

PEKING REVIEW

18
May 1, 1964

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Premier Chou En-lai Reports on His Visit to 14 Countries

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"Renmin Ribao" Editorial Department's Note

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U.S. Steps Up Aggression In Indo-China

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Amongst Hills and Streams Of Hunan

Here is another diary of Rewi Alley's travel into China's inlands following the two widely read books, *China's Hinterland - in the Leap Forward* (published in 1961) and *Land and Folk in Kiangsi* (1962).

The author's destination this time was Hunan, a central China province where he lived in the years of the war against Japan.

His tour took him to the cloud-enshrouded peaks of Hengshan and to the backwoods inhabited by the minority nationalities who were so discriminated against by the reactionary governments of the old days, but are now building a new life with the same spirit and at the same tempo as the rest of the country.

The author who is a New Zealander, really knows China and her people. He has been watching China at close quarters for the last thirty-seven years, going through all the changes and struggles of that period along with those he has worked with.

He writes with insight and understanding and in a style as unpretentious as the children he meets in a mountain village school or the man who is devoting his life to looking after a spruce forest.

Anecdotes and historical incidents add greatly to the interest of his story.

The book is illustrated by dozens of photographs snapped by the author as he went along on his tour.

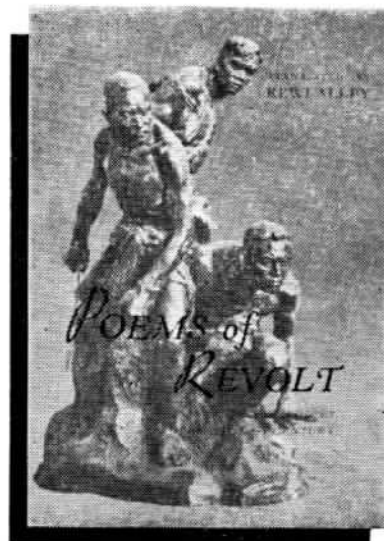
Poems of Revolt

Translated by Rewi Alley

This anthology of poems, songs and folk chants composed by revolutionary fighters, martyrs before execution, peasants, leaders, rank and file, and poets covers the past century of China's history. Translated by Rewi Alley, "Poems of Revolt" come from the Taiping Revolution, Nien and Yi Ho Tuan Uprisings as well as the struggles of the early Liberated Areas, the War of Resistance, and the beginning of the War of Liberation. These poems, most of which appear for the first time in English, will certainly give the foreign reader a deeper understanding of the thoughts and feelings of the Chinese people in their struggle against their enslavers and for a better life.

Illustrated

228 pages



Published by **NEW WORLD PRESS,** Peking

PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

May 1, 1964 Vol. VII No. 18

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

Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Premier Chou En-lai gave a report on his visit to 14 countries at a recent joint session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the plenary meeting of the State Council.

• *Renmin Ribao* published M.A. Suslov's anti-Chinese report to the February plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. with a note by its editorial department, an anti-Chinese resolution adopted by this plenary meeting, *Pravda's* April 3 editorial and Khrushchov's speeches and statements made between April 3 and 18 attacking China.

• The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement condemning the reactionary coup in Vientiane.

• A Peking rally demonstrated solidarity with the Japanese people in their united action for the recovery of Okinawa from the U.S. imperialists, withdrawal of U.S. military bases and abolition of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty."

• Peking youth marked Anti-Colonialism Day (April 24) with a mass meeting attended by 10,000 people.

• Scheduled flights start on the China-Pakistan air route.

• A delegation of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Burundi arrived in Peking for a visit.

• The Chinese press reported:

— the April 19 editorial of the Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon* denouncing the anti-Chinese campaign launched by certain persons determined to split the socialist camp.

— an editorial by Jacques Grippa in *La Voix du Peuple*, organ of the Belgian Communist Party, denouncing the leadership of the C.P.S.U. for its anti-Chinese report at the February plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

— a resolution adopted at a meeting of Marxist-Leninist members of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Colombia, repudiating the revisionist line of the leadership of the Colombian Communist Party and announcing the founding of the Colombian Communist Youth Union.

— the special national meeting held on April 19 by young Belgian Communists, which elected a new national bureau of the Belgian Communist Youth League and which condemned the outgoing bureau for its revisionist activities.

Chinese and Australian C.P. Leaders Meet

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on April 28 met and had a cordial talk with E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and R. Oke, Member of the Party's Central Committee.

The Australian comrades arrived in China early last month. In Peking,

they visited many places of interest, including the Peking Electronic Tube Factory and the Peking Institute of Physical Culture. They received a warm welcome from the workers and students.

On April 14, they visited the China School of Dancing and the Peking School of Ballet Dancing in the company of Hsia Yen, Vice-Minister of Culture. Together they watched a performance of dances depicting Chinese revolutionary struggles, and Chinese folk and classical dances.



Comrade Mao Tse-tung greets Comrade E.F. Hill and Comrade R. Oke (centre)

on Japan's sovereignty. By making the island a military stronghold and turning it into its biggest nuclear base in the Far East, U.S. imperialism has posed a serious threat to peace and security in this part of the world. And today, the cries "Recover Okinawa!" and "Yankees, go home!" are resounding throughout Japan as its people launch another great united action for the recovery of Okinawa, the removal of all U.S. military bases from Japan and the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty."

submarines there. All this has seriously undermined the independence of Japan and endangered its security and gravely threatens peace in Asia and the rest of the world."

Paying tribute to the Japanese people for their heroic and persistent struggle against their mortal enemy — U.S. imperialism, Mao Tun said that the gigantic campaigns now spreading in Japan for the return of Okinawa and the liquidation of U.S. military bases and for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China would make a great contribution to Asian and world peace. He condemned the modern revisionists as apologists for U.S. imperialism. He said: "They are bent on sacrificing the interests of the people of the socialist countries, of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the whole world in order to collaborate with U.S. imperialism. They are trying to be partners of the U.S. aggressors in dominating the world." But, he continued, the national-democratic movement would continue its advance in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He declared: "We firmly believe that neither U.S. imperialism nor its partners — the modern revisionists and the splitters — can submerge the great struggle of the Japanese people. Rallying closely around the great patriotic banner of opposing U.S. imperialism, the Japanese people will certainly overcome all difficulties, carry on their struggle and win final victory."

Several Japanese friends also spoke at the rally. They castigated both the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists and expressed confidence that their people would drive U.S. imperialism out of Japan.

Shisuma Kahi, leader of the delegation of the Japanese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, said that the Japanese people's struggle for the liberation of Okinawa was like that of the Chinese people for the liberation of Taiwan. "The recent proposal of N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, for a so-called peaceful settlement of territorial disputes between countries," he exposed, "will in fact defend the existing boundary lines im-

as well as ballet dances. After the performance, they went on stage to thank the teachers and students taking part. Amidst applause Comrade Hill said to them: "All forms of art must be in the service of the proletarian revolution and socialism. It is vitally important to remember the great revolutionary struggles of the past so that the complete victory of socialism can be won and consolidated. What we saw this morning shows that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, you have learnt this lesson and are putting it into practice."

Demonstrating solidarity with the Japanese people, Peking held a rally attended by more than 1,500 people including leaders of Chinese mass organizations, friends from Japan and other parts of Asia and from Africa and Latin America.

Addressing the rally Mao Tun, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, reaffirmed the Chinese people's support for the Japanese people in their struggle. He censured U.S. imperialism for seriously encroaching on Japan's sovereignty and riding roughshod over the Japanese people. "In order to build up a nuclear strategic system in Asia centred around Japan and turn the whole of Japan into its largest base for aggression in Asia," he said, "U.S. imperialism is now using the Japan-U.S. 'Security Treaty' to bind Japan more closely to its war chariot. The United States has manipulated the 'Japan-ROK' talks to rig up an aggressive 'North-east Asia Military Alliance' and is plotting to get the support of the Japanese militarists to prop up its colonial rule in south Korea. The United States has already sent nuclear-capable aircraft to Japan and is trying to send nuclear-powered

Get Out of Okinawa, U.S. Imperialism!

On April 28, Okinawa Day, the people of Asia and Africa and all those who love peace the world over joined the Japanese people in demanding: Get out of Okinawa, U.S. imperialism!

In defiance of the Japanese people's just demand for recovery of Okinawa, U.S. imperialism has been hanging on in the island since World War II ended. Its occupation has brought great sufferings to the local population and is an infringement

posed by imperialism. We can never accept this position and give up our struggle for the liberation of Okinawa," he declared.

Gyozo Abe, leader of the delegation of the Tokyo Peace Committee, said that the struggle waged by the Japanese people to drive out U.S. imperialism conformed to the interests of the Asian people. "The united front cannot be expanded by evading the struggle against the splitters who prettify U.S. imperialism," he said.

Asano Kanda, a Japanese woman activist, condemned those people who, while crying loudly for peaceful coexistence and disarmament, disregarded the struggles waged in blood for national independence by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism headed by the United States. She declared: "Our experience of struggle in Japan has made us deeply conscious that those who want to fight against U.S. imperialism must fight against modern revisionism."

Anti-Colonialism Day

April 24 is Anti-Colonialism Day.

It is now eight years since representatives of Asian and African students, meeting in Bandung in May 1956, decided to make April 24—the closing day of the triumphant First Asian-African Conference—the day of solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. In those intervening years the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have gained magnificent victories in their fight against the forces of reaction. Each victory has weakened the foundations of imperialist and colonialist rule and contributed to the cause of world peace.

Peking marked the day with a mass rally in the Great Hall of the People. Among the 10,000 people present were Ho Lung, Vice-Premier; Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; leaders of the national youth, student, trade union and women's organizations; and guests from Korea, south Viet

Nam, Zanzibar, Japan, Angola, Panama and Colombia.

Addressing the rally Liu Hsi-yuan, President of the All-China Youth Federation and Member of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Youth League's Central Committee, pledged support for the youth and people of all countries in their anti-imperialist struggle. "The youth and other people of Asian, African and Latin American countries," he said, "have gained a common experience in their struggles: that is, U.S. imperialism is the main bulwark of modern colonialism, the greatest exploiter in the world and the most ferocious enemy of the world's people. To overthrow the evil colonial system, to win and safeguard national independence and to secure real world peace, it is imperative to oppose U.S. imperialism."

Choi Chang Ryool from Korea told the rally that his people were determined to drive the U.S. invaders out of south Korea and achieve an independent, unified and peaceful Korea. He stressed that there could never be national independence and peace if the struggle against imperialism, and particularly the struggle against U.S. imperialism, was diverted from its goal.

Thanh Hai from south Viet Nam gave a detailed report of the great victories of his people in their patriotic war against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. He expressed confidence that since the U.S. imperialists had failed in their "special warfare" in south Viet Nam they would surely fail in their aggression everywhere in the world.

Delegates from other countries also spoke at the rally, hailing the great victories of the Asian, African and Latin American people in their anti-imperialist struggle. The rally adopted a message to the youth of Asian, African and Latin American countries, calling on them to unite still more closely in the struggle against U.S. imperialism—the bastion of colonialism today.

Burundi Guests Arrive

A three-member delegation of the National Assembly of the Kingdom

of Burundi led by the Assembly President, Thadde Siryuyumunsi, arrived in Peking on April 28. They have come on a friendly visit at the invitation of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

At the airport to greet the distinguished guests were Chairman Chu Teh, and Kuo Mo-jo and Li Wei-han, Vice-Chairmen of the N.P.C. Standing Committee. Over 1,000 Peking citizens carrying multi-coloured banners and flowers beat gongs and drums in welcome.

Extending a warm welcome to the visitors at a banquet that same evening, Chairman Chu Teh said he hoped that they would make themselves at home during their stay. He praised the Government and people of the Kingdom of Burundi for following a policy of neutrality and non-alignment and for their unremitting efforts to clear their country of the remnant influences of colonialism, to safeguard their national sovereignty and build an independent national economy. He wished the people of Burundi still greater successes in the days to come.

President Thadde Siryuyumunsi, in reply, stressed that both Burundi and China had suffered from foreign domination. "China," he said, "is not an egoistical nation. After winning its own independence, China has never forgotten those nations which have not yet gained independence and self-government. China supports these countries and gives them encouragement. The people of the whole world are happy at this." He wished the Chinese people happiness and prosperity.

New Zealand C.P. Delegation in Peking

A delegation of the Communist Party of New Zealand led by Jack Manson, Member of its National Committee, arrived in Peking on April 28 to attend the May Day celebrations and visit the country at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Others in the delegation are

(Continued on p.28.)

Premier Chou En-lai Reports on The Results of His Visit to 14 Countries

Premier Chou En-lai made a report on his visit to 14 countries—the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Morocco, Albania, Tunisia, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon—at a recent joint session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the plenary meeting of the State Council. After discussion, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress unanimously approved Premier Chou En-lai's report. Following are excerpts from the report. Subheads and bold-face emphases are ours.—Ed.

THROUGH the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Premier Chou En-lai conveyed to the 650 million Chinese people the sincere friendship of the people of the 14 friendly countries for the Chinese people.

In his report, Premier Chou En-lai first gave an account of his visit and spoke of its results. He said: "After attending the independence ceremony of Kenya in early December 1963, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi joined me in Cairo, and from December 13, 1963, to February 5, 1964, we visited 10 African states and the People's Republic of Albania, and from February 14 to March 1 we visited three South Asian countries. These visits lasted a total of 72 days and covered a distance of 108,000 li." Premier Chou said: **"Our visit was crowned with full success and attained the desired objectives. The visit has further consolidated and developed the great friendship and militant unity between the Chinese and Albanian Parties and the two countries, and further promoted the friendly co-operation between China and other Asian-African countries, thus contributing towards strengthening the great unity of the people of the world against imperialism and to the cause of defending world peace and achieving human progress."**

Visit to Albania

The first part of Premier Chou's report dealt with his visit to Albania. He said: "In the beautiful 'Land of the Eagles,' we spent nine unforgettable days with our Albanian comrades, bidding farewell to the old year

and welcoming in the new year together. We were accorded most sumptuous and cordial hospitality by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Government of the People's Republic, and wherever we went whole cities of fraternal Albanian people turned out to give us a rousing welcome. We visited Tirana, the glorious capital of Albania; Shkoder, a northern frontier city vital for defence; Vlora, an important seaport in the south; Korca, the cradle of revolution; and the famous historic city of Berat. **Everywhere we went we heard resounding cheers of 'Enver-Mao Tse-tung' and saw the deep-felt and excited smiles of the Albanian comrades. Profound is the friendship between comrades and the affection between comrades-in-arms. Such proletarian internationalist friendship of the Albanian people for the Chinese people is a tremendous encouragement and invaluable support to our people."**

Premier Chou paid warm tribute to the heroism and revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people. He said: "The Albanian people is a heroic people, and the People's Republic of Albania is a heroic country. For several centuries, the Albanian people carried on bitter and staunch struggles against foreign aggressors by relying on their own strength, and finally liberated themselves under the wise leadership of the Albanian Communist Party (renamed the Albanian Party of Labour in 1948) headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. Then the Albanian people smashed many subversive plots of the renegade Tito clique and repeatedly repulsed the military provocations of the Greek royalist-fascists, thus safeguarding their fruits of revolution."

Premier Chou said, "When the modern revisionists stirred up an adverse current against Marxism-Leninism, the Albanian Party of Labour came out courageously and dealt them resolute blows. **The Albanian comrades have resolved never to barter away principles in any circumstances. The well-known militant slogans—'A rifle in one hand, a pick in the other' and 'Rather die on our feet than live on our knees'—demonstrate the lofty revolutionary virtues and dauntless fighting spirit of the Communists and the entire people of Albania. During our visit, we saw for ourselves that the entire Albanian people are on guard, vigilant day and night and showing the highest morale and the fullest**

confidence. In the last 20 years, socialist Albania has stood firm like a mountain, encircled by enemies and shone forth the light of revolution over the whole world. We are sure that no matter what storm sweeps the world, the solid revolutionary bulwark of Albania will be able to resist it."

Speaking of the brilliant achievements of the Albanian people in socialist construction, Premier Chou said, "Before liberation, Albania was one of the most backward countries in Europe economically and culturally. It did not even have a single modern factory, a single railway or a single institute of higher learning. After liberation, earth-shaking changes took place in that country. In 1963, industrial output value was 30 times that of 1938, agricultural output value 2.4 times, and one out of every four persons was at school. Albania has become a socialist agricultural-industrial country with modern industry and collectivized agriculture."

Premier Chou pointed out that under the leadership of the Party, the Albanian people in the last few years had overcome serious difficulties caused by the perfidy of the modern revisionists, and made great progress in building socialism. The modern revisionists' economic pressure and severance of economic assistance had not only failed to intimidate the Albanian people, but on the contrary stimulated them to work harder, wage staunch and persistent struggle and resolve to build their motherland into a prosperous and powerful country. At present, the Albanian people were working for the realization of self-sufficiency in grain, meat and dairy products within a few years and for the development of industry on an even sounder basis.

Premier Chou said, "All the achievements gained by the Albanian people in their revolution and construction are the results of the correct leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. **The Albanian Party of Labour is a glorious Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party and a long-tested staunch force in the international communist movement. It has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with Albanian practice of the revolution and construction, and guided the Albanian people in surmounting thorny difficulties, waging heroic struggles and advancing from victory to greater victory. It has made outstanding contributions to the common struggle of the world Communists in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against modern revisionism.**"

Premier Chou said: "During our visit, we held cordial and friendly talks with Comrade Hoxha, Comrade Shehu and other Albanian Party and state leaders. Both sides fully exchanged views on further consolidating and developing friendship and unity, mutual assistance and co-operation between the Chinese and Albanian Parties and the two countries, on the current international situation and on major problems in the international communist movement, and both sides had fully identical views. The joint statement issued by

the two sides is an important document opposing imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries and modern revisionism. All this is of great significance to the cause of world proletarian revolution and the cause of defending world peace. For ever standing together with the fraternal Albanian people, the other peoples in the socialist camp and all the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world, the Chinese people will always hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of proletarian internationalist unity and the banner of opposing imperialism and defending world peace and fight to the end for the final victory of the great cause of the people of the world for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism."

Tour of Ten African Countries

The second part of Premier Chou's report dealt with his tour of 10 African countries. He said: "**The magnificent reception and warm welcome we received in the 10 African countries are also for ever unforgettable. Braving the hot weather, the people waited long on both sides of the road to cheer us. In some cities thousands of people came out, an atmosphere of joy and cheer prevailed, and everywhere there was singing, dancing and thunderous drum-beating. Those rousing scenes fully demonstrated the comradeship-in-arms between the African and Chinese peoples, who share each other's joy and sorrow.**"

Premier Chou then talked about the most favourable situation in Africa for the anti-imperialist revolution. He said, "The African people suffered the most barbarous and cruel enslavement and exploitation by colonialism for several centuries and waged protracted and heroic struggles against colonial rule. Since World War II, and especially since the Bandung Conference of 1955, the national-independence movement in Africa has developed with the power of a thunderbolt. At the time of the Bandung Conference, there were only four independent states in Africa. Now, of the 59 countries and regions in Africa, 34 have already attained independence. This is the outcome of the unremitting struggle of the African peoples. Those African peoples who are still under colonial rule are carrying on persistent struggles for their independence and freedom. The more ruthless colonial oppression, the more resolute the people's resistance becomes. Subjected to armed suppression by the colonialists, which is beyond endurance, more and more African peoples have finally risen in arms and have taken the road of armed struggle."

Premier Chou declared: "During our visit to the new emerging African countries, we were most deeply impressed by the profound change in the mental outlook of the African people. **Their courage and enthusiasm, energy and vigour, bespeak the mettle of a people who have become independent and have stood up on their own feet. They dare to be the masters of their own house and to manage their own state af-**

fairs; they dare to despise their enemies and to fight all oppressors, old and new. This fighting spirit constitutes the fundamental strength for the establishment of all the new emerging states. With this fighting spirit, a people can defeat all schemes and plots of the imperialists and old and new colonialists and overcome all difficulties and obstacles on their road of advance. Africa today is no longer what it was in the late 19th and early 20th century. It has become an awakened, militant and advanced continent."

Premier Chou pointed out that imperialism and old and new colonialism would never be reconciled to their defeat and were doing their utmost to obstruct the development of the national-liberation movement in Africa, in order to perpetuate their control of Africa. In most cases, the old colonialists had been compelled to make concessions but they had adopted neo-colonialist tactics in an effort to control the newly independent African countries in the military, political, economic, cultural and other fields. The U.S. neo-colonialists adopted even more cunning and sinister methods in an attempt to supplant the old colonialists and enslave the new emerging African states. This had daily intensified the struggle between the African people and imperialism and deepened the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements in Africa. Because of imperialist suppression and tricks the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements in some African countries might meet with temporary setbacks, but the African peoples were bound to continue forging ahead. For instance, although the national-independence movement in the Congo (Leopoldville) had suffered a setback in the face of U.S. imperialist intervention, thus turning the newly independent Congo into a semi-colony of the United States, the Congolese patriotic forces regrouped themselves and unfolded stormy armed struggles for national liberation against U.S. imperialism and its agents. Premier Chou pointed out that **whatever methods the imperialists and old and new colonialists used, pacification and deception or armed suppression, they could never prevent the development of the national-liberation movement in Africa.**

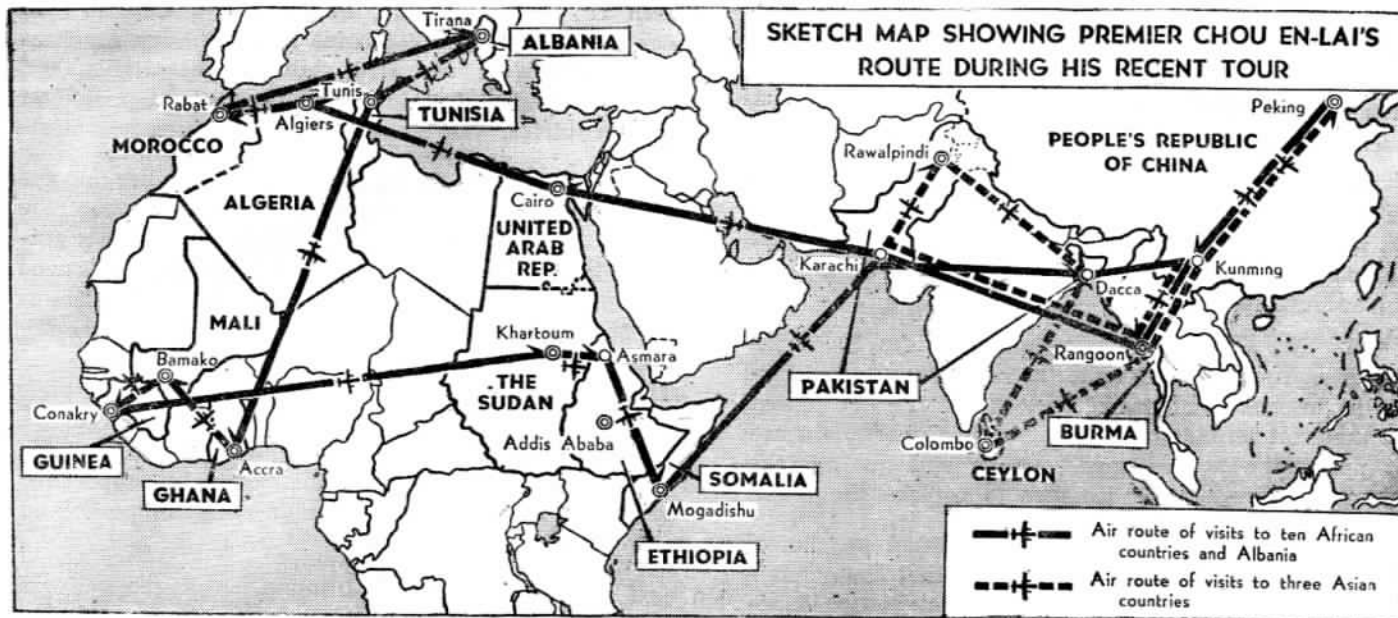
Premier Chou said that the people of the new emerging African states were carrying on unremitting struggles for liquidating colonialist influences and against imperialist control, interference, subversion and aggression. The United Arab Republic recovered the Suez Canal from the hands of the colonialists and nationalized British and French enterprises. Algeria took over 2,700,000 hectares of land (over 40 per cent of the cultivated land of the country) occupied by the colonialists, and confiscated a part of their enterprises. Morocco compelled the United States to agree to dismantle its military bases there. Tunisia recovered the military base at Bizerta. Of late, Ghana uncovered another subversive plot by imperialism, and the Ghanaian Government and people were carrying on a resolute struggle against imperialist subversive activities. Mali compelled the dismantling of all foreign military

bases in its territory and took back the Niger Company, a colonialist agricultural monopoly enterprise. Guinea nationalized the greater part of the colonialists' industrial and commercial enterprises. The Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia were also carrying on struggles to safeguard state sovereignty and consolidate national independence against control and interference by old and new colonialists. Premier Chou emphasized that all these just struggles of the independent African states were a component of the anti-imperialist national revolution in Africa.

Premier Chou said: "Leaders of many new emerging African states indicated that they would continue to push the revolution forward. They hold that their urgent task at present is to rely firmly on the masses of the people, consolidate revolutionary state power, establish and develop national armed forces for self-defence, build up an independent national economy, develop national culture and a national language, etc. We believe that if they do so, the fruits of revolution of the African peoples can be safeguarded and the national-democratic revolution can be pushed forward continuously."

Premier Chou then stated that the people of the new emerging African states were making efforts to develop their national economy, build up their own countries and gradually wipe out the poverty and backwardness caused by colonial domination, and had already achieved remarkable successes. **Leaders of many African states pointed out that, in order thoroughly to get rid of the control of imperialism and old and new colonialism and to attain complete independence, political independence alone was not enough and further efforts must be made to gain economic independence.** As a result of protracted imperialist colonial domination and plunder, there existed in most of the African countries a lopsided economy based on a single industrial crop and the mining industry alone. The imperialists were doing their utmost to perpetuate this state of affairs, with the view of permanently controlling and exploiting the African countries economically. Therefore, the development of an independent national economy by new emerging African states had to be a serious struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

Premier Chou said: "We are glad to see that the governments and people of the new emerging African states are gaining experience from the practice of national construction, and opening up a path for the development of the national economy which suits the specific conditions of their own countries. Africa possesses industrious and brave peoples and abundant subterranean, surface and marine resources. We believe that, **if only they resolutely rely upon the strength of the masses, make full use of their own resources and at the same time carry on mutual assistance and cooperation with friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, the new emerging African states will surely be able to build up their countries gradually.**



An independent, prosperous and strong new Africa will surely emerge."

Premier Chou said: "During the visit, we held friendly talks with the leaders of 10 African countries — Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic; Ahmed Ben Bella, President of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria; Hassan II, King of Morocco; Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic of Tunisia; Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana; Modibo Keita, President of the Republic of Mali; Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea; Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces of the Republic of the Sudan; Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia; Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, Premier of the Republic of Somalia — and exchanged views on the further development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and these countries and on international problems of common interest. We reached unanimity of views and issued a number of joint communiques conducive to strengthening the Asian-African peoples' cause of unity against imperialism. Our country established diplomatic relations with Tunisia and reached agreement with Ethiopia on the normalization of relations between the two countries in the near future."

Premier Chou said: **"During the visit, we set forth the following five principles guiding China's relations with African and Arab countries:**

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

"2. It supports the pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the governments of the African and Arab countries.

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

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

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

"These five principles represent the concrete application of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference and a development of the Bandung spirit; they received the approval of many African countries. We shall carry them through in the days to come."

Premier Chou said: **"We also set forth the following eight principles for our aid to foreign countries:**

"1. The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.

"2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.

"3. China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.

"4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.

"5. The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital.

"6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.

"7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique.

"8. The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

"These eight principles fully embody our country's sincere desire to carry out economic and cultural co-operation with the new emerging countries. They apply to our country's aid not only to the new emerging countries in Africa, but also to those in Asia and other parts of the world."

Premier Chou En-lai emphasized, "The Chinese Government and people always consider that assistance is mutual. When the new emerging countries in Asia and Africa are prosperous and strong they will add to the Asian and African people's strength in fighting imperialism and old and new colonialism and winning and safeguarding national independence, as well as to the strength of the people of the whole world in opposing imperialism and defending world peace. This in itself is a great support and assistance to the Chinese people. The Asian and African countries have similar experience and are situated in more or less the same circumstances. **Our mutual help is the kind that exists between friends who are poor, and face similar problems, and is not 'aid' that is used by strong, big powers to bully the weak and small. Our mutual help is at present small in scale, yet it is reliable, practical and conducive to the independent development of the countries concerned.** With the development of construction in our respective countries, our mutual assistance will daily grow in quantity and scope."

Tour of Three South Asian Countries

The third part of Premier Chou En-lai's report dealt with his trip to three South Asian countries. He said: "After Africa, we went to three friendly

Asian countries — Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon. We were revisiting these countries and felt very much at home. We were accorded solicitous hospitality and a warm welcome by the Governments and people of these countries."

Premier Chou En-lai stated: "There has always been a profound *paukphaw* friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples. With a view to strengthening the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries, the leaders of our two countries have frequently visited each other. This was my sixth visit to Burma. During this visit, we held cordial talks with Chairman Ne Win at Ngapali. Both sides pledged to work for the further development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. The Chinese side expressed support for the Burmese Government's foreign policy of peace and neutrality."

Premier Chou En-lai continued that in recent years friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Pakistan had greatly developed as a result of the joint efforts of the two sides. After the satisfactory settlement of their boundary question, the two countries concluded an air transport agreement and a trade agreement.

"Throughout our visit to Pakistan, whether in East Pakistan or in West Pakistan, we found ourselves at all time living in an atmosphere of profound friendship, which the Pakistan people cherish for the Chinese people, and were greatly moved by this. We have seen with our own eyes that the Pakistan people are determined to struggle against foreign pressures and threats, for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and promoting Asian-African solidarity. No foreign interference or pressure can prevent the Pakistan people from continuing their advance on the road of independence," Premier Chou En-lai said.

He added that the friendly and frank talks he had with President Ayub Khan had further strengthened mutual understanding and a joint communique was issued after the talks. All this opened up even broader prospects for the further development of Sino-Pakistan friendship and co-operation. In the joint communique the two parties expressed the hope that the Kashmir dispute would be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan.

Premier Chou En-lai said that the visit to Ceylon made by Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling and himself had strengthened Sino-Ceylonese friendship and co-operation.

"In recent years," he continued, "the Ceylonese Government under the leadership of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, continuing in the spirit of the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike, has made progress in combating imperialist subversion and interference, wiping out the colonial forces and developing the nation's own economy. Of late Ceylon has nationalized

the distribution of petrol and the insurance business which were formerly monopolized by foreign capital. The Ceylonese Government expressed its opposition to the entry of the U.S. Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean and solemnly declared that foreign warships or aircraft carrying nuclear weapons would not be allowed to enter Ceylonese waters or air space. All this shows the determination of the Ceylonese people to persist in independence and in fighting imperialism."

"In our talks with the Ceylonese leaders we expressed our firm support for the policies of independence, peace and neutrality pursued by the Ceylonese Government. During the talks the two parties discussed the development of economic co-operation between the two countries."

Analysing the present situation in Asia, Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that the national-democratic revolution there was developing with increasing intensity. The fight against U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention, subversion and control has become a clear indication of the deepening of the anti-imperialist national revolution in Asia. In the areas under U.S. military occupation and control, the struggle of the people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys was vigorously surging ahead. The people in the southern part of Viet Nam have won one victory after another in their just, patriotic struggle to resist U.S. armed aggression. The people in the southern part of Korea have recently unfolded a powerful campaign against "the Japan-ROK talks" directed behind the scenes by the United States. The just patriotic anti-U.S. struggle of the Japanese people was continuing to gain momentum. The military blocs organized by the United States to bind some Asian countries to its war chariot undermined their interests and were now disintegrating. The U.S. imperialist positions for aggression in Asia have been shaken to their very foundations. At the same time, the newly emerging Asian countries which were determined to embark on the road of independent development were dealing continuous blows to the U.S. imperialists' activities of intervention and subversion. The Cambodian Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Cambodian people were valiantly carrying on such a struggle.

Premier Chou En-lai said that in pushing their policies of aggression and war in Asia, the U.S. imperialists had inevitably made others to oppose themselves. They were interfering in the affairs of others and trying to control others everywhere, and everywhere they were arousing resistance. The people of Asian countries had come to understand with increasing clarity that U.S. imperialism was their chief enemy today. They also resolutely opposed aggression and interference by other imperialists. The flames of the struggle of the people of North Kalimantan for national independence and freedom were inextinguishable. The people of Indonesia and other Asian countries firmly opposed "Malaysia," a product of neo-

colonialism, which had been created by British imperialism and backed by U.S. imperialism. Provided the Asian peoples united in a resolute struggle, the United States and the other imperialists would sooner or later be driven out of Asia, lock, stock and barrel.

Premier Chou En-lai continued, "During our visit to Asian and African countries we found everywhere that the Bandung spirit was deeply embedded in the people's hearts and that the Asian-African people's cause of unity against imperialism had developed greatly. Leaders of many Asian-African countries hold that the time is ripe for convening a Second Asian-African Conference and active preparations should be made for this purpose. The present situation calls for the further strengthening of solidarity and co-operation among the Asian-African countries in opposing our common enemy. We must adopt concrete measures to support the struggle for national independence of the Asian-African peoples who are still under colonial rule. We must oppose imperialist aggression and interference, safeguard state sovereignty and consolidate national independence. We must carry out economic, cultural and technical co-operation in accordance with the principle of equality, mutual benefit and mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs and without imposing any conditions. We must strengthen our friendly co-operation in international affairs on the basis of the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. We must oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war and defend world peace. We are confident that the Second Asian-African Conference will hold still higher the banner of Afro-Asian solidarity in opposing imperialism and new and old colonialism, further develop the Bandung spirit and give more concrete expression to the Ten Principles worked out at the First Asian-African Conference so as to push forward the Asian-African people's cause of unity against imperialism. Together with the other Asian and African countries, the Chinese Government will do its bit to ensure the success of the preparations for the Second Asian-African Conference."

The Second Asian-African Conference and the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries were not mutually exclusive, Premier Chou En-lai pointed out. "In the China-Ceylon joint communique," he said, "we and the Prime Minister of Ceylon expressed the hope that the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries would contribute to the cause of opposing imperialism and colonialism, supporting national-independence movement and safeguarding world peace."

General Line of China's Foreign Policy

In the last part of his report, Premier Chou En-lai spoke of the Chinese Government's desire to continue to carry out unswervingly the general line of its foreign policy. He said that through the visit to the 14 African, European and Asian countries "we have become more aware of the fact that the general line of our

foreign policy conforms to the common interests of the Chinese people, the peoples of the socialist camp, the other Asian-African peoples and the people of the whole world."

Premier Chou En-lai said, "We shall continue our efforts to safeguard and strengthen unity and co-operation among the countries in the socialist camp. It has become increasingly clear that only by upholding Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement will it be possible genuinely to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among the countries in the socialist camp."

The Chinese Premier said, "We shall continue to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles. China has established and developed relations of friendship and co-operation with many countries on this basis. We are also ready to practise peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries including the United States on the same basis. But the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks, which have been going on for more than eight years, have failed to yield results up to now because the Government of the United States has time and again refused to reach agreement with the Chinese Government on peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles, and refused to guarantee the withdrawal of its armed forces from China's Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits. The main reason is that U.S. imperialism intends to continue its forcible occupation of China's territory of Taiwan, threatens China's mainland with armed force and persists in its policies of aggression and war against China. In order to sever Taiwan Province from the territory of the People's Republic of China, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its scheme to create 'two Chinas' or 'two Chinas' in other forms such as 'one China and one Taiwan.' It can be definitely said that such attempts, however varied, will never succeed."

Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that to strive for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles, it was necessary to oppose firmly the imperialist policies of aggression and war. However, the recent proposal of the Soviet Government about the so-called renouncing of the use of force in settling territorial disputes and boundary issues was a new fraud which served the imperialist policies of aggression and war. This proposal deliberately confused imperialist aggression and occupation of other countries' territories with territorial disputes and boundary questions between nations left over by history. Of course, boundary questions between Asian and African countries should and could find a fair and reasonable solution through peaceful consultations. This was also the case with boundary questions between socialist countries. But imperialist aggression and occupation of other countries' territories

was a matter of a completely different nature. As to countries whose territories had been invaded and occupied by imperialism, they naturally had every right to recover their lost territories by any means. To ask those countries which were subjected to aggression to renounce the use of force in any circumstances was in fact to ask the people of all countries to renounce their struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, placing themselves at the mercy of imperialism and submitting to imperialist enslavement.

"We must continue to render firm support and assistance to all oppressed peoples and nations in their revolutionary struggles," Premier Chou En-lai stressed. "The more these struggles are developed and the harder the imperialist forces of war and aggression are hit and further weakened, the greater are the gains for world peace. To oppose or disrupt the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations on any pretext is to help strengthen the imperialist forces of aggression and war and endanger world peace."

Premier Chou En-lai said that U.S. imperialism was riding roughshod and lording it over the whole world. It had become the most ferocious enemy of the people all over the world. **The countries which were subject to U.S. imperialist aggression, control, intervention and bullying must unite and form the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism.** Premier Chou En-lai expressed his deep conviction that, provided the peace-loving forces of the whole world were united and carried on unremitting struggles, the U.S. imperialist plan of aggression and war could be frustrated and world peace preserved.

Concluding his speech, Premier Chou En-lai said, "The present international situation is favourable to the revolutionary people of the world. But imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries and modern revisionism will continue to make trouble and struggle to keep going. There is still a prolonged and arduous struggle ahead. We must guard against conceit and impetuosity, remain modest and prudent, persevere in principle and march forward courageously. In international relations we must continue to act in the spirit of treating others as our equals and resolutely oppose and guard against any manifestation of great-power chauvinism. As the Chinese saying goes, "there are fragrant flowers in every land." We must continue to act in the spirit of learning from each other and learn earnestly all that is good from the people of the whole world. The people of our country must work hard and perseveringly to build our country with diligence and thrift and, by relying on our own efforts and striving for the prosperity of our country, ensure constant new successes on all the fronts of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. In the final analysis, only thus can we discharge better our proletarian internationalist duty in the common cause of the people of the world against imperialism and for world peace and human progress."

Anti-Chinese Report at the February Plenum of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee

Under the banner headline "Anti-Chinese Report at the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.," "Renmin Ribao" on April 27 devoted six pages (the third to eighth page) to the full texts of the anti-Chinese report delivered by M.A. Suslov at the plenum on February 14 and the anti-Chinese decision adopted by the plenum on February 15, which were made public in the Soviet Union on April 3, as well as the Soviet paper "Pravda's" anti-Chinese editorial of April 3. These three anti-Chinese documents are prefaced by a note of the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao."

On April 28, under the banner headline "Khrushchov's Recent Anti-Chinese Speeches and Statements," "Renmin Ribao" printed in full on nearly two and a half pages those passages in which Khrushchov attacked China in 12 speeches and statements he made between April 3 and April 18. At the same time, the paper published a report featuring Khrushchov's hysterical performances when he delivered his anti-Chinese speeches.

Below we print the full text of the note of "Renmin Ribao's" Editorial Department, and extracts from the three anti-Chinese documents mentioned above. — "P.R." Ed.

Note of "Renmin Ribao's" Editorial Department

ON April 3, 1964, the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published the anti-Chinese report delivered at the February plenum of the Central Committee under the title, "Struggle of the C.P.S.U. for Unity of the World Communist Movement," and also the anti-Chinese decision adopted by the plenum. On the same day, they published an editorial in *Pravda*. Letting no opportunity pass unexploited, Khrushchov made 12 anti-Chinese speeches or statements in rapid succession in the 16 days between April 3 and 18.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have continuously resorted to two-faced tactics. For more than six months, while talking about stopping public polemics, they have brazenly continued their anti-Chinese activities. They have made a great hue and cry about giving "the most resolute rebuff" to the Chinese Communist Party, about taking "collective measures" and "publishing materials and stating our views," and blustered about as if they really had some magic weapons at their disposal. But no Marxist-Leninist will be taken in or intimidated. We asked them long ago to produce all their magic weapons. Although we have not yet had the pleasure of seeing their "most resolute rebuff" and their "collective measures," the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have now begun to display at least a bit of their stuff. This is to be welcomed.

The documents and speeches of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. fully reveal that they were stepping up prep-

arations for their anti-Chinese campaign at the very time when they raised their clamour for the cessation of public polemics.

We forecast earlier that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. headed by the revisionist Khrushchov would be unable to produce any presentable wares. Things have turned out just as we foretold. Stuffed with cliches, the documents now published are incapable of giving any reasons why the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are right and their opponents wrong, but instead read like the abuse hurled by a harridan in the street. Truly, their documents fall far below the standards of a debate.

THE remarkable thing about the documents of the February plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. is that they are lies and nothing but lies, sophistry and nothing but sophistry, abuse and nothing but abuse. Yet it must be conceded that it is some sort of feat to knock together a document which takes up seven full pages in *Pravda* and which contains nothing but lies, sophistry and abuse.

On a rough estimate there are some 140 or 150 places in the documents where facts are distorted, right confounded with wrong and lies told.

Many of these lies have already been refuted by us in our eight comments on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. However, like

ostriches with their heads in the sand, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. deliberately ignore this and keep on repeating these worn-out lies. Apparently they have blind faith in the "philosophy of the lie" and think that if their lies are repeated often enough people will believe them. However, lies are always lame. Those who make a profession out of lying will come to no good end.

Nor is there much new in Khrushchov's speeches; besides his greater vulgarity, his contribution consists of such gestures as pounding the table, stamping his feet, brandishing his fists and grinding his teeth.

In these documents and speeches the classical Marxist-Leninist works are quoted in broken sentences, out of context and irrelevantly, so that the spirit and essence of the Marxist-Leninist classics are distorted or emasculated.

THESSE documents and speeches are a hodgepodge, a patchwork without pattern or order. In this they reflect the very characteristics of Khrushchov's revisionism. Khrushchov's revisionism is like a junk shop. However, the patches of his revisionism are pieced together by the revisionist line which has been gradually elaborated in the period from the 20th to the 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U., that is, the line of what they call "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition," "a state of the whole people" and "a Party of the entire people." The essence of this line is to oppose and renounce the proletarian revolution, to oppose and renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to alter the proletarian character of the Communist Party. This further testifies to the correctness of the conclusion we draw in our comments on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., namely, that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. represented by Khrushchov are indeed the greatest revisionists of our times.

These documents and speeches show that Khrushchov and the others have made up their minds to split with all Marxist-Leninists and unite only with the revisionists, to split with all revolutionaries and unite only with those who are against revolution, and to split with the broad masses of the people who are opposed to the imperialists and reactionaries and unite only with U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of all the people of the world, and with its lackeys. This further testifies to the correctness of the conclusion we draw in our comments on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., namely, that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. represented by Khrushchov are indeed the greatest splitters of our times.

These documents and speeches use the most vicious language to attack the Chinese Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism. Countless labels are pinned on it. To the old ones are now added "petty-bourgeois adventurism," "petty-bourgeois revolutionism," "petty-bourgeois socialism," "petty-bourgeois nationalism," "anti-Sovietism," "neo-Trotskyism," etc. This only serves to expose the inveterate hatred Khrushchov and the others have for Marxism-Leninism,

for class struggle, for revolution, for the national liberation movement and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. centre their attack particularly on Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people of all nationalities, and on his thinking. Thus they have only further exposed themselves as revisionists. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism by integrating its universal truth with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and Chinese construction. This has been borne out by the great victory of the Chinese revolution and the tremendous successes achieved in our construction, which no one can possibly obliterate. The thinking of Mao Tse-tung is welcomed by revolutionary people everywhere, for they derive a revolutionary weapon from the experience of the Chinese revolution and from the Marxist-Leninist works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This is a very good thing, and only the imperialists and reactionaries are unhappy about it. In their vain effort to vilify Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his ideas, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are like ants trying to shake a great tree, ridiculously overrating themselves.

Exploiting the label of Trotskyism to the full, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. now allege that the Chinese Communists are "neo-Trotskyites." However, they are lifting this rock only to drop it on their own feet. Marxist-Leninists know very well that in its essence Trotskyism is counter-revolutionary. It is quite easy to find out who are the real Trotskyites. We would like to remind you that there is indeed a person who supported Trotsky's reactionary views in the past and who had therefore to make self-criticism for committing the error of Trotskyism; that there is indeed a person who, singing the same tune as Trotsky, launched a frenzied campaign against Stalin at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., with the result that the Trotskyites in all countries, then at the end of their rope, began to raise their heads; and that there is indeed a person who is now colluding with Trotskyites everywhere and buying them over for the dirty work of sabotaging revolution. We are prepared to publish the relevant materials when necessary.

THERE is still less that is original in the attacks the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are making on the Chinese people's socialist construction and on our general line, great leap forward and people's communes. Their tune sounds exactly the same as that of the imperialists and reactionaries abroad and of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in China. Alas for the leaders of the C.P.S.U., this propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries has long since met with failure in the face of reality, and so the repetition of this tune by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. will not add to the stage effects of their anti-China farce. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have emerged victorious over the natural calamities of the last few years and have overcome the economic diffi-

culties caused by the perfidious actions of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. Our economy has taken an all-round turn for the better and is making progress year by year. We have had sufficient experience of the "concern" the leaders of the C.P.S.U. express. We would like to offer them a piece of advice: your erroneous policies have already brought hardship enough to the great Soviet people, and you had better pay more attention to your own domestic affairs instead of "worrying" yourselves about the Chinese people.

Today, this newspaper is ungrudgingly devoting a large amount of space to the full texts of the three anti-Chinese documents published by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on April 3, with the important parts printed in block letters to help our readers study them. The anti-Chinese parts of Khrushchov's speeches will also be published in full. At the same time, the local papers of every province, municipality and autonomous region will also carry extracts from all these documents and speeches. In addition to broadcasting them within the country, we shall broadcast them to the whole world in various languages. Once again we advise our Party members, cadres and people, and also Communists, revolutionaries and people the world over not to lose patience but to read through these materials despite their offensive smell and their prolixity. We should fully utilize these materials as negative examples in

order to gain a clearer understanding of the ugly features of revisionism and heighten our revolutionary consciousness. We must not lightly throw away these materials.

WE would like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U. a question, although we are not without knowledge of the answer. We have published your anti-Chinese documents and speeches in full and shall continue to publish your documents, speeches and articles against China, but do you dare publish our eight comments on your Open Letter? We are sure you dare not. In his struggle against Trotsky, Stalin dared to publish Trotsky's statements, because truth was on Stalin's side. We are not afraid of publishing all your materials, because truth is on our side. You dare not publish our materials which you stigmatize as "neo-Trotskyism," because you are afraid of the truth, because you are afraid of the daylight, and because you are afraid that the masses of the people will see through you.

We hereby declare that when we have finished answering the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. we shall answer in due order this set of anti-Chinese documents, speeches and articles as well as all other such documents, speeches and articles published by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. heretofore or hereafter.

Suslov's Anti-Chinese Report

THE anti-Chinese report delivered by M.A. Suslov, member of the Presidium and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU, entitled "Struggle of the CPSU for Unity of the World Communist Movement," is divided into eight parts: "Two Approaches to the Problem of the Role of the World Socialist System," "Question of War, Peace and Revolution," "The CPC Leaders' Policy of Isolating the National-Liberation Movement from the International Working Class," "On Soviet-Chinese Relations," "Attacks by the CPC Leaders on the Programme of the CPSU," "The Splitting Activities of the Chinese Leaders Within the World Communist Movement," "The Danger of the Petty-Bourgeois, Nationalist, Neo-Trotskyite Deviation," and "For Unity of World Communist Movement on the Basis of Marxist-Leninist Principles!"

The report accuses the Chinese leaders of "having gone even further in their factional activities and created a direct threat of a split in the world communist movement," and making the differences more acute instead of trying to eliminate them during all these years. "Starting out with a revision of certain tactical propositions of the world communist movement, they have, step by step, widened their rift with the CPSU and other fraternal Parties on cardinal problems of modern times and, in the end, have opposed the general policy of the world communist movement with their own special line, in which the fundamental theses of the Declaration and Statement are being revised from the standpoint of great-power chauvinism and petty-bourgeois adventurism. . . .

"Having to all intents and purposes rejected the Declaration and Statement collectively drawn up by the Communist

and Workers' Parties, the CPC leaders offer the fraternal Parties their own notorious '25-point programme', which essentially, boils down to the renunciation of the ever growing influence of the socialist system on the course of world development, a disparaging attitude to the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, the setting of the national-liberation movement off against the world system of socialism and the international working-class movement, adventurism in foreign policy and preservation of the state of 'cold war', sectarianism and putschism in questions of revolution, the defence and preservation of the personality cult methods and practices, which have been condemned by the communist movement, and justification of the factional struggle in the communist movement.

"The Chinese leaders have thus brought their disagreements with the communist movement to such a stage where they have virtually developed into differences on all basic questions."

The report makes a painstaking effort to justify the two-faced tactics of the leadership of the CPSU in keeping up its open anti-China campaign, while raising a hue and cry for an end to the public debate. The report says that "blinded by nationalist arrogance, the Chinese leaders paid no heed to the opinion and appeal of the fraternal Parties. They rejected our initiative and took the road of open political struggle against the collectively worked-out line of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. . . .

"For its general line, for the brazenness of its attacks against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties, Chinese propaganda is increasingly aligning itself with the anti-Communist organs of the reactionary imperialist circles. . . .

"Reviving the practices and methods used by the Trotskyites, the Chinese leaders are trying to oppose the Soviet people, the Soviet communists to the Party leaders and the leadership of the country. Matters have reached a stage where the Chinese press and radio are calling upon Soviet people to oppose the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government. . . .

"It signifies a complete renunciation of elementary norms of relations between Communist Parties, a renunciation of Marxist-Leninist principles of relations between socialist countries, a transition to positions of undisguised anti-Sovietism.

"The leaders of the CPC no longer limit themselves to action in the sphere of ideology. They have transferred ideological differences to inter-state relations, to the sphere of the practical political line of the socialist countries and the Communist Parties. Seeking to weaken the unity and solidarity of the socialist commonwealth, the CPC leaders are resorting to all sorts of manoeuvres and dodges in order to undermine the economic and political relations between the socialist countries and disorganise their actions in the international arena. Recently the Chinese leaders have sharply intensified their splitting, undermining activities in the world communist movement. There is now no longer any doubt that Peking is steering a course towards a split among the Communist Parties, towards the setting up of factions and groups hostile to Marxism-Leninism. . . .

"In an effort to screen their departure from Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese leaders have recently become more active in their manoeuvres, masking their objectives and designs and harping importunately on their 'revolutionism', 'courage', 'determination' and so forth. But the farther events develop, the more hysterical is the tone of Chinese propaganda and the more evident it is becoming that the real plans of the Chinese leadership have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism, with the interests of world socialism. It is becoming increasingly clear that under the mask of ultra-revolutionary verbiage and slogans, the CPC leadership are now savagely attacking the gains of world socialism, concentrating their main fire not against the imperialists but primarily against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties.

"True, the Chinese leaders continue to say a lot about their striving for unity and solidarity in the socialist commonwealth. But their deeds completely diverge from these words.

"They harp on unity, but all their actions have a different purpose, that of disorganising and splitting the socialist camp, undermining the ideological foundations and organisational and political principles that rally and unite the peoples of the socialist commonwealth. They want to impose upon the socialist countries a 'Sinified socialism', an adventurist line in foreign and domestic policy, and the personality cult ideology and practices.

"The Chinese leaders keep harping on their desire to 'strengthen' the international communist movement, to 'purge' it of 'modern revisionism' and unite it on a 'new foundation'. But the real aim of the CPC leadership is to split the united communist front, oppose the communist movement with a bloc of pro-Chinese factions and groups, and subordinate the Communist Parties to their influence, using all sorts of political apostates—renegades of communism, anarchists, Trotskyites and so on.

"The Chinese leaders prattle about their being the most reliable and tested friends of the national-liberation movement. But whoever believes this will be sadly disillusioned. The target of the CPC leadership is to impose their adventurist concepts and methods upon the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to counterpoise the peoples on racial grounds, and disrupt the alliance between the national-liberation and the working-class movement, which can only disorganise and weaken the national-liberation movement.

"Lately the Chinese leaders have been claiming that they are the true champions of peace and consistent advocates of peaceful coexistence between states with different social and economic systems. But who will believe them? Their provocative stand during the Caribbean crisis, their refusal to sign the Moscow partial test ban Treaty, and their ceaseless efforts to slander the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union have shown the whole world their reluctance to work for relaxation of world tension and their desire to preserve the 'cold war' as a suitable background for an adventurist policy.

"All the arguments that the leaders of the CC CPC so eagerly put forward about the interests of the world revolution and about the liberation struggle of the peoples are, in effect, designed to screen from world public opinion, from Communists, the principal strategic line of subordinating at all costs the communist and national-liberation movement to their great-power, egoistical interests. For the sake of this the principles of proletarian internationalism are being flagrantly trampled. To this end Marxist-Leninist teaching is reshaped and distorted and use is made of the worst traditions of petty-bourgeois nationalism and the most unscrupulous demagoguery and slander."

The first part of the report maligns the CPC leadership as having been "setting the national-liberation movement off against the socialist system and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, proclaiming it as the main force in the struggle against imperialism and undermining the unity of the revolutionary forces of modern times." Referring to the correct thesis in the article by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* on October 22, 1963 that "the national-liberation revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is now becoming the most important force that is dealing a direct blow at imperialism," it says that this "revises" the Marxist teaching on the historical role of the working class and "belittles" the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries. "As regards the world socialist system," the report says, "the Chinese theoreticians apportion to it only the role of a 'strong point' to support and develop the revolution of the oppressed nations and peoples of the whole world. It goes without saying that this stand can only harm both the socialist system and the national-liberation movement, the great cause of the struggle of the international proletariat. . . .

"The Yugoslav example brings out with particular clarity the Chinese leaders' claim to the role of 'supreme arbiters' in the socialist community who should judge which country is socialist and which isn't. Today they have, in defiance of the facts, 'excommunicated' Yugoslavia from socialism. Tomorrow it may occur to the CPC leadership to do as much with regard to other socialist countries. But what has this subjectivist and arbitrary approach to do with Marxism-Leninism? This is a method fit only for those who set at nothing the interests of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries."

The second part of the report accuses the CPC leaders of "fighting against the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence" and of countering this policy "with the idea of giving revolution a 'push' by means of war. The CPC leaders have gone as far as to assert that war is an acceptable and, in fact, the only means of settling the contradictions between capitalism and socialism."

The report brands the Chinese Communists' sound position on the question of nuclear war as "ultra-revolutionary verbiage, complete political irresponsibility".

It declares scurrilously that "the essence of the CPC leadership's present concepts of the problem of revolution consists in the rejection of the Leninist teaching of the socialist revolution as being the result of a mass struggle by the people, in relying solely on armed uprisings everywhere and in all cases without taking into account the sentiments of the masses, their preparedness for revolution, without taking into account the internal and external situation.

"The immense harm of this line lies in the fact that it rejects painstaking and patient work with the masses and reliance on the maturing of the objective and subjective conditions for a socialist revolution in favour of revolutionary phrasemongering, or, what is still worse, in favour of adventurist actions by a handful of men who are cut off from the people. Does this kind of action have anything in common with Marxism-Leninism and is this not the popularisation of Blanquist and Trotskyite ideas that have been rejected long ago?"

The third part of the report accuses the Chinese leaders of "pinning special hopes on using the national-liberation movement for their own ends" and of "trying to impose upon the national-liberation movement principles which may push it on to a perilous path and endanger the achievements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America." It distorts the Chinese Communists' line of armed struggle—the path for the oppressed nations and peoples to win complete emancipation, and alleges that the Chinese leaders "completely ignore the immense variety of conditions in which the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are," and call for armed struggle everywhere.

The report brands the point which the Chinese leaders made about "the East wind prevailing over the West wind" as "a nationalist slogan substituting the geographic, and even the racial approach for the class approach. It is clearly an attempt to minimise the role of the world socialist system, the working class and the peoples of Western Europe and America.

"The Chinese theoreticians would like to substitute the call for setting the Eastern peoples apart on a nationalist and even racial basis for the Leninist idea of uniting the anti-imperialist forces of all countries and continents, expressed in the slogan 'Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!' Their slogan about the supposedly magic power of the wind from the East is plainly designed to foment nationalist and even racial sentiments among the peoples fighting against colonialism. . . .

"It is this sentiment that the Chinese leaders are trying to fan in the hope of setting up the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies against the socialist countries and the working people of the developed capitalist countries, and of representing themselves as the sole defenders of the interests of those peoples. For, if we are to lay bare the secret design behind the Chinese slogan and reveal

the far-reaching aim of the CPC leaders, it is like this: China, according to them, is the biggest country of the East, it embodies the interests of the East, and it is here that the 'winds of history' spring up that are to 'prevail over' the winds from the 'West.'

"In other words, that slogan is nothing but an ideological and political expression of the hegemonic aspirations of the Chinese leadership."

In its fourth part, the report declares that the leadership of the CPSU "have never sought any advantage or profit, and have always been internationalist in our attitude towards the CPC and the Chinese people." It makes a big fanfare about Soviet aid to China. It puts the blame on the Chinese Communists for what the leadership of the CPSU has done—extending ideological differences to inter-state relations, unilaterally deciding to withdraw the Soviet experts who assisted China in its work, tearing up hundreds of agreements and protocols on economic, scientific and technical cooperation, refusing to supply Soviet equipment and reducing to a minimum the volume of Sino-Soviet trade.

The report says: "how to explain the fact that lately, due to the exertions of the CPC leadership, Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation, cultural relations and exchanges between public organisations are dwindling from year to year, while insinuations and slander pour forth against the Soviet people in increasing numbers? There is only one explanation: the Chinese leaders want to fence their people off from the Soviet Union. They are afraid that their people will learn the truth about the selfless fraternal Soviet proposals for the development of relations between the USSR and the CPR, and that then their vicious slander, whereby they seek to tarnish our Party and the Soviet people, will explode in their faces. The CPC leadership fears that cooperation with our country may carry as far as China the purifying breath of the 20th Congress ideas, which dissipated the intolerable situation created by the Stalin personality cult."

The fifth part of the report says: "In opposing the CPSU programme, the Chinese leaders are trying to discredit the theory and practice of proletarian socialism, which has been victorious in the working class movement after a long struggle against petty-bourgeois socialism, anarchism and other anti-scientific doctrines. Whether they admit it or not, the leaders of the CPC are reviving the conceptions of petty-bourgeois socialism and trying to criticise the international experience of the building of new society from these positions."

It goes on to say: "While attacking the propositions of the CPSU programme concerning the historic fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the nature of the state and working class party in the Soviet Union, the Chinese theorists ignore the new phenomena of social life and refuse stubbornly to see that the new conclusions and propositions of the CPSU programme were not framed arbitrarily, and that they express what has become part of life. As they attack the course charted by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, they go to the length of questioning the very right of our Party and people to build communism. . . .

"The men in Peking are evidently so badly blinded by the factional struggle that they have, in the heat of the fray, unconsciously come into conflict with themselves."

The report states maliciously in its sixth part that "the Chinese leaders have lately stepped up very noticeably their subversive activities aimed at splitting the world communist movement, as well as a number of Marxist-Leninist Parties. These activities of theirs have acquired an open character; developing on a wide front, they have become particularly subtle and are unprecedented as to the methods used. The CPC leaders have turned the controversy started by them within the world communist movement into a weapon of direct political struggle against fraternal Parties.

"The Chinese leaders have apparently decided to carry through to the end their subversive activity against the Leninist unity of the world communist movement. . . .

"The Chinese leaders have pushed their factional struggle to a point where they are severing relations with certain Marxist-Leninist Parties, which they arbitrarily describe as 'non-existent', while giving the name of 'parties' to the little groups of splitters they have formed. They have announced for all to hear that they support the factional groups of splitters. . . .

"The CPC leadership is plainly out to form under its own aegis a sort of separate international bloc and to set it up against the world communist movement as an instrument for intensifying the struggle against this movement.

"The Chinese representatives on international democratic associations have greatly increased their splitting activity and have openly set out to create separate organisations and disrupt the links between the progressive, democratic forces of different countries and different areas of the globe.

"The result is that although the Chinese leaders still utter once in a while hypocritical phrases about unity and solidarity, all their practical steps are in fact aimed at shaking and splitting the world communist movement. Today the policy and activity of the Chinese leaders are the main danger to the unity of the world communist movement."

The report says: "we know well from the history of the communist movement that irresponsible accusations of revisionism have repeatedly been levelled at the proponents of creative Marxism by all kinds of dogmatists and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries. . . .

"The methods used by the Chinese splitters cannot deceive the Marxists-Leninists of the world."

The report says in its seventh part: "Do the Chinese theoreticians' present concepts not remind us of many of the ideas of the petty-bourgeois trends that were crushed by Leninism long ago?

"It must be said openly that the entire range of the CPC leadership's theoretical and political views are in many ways a rehash of Trotskyism, which has long ago been thrown overboard by the international revolutionary movement. . . .

"No matter how the Chinese leadership strive to conceal the real source of their ideas they cannot hide the coincidence of their views with those of old and modern Trotskyism. . . .

"The CPC leaders evidently lack sufficient Marxist-Leninist steeling to firmly repel the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements and uphold the line of proletarian socialism. This alone can explain the fact that petty-

bourgeois ideology has made an imprint both on their internal and foreign policy."

The report launches an unscrupulous attack on China's cause of building socialism, its general line, its great leap forward and people's communes. It slanders the policy of great leap forward and the people's commune as "leftist" attempts to 'leap' over necessary stages of social development."

It says: "In analysing the present positions of the Chinese leadership one cannot fail to see that they also stem from the increasing openly nationalistic, great-power aspirations that are particularly striking in the foreign policy of the CPC leaders. . . .

"Facts show that nationalism is inexorably gaining the upper hand in the entire policy of the Chinese leaders, that it is becoming the mainspring of their actions. This manifested itself during the period of the 'big leap', which was obviously planned as an attempt 'in a single leap' to overtake all the socialist countries and occupy a dominating position in the world socialist system.

"Later these tendencies began to gain ever greater momentum. This found expression in such actions of the Chinese Government as the artificial fanning of nationalistic passions around frontier issues, the behaviour of the CPC leaders during the Caribbean crisis and the stand of the Chinese Government in the nuclear problem."

The report launches a violent attack on Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people of all nationalities, and on his thinking. It declares slanderously that "the Mao Tse-tung personality cult is having an increasingly negative effect on the activities of the Chinese Communist Party. . . .

"It is now perfectly clear that the CPC leadership is striving to spread the Mao Tse-tung personality cult to the whole world communist movement, so that the leader of the CPC should, like Stalin in his day, sit aloft like god above all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and settle arbitrarily all matters of their policy and work. The ideology and practice of the personality cult largely explain the appearance of hegemonic ambitions among the Chinese leaders. . . .

"The Chinese leaders are defending the personality cult in pursuance of their own political designs. They are defending Stalin's distortions and mistakes largely because they are themselves implanting the Mao Tse-tung personality cult."

In its eighth part, the report accuses the Chinese leaders of "whipping up the nuclear arms race and calling for new powers to join it. They are pursuing a line that is liable to cause an atomic war. . . .

"The actions of the Chinese leaders are subverting and undermining the unity of the socialist camp. They are isolating China more and more from the other socialist countries. The CC CPC is underrating economic development and ignoring the tasks confronting the socialist countries in their economic competition against the capitalist countries. This policy tends to weaken the might of the socialist countries, and impedes their current struggle against imperialism. . . .

"The CPC leaders vilify in every way the struggle of the working class and its communist vanguard for the vital interests of the working people, for peace and democracy, and reject the tactics of broad anti-monopoly alliances, the

possibility of effecting socialist revolution peacefully. They call for reckless actions with arms in hand, in disregard of the existing situation. . . .

"The Chinese leaders evade the essence of the present stage of the national-liberation revolution. They are blind to the differences prevailing in the situation in the various countries and are offering the peoples of all countries just one prescription—armed struggle and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such prescriptions may, if put into practice, undermine the national front and strengthen the positions of the colonialists and neo-colonialists. . . .

"The Chinese leaders are disrupting the unity of the communist movement and of the democratic organisations. They are founding factions and are striving to split our movement and its national contingents.

"In brief, the CPC leaders are opposing the communist movement in all the basic questions of strategy

and tactics. Theirs is a course in which petty-bourgeois revolutionism and nationalistic, great-power aspirations merge. . . .

"The Soviet communists will not keep silent while the Chinese leaders prosecute an unbridled offensive upon our great cause of communist construction, the Leninist course of our Party and the standpoints of the world communist movement. We shall have to explain the substance of the anti-Marxist, neo-Trotskyite position of the Chinese leaders publicly."

The report concludes by saying: "We are fully aware of the danger of the present attitude of the Chinese leaders. The facts show that a grim and apparently long struggle lies ahead for the strengthening of the unity of all the socialist forces, for friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. It is now perfectly clear that the CPC leaders intend to persist in their incorrect stand, that they intend to carry on with their factional activities in the world communist movement."

Anti-Chinese Decision of the February Plenum of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee

THE anti-Chinese decision adopted by the plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. says: "the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU expresses its profound concern over the splitting activities of the leadership of the Communist Party of China which do tremendous damage to the socialist community of nations, to the whole of the world communist and working-class movement. . . .

"Under cover of verbal assurances of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, under the banner of struggle against the imaginary revisionism of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the leaders of the CPC have launched an attack on the basic theoretical and political principles by which the communist movement is guided at the present stage. . . .

"Having departed on all basic issues from the strategy and tactics of the Leninist line in the world communist movement, the Chinese leaders have proclaimed their course which is a mixture of petty-bourgeois adventurism and great-power chauvinism. They are actually sliding down in a number of problems to the Trotskyite positions,

adopting Trotskyite methods of struggle against the Marxist-Leninist Parties, knocking together factional groups of their supporters in various countries. The leadership of the CPC is trying to thrust its specific ideological platform upon the whole of the socialist camp and the world communist movement, upon the international democratic organisations.

"The Chinese leaders have taken the course of worsening Soviet-Chinese inter-state relations, of undermining the friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. Having rejected all the proposals of the CC CPSU for normalising Soviet-Chinese relations, they have intensified anti-Soviet propaganda inside the CPR and are grossly interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union."

The resolution calls for "an ideological exposure of the anti-Leninist position of the CPC leadership and for a resolute rebuff to their splitting activities." It declares that "nobody will ever succeed in diverting the CPSU from this course—the course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses."

Pravda's Anti-Chinese Editorial

THE anti-Chinese editorial of *Pravda* (April 3) says: "The CPC leaders are trying hard to force on the fraternal Parties their conclusion that the special course of the CPC leadership, allegedly, is the only correct one, while the collectively worked-out line of the international communist movement is erroneous.

"In these conditions our Party considered it to be its duty to rise resolutely to the defence of the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, the general line of the international communist movement. A further silence would not only do no good but would encourage the striving of the Chinese leaders to disorganise the ranks of the international communist movement, to weaken it as the main revolutionary force in the struggle against imperialism. . . .

"Striving to achieve their special political aims which have nothing in common with the struggle for socialism, the CPC leaders despise no means and play a hypocritical game around the important issues of the unity of world communist movement. Blackmailing the Marxist-Leninist Parties with a threat of a split and using the communists' natural striving for unity, they try to bind the Communist Parties hand and foot, to prevent them from exposing the ideological recreancy and splitting activity of the CPC leadership. . . .

"The struggle for unity of the international communist movement must be resolute and persistent. This is how great Lenin fought, coming out irreconcilably against the opportunists of all shades, against revisionists, dogmatists, Trotskyites and the 'heroes of the leftist revolutionary phrase'."

Chinese Foreign Ministry's Statement on Current Laotian Situation

April 22, 1964

- The military coup d'etat in Vientiane jointly engineered by the United States and Laotian reactionary forces is a serious incident in flagrant violation of the Geneva agreements; China cannot ignore this.
- Any form of upsetting the Laotian Government of National Union under the coercion of the coup d'etat clique in Vientiane is illegal.
- China fully endorses and resolutely supports the just demands advanced in Prince Souphanouvong's statement on April 19 and the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on April 20.
- It is imperative at once to restore the freedom of Prince Souvanna Phouma and severely punish the leaders of the coup d'etat; it is necessary for the leaders of the three forces in Laos to resume their talks.

ON April 19, a group of reactionary military officers of the Rightist clique in Laos staged a military coup d'etat in Vientiane, organized a so-called "Revolutionary Committee of the National Army" and proclaimed "the abolition of the power and function of the Government of National Union to run the state." This is a premeditated action jointly engineered by the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary forces in Laos, and a grave incident in flagrant violation of the 1962 Geneva agreements.

Since the establishment of the Laotian Government of National Union and the signing of the Geneva agreements, the U.S. imperialists have never stopped their scheming activities encroaching on the sovereignty of Laos, interfering in its internal affairs and undermining its peace and neutrality. They become even more unbridled and shameless in their acts of aggression and interference in Laos especially when any progress is made by the Laotian people along the road of peace and neutrality. In April last year, soon after Sri Savang Vatthana, the King of Laos, returned from his visit to participating countries of the Geneva conference, the U.S. imperialists directed their lackeys to assassinate Quinim Pholsena, patriotic Laotian politician and Foreign Minister of the Government of National Union, and to create an atmosphere of terror in Vientiane, thus causing the Laotian Government of National Union to break up and become incapable of normal functioning. On the other hand, directed by the United States, the troops of the Laotian Rightists launched incessant attacks on the Pathet Lao Fighting Units and the neutralist troops. On April 17 this year, when the persistent efforts of the patriotic forces in Laos ultimately brought about the talks of the leaders of the three forces in the Plain of Jars, the U.S. imperialists again directed the Laotian Rightists to use every means to obstruct and disrupt the talks and then brazenly to stage a military coup d'etat on the very next day of the conclusion of the three-party talks. At present, the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian reactionary forces are taking advantage of the fact that Prince Souvanna Phouma

is held under duress to actively plan to organize a "new government," in an attempt to exclude the Laotian patriotic forces, thoroughly undermine the Laotian Government of National Union and block the road to the national harmony, unity, peace and neutrality of Laos. All the peace-loving countries, and particularly the participants of the Geneva conference, have the duty to strongly condemn and actively check these scheming activities of the U.S. imperialists.

It must be pointed out that the military coup d'etat engineered by U.S. imperialism in Vientiane is inseparable from the policies of aggression and war which it pursues in Indo-China. Through its vassals, U.S. imperialism has intensified its aggressive and subversive activities against the Kingdom of Cambodia. In southern Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is energetically extending its armed aggression and intervention. At the SEATO conference held not long ago, the United States even required members of this organization to "take further concrete steps," "if necessary." At the same time, U.S. imperialism has directed the south Viet Nam puppet clique to collude with the Laotian Rightists in an attempt to introduce south Vietnamese troops into Laos. These circumstances show that the military coup d'etat stage-managed by U.S. imperialism in Vientiane represents a step in its plan to tighten its control on Laos, expand its war of aggression in southern Viet Nam and aggravate the tension in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

China is a signatory to the Geneva agreements and a close neighbour of Laos; it cannot ignore the serious violation of the Geneva agreements and the subversion of the Laotian Government of National Union by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Chinese Government has always faithfully abided by its international undertakings and respected the independence and neutrality of Laos. The Chinese Government holds that the only correct way to realizing the peace, independence and neutrality of Laos lies in the strict observance and effective implementation of the 1962 Geneva agreements, the upholding of the Laotian Government of National Union and the thorough application of its

political programme. The Chinese Government solemnly points out that any form of upsetting the Laotian Government of National Union under the coercion of the present coup d'etat clique in Vientiane will be a violation of the Laotian three-party agreements and of the Geneva agreements, and therefore illegal.

The Chinese Government fully endorses and resolutely supports the just demands and reasonable propositions advanced by Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Laotian Government of National Union, in his statement of April 19 and the statement made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on April 20. The Chinese Government holds that, in order to reverse the present dangerous trend in Laos, it is imperative at once to restore the freedom of Prince Souvanna Phouma and the ministers and state secretaries of the Government

of National Union, release all those who have been arrested by the coup d'etat clique and severely punish the leaders of the coup d'etat. Following that, it is necessary for the leaders of the three forces in Laos to resume their talks as soon as possible to discuss and decide upon effective safeguards to ensure that the Government of National Union can function properly and implement its political programme. If all this should be rendered impossible by U.S. imperialist obstruction and sabotage, thus leading to the further deterioration of the situation in Laos, the Chinese Government would ask the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference and all its participating countries to hold consultations without delay and take effective measures to check the criminal activities of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, resolutely uphold the 1962 Geneva agreements and the Laotian Government of National Union and firmly preserve peace in Laos and Indo-China.

人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO

A New Plot in the Making

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of April 28. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE American imperialists have stepped up their aggressive activities in Indo-China following the conclusion of SEATO's Manila meeting. They have staged a military coup d'etat in Laos. They have redoubled their efforts to undermine and subvert Cambodia. And now a new plot is in the making to expand the war in south Viet Nam.

Despite opposition by some members, SEATO, with U.S. imperialism pulling the strings, has openly decided to intervene in south Viet Nam. In the communique issued after the Manila meeting, SEATO expressed "interest and sympathy" with U.S. "special warfare" in south Viet Nam. It "agreed that the members of SEATO should remain prepared, if necessary, to take further concrete steps, within their capabilities in fulfilment of their obligations under the treaty." In this respect, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk made the following explanation: "There are other countries who are prepared to be helpful in resources in south Viet Nam and we must now move to pull that together . . . to win this struggle at the earliest possible moment."

A Washington-Hatched Plot

As soon as the Manila session ended Rusk rushed to Taipei and Saigon to set the stage for using the tattered forces of Chiang Kai-shek to participate in the aggressive war Washington is preparing to spread in south Viet Nam.

A month or so ago, according to UPI, the south Viet Nam "Defence Minister" Tran Thien Khiem held secret talks on Taiwan with the Chiang Kai-shek gang

on the question of "military aid." According to the Taiwan press, south Viet Nam had asked the Chiang bandits "to send a special force with paratroop equipment to support south Viet Nam." Both parties also discussed "the technical questions involved." Rusk's trip to Taipei was made personally to urge the Chiang Kai-shek clique to take part in the war. This plot has become so open that Rusk deemed it unnecessary to hush it up at his Washington news conference. He admitted that he had "reported" to Chiang Kai-shek "on the SEATO meeting." Other press reports from Taiwan revealed that Rusk held three meetings with Chiang Kai-shek. They discussed "an overall settlement of the Vietnamese war and the entire question of Southeast Asia" and were unanimous in their "views" and "decisions," which were then taken by the former to Saigon for "consultation."

This new Washington-hatched plot indicates that U.S. imperialism, bogged down by repeated defeats in south Viet Nam, is trying to get other SEATO members into the same quagmire. Even more, it is trying to use Chiang's participation in the aggressive war in south Viet Nam in an attempt to save itself from onrushing complete defeat. Such an unscrupulous tactic is bound to aggravate and complicate the Indo-China situation.

SEATO "protection" of south Viet Nam is utterly illegal and an act of naked aggression. The people of south Viet Nam completely reject this "protection" which runs counter to the principles and spirit of the Geneva agreements. The pretext of protection has been used by U.S. imperialism over the past ten years to intervene without let-up in Viet Nam. It has openly carried out armed invasion against the people of south Viet Nam. This has thoroughly exposed to the entire world the nature of such protection. After repeated

reverses in its aggressive war U.S. imperialism now is attempting to get other SEATO members to assume "obligations" under the SEATO treaty. This can only mean that the United States is trying to force these countries to serve as sacrificial offerings at the grave of its own aggressive policy. Such diabolical scheming is repugnant to nations pursuing an independent policy.

At the conclusion of the Manila meeting a Pakistan Foreign Ministry spokesman issued a categorical denial of any Pakistan support for extending the war in south Viet Nam. The French Foreign Minister reiterated that "the paragraphs of the communique concerning the Vietnamese affair did not appear to me opportune in the present circumstances."

Even if there are countries willing to act as accomplices of U.S. imperialism in the aggressive war in south Viet Nam, how can this be of any help to the Johnson Administration? The answer to this question for U.S. imperialism, to be sure, is available if it looks back to its war of aggression against Korea when it usurped the U.N. flag to muster 15 countries to take part. The outcome was complete defeat. Today, with the great changes that have taken place in the alignment of world forces, between those of peace and war, can the outcome of a repeat performance of the Korean war be any better by patching together a ragtag collection of pawns?

A Threat to China's Security

The flagrant action by U.S. imperialism in attempting to use Chiang Kai-shek can only cause great concern among the Chinese people. The traitorous Chiang gang entrenched on Taiwan under American aegis is hostile to the Chinese people and hopes in vain to return to the mainland and restore its reactionary rule over the Chinese people. If U.S. imperialism leads the Chiang Kai-shek remnants into south Viet Nam it would mean that its spearhead is directed against China and threatens China's security from the south. The Chinese people cannot remain indifferent. If the Johnson Administration, impervious to reason, is bent on em-

barking on a new adventure then it must bear full responsibility for the serious consequences arising from such action.

Not long ago Johnson, speaking of the situation in south Viet Nam, admitted that the United States faced great difficulties. He quoted an American saying, "When the going gets tough, the tough get going." This indicates that he intends to cling to his already bankrupt aggressive policy. In return we can quote for Johnson a Chinese saying, "Of all possible actions, the best one is to get out!" If U.S. imperialism wants to extricate itself from its south Viet Nam predicament, there is only one way: get out of the country.

President Ho Chi Minh, at the First Special Political Conference in Viet Nam in March, advanced the only practical solution for settling the south Viet Nam question, namely, that the basic provisions set forth in the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China be strictly carried out. The United States must cease its intervention in the southern part of Viet Nam and withdraw its troops and war equipment and south Viet Nam's internal affairs should be left to the people there to be settled by themselves in accordance with the spirit of the programme of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front.

Concerning the question of the peaceful unification of Viet Nam, this, Ho Chi Minh said, can be solved according to Point 9 of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front Programme calling for joint discussion between north and south which, acting on the principle of mutual consultation, will work out ways and means beneficial to the people and the country as a whole in order to bring about a step-by-step unification of the country.

The Chinese people fully support President Ho Chi Minh's stand and firmly oppose the aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam. If the American aggressors refuse to get out or if they drag the Chiang Kai-shek clique and others into the war they are sure to suffer still more serious defeats.

For Peace and Friendship

China-Pakistan Air Service Opens

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Chinese people warmly welcomed the April 29 inauguration of direct air service between China and Pakistan, a memorable event in the two countries' relations of friendly co-operation. The new Karachi-Dacca-Canton-Shanghai route was opened in accordance with an air transport agreement signed by China and Pakistan on August 29, 1963.

Prior to its formal inauguration, a trial jet flight between Karachi and Shanghai was made by PIA (Pa-

kistan International Airlines) which proved that communications and control facilities for the entire journey and the equipment of the Shanghai airport were all satisfactory. To cope with increasing domestic and international air traffic, the Shanghai and Canton airports have both been expanded and reconstructed. Designed by Chinese engineers and technicians, these all-weather airports are completely equipped with modern landing facilities and for round-the-clock servicing of every type of passenger aircraft.

To mark the occasion, greetings were exchanged by the Chinese and Pakistan Foreign Ministers and by Kuang Jen-nung, Director-General of the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China and Air Commodore Nur Khan, Chief Administrator of Civil Aviation and Managing Director of Pakistan International Airlines. Visits and sightseeing tours in each other's country were arranged for passengers making the first flight in each direction.

In his message of greetings, Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi expressed his belief that the new air service between the two countries "will certainly promote friendly and good-neighbourly relations and economic and cultural interflow between our two countries and will contribute to the common cause of increasing friendly exchanges among Asian-African countries and defending world peace."

Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's message reads in part: "In an age of developing technology and growing international contacts, air services are playing an increasing role in bringing the peoples of the world closer to one another . . . I have no doubt that this service will further promote good-neighbourly relations between our two countries."

A New Friendship Link

A *Renmin Ribao* editorial "An Airline of Friendship and Peace" on April 29 welcomed the start of air service between the two countries. It noted that since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan, and especially in the last few years, friendship and co-operation have made remarkable progress on the basis of the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. The frequent exchange of visits, the ever growing trade, economic and cultural interflow

between the two countries have made it necessary to shorten the physical distance by means of modern transport so that existing ties of friendship can be made still closer. Hence, the opening of this new air route which is in accord with the common aspirations and interests of our two peoples. The paper predicted that this route would make useful contributions in further promoting good-neighbourly relations between our two countries, economic and cultural interflow and the development of construction in China and Pakistan.

A Boon to International Contacts

Renmin Ribao described the new airline as one of friendship and peace. It quoted the press communique issued when the Sino-Pakistan air transport agreement was first concluded as saying: The air link between China and Pakistan will strengthen the ties between the two countries and further enhance air transport in this vast region. Moreover, the paper added, this line will be a great help to the development of international air traffic among Asian countries, between Asian and African countries and between Asian-African countries and other parts of the world. It will play an important role in increasing friendly contacts between Asian-African countries and in preserving world peace. There is no doubt that this new air route will be acclaimed by all friends abroad.

"The inauguration of the Sino-Pakistan airline is a step forward for friendship and co-operation between the two countries. With the joint efforts of the Governments and peoples of the two countries, it is our belief that this fruitful co-operation will be continuously consolidated and developed. It is our sincere desire that Sino-Pakistan friendship will grow with each passing day and that the airline between China and Pakistan will for ever operate smoothly," *Renmin Ribao* concluded.

World Public Opinion

In Solidarity With Chinese Victims in Brazil

THE nine Chinese citizens who were illegally arrested in Brazil early last month and tortured by the coup d'etat authorities have now entered the fifth week of their ordeal. The Branco regime still refuses to set them free, which is the demand of the Chinese Government and of impartial world public opinion. These innocent Chinese nationals are now subjected to further persecution by the security department of the Brazilian military under the false charge of "espionage and subversive activities."

During the past week, more people in various countries have come out condemning this outrageous act of the Brazilian authorities, insisting that they be released

without delay if the military junta still has any sense of decency or respect for fundamental human rights and its responsibility under international law.

Worldwide Protests. People from all walks of life in the world's five continents continue to protest. Among them were Phan Anh, Foreign Trade Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Norwegian Chief Statistician Sigurd Mortensen, the British lawyer D.N. Pritt, Shirley Graham, widow of the late Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and head of Ghana Television, and 21 Chilean members of parliament. In a statement to *Hsinhua* in London, the former Dean of Canterbury Hewlett Johnson and his wife Nowell Johnson said that

they were "profoundly shocked" and "as these facts are known the mass of people throughout the world will condemn the Government of Brazil for this treatment of foreign nationals working in their country."

Many foreign residents in Peking too voiced their strong protest. They included Americans like the writer Anna Louise Strong, and 18 citizens of Belgium, Japan, Australia, Canada, Thailand, France, Austria and New Zealand. Thirty Latin American specialists working in Peking made a joint statement denouncing the Brazilian coup d'etat forces and demanded "the immediate, unconditional release" of these Chinese citizens. The statement was also endorsed by other specialists from Asia, Africa and Europe.

Well-known Africans in Peking, in a message adopted at a meeting held to mark Africa Freedom Day, also condemned the Brazilian military junta for the illegal arrests. The Malian Ambassador to China, Birama Traore, stated that the nine Chinese who were still jailed by the new colonialists and fascists in Brazil should be promptly released.

Protests From Businessmen. Trading organizations and firms in many countries scandalized by the groundless charges against these Chinese nationals and their treatment demanded their release. Many representatives of these organizations and firms happened to know some of the imprisoned men personally through business transactions with them. The General Manager of the Swedish firm G.W. Greiff Company said in a protest: Mr. Wang Yao-ting, the head of the delegation, has been personally known to us and other Swedish firms for several years as a genuine businessman. In a cable to the Brazilian Foreign Minister, the London Export Corporation Limited said, "We know, from many years of personal contact, that these gentlemen are bona fide trade representatives and we know that they were in Brazil for the purpose of promoting business." The cable expressed "the utmost indignation that . . . they have been thrown into prison, ill-treated and denied facilities for communication." "We are ceasing forthwith our trade with Brazil until this injustice is remedied," the cable declared.

The Chilean Committee for Promoting the Chinese Exhibition was one of the many who refused to believe that the Chinese nationals sent to Brazil to prepare for a Chinese exhibition there could be guilty of such fantastic charges. In a cable signed by Angel Faivovich, Vice-President of the Senate, M.P.'s, former cabinet ministers, professors and Juan Emilio Pacull, President of the Chilean Journalists' Association, the committee demanded of the Provisional Brazilian President that the Chinese personnel be immediately released. The committee is continuing its own active preparations for the holding of a Chinese exhibition to open soon in Santiago.

Businessmen from a number of countries now attending the 1964 spring Chinese Export Commodities Fair in Canton have added their voices to the protests of others in their home countries. In two days Japanese

businessmen at the Fair collected more than 200 signatures of protest. A statement asking for the immediate release of the arrested men was issued jointly by trade circles from Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Australia, Turkey and Japan.

. . . From Journalists. Journalists in Asia, Africa and Latin America too continued to lodge vigorous protests with the Brazilian military junta. In Algiers, some 60 Algerian and foreign journalists issued a joint statement expressing profound indignation at the unlawful arrest, imprisonment and torture of Wang Wei-chen, Hsinhua correspondent, Chu Ching-tung, Hsinhua staff member, and the others by the Brazilian authorities.

In Peking, a group of foreign correspondents appealed to journalists throughout the world to voice the strongest protest.

. . . From Trade Unions. Asian, African and Latin American trade unions too have gone into action—to protest and to urge the Brazilian authorities for the release of these Chinese trade and newspaper workers. In a message to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Permanent Congress of the Central Union of Workers of Latin America declared that "such inhuman atrocities have aroused the great indignation of Latin American workers. We have lodged a protest with the Brazilian military junta and will do our utmost to mobilize Latin American workers to oppose the fascist brutalities of the Brazilian military authorities so as to bring about the immediate release of the detainees."

. . . From Lawyers. Progressive lawyers all over the world are also indignant at this international crime committed by the Brazilian regime. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers (I.A.D.L.) issued a communique protesting against the arrests and maltreatment of the Chinese citizens, which "are contrary to all the rules and practices of international life." "By raising a particularly strong protest," it said, the association "is sure to be the interpreter not only of all the democratic lawyers, but of all those who respect human dignity."

. . . From Friends Everywhere. In many foreign countries associations for friendship with China have sent messages of solidarity to similar associations in China. Among them are the Canada-China Friendship Society in Vancouver, Canada; the Hampstead Committee of the Britain-China Friendship Association and the Colombia-China Cultural Centre.

"Renmin Ribao" Warns the Brazilian Authorities

Meanwhile, feelings in China are running high against the anti-China outrage in Brazil. Angry protests have been voiced by people throughout the country. *Renmin Ribao* and other leading national dailies are keeping their readers informed of these protests and messages of solidarity received both at home and from abroad. Among the tens of thousands of Chinese people who have protested are professors, lead-

ing jurists, steel workers, dockers, overseas Chinese leaders, China's national minorities, peasants, engineers, technicians and department store clerks. Leaders of China's eight democratic parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce had given their firm support to the Chinese government stand and made statements in protest.

On April 27, *Renmin Ribao* Observer published an article entitled "A Piece of Advice to the Brazilian Coup d'Etat Authorities."

"The Government and people of China," he said, "have consistently followed the policy of friendship with all peoples and actively supported their just cause of safeguarding national independence and sovereignty in accordance with the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. This is true of our relations with Brazil and with other countries."

Pointing out that these Chinese nationals had gone all the way to Brazil to promote mutual understanding between the Chinese and Brazilian peoples by way of trade and news reporting, *Renmin Ribao* Observer said that "the frame-up charges of 'spying' and 'subversion' can never apply to them." He said that "there are,

indeed, persons undertaking subversion and sabotage in Brazil," but they are not citizens of the People's Republic of China but U.S. imperialists and their agents "who are bent on placing Brazil under their wings." "The attempt to confuse the issues cannot be tolerated," he stressed.

Renmin Ribao Observer asked: "When things have come to such a pass, why don't the Brazilian coup d'etat authorities stop to think what good will it do the Brazilian people and themselves to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for U.S. imperialism on this matter and to make no scruple to collude with the political mummy, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, which has long been forsaken by the Chinese people and the people of the whole world?"

In conclusion, he added: "The attempt by the Brazilian authorities to create this incident to undermine the friendship between the two peoples will not be allowed by the Chinese and Brazilian peoples.

"We would like to repeat this advice of ours to the Brazilian authorities: It is better to treasure the friendship of the Chinese and Brazilian peoples and to attach importance to the just opinion of the world, . . . to speedily restore to the arrested Chinese their freedom so that they may be able to resume their normal pursuits."

Revolutionary Spirit at Work

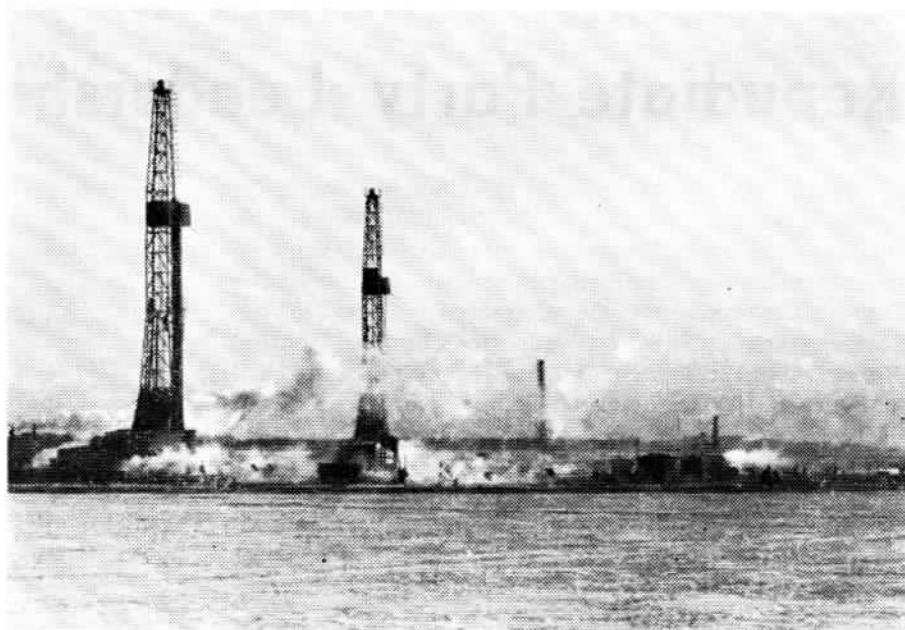
New Taching Oilfield

TACHING, a new oilfield opened in recent years, is attracting nationwide attention. This is a rapidly rising modern enterprise. Its site, a former wasteland, is now webbed with roads and power transmission lines and studded with oil derricks, oil wells and oil storage tanks. It is feeding the country with trainloads of oil, but what impresses the people most is the way the builders of Taching combine revolutionary drive with a scientific spirit.

Work began under the most trying conditions, but the builders of Taching were determined to give the country the oil it needs. They battled and surmounted all manner of hardships and difficulties to get this big project going. They gave an example of heroic devotion to their socialist task.

When the first group of oilmen arrived at the site, there was nothing but bare earth. They lived at best in tents and makeshift shacks and often slept under the stars. Heavy rain and

biting winds failed to dampen their revolutionary spirit. Drilling began and the hum of their machines ended for ever the age-old silence on the virgin land.



Taching oilfield derricks

The revolutionary spirit of the Taching builders has also found expression in their responsible, painstaking, scientific attitude in every kind of work. In surveying the oil-field and making a thorough study of the underground structure of the area and its oil reserves, rock cores of a total length of dozens of kilometres have been obtained and hundreds of thousands of analyses and calculations done.

Technician Tan Hsueh-ling and his four young colleagues trekked thousands of kilometres in ten months to collect data on heat conduction conditions needed for building oil pipelines.

The scientific spirit of the Taching oilmen is well illustrated by the No. 1202 drilling team. The administration had called for better drilling and gave instructions that bores should not deviate from the vertical by more than 3 degrees. This was a high standard which not a single drilling team in Taching had yet succeeded in meeting. The No. 1202 team determined to lead the way. To find out the causes of deflection in drilling, deputy team leader Chia Chac-li closely observed the operations of his own team, and carefully compared the actual work and drilling records on some twenty wells. He also checked up on the drilling bits used, and, together with technicians in his team, again went over all the available geological data on the drilling area. On this basis, a number of effective measures were worked out to ensure greater accuracy in drilling. His team finally suc-



Taching geological personnel at work

ceeded in reducing deflection to an unprecedented 0.6 degree.

Other examples of the outstanding deeds of the Taching builders are too numerous to mention. Each year more than ten thousand workers and technicians have been cited for their excellent work.

What has inspired and sustained the soaring enthusiasm of the Taching builders is their sense of revolutionary duty—their determination to raise more oil for their country, speed its socialist construction and further the cause of the revolution.

International Communist Movement

Marxist-Leninists of Chilean C.P. Repudiate Party Leadership's Revisionism

SOME 60 Marxist-Leninists of the Chilean Communist Party met in Santiago at the end of January to denounce the Party leadership for discarding Marxist-Leninist principles and toeing the revisionist line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This was reported by the journal *Marxist-Leninist Principles* in its first issue published in February by the Marxist-Leninists of the Chilean Party.

The meeting discussed issues concerning Party development, Party organization and the line laid down by the Party's Central Committee. It was attended by a number of Party members in the capital and representatives from the provinces.

The meeting adopted resolutions on international and domestic developments. That on international devel-

opments says: "In view of the fact that the group now controlling the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has thrown overboard Marxist-Leninist principles, [this meeting] decides to denounce this as incompatible with the revolutionary struggle of the Party.

"It salutes the Communist Party of China, true heir to the revolutionary organization which should never be abandoned.

"It recognizes the Cuban revolution as the pioneer of socialism in the Americas, whose example of struggle and success is a constant clarion call to the people to repudiate the path of compromise in class struggle.

"It declares its support for all the anti-imperialist movements now going on in the dependent countries.

"It fervently appeals to all the fraternal Parties to carry forward unwaveringly the struggle against revisionism."

The "Peaceful Road" Repudiated

The resolution on domestic developments says: "The leadership of the Chilean Communist Party, following unconditionally the revisionist line of the present Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., has abandoned Marxist-Leninist principles.

"This revisionism is mainly manifested in the loss of revolutionary perspective in seizing state power, and in the substitution of the slogan of the 'peaceful road' for the slogan of mass revolutionary struggle (not excluding armed struggle). This policy spreads petty-bourgeois illusions within the Party, encourages class reconciliation and disarms the masses ideologically.

"The Party leadership turns its back on revolutionary principles, guides the struggle one-sidedly to the road of [parliamentary] election and squanders the energies of the Party on a large-scale fund-collecting campaign to meet the expenses of the existing bureaucratic apparatus of the Party.

"Being aware of the necessity to restore to the Party the historical mission for which it was created, we, therefore, call on all Party members who have not been corrupted by counter-revolutionary reformism to struggle ideologically and in practice in order to transform the basic organizations of the Party into revolutionary organizations.

"If the leadership hinders the revolutionary struggle, then it will be necessary to win over the majority of the comrades by repudiating the decisions of the leadership aimed at disparaging the struggle."

The resolution says: "We reject the capitulationism of the present leadership and its revisionist policies. We reject with equal firmness the Trotskyite stand and all pseudo-Marxist forms of revolutionary struggle.

"We earnestly appeal to the workers and peasants to take part in the revolutionary struggle by following the always militant banner of a revolutionary Communist Party which will lead the toiling masses to seize state power in the form of proletarian dictatorship and herald a socialist era in Chile."

In the course of the discussions, many speakers vehemently denounced the reactionary character of the "peaceful road" advocated by the leadership of the Chilean Communist Party. They pointed out that Chilean Communists must hold to the road of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A trade union leader of the Concepcion region said that the "peaceful road" was designed to defend the reactionary regime. The leadership of the Chilean Communist Party permitted Chilean reaction to perpetuate its rule on the pretext of defending "democratic traditions" and the "stability of the social system." The Party accepted the rules of the game of the bourgeoisie while imposing restraints on rank-and-file Party members, he said.

He said that the "parliamentary road" was "a cheap luxury which the ruling class can well afford, for it

knows it can use state power for oppression whenever the limits are exceeded."

"To keep reformist-Communists in parliament is a profitable investment for the bourgeois state; for this proves that the state is a 'representative democracy' — a necessary condition for obtaining aid from the 'Alliance for Progress,'" he went on.

He declared that the parliamentary group of the Chilean Communist Party had completely lost its revolutionary character. "Thus parliamentary cretinism has become another factor leading our people away from effective struggle. Frankly I believe that parliament has served as a haven for all those leaders who use its rostrum to ease class antagonism," he stated.

Need for Revolutionary Change

A Party member from the Eighth District of Santiago said: "A victory in the elections does not mean the conquest of state power. The exploiting classes will never give up their prerogatives without resorting to all oppressive means at their disposal. It is, therefore, necessary to eliminate the class enemy for good." He added that "special preparations must be made to deal with armed suppression. But in point of fact, our Party has not taken any such steps."

The masses had come to realize ever more clearly the need for a revolutionary change in Chile. But there were two shortcomings in the development of the revolution: one was the failure to organize the peasantry and the other the absence of a leading organ really devoted to the revolutionary cause, he added.

A teacher of the Temuco region said that the Party leadership "rigidly restricts the activity of the masses within the limits of bourgeois legality." "In fact all strikes are conducted along the lines of compromise and purely economic demands, and trade union action is restricted within the framework of the labour law."

Luis Corvalan and other leaders of the Chilean Communist Party had tried in every possible way to prevent the peasants from seizing land, he added.

"Instead of encouraging mass revolutionary action to prepare for smashing the bourgeois legal system whenever possible and heighten the revolutionary consciousness of the masses in the correct way, the leaders of our Party try to obstruct such spontaneous actions and slanderously describe them as being 'provocative' and 'adventurist.'"

The Party's leadership wanted to make use of the bourgeois state machinery and then reform it, instead of smashing it as was taught by Lenin and done in Cuba. These theories were counter-revolutionary, he declared.

Armed Struggle Stressed

A Communist Youth League member spoke of the need for an armed uprising. He pointed out that the Party's leadership asserted that the Chilean army was a democratic army which would support the people once they took over state power. The Party programme said: "Armed forces and police should be demo-

cratized." All this ambiguity and confusion in conception and phraseology, all this flagrant opportunist line, stemmed from the desire not to frighten the bourgeoisie, he said.

"Apart from distorting the role of the armed forces of our country as a social reality, our leaders have themselves become bourgeois and bureaucratic. . . . They shun Marxism, renounce the idea of preparing for an uprising, and persecute those who urge the Party to apply two tactics."

He added, "The time has obviously come for us to disregard the present leaders and set ourselves the task of conducting underground action with a view to organizing armed struggle. We must know how to appreciate the importance of opening this front of struggle because it not only serves to overthrow the pro-imperialist oligarchic regime but will also go a long way towards recruiting an army of militants with a high degree of class consciousness and deep confidence in the revolutionary organization, an army of militants for whom all the viewpoints of Corvalan and company will be useless."

"We do not want violence for violence sake, still less do we want to put forward a putschist and adventurist policy as alleged by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile. But the fervent desire of the broad masses today for an uprising must be channelled into action and struggle." He said: "The legal struggle must be combined with the illegal and the peaceful method must be combined with the non-peaceful because this is the real Marxist-Leninist method of making and directing the revolution."

Beware of Trotskyites

Another Party member dwelt on the need to be on guard against the intrigues of the Trotskyites. He said that the Trotskyites "take advantage of international ideological differences to advance their own slogans."

"We must always be on our guard against the Right deviations of our leadership. However, we also

have to prevent the Trotskyites from creating chaos in our newborn organization," he said.

He added that the Trotskyites maintained that "the socialist system does not depend on ownership of the means of production but on the level of productivity. This theory runs diametrically counter to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism." There was "a paradoxical identity" between the Trotskyites and revisionists on the question of Stalin. "They all put the blame for all the errors committed in the U.S.S.R. on Stalin."

He said that the Trotskyites were past masters of "manipulation and political intrigue who have inevitably lost all contact with the masses." "The presence of Trotskyites in the Party organization is also harmful because they are liable to putschist adventurism and political adventurism and would in the upshot create the constant splits which we have seen."

He said: "I think that we must adopt the firm stand of not having anything to do with the Trotskyites." "We are duty-bound to warn the younger generation which wants to fight and those Party veterans who have not been corrupted and have still got some revolutionary spirit: Beware of the Trotskyites whose factional activities are still the best ally of the bourgeoisie in preventing the working class from closing its ranks under the banner of Marxism-Leninism."

Another Party member spoke on the question of the type of government which Chile needed. He said: "We must strive for the setting up of a government of the type of the dictatorship of the proletariat because the leadership of the revolution must be in the hands of the proletariat and the revolution must be realized with proletarian methods, that is to say, through the smashing of the military-bureaucratic state machinery of the bourgeoisie and suppression of its resistance. In a word, through the destruction of the state as an instrument of bourgeois rule. This does not preclude the possibility of co-operating with certain sections of the bourgeoisie at a certain stage of this process but the leadership must always be in the hands of the proletariat."

THE WEEK

(Continued from p.5.)

Ted Smith, Member of the Auckland District Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and Athol Mace.

Chinese and French Ambassadors Appointed

Chairman Liu Shao-chi has appointed Huang Chen Ambassador to the Republic of France.

The French Government has appointed Lucien Paye Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

Condolences on Death of Bulgarian Leader

The Chinese people grieved to learn of the death of Dimiter Ganev, President of the Presidium of the Bulgarian National Assembly and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. A joint message of condolence was sent to the Bulgarian Government and Party by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

On the afternoon of April 22, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government called on the Bulgarian Embassy in Peking and stood in silent mourning before the picture of the late Bulgarian leader. Over 2,000 citizens in the capital also went there to pay their last respects. Wreaths were sent by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders as well as by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

ROUND THE WORLD

Vientiane Coup

A Plot Laid Bare

One week after the Vientiane coup, the plotting of its Washington instigators has been exposed to full public view. Lately the U.S. has been greatly worried by the defeats its puppets have suffered in the field. The unprovoked attacks launched by the Right-wing Savan-nakhet clique have failed and General Nosavan's forces have become still more discredited and demoralized. On the other hand, the proposals made by the Neo Lao Haksat at the conference table to assure the effective functioning of the National Union Government have been winning increasing support. Washington therefore decided to subvert this tripartite government and organize a regime retaining the legal government's empty shell but compliant to its own will.

Despite U.S. reports to the contrary, the capital is still in the hands of the Right-wing generals headed by area commander Kouprasit Aphay and police chief Siho. Prince Souvanna Phouma, neutralist and Premier of the National Union Government, is held under guard and his residence is surrounded by troops. The ring-leaders twice took him to

Luang Prabang for audiences with the King (who, incidentally, has condemned the coup), first for his "resignation" and later for "reorganization" of the Government. The Prince was also handed a resolution of the "army commanders" demanding that he "alter and enlarge" his government with "qualified personalities" recommended by them. According to UPI, he was told that he could "resume his post" only if he ousted the Neo Lao Haksat from his administration. A meeting of the cabinet was called at bayonet point to endorse the ultimatum. All these blatant manoeuvres were taken after U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs William Bundy had flown in as Johnson's special emissary and consulted the rebel chiefs. At the same time, a SEATO war exercise was being held across the border in Thailand, more than 1,000 U.S. airmen with their planes taking part. During this period, the State Department, throwing its earlier pretence of "disapproval" to the winds, issued daily reports of "encouraging progress in Laos."

However, if the schemers thought they had everything lined up, they were badly mistaken. Condemnation of the U.S.-engineered revolt and of pressure on Prince Phouma to

"reshuffle" the Government is coming from all sides, including the Neo Lao Haksat, the true neutralists headed by Colonel Deuane, General Kham Ouane Boupha, representative of neutralist forces in Phong Saly Province, and several provincial governors. Demands have been raised that Prince Souvanna Phouma be freed and the culprits punished. In a statement on April 26, Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat and Vice-Premier of the National Union Government, declared that "since Prince Souvanna Phouma is under duress and the strict control of the rebel clique, all moves made by him without the unanimous agreement of the three parties are entirely null and void."

The struggle in Laos is far from ended. But already Washington's claim that it honours the Geneva agreements and that the Vientiane coup is a tail-wag-dog affair has been proved a myth.

Washington-Moscow Duet

Fissile Fraud

On April 20 the American and Soviet Governments simultaneously announced that they were reducing their production of fissile material for nuclear weapons. London followed suit the next day. Speaking at an AP luncheon in New York, L.B. Johnson said that the United States would make an overall decrease in the production of plutonium by 20 per cent and of enriched uranium by 40 per cent over a four-year period. N.S. Khrushchov declared that the Soviet Union would stop construction on two big reactors for the production of plutonium and reduce substantially the output of uranium 235 for nuclear weapons.

What is the significance of this "nuclear arms curb"? Is it a step nearer peace? Is the bellicosity of the Pentagon reduced? The leading newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic agree that all the answers are negative.

In an editorial on April 22, the *New York Times* wrote that "the planned reductions in nuclear material output have no military signif-



The U.S. Policy of "Full Support"

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

icance, since all three nations have more than enough uranium 235 and plutonium for any conceivable weapons needs." It said, in an accompanying article, that the cutback "will not reduce by one kiloton the ability" of the United States "to wage a hot war" because "after nearly two decades of ever increasing production, the nuclear arsenal contained tens of thousands of weapons."

The *Daily Telegraph*, which reflects British Establishment opinions, looked upon the American and Soviet accord as nothing more than "a declaration that both of them already possess all the nuclear warheads they need, and therefore propose to limit further spending." The *Guardian* reminded its readers that the agreement "may actually lull public opinion into a false sense of security."

In Paris, *La Nation* said: "The U.S. and Soviet production of fissile materials has far surpassed their needs. It is therefore strange to hear someone describe the decision of Washington and Moscow . . . as a step towards disarmament." The decision, the organ of the Union for the New Republic pointed out, represented, if anything, "an economy measure."

Stripped of its ballyhoo about peace, this latest American move, which the head of the Soviet Government described as having improved the international climate, does not affect in the least U.S. preparations for nuclear war. "I have reaffirmed," said Johnson at the New York luncheon, "all the safeguards against weakening our nuclear strength which we adopted at the time of the test ban treaty." Cutback or no cutback, the White House makes no bones about intending to keep its finger firmly on the nuclear trigger.

Caribbean Provocations

Bared-Tooth Hostility

The Johnson Administration has been stepping up its war of nerves against Cuba in an ominous manner. From Guantanamo, the U.S. naval

base on Cuban soil, which has been turned into a centre of provocation and subversion, Washington has created one incident after another. On the night of April 18 and in the small hours of the following morning, no fewer than 10 cases of provocation were reported. U.S. marines crossed the borders, attacked Cuban soldiers, insulted the Cuban national flag and even urinated at the flag pole. It is all part of a wider plan of aggression hatched in the Pentagon.

In a note of protest sent to U.N. Secretary General U Thant, Cuba enumerates the flagrant acts of aggression perpetrated by the Yankees since the Caribbean crisis in October 1962. The United States, the note says, has violated Cuban air space 600 times to make spy flights. It has concentrated close to the island several hundred jets armed with high explosive bombs.

AP quoting Pentagon sources spelled out the details on April 23, saying that these fighter-bombers are posted at air and naval bases in Florida and on two big aircraft carriers in nearby waters and could leave for Cuba to carry out bombing "within minutes of any order to go." In the meantime, President Johnson has threatened that the United States will continue with the C.I.A.'s U-2 spy flights and that "any action to stop that would be a very serious action." The overflights of Cuba, State Department spokesman Phillips had the cheek to say, "are a substitute for the on-site inspection agreed to by the Soviets in October 1962 but which Fidel Castro refused to permit."

In face of these unbridled provocations, revolutionary Cuba led by Fidel Castro and his comrades has its arms well oiled, ready to repel any new assaults of Yankee imperialism. In a speech commemorating the third anniversary of the victory over the U.S. mercenaries at Giron Beach, the Cuban leader reiterated the determination of the Cuban people to defend their fatherland to the last man. "We want no war. We want peace. But," Premier Castro said, "if the price to be paid for it is to tolerate these provoca-

tions, if it is that we must fall on our knees, sacrifice our dignity, decency and honour, and if it is that we must give up our dignified life, then it is just a pitiable peace, a peace we do not want."

He warned the Yankees that blackmail based on a display of force holds no terror for the Cuban people. "The size of population of a country is not important," he said. "What is important is the valour, honour and dignity of the people. We have more valour, more honour and more dignity than all the imperialists and generals of the Pentagon put together."

Algeria

F.L.N. Congress

Since 1954 when a hard core of militants sparked the armed revolt in the Aures Mountains, the Algerian National Liberation Front (F.L.N.) has become the ruling party in the country with 153,316 members and 619,610 candidate members. Last month, from the 16th to the 21st, the Front held its first congress and elected President Ben Bella General Secretary heading a central committee of 80 (with 23 alternate members). On the basis of experiences gained since independence, the session mapped out a programme which takes the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal decisions adopted at Tripoli in 1962 one stage further.

In its general political resolution, the congress called for new advances in the Algerian revolution. It emphasized the need for complete independence in all fields and for a hastening of Algeria's Arabization; demanded the confirmation by deeds of the country's choice of socialism; defined the organizational principles of the F.L.N.; and called for consolidation of F.L.N. authority to wage a struggle against the enemies of socialism. "The corner-stone of Algeria's foreign policy," declared the resolution, "should be to make the Algerian revolution a pillar of revolutionary radiance in the Maghreb, the Arab world and Africa."

In the resolution on economic and social policies, the congress called

for nationwide land reform, speedy nationalization of foreign trade, banking and transport, protection of home industry against foreign competition and a revolutionary standpoint towards cultural development.

President Ben Bella, addressing the congress, declared that Algeria's foreign policy was first of all aimed at eliminating imperialist interference and cited support for Cuba and aid to the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, "Portuguese"

Guinea and South Africa as examples of its anti-colonialist stand.

At home, he said, "the political maturity of our masses, their longing for justice and equality and their hatred for oppression call for genuine people's democracy, i.e., a democracy found in the abolition of the exploitation of man by man." "Our two main slogans," he declared, "are: 'There can be no revolution by procurement' and 'Everything by the people and everything for the people.'"

Africa's Wind of Change

Africa's wind of change is fast becoming a tempest. As their brothers still in bondage fight for independence, free Africans are breaking the remaining economic and cultural shackles of colonialism and making it difficult for the imperialists to come back. A quick survey shows that a politically, economically and culturally advanced Africa is in the making.

Algiers—The Algerian Council of Ministers has approved a draft land reform law for adoption by the National Assembly. According to Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Minister Ali Mahsas, the new law will carry out the principle of "land to the tillers" and expand collective and co-operative farming.

The Algerian Government has also issued a new currency, the dinar, to replace the old franc. It has announced that it will place all foreign trade under government control and nationalize the food industry.

Bamako—Altogether 2,154,711 people, or 99.89 per cent of the electorate, voted for the 80 candidates of the ruling Sudanese Union Party in last month's National Assembly election. The massive turnout in Mali's first election since independence was an impressive demonstration of confidence in President Keita and support for the Government's foreign and home policies.

Only 32.15 per cent of the electors voted in the 1959 elections.

Conakry—A nationwide campaign to wipe out illiteracy is under way. With special committees and teams formed in all parts of the country, the people are learning alphabets for the most commonly used languages such as Sousou, Pular, Maninke, Kissi, Toma and Kpele.

A recent conference has called for thorough-going changes in education with stress on love of country, science, manual labour, farming and study. By the end of 1964, total school enrolments will reach 230,000, which is 200,000 more than the figure when the country attained independence in 1958.

Accra—A 7-year development plan envisaging total expenditure of 1,016 million pounds has been announced. President Nkrumah told parliament that the plan would speed up the country's economic growth rate, develop state and co-operative sectors and do away with the colonial economic structure. It would lead to "a self-supporting economy," he said.

Kojo Botsio, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the National Council of Higher Education, urged Ghanaian teachers to eliminate every vestige of colonialism from education and give new life to Ghana's cultural heritage. The educational system initiated by the British, he said, was a system designed to train people to serve the

interests of the colonial powers and not those of their own country.

Brazzaville—The Government has decided to nationalize the local air service run by foreign capital and rename the company the Congolese National Airways.

Nairobi—The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation will be taken over by the Government and run as the "Voice of Kenya." For several months now, it has been using its own news broadcasts instead of those of the B.B.C.

Dar es Salaam—Speaking at the East African Women's Seminar in Nairobi, Tanganyikan woman M.P. Bibi Titi Mohamed declared that it was high time that East Africans recognized that they had a language, culture and way of life of their own. East African women should wear their own national dresses and take part in political activities. The seminar, the M.P. said, should do away with the idea that all good things could come only from abroad and that nothing East African was worthy.

Khartoum—The Sudanese Interior Minister has ordered the deportation of U.S. missionaries in the Blue Nile Province, southeast of the capital, for "activities impairing the country's security and integrity." This follows the expulsion of 300 foreign missionaries, including 50 Americans, from the southern Sudan in February. They were kicked out for their "support of the mutineers who want to cut off Bahr al Ghazal Province from the rest of the Sudan and for inciting the Sudanese in the south against their brethren in the north."

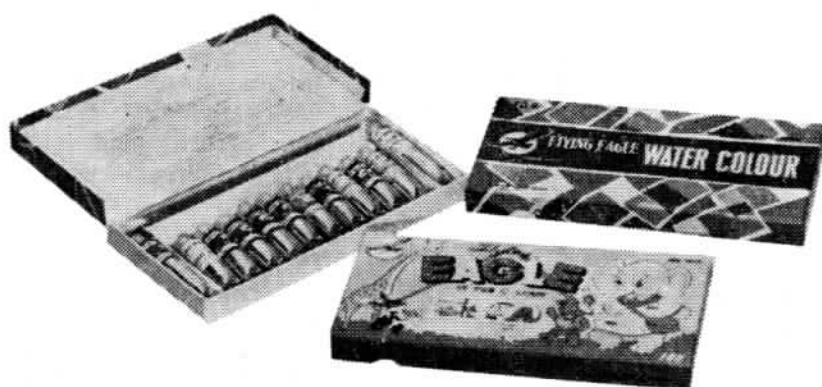
Cairo—Two oil companies—Al Nasr Oil which has a refinery near Suez and oil fields in the Red Sea and the Sinai Peninsula, and Shell Oil which operates a network of filling stations throughout the U.A.R.—have been nationalized by government decree. Al Nasr was formerly the Anglo-Egyptian Oil Company which in 1961 made a net profit of 1.8 million pounds. In that year, 50 per cent of its capital was transferred to the U.A.R. Government.

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