a track and field meet. Last month, Wang Shu-yuan, one of China's leading speed skaters, established a new all-China record for the women's 3,000 metres by clocking 5 min. 21.6 sec. at a skating competition in northeast China's Mutanchiang. At the Berlin international speed skating competitions China's Youth Team won 3 and came second in 3 others of the 8 events. All this was a good follow-up on the fine sports achievements of last year.

Successful Year. Last year saw Chinese sportsmen set 94 national records in track and field, swimming, weightlifting, archery, cycling and six other events. They also improved 12 world records and equalled 2.

Particularly good results were achieved by featherweight Chen Ching-kai, lifting 151 kg. in the clean and jerk, and bantamweight Li Chi-yuan, raising 108 kg. in the snatch; by the 19-year-old girl archer Li Shulan who totalled 1,148 points in the four distances of 30, 50, 60 and 70 metres in the single round event and 2,269 points in the double round event, and by the archer Hsu Kai-tsai with scores of 302 and 585 points for the men's 50 metres single round and

70 metres double round events respectively. These were all new world records.

Li Fu-tun scored 395 points out of a possible 400 in the men's 300 metres full-bore rifle prone shooting event to equal the world record.

1963 also saw Chinese sportsmen gain a fair measure of success in international competitions and at the First Games of the New Emerging Forces in Indonesia. At the 27th World Table Tennis Championships in Prague, Chinese players won the men's team event, the men's singles and doubles. At the Karuizawa world speed skating championships in Japan, Lo Chih-huan won a gold medal in the men's 1,500 metres while in the women's competitions Wang Shu-yuan won a silver medal in the 1,000 metres.

China's teenage chess players did well in 1963. In *weiqi* (go in Japanese), several were successful in matches against visiting Japanese professional players. In international-rule chess, several young Chinese players played visiting Soviet Grandmasters to a draw.

In track and field, China's men's national high jump champion Ni Chih-chin cleared 2.20 metres while Cheng Feng-jung, women's national champion, leapt 1.78 metres to take their place among the best in the world.

SHORT NOTES

Colourful Folk Spectacles have been vying with skaters for winter pop-



A scene from the Peking opera "Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Ghost" performed on ice by Peking middle school students and teachers

ularity in the many parts of China where temperature dips are sufficient for ice skating.

The banks of the frozen lake in Peking's picturesque Beihai Park were lined with spectators watching a unique variety ice show. The delighted turnout ohed and ahed as three ever popular Peking operas, complete with monkey king Sun Wukung and Pigsy from the popular classical novel *Pilgrimage to the West* and other mythological characters, were performed on skates. Well-known folk dances such as the *Peacock Dance* and dances of the many nationalities in China drew rounds of applause from thousands for their frosty grace and colour. Performers were mostly primary and middle school students and teachers, as well as famous Peking speed and figure skaters.

In Harbin in the northeast, large turnouts filled the parks even at 30° below (Centigrade). Candle burning lanterns made out of chunks of ice hanging on icicles made for a nighttime winter wonderland. In varying shapes and sizes, the lanterns are a traditional folk art. Sculptures on ice helped round out an eye-filling spectacle: chrysanthemums and camellias growing in pots of ice, an ice carved crystal palace, complete with a giant pagoda, an arched bridge, a pavilion and lions, were only part of the large display of art on ice.



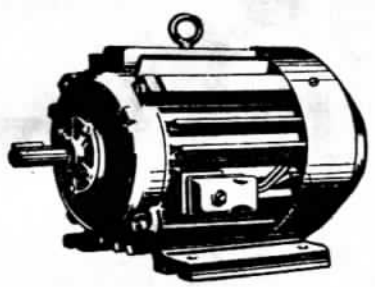
Champion speed skater Wang Shu-yuan

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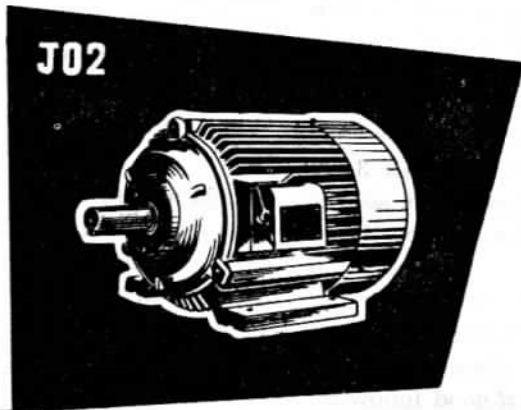
INDUCTION MOTORS

TOTALLY-ENCLOSED, FAN-COOLED, SQUIRREL-CAGE TYPE

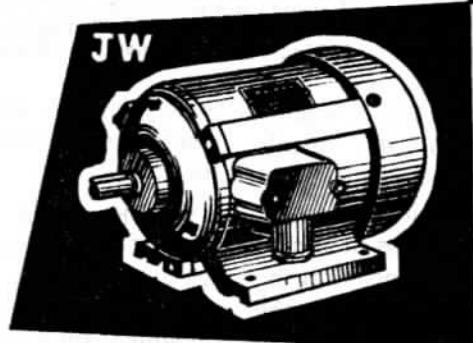
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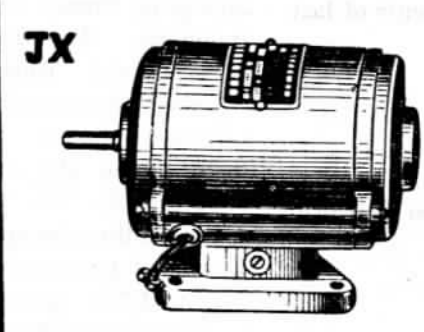
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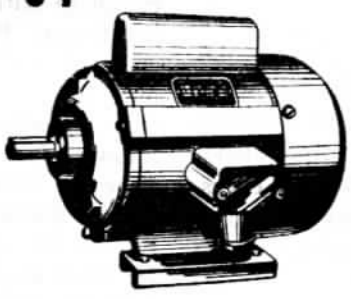
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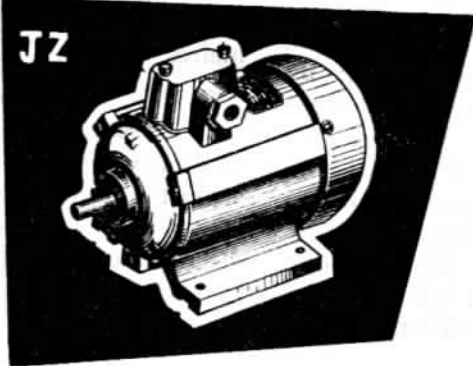
JX



JY



JZ



Type	Output	Phase
JO	0.6-100 kw	3
JO2	1-30 kw	3
JW	8-600 w	3
JX	4-90 w	1 capacitor run
JY	180-600 w	1 capacitor start
JZ	60-400 w	1 split-phase start

Other items for export:

- Switchgear, various types
- PVC or rubber insulated cables
- Enamelled copper wires
- AC or DC welders
- Artificial graphite electrodes, etc.

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