

PEKING REVIEW

30

July 26, 1963

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Peking Welcomes Chinese Communist Party Delegation Back From Moscow

**Statement by Spokesman of Central
Committee of Chinese Communist Party**

July 19, 1963

A Proposal Concerning the General Line Of the International Communist Movement

Letter of the C.P.C. of June 14 in reply to March 30 letter of
the C.P.S.U.

**Open Letter of Central Committee of C.P.S.U.
To Its Party Organizations at All Levels
And to All Its Party Members With an
Accompanying "Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note**

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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PEKING REVIEW

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

July 26, 1963 Vol. VI No. 30

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- A rousing welcome was given to the Chinese Communist Party Delegation led by Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen home from the bilateral talks between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union in Moscow. Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and Tung Pi-wu were among the 5,000 who greeted them at Peking airport.

- A spokesman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a statement on July 19 concerning the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to its Party organizations and the members of the Soviet Party published in *Pravda* on July 14.

On July 20 *Renmin Ribao* republished the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. of June 14 in reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of March 30, together with the full text of the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and an accompanying *Renmin Ribao* editor's note.

- Since publication of its open letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has launched in the Soviet Union through all its propaganda media a fresh campaign of vilification against the Chinese Communist Party. More meetings attacking the C.P.C. were held in different parts of the Soviet Union in accordance with the resolution of the June plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

- A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, the All-China Journalists' Association and Hsinhua News Agency protested strongly against the unreasonable demand of the Czechoslovak Government for the recall of three Hsinhua correspondents from Prague. The returned journalists were accorded a warm welcome in Peking.

- The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia issued a statement unreservedly endorsing the C.P.S.U.'s open letter and its line of action and attacking the Chinese Communist Party.

New slander campaigns against China have also been whipped up by the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the German Socialist Unity Party in their countries since the publication of the C.P.S.U.'s open letter.

- In connection with the tripartite nuclear test-ban talks now going on in Moscow *Renmin Ribao* unmask the U.S. imperialist scheme in an editorial entitled "U.S. Nuclear Fraud Exposed."

- Peking citizens rallied to welcome home the Chinese Women's Delegation and fully supported its stand at the World Congress of Women in Moscow.

- A Chinese Foreign Ministry statement of July 18 condemned U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam and supporting the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

- The Chinese press last week carried an article by Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, pointing out that the people in south Viet Nam are bound to win in their struggle against the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem forces; and excerpts of an article published on July 9-10 in *Akahata*, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, repudiating revisionist fallacies about nuclear war and pointing out that prevention of nuclear war depends on the fight against U.S. nuclear blackmail.

Peking Welcomes Home Chinese Women's Delegation

A mass rally held on July 18 at Peking's Great Hall of the People gave a rousing welcome home to the Chinese delegation which attended the

World Congress of Women. More than 10,000 people gathered at the rally at the call of the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and 17 other people's organizations represent-

ing women, youth, students, writers, lawyers, journalists, scientists and other circles.

There was a prolonged ovation when Yang Yun-yu, head of the delegation, Kuo Chien and Wu Chuan-heng, deputy heads, and other members of the delegation mounted the rostrum.

In her opening address, Vice-Chairman of the National Women's Federation Teng Ying-chao welcomed and congratulated the delegation. "The World Congress of Women," she said, "reflected the struggle between two lines. Firmly adhering to the correct stand of persevering in principle, eliminating differences, strengthening unity and carrying on the common struggle against the enemy, the Chinese Women's Delegation successfully held its ground in sharp and intense struggle against attacks, slanders and a series of most vicious manoeuvres by the forces of the side that is in the wrong. The work done by our delegation deserves our warm praise."

In her detailed report on the proceedings of the recent World Congress of Women, Yang Yun-yu was time and again interrupted by thunderous applause. She exposed the machinations of Popova, head of the Soviet Women's Delegation and Vice-President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, and certain other W.I.D.F. leaders. They bowed to the will of the imperialists and particularly Kennedy—the common enemy of the world's people, she said, imposed their wrong political line on the congress and carefully planned an anti-China chorus. They also engaged, she continued, in a series of sectarian and splitting activities, rudely trampled underfoot the democratic principles of the W.I.D.F. and undermined the unity of the world women's movement. She declared that it was the most disgraceful and most undemocratic congress in the history of the W.I.D.F., but that despite this, in giving a lesson by negative example to the women of the world, it would have far-reaching effects in raising the level of political consciousness of women the world over. (For full text of her speech, see p.49.)

The rally unanimously adopted a resolution which fully supported the actions of the Chinese Women's Delegation. It condemned the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and cer-

tain other W.I.D.F. leaders for openly starting an anti-China chorus at the congress, and for their arrogance and arbitrariness, their violation of democracy and their sectarian and splitting activities. (For full text of the resolution, see p.50.)

Protest Against Czechoslovakia's Unreasonable Demand

Following the unwarranted demand of the Soviet Government for the recall of Mei Wen-kang, staff member of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union, and four other Chinese, the Czechoslovak Government on July 8 unreasonably demanded that Huang Chen-sheng, head of the Prague office of the Hsinhua News Agency, and Hsinhua correspondent Chang Yu-fen—both now on vacation in China—should not return to Czechoslovakia and on July 17 demanded that Lu Hao-ching, another Hsinhua correspondent in Prague, should leave the country within 48 hours. This is yet another incident deliberately aimed at undermining unity between the socialist countries and in the international communist movement. The Chinese Government and people have protested accordingly.

When Lu Hao-ching arrived home by plane on July 21, more than 300 people were on hand to greet him. Huang Chen-sheng and Chang Yu-fen were also at the airport. There they received a warm welcome from Tseng Yung-chuan, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chang Hsi-jo, Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; Wu Leng-hsi, Director of the Hsinhua News Agency and Editor-in-Chief of *Renmin Ribao*; Yueh Sung-sheng, Vice-Mayor of Peking; and many journalists and leading members of all departments and organizations concerned.

Vice-Premiers Receive Newsmen

Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Lu Ting-yi received the three Hsinhua correspondents on July 22. In his talk with them, Vice-Premier Chen Yi described the Czechoslovak Government's action as an unwise attempt to shut out the truth. "Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi and I," said Vice-Premier Chen Yi, "consider that you have done much work in promoting friendship and mutual understanding between the Chinese and Czechoslovak peoples and in spreading the truth. The Czechoslovak Government does not

like you and has ousted you. This is precisely an estimation of your work, proving that you have worked very well and that your work is very fruitful. It was unwise of the Czechoslovak Government to resort to this method to shut out truth which can never be shut out."

Chinese People Protest

The Czechoslovak Government's violation of principles governing relations between socialist countries and its unjustified demand for the recall of the three Hsinhua correspondents have roused deep indignation in China. In a statement on July 19, a spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry strongly protested against the Czechoslovak Government's unwarranted action which he described as "a grave step taken with the deliberate intention of worsening relations between China and Czechoslovakia and aggravating the differences in the international communist movement."

The spokesman exposed the hollowness of the pretexts advanced by the Czechoslovak Government for its unjustified action. The Czechoslovak Government, the statement he issued said, "first charged the Prague office of the Hsinhua News Agency with carrying in its release the June 14 letter of reply of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other documents of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government. But what is wrong with the Prague office of the Hsinhua News Agency, a branch organ of China's state press agency, carrying in its release already published documents of the Chinese Party and Government which were broadcast in morse by the Hsinhua head office? Is this not a proper function within the competence of a state press agency? This is the way any state agency in the world would function, and it would indeed be strange if it did not do so."

"The Czechoslovak Government," the statement continued, "probably also found this charge untenable. Hence, a few days later it trumped up a fresh pretext alleging that correspondents of the Hsinhua Prague office had visited other parts of Czechoslovakia without the consent of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office. This is also an utterly untenable charge. There is no rule in Czechoslovakia which makes

it incumbent upon foreign correspondents to secure the approval of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry before they can tour various parts of Czechoslovakia. Furthermore one has to ask: Since the Czechoslovak Government raised no objection to the travels in Czechoslovakia of the head of the Hsinhua Prague office Huang Chen-sheng and correspondent Chang Yu-fen before they left on June 2 this year for China on vacation, why should it suddenly make this unwarranted charge against them after they left? Obviously, the Czechoslovak Government has taken this action against the Hsinhua correspondents in Prague not because there is really anything objectionable in their travels, but simply because it wants to obstruct and sabotage the normal functioning of Hsinhua's Prague office."

The statement declared that, in ordering Hsinhua correspondent Lu Hao-ching to leave the country within 48 hours, the Czechoslovak Government was acting in a way proper only in dealing with an enemy. Such action by a socialist country against another socialist country, the statement continued, could not but evoke the deepest regret and indignation; it could only be regarded as deliberately aimed at vitiating relations between socialist countries in order to widen the differences and create a split. "The Chinese Government," the statement concluded, "strongly protests against the crude and unwarranted action of the Czechoslovak Government against the Hsinhua correspondents in Prague."

The Hsinhua News Agency and the All-China Journalists' Association also voiced indignation at the Czechoslovak Government's crude action. In a statement issued on July 21, the journalists' association protested against the Czechoslovak Government hurling false charges at the Hsinhua correspondents and taking this crude action against them. "This is an outrageous suppression of the normal activities of journalists," said the statement. "It is indeed distressing to see that this should have taken place in a socialist country. The Chinese journalists fully support the statement issued by the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry." The Chinese journalists' statement also pointed out that the International Organization of Journalists had its headquarters in Prague, and the head of

the Hsinhua Prague office, Huang Chen-sheng, was the liaison representative of the All-China Journalists' Association in that organization. "It is well known," declared the statement, "that the International Organization of Journalists has always called for opposition to the persecution of journalists engaged in normal activities, better professional conditions for journalists and their greater international solidarity. By its action in the city where the I.O.J. headquarters are located, the Czechoslovak Government has wilfully violated the aims of the I.O.J., and therefore should be universally condemned by the progressive international press."

China Backs Vietnamese People's Demands

On July 15, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam issued a statement strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for violating the 1954 Geneva agreements, obstructing the peaceful unification of Viet Nam and waging a war of aggression in south Viet Nam. It asked the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the other participants in the conference and the members of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet Nam to take every effective measure to check U.S. aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam and ensure the thorough implementation of the Geneva agreements on Viet Nam.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on July 18, fully endorsing the reasonable demands and just position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Recalling that in the past nine years U.S. imperialism had never ceased its aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam, the statement said that U.S. imperialism had stepped up its military aggression there since Kennedy came to power. It had sent large numbers of combat troops to help the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem forces to wage a dirty "undeclared" war and had resorted to the most barbarous methods imaginable to suppress the people of south Viet Nam.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement drew attention to the fact that U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam not only aimed at turning it into their colony and military base but also constituted an important part of its

intensified efforts to suppress the national-liberation movements throughout the world. The statement exposed the U.S. imperialists' crime of using south Viet Nam as a proving ground for "special warfare" so that they might use the experience so gained to launch large-scale campaigns against the national-liberation movements in other Asian, African and Latin American countries. These U.S. imperialist schemes, declared the statement, were a threat to the peoples struggling for freedom and independence and to world peace.

Paying tribute to the heroic people of south Viet Nam who have taken up arms in self-defence and are dealing heavy blows against U.S. imperialism and its lackey — the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, the Foreign Ministry's statement hailed these heroic struggles and the great victories gained. They provided invaluable experience and set an illustrious example for all the oppressed peoples and nations in their struggle for liberation, the statement declared.

Fully supporting the Vietnamese people's aspiration to unify their country peacefully, the statement declared that the Chinese Government and people resolutely supported the south Vietnamese people's just and patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism and that they regarded this support as their bounden duty internationally. "The Chinese people," the statement concluded, "will firmly stand by the fraternal Vietnamese people and carry forward to the end the struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. The Vietnamese people are by no means alone. The revolutionary people throughout the world are on the side of the Vietnamese people. The day is sure to come when the heroic Vietnamese people will drive the U.S. aggressors out of their country and realize the peaceful reunification of their motherland."

During the week July 15-21, the Chinese people held mass rallies in all their major cities to express their opposition to U.S. imperialist aggression in south Viet Nam and firm support for the Vietnamese people's struggle for the peaceful unification of their country. All the leading newspapers published editorials, while ten mass organizations issued a joint statement backing the Vietnamese

(Continued on p.62.)

Peking Greets Returning Chinese Communist Party Delegation

THE Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party led by Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, Head of the Delegation and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Comrade Peng Chen, Deputy Head of the Delegation, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, returned from Moscow to Peking on July 21 in two special planes after taking part in the talks between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and other leaders of the Party and state were among the five thousand people gathered at the airport to give a tremendous welcome to the delegation.

The members of the delegation who returned were Comrade Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Com-

rade Yang Shang-kun, Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Comrade Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; and Comrade Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The other member of the delegation, Comrade Pan Tzu-li, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, is still in Moscow.

Standing by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head of the welcoming throng were Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council; Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Tung Pi-wu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

Communique on Talks Between Delegations of C.P.C. and C.P.S.U. in Moscow

Following is the full text of the communique on the talks between the Delegation of the Communist Party of China and the Delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow. — Ed.

TALKS were held between the Delegation of the Communist Party of China and the Delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow from July 5 to 20, 1963. Taking part in the talks were:

On the C.P.C. side—Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping (Head), Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; Comrade Peng Chen (Deputy Head), Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; Comrade Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; Comrade Yang Shang-kun, Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; Comrade Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; Comrade Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; and Comrade Pan Tzu-li, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.;

On the C.P.S.U. side—Comrade M.A. Suslov (Head), Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; Comrade V.V. Grishin, Alternate Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; Comrade Y.V. Andropov, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; Comrade L.F. Ilyichev, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; Comrade B.N. Ponomarev, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; Comrade P.A. Satukov, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; and Comrade S.V. Chervonenko, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

In course of the talks, both sides expounded their own views and stand on a series of important questions of principle concerning contemporary world developments, the international communist movement and Sino-Soviet relations.

Upon the proposal of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China both sides reached the agreement to have a recess in the work of the delegations and to continue the talks some time later. The place and time for the continuation of the talks will be agreed upon by the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. after further consultation.



Left: Members of the delegation stand with welcomers at the airport for a picture. From left to right: Huang Yen-pei, Chu Teh, Chen Yi (second row), Liu Shao-chi, Liu Ning-I (second row), Teng Hsiao-ping, Mao Tse-tung, Peng Chen, Chen Shu-tung, Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng, and Teng Tzu-hui.



Right: Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Kang Sheng, Yang Shang-kun, Liu Ning-I, and Wu Hsiu-chuan reply to their welcomers' applause at Peking airport.

and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; and a host of other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state, leading members of the departments of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Government Ministers and Vice-Ministers, Members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, leaders of democratic parties, non-party democrats, leading members of all people's organizations, high-ranking officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, leading members of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Peking Municipal Party Committee, leaders of Peking Municipality, and diplomats of the countries of the socialist camp.

Cheers at Airport

Colourful banners decorated the airport. The sound of drums and gongs greeted the returning delegation. The crowds hoisted huge streamers inscribed: "Firmly support the correct stand of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in persevering in principle; eliminating differences, strengthening unity and waging a common struggle against the enemy!" "Persevere in defence of world peace, oppose imperialist policies of war and aggression!" "Workers of all countries, unite, oppose our common enemy!" "No meddling in Sino-Soviet differences by imperialism!" "Long live the great unity between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union!" and "Long live the great unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement!"

The two special planes carrying the Chinese Communist Party Delegation landed amidst warm applause and the deafening sound of drums and cymbals. Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Tung Pi-wu and other leaders of the Party and state walked to the planeside to shake hands warmly with and greet all members and working staff of the delegation. Young Pioneers of Peking presented bouquets to them.

Stormy applause and cheers burst from the crowd. They shouted: "Uphold Marxism-Leninism, oppose revisionism!" "Persevere in unity, oppose a split!" "Persevere in revolution, oppose capitulation!" and "Long live the victory of Marxism-Leninism!"

At the planeside, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and N.P.C. Chairman Chu Teh also greeted the Soviet comrades of the crews of the two special planes, warmly shaking hands with them.

Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen and members of the delegation also shook hands with the leaders of various circles present at the airport. There was a storm of cheers as they walked around and waved to the crowds of workers, students, government functionaries, members of rural people's communes on the outskirts of Peking, officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and militiamen who shouted slogans in greeting.

Jubilant Climax

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the Party and state were given a prolonged and thunderous ovation as they made a round of the people gathered at the airport. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung walked by, the applause swelled to a thunderous crescendo. Cheers of "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!" rolled over the airfield.

Among the other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state present were Lo Jung-huan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Liu Po-cheng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Ho Lung, Li Hsien-nien and Tan Chen-lin, Members of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premiers; Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Po-

litical Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Chen Po-ta, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee; Po I-po, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Li Hsueh-feng, Member of the Party's Central Committee and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; Lo Jui-ching, Member of the Party's Central Committee, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Hu Chiao-mu, Member of the Party's Central Committee and Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; Teng Tzu-hui and Nieh Jung-chen, Members of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premiers; Kuo Mo-jo, Huang Yen-pei, Chen Shu-tung, Cheng Chien and Lin Feng, Vice-Chairmen of the N.P.C. Standing Committee; Li Ssu-kuang and Burhan Shahidi, Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; Hsu Hsiang-chien and Fu Tso-yi, Vice-Chairmen of the National Defence Council.

Among the leaders of the democratic parties present were Hsiung Ke-wu, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang; Shih Liang, Kao Chung-min, Hu Yu-chih, Teng Chu-min and Chu Tunan, Vice-Chairmen of the China Democratic League; Shih Fu-liang, Hu Tzu-ang and Sun Chi-meng, Vice-Chairmen of the China Democratic National Construction Association; Wang Shao-ao, Hsu Kuang-ping and Yang Tung-chun, Vice-Chairmen of the China Association for Promoting Democracy; Chi Fang, Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party; Chen Chi-yu, Chairman of the China Chih Kung Tang; Hsu Teh-heng, Chairman, Chou Pei-yuan, Mao Yi-sheng and Yen Chi-tzu, Vice-Chairmen of the Chiu San Society; Hsu Meng-shan, Secretary-General of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League; and Wang Yun-sheng, non-party democrat.

Also present were Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity; Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions; Teng Ying-chao, Vice-Chairman of the National Women's Federation of China; Liu Hsi-yuan, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League; Li Teh-chuan and Shen Yen-ping, Vice-Presidents of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association; and the leaders of the other people's organizations.

Present were the diplomats of the countries of the socialist camp accredited to China: Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Regino Pedroso Aldama, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Cuban Embassy; Josef Koudela, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Czechoslovak Embassy; I.S. Scherbakov, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy; Zung Bong Koo, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Horst Brie, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic; Agop Bezerian, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Rumanian Embassy; Vasil Skorovoti, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Albanian Embassy; Nyitrai Bela, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the

Hungarian Embassy; Samdan, Counsellor of the Mongolian Embassy; Stephan Stoev, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Embassy; and Franciszek Stachowiak, First Secretary of the Polish Embassy.

At the Moscow Airport

The Delegation of the Communist Party of China left Moscow for home at 22 hours Moscow time on July 20. They were seen off at the airport by M.A. Suslov, Head of the C.P.S.U. Delegation and Member of the Presidium and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; and members of the C.P.S.U. Delegation V.V. Grishin, Alternate Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Y.V. Andropov and L.F. Ilyichev, Members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., P.A. Satyukov and S.V. Chervonenko, Members of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and N.G. Sudarikov, Director of the Far East Department of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Pan Tzu-li, member of the delegation, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., and all the diplomatic staff and working personnel of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow were also at the airport to give the delegation a warm send-off.

Yang Hao-lu, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade and Head of the Chinese Government Trade Delegation to the United Arab Republic, and other members of the delegation who are stopping over in Moscow on their way home were also present at the airport together with more than 150 representatives of Chinese students and trainees in the Soviet Union to say farewell to the delegation.

When Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen, Head and Deputy Head of the C.P.C. Delegation, and the other members of the delegation arrived at the airport, staff members of the Chinese Embassy and representatives of Chinese students presented bouquets to them. They then shook hands with all the diplomatic officials of the Chinese Embassy and others who had come to see them off and received a big ovation from the assembled crowd of well-wishers. As they boarded the planes, there was a fresh outburst of prolonged and enthusiastic applause from among the crowd wishing the delegation bon voyage.

Moscow Farewell Banquet

According to Tass, it was officially announced that on July 20, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held a farewell banquet for the C.P.C. Delegation.

Present at the banquet were Comrades L.I. Brezhnev, G.I. Voronov, A.P. Kirilenko, A.I. Mikoyan, M.A. Suslov, N.S. Khrushchov, V.V. Grishin, L.N. Efremov, S.R. Rashidov, Y.V. Andropov, L.F. Ilyichev, B.N. Ponomarev, P.A. Satyukov and S.V. Chervonenko.

The banquet was attended from the Chinese side by Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Kang Sheng, Liu Ning-I, Wu Hsiu-chuan and Pan Tzu-li.

At the banquet Comrade N.S. Khrushchov and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping exchanged toasts.

The banquet proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

Statement by a Spokesman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

July 19, 1963

ON July 14 the Soviet paper *Pravda* published an open letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to its Party organizations at all levels and to all its members. At the same time, it published the June 14 letter of reply of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. is an appraisal of our letter of June 14. The Central Committee of the C.P.C. asserts that the contents of the open letter do not accord with the facts, and we cannot agree with the views it expresses. At the appropriate time, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. will clarify matters and give its comments.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. has decided to republish its letter of reply of June 14 in the *Renmin Ribao* simultaneously with the publication of the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of July 14 so that the members of the C.P.C. and the Chinese people may know the views of both sides and compare and study them. Other national, provincial and city papers will also publish the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

In addition, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. has decided to broadcast to the whole world in many languages both our letter of reply of June 14 and the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated July 14.

The reason why we are doing so is that, while our letter was broadcast as early as mid-June, some people might not have heard it then, or very possibly some of the people opposed to our position and our views did not want to listen to it. Now that we are re-broadcasting our letter, we hope that people in both categories, and especially those who are opposed to us, will listen in patiently so that our opponents will have the material at their disposal for making criticisms which are up to the mark. To speak frankly, so far the criticisms are not up to the mark and not convincing. There is only one reason we are broadcasting the July 14 open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.—it is a remarkable piece of work. To quote a Chinese poem:

*A remarkable work should be enjoyed together
And doubts analysed in company.*

When the Soviet Union broadcast this remarkable work, a great number of revolutionary comrades and people throughout the world probably did not want to listen in or lacked the patience to do so. We advise them not to take such an attitude but to listen in patiently, study it carefully and publish it, so that the two materials, the negative as well as the positive, can be compared, for a

more correct analysis and criticism can only be made in this way. Materialism cannot be developed without criticizing idealism, nor can dialectics without criticizing metaphysics. And to criticize, one must master the material of one's opponents. The open letter of the C.P.S.U. is superlative material for learning by negative example.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. believes that the fact that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has finally published our letter of June 14 in its press is an event to be welcomed. We hope that just as we have published the documents of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., so it will publish more of the relevant documents of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., including the seven articles we have issued since last December and our statements of July 1, 5 and 10 as well as the present statement, in order that the members of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people may know all the views of the C.P.C.

Since July 15, after the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was published, the Soviet papers *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and other national and local papers have printed one editorial after another to boost the open letter and attack the C.P.C., and they have also been using the form of signed articles and readers' letters for the same purpose. At the same time, the press of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and other countries and, one after another, the Communist Party papers in Italy, France, etc., have been expressing support for the open letter of the C.P.S.U. and attacking the C.P.C. We shall publish in our press all the statements of any importance opposing the C.P.C. and answer them when necessary.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. believes it is good that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has publicly given utterance to what it has wanted to say. It is better to have spoken out than not to have spoken. Marxist-Leninists are people who respect facts and reason. The more the truth is debated, the clearer it becomes. The Sino-Soviet differences can eventually be resolved if the facts are respected, the truth is not concealed and matters are not distorted, and if one adheres to Marxism-Leninism instead of departing from it.

After the publication of the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the imperialists, headed by the United States, and the Indian reactionaries and the Yugoslav revisionist clique have acclaimed it with one voice and vilified the C.P.C. Such statements deserve attention. We shall select the prize ones and publish them for all the members of our Party and all the Chinese people to appreciate.

A Proposal Concerning the General Line of The International Communist Movement

The Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
Of China in Reply to the Letter of the Central Committee of
The Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30, 1963

June 14, 1963

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has studied the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30, 1963.

All who have the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement at heart are deeply concerned about the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and hope that our talks will help to eliminate differences, strengthen unity and create favourable conditions for convening a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is the common and sacred duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. The Chinese and Soviet Parties bear a heavier responsibility for the unity of the entire socialist camp and international communist movement and should of course make commensurately greater efforts.

A number of major differences of principle now exist in the international communist movement. But however serious these differences, we should exercise sufficient patience and find ways to eliminate them so that we can unite our forces and strengthen the struggle against our common enemy.

It is with this sincere desire that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approaches the forthcoming talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties.

In its letter of March 30, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. systematically presents its views on questions that need to be discussed in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, and in particular raises the question of the general line of the international communist movement. In this letter we too would like to express our views, which constitute our proposal on the general line of the international communist movement and on some related questions of principle.

We hope that this exposition of views will be conducive to mutual understanding by our two Parties and to a detailed, point-by-point discussion in the talks.

We also hope that this will be conducive to the understanding of our views by the fraternal Parties and to a full exchange of ideas at an international meeting of fraternal Parties.

(1) The general line of the international communist movement must take as its guiding principle the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory concerning the historical mission of the proletariat and must not depart from it.

The Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960 adopted the Declaration and the Statement respectively after a full exchange of views and in accordance with the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation. The two documents point out the characteristics of our epoch and the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and lay down the common line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. They are the common programme of the international communist movement.

It is true that for several years there have been differences within the international communist movement in the understanding of, and the attitude towards, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The central issue here is whether or not to accept the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. In the last analysis, it is a question of whether or not to accept the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, whether or not to recognize the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, whether or not to accept the fact that the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population, need to make revolution, and whether or not to accept the fact that the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world's population, need to carry their revolution forward to the end.

It has become an urgent and vital task of the international communist movement resolutely to defend the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Only by strictly following the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the general road of the October Revolution is it possible to have a correct understanding of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and a correct attitude towards them.

(2) What are the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement? They may be summarized as follows:

Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

This, in our view, is the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage.

(3) This general line proceeds from the actual world situation taken as a whole and from a class analysis of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, and is directed against the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism.

This general line is one of forming a broad united front, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as its nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries headed by the United States; it is a line of boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

This general line is one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end; it is the line that most effectively combats imperialism and defends world peace.

If the general line of the international communist movement is one-sidedly reduced to "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition," this is to violate the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to discard the historical mission of proletarian world revolution, and to depart from the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The general line of the international communist movement should reflect the general law of development of world history. The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the people in various countries go through different stages and they all have their own characteristics, but they will not transcend the general law of development of world history. The general line should point out the basic direction for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries.

While working out its specific line and policies, it is most important for each Communist or Workers' Party to adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in its own country.

(4) In defining the general line of the international communist movement, the starting point is the concrete

class analysis of world politics and economics as a whole and of actual world conditions, that is to say, of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world.

If one avoids a concrete class analysis, seizes at random on certain superficial phenomena, and draws subjective and groundless conclusions, one cannot possibly reach correct conclusions with regard to the general line of the international communist movement but will inevitably slide on to a track entirely different from that of Marxism-Leninism.

What are the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world? Marxist-Leninists consistently hold that they are:

the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp;

the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;

the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and

the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is a contradiction between two fundamentally different social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is undoubtedly very sharp. But Marxist-Leninists must not regard the contradictions in the world as consisting solely and simply of the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

The international balance of forces has changed and has become increasingly favourable to socialism and to all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world, and most unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. Nevertheless, the contradictions enumerated above still objectively exist.

These contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are interrelated and influence each other. Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest.

It is inevitable that these contradictions will give rise to popular revolutions, which alone can resolve them.

(5) The following erroneous views should be repudiated on the question of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world:

a) the view which blots out the class content of the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps and fails to see this contradiction as one between states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists;

b) the view which recognizes only the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, while neglecting or underestimating the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist world, between the oppressed nations and imperialism, among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups, and the struggles to which these contradictions give rise;

c) the view which maintains with regard to the capitalist world that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be resolved without a proletarian revolution in each country and that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism can be resolved without revolution by the oppressed nations;

d) the view which denies that the development of the inherent contradictions in the contemporary capitalist world inevitably leads to a new situation in which the imperialist countries are locked in an intense struggle, and asserts that the contradictions among the imperialist countries can be reconciled, or even eliminated, by "international agreements among the big monopolies"; and

e) the view which maintains that the contradiction between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism will automatically disappear in the course of "economic competition," that the other fundamental world contradictions will automatically do so with the disappearance of the contradiction between the two systems, and that a "world without wars," a new world of "all-round co-operation," will appear.

It is obvious that these erroneous views inevitably lead to erroneous and harmful policies and hence to setbacks and losses of one kind or another to the cause of the people and of socialism.

(6) The balance of forces between imperialism and socialism has undergone a fundamental change since World War II. The main indication of this change is that the world now has not just one socialist country but a number of socialist countries forming the mighty socialist camp, and that the people who have taken the socialist road now number not two hundred million but a thousand million, or a third of the world's population.

The socialist camp is the outcome of the struggles of the international proletariat and working people. It belongs to the international proletariat and working people as well as to the people of the socialist countries.

The main common demands of the people of the countries in the socialist camp and the international proletariat and working people are that all the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp should:

Adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line and pursue correct Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policies;

Consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution forward to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts;

Promote the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses, carry out socialist construction in a planned way, develop production, improve the people's livelihood and strengthen national defence;

Strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and support other social-

ist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism;

Oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and defend world peace;

Oppose the anti-communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries; and

Help the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and nations of the world.

All Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp owe it to their own people and to the international proletariat and working people to fulfil these demands.

By fulfilling these demands the socialist camp will exert a decisive influence on the course of human history.

For this very reason, the imperialists and reactionaries invariably try in a thousand and one ways to influence the domestic and foreign policies of the countries in the socialist camp, to undermine the camp and break up the unity of the socialist countries and particularly the unity of China and the Soviet Union. They invariably try to infiltrate and subvert the socialist countries and even entertain the extravagant hope of destroying the socialist camp.

The question of what is the correct attitude towards the socialist camp is a most important question of principle confronting all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is under new historical conditions that the Communist and Workers' Parties are now carrying on the task of proletarian internationalist unity and struggle. When only one socialist country existed and when this country was faced with hostility and jeopardized by all the imperialists and reactionaries because it firmly pursued the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every Communist Party was whether or not it resolutely defended the only socialist country. Now there is a socialist camp consisting of thirteen countries, Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Under these circumstances, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every Communist Party is whether or not it resolutely defends the whole of the socialist camp, whether or not it defends the unity of all the countries in the camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and whether or not it defends the Marxist-Leninist line and policies which the socialist countries ought to pursue.

If anybody does not pursue the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, does not defend the unity of the socialist camp but on the contrary creates tension and splits within it, or even follows the policies of the Yugoslav revisionists, tries to liquidate the socialist camp or helps capitalist countries to attack fraternal socialist countries, then he is betraying the interests of the entire international proletariat and the people of the world.

If anybody, following in the footsteps of others, defends the erroneous opportunist line and policies pursued by a certain socialist country instead of upholding the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies which the

socialist countries ought to pursue, defends the policy of split instead of upholding the policy of unity, then he is departing from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

(7) Taking advantage of the situation after World War II, the U.S. imperialists stepped into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, and have been trying to erect a huge world empire such as has never been known before. The strategic objectives of U.S. imperialism have been to grab and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, put down the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries, and thus to subject all the peoples and countries of the world, including its allies, to domination and enslavement by U.S. monopoly capital.

Ever since World War II, the U.S. imperialists have been conducting propaganda for war against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. There are two aspects to this propaganda. While the U.S. imperialists are actually preparing such a war, they also use this propaganda as a smokescreen for their oppression of the American people and for the extension of their aggression against the rest of the capitalist world.

The 1960 Statement points out:

"U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter."

"The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today."

"U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war."

"International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world."

U.S. imperialism is pressing its policies of aggression and war all over the world, but the outcome is bound to be the opposite of that intended — it will only be to hasten the awakening of the people in all countries and to hasten their revolutions.

The U.S. imperialists have thus placed themselves in opposition to the people of the whole world and have become encircled by them. The international proletariat must and can unite all the forces that can be united, make use of the internal contradictions in the enemy camp and establish the broadest united front against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The realistic and correct course is to entrust the fate of the people and of mankind to the unity and struggle of the world proletariat and to the unity and struggle of the people in all countries.

Conversely, to make no distinction between enemies, friends and ourselves and to entrust the fate of the people and of mankind to collaboration with U.S. imperialism is to lead people astray. The events of the last few years have exploded this illusion.

(8) The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.

The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time.

The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace.

In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

Therefore, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance but one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution.

Certain persons now go so far as to deny the great international significance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and, on the pretext of breaking down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location, are trying their best to efface the line of demarcation between oppressed and oppressor nations and between oppressed and oppressor countries and to hold down the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in these areas. In fact, they cater to the needs of imperialism and create a new "theory" to justify the rule of imperialism in these areas and the promotion of its policies of old and new colonialism. Actually, this "theory" seeks not to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location but to maintain the rule of the "superior nations" over the oppressed nations. It is only natural that this fraudulent "theory" is rejected by the people in these areas.

The working class in every socialist country and in every capitalist country must truly put into effect the fighting slogans, "Workers of all countries, unite!" and "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!"; it must study the revolutionary experience of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, firmly support their revolutionary actions and regard the cause of their liberation as a most dependable support for itself and as directly in accord with its own interests. This is the only effective way to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location and this is the only genuine proletarian internationalism.

It is impossible for the working class in the European and American capitalist countries to liberate itself unless

it unites with the oppressed nations and unless those nations are liberated. Lenin rightly said,

The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by capital.*

Certain persons in the international communist movement are now taking a passive or scornful or negative attitude towards the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation. They are in fact protecting the interests of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into social democrats.

The attitude taken towards the revolutionary struggles of the people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is an important criterion for differentiating those who want revolution from those who do not and those who are truly defending world peace from those who are abetting the forces of aggression and war.

(9) The oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

History has entrusted to the proletarian parties in these areas the glorious mission of holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, against old and new colonialism and for national independence and people's democracy, of standing in the forefront of the national democratic revolutionary movement and striving for a socialist future.

In these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats, who are patriotic.

The proletariat and its party must have confidence in the strength of the masses and, above all, must unite with the peasants and establish a solid worker-peasant alliance. It is of primary importance for advanced members of the proletariat to work in the rural areas, help the peasants to get organized, and raise their class consciousness and their national self-respect and self-confidence.

On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance the proletariat and its party must unite all the strata that can be united and organize a broad united front against imperialism and its lackeys. In order to consolidate and expand this united front it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence and insist on the leadership of the revolution.

The proletarian party and the revolutionary people must learn to master all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. They must defeat counter-revolutionary

armed force with revolutionary armed force whenever imperialism and its lackeys resort to armed suppression.

The nationalist countries which have recently won political independence are still confronted with the arduous tasks of consolidating it, liquidating the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction, carrying out agrarian and other social reforms and developing their national economy and culture. It is of practical and vital importance for these countries to guard and fight against the neo-colonialist policies which the old colonialists adopt to preserve their interests, and especially against the neo-colonialism of U.S. imperialism.

In some of these countries, the patriotic national bourgeoisie continue to stand with the masses in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and introduce certain measures of social progress. This requires the proletarian party to make a full appraisal of the progressive role of the patriotic national bourgeoisie and strengthen unity with them.

As the internal social contradictions and the international class struggle sharpen, the bourgeoisie, and particularly the big bourgeoisie, in some newly independent countries increasingly tend to become retainers of imperialism and to pursue anti-popular, anti-communist and counter-revolutionary policies. It is necessary for the proletarian party resolutely to oppose these reactionary policies.

Generally speaking, the bourgeoisie in these countries have a dual character. When a united front is formed with the bourgeoisie, the policy of the proletarian party should be one of both unity and struggle. The policy should be to unite with the bourgeoisie, in so far as they tend to be progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but to struggle against their reactionary tendencies to compromise and collaborate with imperialism and the forces of feudalism.

On the national question the world outlook of the proletarian party is internationalism, and not nationalism. In the revolutionary struggle it supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fall captive.

The 1960 Statement says,

Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose. . . .

If the proletariat becomes the tail of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the revolution, no real or thorough victory in the national democratic revolution is possible, and even if victory of a kind is gained, it will be impossible to consolidate it.

In the course of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, the proletarian party must put forward a programme of its own which is thoroughly against imperialism and domestic reaction and for national independence and people's democracy, and it must work independently among the masses, constantly expand the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate

* Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 472-73.

the reactionary forces; only thus can it carry the national democratic revolution through to the end and guide the revolution on to the road of socialism.

(10) In the imperialist and the capitalist countries, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for the thorough resolution of the contradictions of capitalist society.

In striving to accomplish this task the proletarian party must under the present circumstances actively lead the working class and the working people in struggles to oppose monopoly capital, to defend democratic rights, to oppose the menace of fascism, to improve living conditions, to oppose imperialist arms expansion and war preparations, to defend world peace and actively to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations.

In the capitalist countries which U.S. imperialism controls or is trying to control, the working class and the people should direct their attacks mainly against U.S. imperialism, but also against their own monopoly capitalists and other reactionary forces who are betraying the national interests.

Large-scale mass struggles in the capitalist countries in recent years have shown that the working class and working people are experiencing a new awakening. Their struggles, which are dealing blows at monopoly capital and reaction, have opened bright prospects for the revolutionary cause in their own countries and are also a powerful support for the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and for the countries of the socialist camp.

The proletarian parties in imperialist or capitalist countries must maintain their own ideological, political and organizational independence in leading revolutionary struggles. At the same time, they must unite all the forces that can be united and build a broad united front against monopoly capital and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

While actively leading immediate struggles, Communists in the capitalist countries should link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and undertake the historical task of the proletarian revolution. If they fail to do so, if they regard the immediate movement as everything, determine their conduct from case to case, adapt themselves to the events of the day and sacrifice the basic interests of the proletariat, that is out-and-out social democracy.

Social democracy is a bourgeois ideological trend. Lenin pointed out long ago that the social democratic parties are political detachments of the bourgeoisie, its agents in the working-class movement and its principal social prop. Communists must at all times draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and social democratic parties on the basic question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and liquidate the ideological influence of social democracy in the international working-class movement and among the working people. Beyond any shadow of doubt, Communists

must win over the masses under the influence of the social democratic parties and must win over those Left and middle elements in the social democratic parties who are willing to oppose domestic monopoly capital and domination by foreign imperialism, and must unite with them in extensive joint action in the day-to-day struggle of the working-class movement and in the struggle to defend world peace.

In order to lead the proletariat and working people in revolution, Marxist-Leninist parties must master all forms of struggle and be able to substitute one form for another quickly as the conditions of struggle change. The vanguard of the proletariat will remain unconquerable in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle—peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary struggle and mass struggle, etc. It is wrong to refuse to use parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle when they can and should be used. However, if a Marxist-Leninist party falls into legalism or parliamentary cretinism, confining the struggle within the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie, this will inevitably lead to renouncing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(11) On the question of transition from capitalism to socialism, the proletarian party must proceed from the stand of class struggle and revolution and base itself on the Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Communists would always prefer to bring about the transition to socialism by peaceful means. But can peaceful transition be made into a new worldwide strategic principle for the international communist movement? Absolutely not.

Marxism-Leninism consistently holds that the fundamental question in all revolutions is that of state power. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement both clearly point out, "Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily." The old government never topples even in a period of crisis, unless it is pushed. This is a universal law of class struggle.

In specific historical conditions, Marx and Lenin did raise the possibility that revolution may develop peacefully. But, as Lenin pointed out, the peaceful development of revolution is an opportunity "very seldom to be met with in the history of revolutions."

As a matter of fact, there is no historical precedent for peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Certain persons say there was no precedent when Marx foretold that socialism would inevitably replace capitalism. Then why can we not predict a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism despite the absence of a precedent?

This parallel is absurd. Employing dialectical and historical materialism, Marx analysed the contradictions of capitalism, discovered the objective laws of development of human society and arrived at a scientific conclusion, whereas the prophets who pin all their hopes on "peaceful transition" proceed from historical idealism,

ignore the most fundamental contradictions of capitalism, repudiate the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, and arrive at a subjective and groundless conclusion. How can people who repudiate Marxism get any help from Marx?

It is plain to everyone that the capitalist countries are strengthening their state machinery — and especially their military apparatus — the primary purpose of which is to suppress the people in their own countries.

The proletarian party must never base its thinking, its policies for revolution and its entire work on the assumption that the imperialists and reactionaries will accept peaceful transformation.

The proletarian party must prepare itself for two eventualities — while preparing for a peaceful development of the revolution, it must also fully prepare for a non-peaceful development. It should concentrate on the painstaking work of accumulating revolutionary strength, so that it will be ready to seize victory when the conditions for revolution are ripe or to strike powerful blows at the imperialists and the reactionaries when they launch surprise attacks and armed assaults.

If it fails to make such preparations, the proletarian party will paralyse the revolutionary will of the proletariat, disarm itself ideologically and sink into a totally passive state of unpreparedness both politically and organizationally, and the result will be to bury the proletarian revolutionary cause.

(12) All social revolutions in the various stages of the history of mankind are historically inevitable and are governed by objective laws independent of man's will. Moreover, history shows that there never was a revolution which was able to achieve victory without zigzags and sacrifices.

With Marxist-Leninist theory as the basis, the task of the proletarian party is to analyse the concrete historical conditions, put forward the correct strategy and tactics, and guide the masses in bypassing hidden reefs, avoiding unnecessary sacrifices and reaching the goal step by step. Is it possible to avoid sacrifices altogether? Such is not the case with the slave revolutions, the serf revolutions, the bourgeois revolutions, or the national revolutions; nor is it the case with proletarian revolutions. Even if the guiding line of the revolution is correct, it is impossible to have a sure guarantee against setbacks and sacrifices in the course of the revolution. So long as a correct line is adhered to, the revolution is bound to triumph in the end. To abandon revolution on the pretext of avoiding sacrifices is in reality to demand that the people should for ever remain slaves and endure infinite pain and sacrifice.

Elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that the birth-pangs of a revolution are far less painful than the chronic agony of the old society. Lenin rightly said that "even with the most peaceful course of events, the present [capitalist] system always and inevitably exacts countless sacrifices from the working class."*

* Lenin, "Another Massacre," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, Vol. V, p. 25.

Whoever considers a revolution can be made only if everything is plain sailing, only if there is an advance guarantee against sacrifices and failure, is certainly no revolutionary.

However difficult the conditions and whatever sacrifices and defeats the revolution may suffer, proletarian revolutionaries should educate the masses in the spirit of revolution and hold aloft the banner of revolution and not abandon it.

It would be "Left" adventurism if the proletarian party should rashly launch a revolution before the objective conditions are ripe. But it would be Right opportunism if the proletarian party should not dare to lead a revolution and to seize state power when the objective conditions are ripe.

Even in ordinary times, when it is leading the masses in the day-to-day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organizationally prepare its own ranks and the masses for revolution and promote revolutionary struggles, so that it will not miss the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a new state power when the conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, when the objective conditions are ripe, the proletarian party will simply throw away the opportunity of seizing victory.

The proletarian party must be flexible as well as highly principled, and on occasion it must make such compromises as are necessary in the interests of the revolution. But it must never abandon principled policies and the goal of revolution on the pretext of flexibility and of necessary compromises.

The proletarian party must lead the masses in waging struggles against the enemies, and it must know how to utilize the contradictions among those enemies. But the purpose of using these contradictions is to make it easier to attain the goal of the people's revolutionary struggles and not to liquidate these struggles.

Countless facts have proved that, wherever the dark rule of imperialism and reaction exists, the people who form over 90 per cent of the population will sooner or later rise in revolution.

If Communists isolate themselves from the revolutionary demands of the masses, they are bound to lose the confidence of the masses and will be tossed to the rear by the revolutionary current.

If the leading group in any Party adopt a non-revolutionary line and convert it into a reformist party, then Marxist-Leninists inside and outside the Party will replace them and lead the people in making revolution. In another kind of situation, the bourgeois revolutionaries will come forward to lead the revolution and the party of the proletariat will forfeit its leadership of the revolution. When the reactionary bourgeoisie betray the revolution and suppress the people, an opportunist line will cause tragic and unnecessary losses to the Communists and the revolutionary masses.

If Communists slide down the path of opportunism, they will degenerate into bourgeois nationalists and become appendages of the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie.

There are certain persons who assert that they have made the greatest creative contributions to revolutionary theory since Lenin and that they alone are correct. But it is very dubious whether they have ever really given consideration to the extensive experience of the entire world communist movement, whether they have ever really considered the interests, the goal and tasks of the international proletarian movement as a whole, and whether they really have a general line for the international communist movement which conforms with Marxism-Leninism.

In the last few years the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement have had many experiences and many lessons. There are experiences which people should praise and there are experiences which make people grieve. Communists and revolutionaries in all countries should ponder and seriously study these experiences of success and failure, so as to draw correct conclusions and useful lessons from them.

(13) The socialist countries and the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations support and assist each other.

The national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary movements of the people in the capitalist countries are a strong support to the socialist countries. It is completely wrong to deny this.

The only attitude for the socialist countries to adopt towards the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations is one of warm sympathy and active support; they must not adopt a perfunctory attitude, or one of national selfishness or of great-power chauvinism.

Lenin said, "Alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against any and all the imperialists — such is the external policy of the proletariat."* Whoever fails to understand this point and considers that the support and aid given by the socialist countries to the oppressed peoples and nations are a burden or charity is going counter to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The superiority of the socialist system and the achievements of the socialist countries in construction play an exemplary role and are an inspiration to the oppressed peoples and the oppressed nations.

But this exemplary role and inspiration can never replace the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. No oppressed people or nation can win liberation except through its own staunch revolutionary struggle.

Certain persons have one-sidedly exaggerated the role of peaceful competition between socialist and imperialist countries in their attempt to substitute peaceful competition for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peo-

ples and nations. According to their preaching, it would seem that imperialism will automatically collapse in the course of this peaceful competition and that the only thing the oppressed peoples and nations have to do is to wait quietly for the advent of this day. What does this have in common with Marxist-Leninist views?

Moreover, certain persons have concocted the strange tale that China and some other socialist countries want "to unleash wars" and to spread socialism by "wars between states." As the Statement of 1960 points out, such tales are nothing but imperialist and reactionary slanders. To put it bluntly, the purpose of those who repeat these slanders is to hide the fact that they are opposed to revolutions by the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and opposed to others supporting such revolutions.

(14) In the last few years much—in fact a great deal—has been said on the question of war and peace. Our views and policies on this question are known to the world, and no one can distort them.

It is a pity that although certain persons in the international communist movement talk about how much they love peace and hate war, they are unwilling to acquire even a faint understanding of the simple truth on war pointed out by Lenin.

Lenin said,

It seems to me that the main thing that is usually forgotten on the question of war, which receives inadequate attention, the main reason why there is so much controversy, and, I would say, futile, hopeless and aimless controversy, is that people forget the fundamental question of the class character of the war; why the war broke out; the classes that are waging it; the historical and historico-economic conditions that gave rise to it.*

As Marxist-Leninists see it, war is the continuation of politics by other means, and every war is inseparable from the political system and the political struggles which give rise to it. If one departs from this scientific Marxist-Leninist proposition which has been confirmed by the entire history of class struggle, one will never be able to understand either the question of war or the question of peace.

There are different types of peace and different types of war. Marxist-Leninists must be clear about what type of peace or what type of war is in question. Lumping just wars and unjust wars together and opposing all of them indiscriminately is a bourgeois pacifist and not a Marxist-Leninist approach.

Certain persons say that revolutions are entirely possible without war. Now which type of war are they referring to—is it a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war, or is it a world war?

If they are referring to a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war, then this formulation is, in effect, opposed to revolutionary wars and to revolution.

* Lenin, "The External Policy of the Russian Revolution," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian edition, State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXV, p.69.

* Lenin, "War and Revolution," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian edition, S.P.H.P.L., Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXIV, p.362.

If they are referring to a world war, then they are shooting at a non-existent target. Although Marxist-Leninists have pointed out, on the basis of the history of the two world wars, that world wars inevitably lead to revolution, no Marxist-Leninist ever has held or ever will hold that revolution must be made through world war.

Marxist-Leninists take the abolition of war as their ideal and believe that war can be abolished.

But how can war be abolished?

This is how Lenin viewed it:

... our object is to achieve the socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war.*

The Statement of 1960 also puts it very clearly, "The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars."

However, certain persons now actually hold that it is possible to bring about "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" through "general and complete disarmament" while the system of imperialism and of the exploitation of man by man still exists. This is sheer illusion.

An elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that the armed forces are the principal part of the state machine and that a so-called world without weapons and without armed forces can only be a world without states. Lenin said:

Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.***

What are the facts in the world today? Is there a shadow of evidence that the imperialist countries headed by the United States are ready to carry out general and complete disarmament? Are they not each and all engaged in general and complete arms expansion?

We have always maintained that, in order to expose and combat the imperialists' arms expansion and war preparations, it is necessary to put forward the proposal for general disarmament. Furthermore, it is possible to compel imperialism to accept some kind of agreement on disarmament through the combined struggle of the socialist countries and the people of the whole world.

If one regards general and complete disarmament as the fundamental road to world peace, spreads the illusion that imperialism will automatically lay down its arms and tries to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations on the pretext of disarmament, then this is deliberately to deceive the people of the world and help the imperialists in their policies of aggression and war.

* *ibid.*, p.363.

** Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p.574.

In order to overcome the present ideological confusion in the international working-class movement on the question of war and peace, we consider that Lenin's thesis, which has been discarded by the modern revisionists, must be restored in the interest of combating the imperialist policies of aggression and war and defending world peace.

The people of the world universally demand the prevention of a new world war. And it is possible to prevent a new world war.

The question then is, what is the way to secure world peace? According to the Leninist viewpoint, world peace can be won only by the struggles of the people in all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. World peace can only be effectively defended by relying on the development of the forces of the socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries, on the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and on the struggles of all peace-loving people and countries.

Such is the Leninist policy. Any policy to the contrary definitely will not lead to world peace but will only encourage the ambitions of the imperialists and increase the danger of world war.

In recent years, certain persons have been spreading the argument that a single spark from a war of national liberation or from a revolutionary people's war will lead to a world conflagration destroying the whole of mankind. What are the facts? Contrary to what these persons say, the wars of national liberation and the revolutionary people's wars that have occurred since World War II have not led to world war. The victory of these revolutionary wars has directly weakened the forces of imperialism and greatly strengthened the forces which prevent the imperialists from launching a world war and which defend world peace. Do not the facts demonstrate the absurdity of this argument?

(15) The complete banning and destruction of nuclear weapons is an important task in the struggle to defend world peace. We must do our utmost to this end.

Nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive, which is why for more than a decade now the U.S. imperialists have been pursuing their policy of nuclear blackmail in order to realize their ambition of enslaving the people of all countries and dominating the world.

But when the imperialists threaten other countries with nuclear weapons, they subject the people in their own country to the same threat, thus arousing them against nuclear weapons and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. At the same time, in their vain hope of destroying their opponents with nuclear weapons, the imperialists are in fact subjecting themselves to the danger of being destroyed.

The possibility of banning nuclear weapons does indeed exist. However, if the imperialists are forced to accept an agreement to ban nuclear weapons, it decidedly will not be because of their "love for humanity" but because of the pressure of the people of all countries and for the sake of their own vital interests.

In contrast to the imperialists, socialist countries rely upon the righteous strength of the people and on their own correct policies, and have no need whatever to gamble with nuclear weapons in the world arena. Socialist countries have nuclear weapons solely in order to defend themselves and to prevent imperialism from launching a nuclear war.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, the people are the makers of history. In the present, as in the past, man is the decisive factor. Marxist-Leninists attach importance to the role of technological change, but it is wrong to belittle the role of man and exaggerate the role of technology.

The emergence of nuclear weapons can neither arrest the progress of human history nor save the imperialist system from its doom, any more than the emergence of new techniques could save the old systems from their doom in the past.

The emergence of nuclear weapons does not and cannot resolve the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, does not and cannot alter the law of class struggle, and does not and cannot change the nature of imperialism and reaction.

It cannot, therefore, be said that with the emergence of nuclear weapons the possibility and the necessity of social and national revolutions have disappeared, or the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and especially the theories of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and of war and peace, have become outmoded and changed into stale "dogmas."

(16)

It was Lenin who advanced the thesis that it is possible for the socialist countries to practise peaceful co-existence with the capitalist countries. It is well known that after the great Soviet people had repulsed foreign armed intervention the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, led first by Lenin and then by Stalin, consistently pursued the policy of peaceful co-existence and that they were forced to wage a war of self-defence only when attacked by the German imperialists.

Since its founding, the People's Republic of China too has consistently pursued the policy of peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems, and it is China which initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

However, a few years ago certain persons suddenly claimed Lenin's policy of peaceful co-existence as their own "great discovery." They maintain that they have a monopoly on the interpretation of this policy. They treat "peaceful co-existence" as if it were an all-inclusive, mystical book from heaven and attribute to it every success the people of the world achieve by struggle. What is more, they label all who disagree with their distortions of Lenin's views as opponents of peaceful co-existence, as people completely ignorant of Lenin and Leninism, and as heretics deserving to be burnt at the stake.

How can the Chinese Communists agree with this view and practice? They cannot, it is impossible.

Lenin's principle of peaceful co-existence is very clear and readily comprehensible by ordinary people. Peaceful co-existence designates a relationship between countries with different social systems, and must not be interpreted as one pleases. It should never be extended to apply to the relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed and oppressor countries or between oppressed and oppressor classes, and never be described as the main content of the transition from capitalism to socialism, still less should it be asserted that peaceful co-existence is mankind's road to socialism. The reason is that it is one thing to practise peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems. It is absolutely impermissible and impossible for countries practising peaceful co-existence to touch even a hair of each other's social system. The class struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the transition from capitalism to socialism in various countries are quite another thing. They are all bitter, life-and-death revolutionary struggles which aim at changing the social system. Peaceful co-existence cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people. The transition from capitalism to socialism in any country can only be brought about through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country.

In the application of the policy of peaceful co-existence, struggles between the socialist and imperialist countries are unavoidable in the political, economic and ideological spheres, and it is absolutely impossible to have "all-round co-operation."

It is necessary for the socialist countries to engage in negotiations of one kind or another with the imperialist countries. It is possible to reach certain agreements through negotiation by relying on the correct policies of the socialist countries and on the pressure of the people of all countries. But necessary compromises between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries do not require the oppressed peoples and nations to follow suit and compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. No one should ever demand in the name of peaceful co-existence that the oppressed peoples and nations should give up their revolutionary struggles.

The application of the policy of peaceful co-existence by the socialist countries is advantageous for achieving a peaceful international environment for socialist construction, for exposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for isolating the imperialist forces of aggression and war. But if the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries is confined to peaceful co-existence, then it is impossible to handle correctly either the relations between socialist countries or those between the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations. Therefore it is wrong to make peaceful co-existence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

In our view, the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries should have the following content: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among the countries in the socialist camp in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful co-existence on the basis of the

Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are interrelated and indivisible, and not a single one can be omitted.

(17) For a very long historical period after the proletariat takes power, class struggle continues as an objective law independent of man's will, differing only in form from what it was before the taking of power.

After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

a) The overthrown exploiters always try in a thousand and one ways to recover the "paradise" they have been deprived of.

b) New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

c) Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

d) The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

Life has confirmed these conclusions of Lenin's.

For decades or even longer periods after socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, it will be impossible to say that any socialist country will be free from those elements which Lenin repeatedly denounced, such as bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, speculators, swindlers, idlers, hooligans and embezzlers of state funds; or to say that a socialist country will no longer need to perform or be able to relinquish the task laid down by Lenin of conquering "this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism."

In a socialist country, it takes a very long historical period gradually to settle the question of who will win — socialism or capitalism. The struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism runs through this whole historical period. This struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner, at times becoming very fierce, and the forms of the struggle are many and varied.

The 1957 Declaration rightly states that "the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion."

To deny the existence of class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts is wrong, does not correspond to objective reality and violates Marxism-Leninism.

(18) Both Marx and Lenin maintained that the entire period before the advent of the higher stage of communist society is the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is to say, the proletarian state, goes through the dialectical process of establishment, consolidation, strengthening and withering away.

In the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx posed the question as follows:

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.*

Lenin frequently emphasized Marx's great theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and analysed the development of this theory, particularly in his outstanding work, *The State and Revolution*, where he wrote:

... the transition from capitalist society — which is developing towards communism — to a communist society is impossible without a "political transition period," and the state in this period can only be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.**

He further said:

The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from "classless society," from communism.†

As stated above, the fundamental thesis of Marx and Lenin is that the dictatorship of the proletariat will inevitably continue for the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, that is, for the entire period up to the abolition of all class differences and the entry into a classless society, the higher stage of communist society.

What will happen if it is announced, halfway through, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary?

Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Does this not license the development of "this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism"?

In other words, this would lead to extremely grave consequences and make any transition to communism out of the question.

* Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, pp.32-33.

** Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p.289.

† *ibid.*, p.234.

Can there be a "state of the whole people"? Is it possible to replace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a "state of the whole people"?

This is not a question about the internal affairs of any particular country but a fundamental problem involving the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class state. So long as the state remains a state, it must bear a class character; so long as the state exists, it cannot be a state of the "whole people." As soon as society becomes classless, there will no longer be a state.

Then what sort of thing would a "state of the whole people" be?

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism can understand that the so-called state of the whole people is nothing new. Representative bourgeois figures have always called the bourgeois state a "state of all the people," or a "state in which power belongs to all the people."

Certain persons may say that their society is already one without classes. We answer: No, there are classes and class struggles in all socialist countries without exception.

Since remnants of the old exploiting classes who are trying to stage a comeback still exist there, since new capitalist elements are constantly being generated there, and since there are still parasites, speculators, idlers, hooligans, embezzlers of state funds, etc., how can it be said that classes or class struggles no longer exist? How can it be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary?

Marxism-Leninism tells us that in addition to the suppression of the hostile classes, the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the course of building socialism necessarily include the correct handling of relations between the working class and peasantry, the consolidation of their political and economic alliance and the creation of conditions for the gradual elimination of the class difference between worker and peasant.

When we look at the economic base of any socialist society, we find that the difference between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership exists in all socialist countries without exception, and that there is individual ownership too. Ownership by the whole people and collective ownership are two kinds of ownership and two kinds of relations of production in socialist society. The workers in enterprises owned by the whole people and the peasants on farms owned collectively belong to two different categories of labourers in socialist society. Therefore, the class difference between worker and peasant exists in all socialist countries without exception. This difference will not disappear until the transition to the higher stage of communism is achieved. In their present level of economic development all socialist countries are still far, far removed from the higher stage of communism in which "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is put into practice. Therefore, it will take a long, long time to eliminate the class difference between worker and peasant. And until this

difference is eliminated, it is impossible to say that society is classless or that there is no longer any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In calling a socialist state the "state of the whole people," is one trying to replace the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state by the bourgeois theory of the state? Is one trying to replace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a state of a different character?

If that is the case, it is nothing but a great historical retrogression. The degeneration of the social system in Yugoslavia is a grave lesson.

(19) Leninism holds that the proletarian party must exist together with the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries. The party of the proletariat is indispensable for the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reason is that the dictatorship of the proletariat has to struggle against the enemies of the proletariat and of the people, remould the peasants and other small producers, constantly consolidate the proletarian ranks, build socialism and effect the transition to communism; none of these things can be done without the leadership of the party of the proletariat.

Can there be a "party of the entire people"? Is it possible to replace the Party which is the vanguard of the proletariat by a "party of the entire people"?

This, too, is not a question about the internal affairs of any particular Party, but a fundamental problem involving the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class political party. All political parties have a class character. Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character.

The party of the proletariat is the only party able to represent the interests of the whole people. It can do so precisely because it represents the interests of the proletariat, whose ideas and will it concentrates. It can lead the whole people because the proletariat can finally emancipate itself only with the emancipation of all mankind, because the very nature of the proletariat enables its party to approach problems in terms of its present and future interests, because the party is boundlessly loyal to the people and has the spirit of self-sacrifice; hence its democratic centralism and iron discipline. Without such a party, it is impossible to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and to represent the interests of the whole people.

What will happen if it is announced halfway before entering the higher stage of communist society that the party of the proletariat has become a "party of the entire people" and if its proletarian class character is repudiated?

Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the party of the proletariat?

Does this not disarm the proletariat and all the working people, organizationally and ideologically, and is it not tantamount to helping restore capitalism?

Is it not "going south by driving the chariot north" to talk about any transition to communist society in such circumstances?

(20) Over the past few years, certain persons have violated Lenin's integral teachings about the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses, and raised the issue of "combating the cult of the individual"; this is erroneous and harmful.

The theory propounded by Lenin is as follows:

- a) The masses are divided into classes;
- b) Classes are usually led by political parties;
- c) Political parties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders.

Lenin said, "All this is elementary."

The party of the proletariat is the headquarters of the proletariat in revolution and struggle. Every proletarian party must practise centralism based on democracy and establish a strong Marxist-Leninist leadership before it can become an organized and battle-worthy vanguard. To raise the question of "combating the cult of the individual" is actually to counterpose the leaders to the masses, undermine the Party's unified leadership which is based on democratic centralism, dissipate its fighting strength and disintegrate its ranks.

Lenin criticized the erroneous views which counterpose the leaders to the masses. He called them "ridiculously absurd and stupid."

The Communist Party of China has always disapproved of exaggerating the role of the individual, has advocated and persistently practised democratic centralism within the Party and advocated the linking of the leadership with the masses, maintaining that correct leadership must know how to concentrate the views of the masses.

While loudly combating the so-called cult of the individual, certain persons are in reality doing their best to defame the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, they are enormously exaggerating the role of certain individuals, shifting all errors onto others and claiming all credit for themselves.

What is more serious is that, under the pretext of "combating the cult of the individual," certain persons are crudely interfering in the internal affairs of other fraternal Parties and fraternal countries and forcing other fraternal Parties to change their leadership in order to impose their own wrong line on these Parties. What is all this if not great-power chauvinism, sectarianism and splittism? What is all this if not subversion?

It is high time to propagate seriously and comprehensively Lenin's integral teachings on the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses.

(21) Relations between socialist countries are international relations of a new type. Relations between socialist countries, whether large or small, and whether more developed or less developed economically, must be based on the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and must

also be based on the principles of mutual support and mutual assistance in accordance with proletarian internationalism.

Every socialist country must rely mainly on itself for its construction.

In accordance with its own concrete conditions, every socialist country must rely first of all on the diligent labour and talents of its own people, utilize all its available resources fully and in a planned way, and bring all its potential into play in socialist construction. Only thus can it build socialism effectively and develop its economy speedily.

This is the only way for each socialist country to strengthen the might of the entire socialist camp and enhance its capacity to assist the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Therefore, to observe the principle of mainly relying on oneself in construction is to apply proletarian internationalism concretely.

If, proceeding only from its own partial interests, any socialist country unilaterally demands that other fraternal countries submit to its needs, and uses the pretext of opposing what they call "going it alone" and "nationalism" to prevent other fraternal countries from applying the principle of relying mainly on their own efforts in their construction and from developing their economies on the basis of independence, or even goes to the length of putting economic pressure on other fraternal countries — then these are pure manifestations of national egoism.

It is absolutely necessary for socialist countries to practise mutual economic assistance and co-operation and exchange. Such economic co-operation must be based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance.

It would be great-power chauvinism to deny these basic principles and, in the name of "international division of labour" or "specialization," to impose one's own will on others, infringe on the independence and sovereignty of fraternal countries or harm the interests of their people.

In relations among socialist countries it would be preposterous to follow the practice of gaining profit for oneself at the expense of others, a practice characteristic of relations among capitalist countries, or go so far as to take the "economic integration" and the "common market," which monopoly capitalist groups have instituted for the purpose of seizing markets and grabbing profits, as examples which socialist countries ought to follow in their economic co-operation and mutual assistance.

(22) The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement lay down the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties. These are the principle of solidarity, the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance, the principle of independence and equality and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation — all on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We note that in its letter of March 30 the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. says that there are no "superior" and "subordinate" Parties in the communist movement, that all Communist Parties are independent and equal, and that they should all build their relations

on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance.

It is a fine quality of Communists that their deeds are consistent with their words. The only correct way to safeguard and strengthen unity among the fraternal Parties is genuinely to adhere to, and not to violate, the principle of proletarian internationalism and genuinely to observe, and not to undermine, the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties — and to do so not only in words but, much more important, in deeds.

If the principle of independence and equality is accepted in relations among fraternal Parties, then it is impermissible for any Party to place itself above others, to interfere in their internal affairs, and to adopt patriarchal ways in relations with them.

If it is accepted that there are no “superiors” and “subordinates” in relations among fraternal Parties, then it is impermissible to impose the programme, resolutions and line of one’s own Party on other fraternal Parties as the “common programme” of the international communist movement.

If the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation is accepted in relations among fraternal Parties, then one should not emphasize “who is in the majority” or “who is in the minority” and bank on a so-called majority in order to force through one’s own erroneous line and carry out sectarian and splitting policies.

If it is agreed that differences between fraternal Parties should be settled through inter-Party consultation, then other fraternal Parties should not be attacked publicly and by name at one’s own congress or at other Party congresses, in speeches by Party leaders, resolutions, statements, etc.; and still less should the ideological differences among fraternal Parties be extended into the sphere of state relations.

We hold that in the present circumstances, when there are differences in the international communist movement, it is particularly important to stress strict adherence to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement.

In the sphere of relations among fraternal Parties and countries, the question of Soviet-Albanian relations is an outstanding one at present. Here the question is what is the correct way to treat a fraternal Party and country and whether the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries stipulated in the Declaration and the Statement are to be adhered to. The correct solution of this question is an important matter of principle in safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

How to treat the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Albanian Party of Labour is one question. How to treat the Yugoslav revisionist clique of traitors to Marxism-Leninism is quite another question. These two essentially different questions must on no account be placed on a par.

Your letter says that you “do not relinquish the hope that the relations between the C.P.S.U. and the Albanian Party of Labour may be improved,” but at the same time you continue to attack the Albanian comrades for what you call “splitting activities.” Clearly this is self-

contradictory and in no way contributes to resolving the problem of Soviet-Albanian relations.

Who is it that has taken splitting actions in Soviet-Albanian relations?

Who is it that has extended the ideological differences between the Soviet and Albanian Parties to state relations?

Who is it that has brought the divergences between the Soviet and Albanian Parties and between the two countries into the open before the enemy?

Who is it that has openly called for a change in the Albanian Party and state leadership?

All this is plain and clear to the whole world.

Is it possible that the leading comrades of the C.P.S.U. do not really feel their responsibility for the fact that Soviet-Albanian relations have so seriously deteriorated?

We once again express our sincere hope that the leading comrades of the C.P.S.U. will observe the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and take the initiative in seeking an effective way to improve Soviet-Albanian relations.

In short, the question of how to handle relations with fraternal Parties and countries must be taken seriously. Strict adherence to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries is the only way forcefully to rebuff slanders such as those spread by the imperialists and reactionaries about the “hand of Moscow.”

Proletarian internationalism is demanded of all Parties without exception, whether large or small, and whether in power or not. However, the larger Parties and the Parties in power bear a particularly heavy responsibility in this respect. The series of distressing developments which have occurred in the socialist camp in the past period have harmed the interests not only of the fraternal Parties concerned but also of the masses of the people in their countries. This convincingly demonstrates that the larger countries and Parties need to keep in mind Lenin’s behest never to commit the error of great-power chauvinism.

The comrades of the C.P.S.U. state in their letter that “the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has never taken and will never take a single step that could sow hostility among the peoples of our country towards the fraternal Chinese people or other peoples.” Here we do not desire to go back and enumerate the many unpleasant events that have occurred in the past, and we only wish that the comrades of the C.P.S.U. will strictly abide by this statement in their future actions.

During the past few years, our Party members and our people have exercised the greatest restraint in the face of a series of grave incidents which were in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and despite the many difficulties and losses which have been imposed on us. The spirit of proletarian internationalism of the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people has stood a severe test.

The Communist Party of China is unswervingly loyal to proletarian internationalism, upholds and defends the principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement

guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries, and safeguards and strengthens the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

(23) In order to carry out the common programme of the international communist movement unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, an uncompromising struggle must be waged against all forms of opportunism, which is a deviation from Marxism-Leninism.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that revisionism, or, in other words, Right opportunism, is the main danger in the international communist movement. Yugoslav revisionism typifies modern revisionism.

The Statement points out particularly:

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form.

It goes on to say:

After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the League of Communists of Yugoslavia against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists. . . .

The Statement says further:

The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

Therefore, it draws the following conclusion:

Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The question raised here is an important one of principle for the international communist movement.

Only recently the Tito clique have publicly stated that they are persisting in their revisionist programme and anti-Marxist-Leninist stand in opposition to the Declaration and the Statement.

U.S. imperialism and its NATO partners have spent several thousand millions of U.S. dollars nursing the Tito clique for a long time. Cloaked as "Marxist-Leninists" and flaunting the banner of a "socialist country," the Tito clique has been undermining the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, serving as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

It is completely groundless and out of keeping with the facts to assert that Yugoslavia is showing "definite positive tendencies," that it is a "socialist country," and that the Tito clique is an "anti-imperialist force."

Certain persons are now attempting to introduce the Yugoslav revisionist clique into the socialist community

and the international communist ranks. This is openly to tear up the agreement unanimously reached at the 1960 meeting of the fraternal Parties and is absolutely impermissible.

Over the past few years, the revisionist trend flooding the international working-class movement and the many experiences and lessons of the international communist movement have fully confirmed the correctness of the conclusion in the Declaration and the Statement that revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement at present.

However, certain persons are openly saying that dogmatism and not revisionism is the main danger, or that dogmatism is no less dangerous than revisionism, etc. What sort of principle underlies all this?

Firm Marxist-Leninists and genuine Marxist-Leninist parties must put principles first. They must not barter away principles, approving one thing today and another tomorrow, advocating one thing today and another tomorrow.

Together with all Marxist-Leninists, the Chinese Communists will continue to wage an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the principled stand of the Declaration and the Statement.

While combating revisionism, which is the main danger in the international communist movement, Communists must also combat dogmatism.

As stated in the 1957 Declaration, proletarian parties "should firmly adhere to the principle of combining . . . universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the specific practice of revolution and construction in their countries."

That is to say:

On the one hand, it is necessary at all times to adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Failure to do so will lead to Right opportunist or revisionist errors.

On the other hand, it is always necessary to proceed from reality, maintain close contact with the masses, constantly sum up the experience of mass struggles, and independently work out and apply policies and tactics suited to the conditions of one's own country. Errors of dogmatism will be committed if one fails to do so, if one mechanically copies the policies and tactics of another Communist Party, submits blindly to the will of others or accepts without analysis the programme and resolutions of another Communist Party as one's own line.

Some people are now violating this basic principle, which was long ago affirmed in the Declaration. On the pretext of "creatively developing Marxism-Leninism," they cast aside the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, they describe as "universal Marxist-Leninist truths" their own prescriptions which are based on nothing but subjective conjecture and are divorced from reality and from the masses, and they force others to accept these prescriptions unconditionally.

That is why many grave phenomena have come to pass in the international communist movement.

(24) A most important lesson from the experience of the international communist movement is that the development and victory of a revolution depend on the existence of a revolutionary proletarian party.

There must be a revolutionary party.

There must be a revolutionary party built according to the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism.

There must be a revolutionary party able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country.

There must be a revolutionary party able to link the leadership closely with the broad masses of the people.

There must be a revolutionary party that perseveres in the truth, corrects its errors and knows how to conduct criticism and self-criticism.

Only such a revolutionary party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its lackeys, winning a thorough victory in the national democratic revolution and winning the socialist revolution.

If a party is not a proletarian revolutionary party but a bourgeois reformist party;

If it is not a Marxist-Leninist party but a revisionist party;

If it is not a vanguard party of the proletariat but a party tailing after the bourgeoisie;

If it is not a party representing the interests of the proletariat and all the working people but a party representing the interests of the labour aristocracy;

If it is not an internationalist party but a nationalist party;

If it is not a party that can use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and knows how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, but instead is a party that parrots the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad, and has become a hodgepodge of revisionism, dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principle;

Then such a party is absolutely incapable of leading the proletariat and the masses in revolutionary struggle, absolutely incapable of winning the revolution and absolutely incapable of fulfilling the great historical mission of the proletariat.

This is a question all Marxist-Leninists, all class-conscious workers and all progressive people everywhere need to ponder deeply.

(25) It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to distinguish between truth and falsehood with respect to the differences that have arisen in the international com-

munist movement. In the common interest of the unity for struggle against the enemy, we have always advocated solving problems through inter-Party consultations and opposed bringing differences into the open before the enemy.

As the comrades of the C.P.S.U. know, the public polemics in the international communist movement have been provoked by certain fraternal Party leaders and forced on us.

Since a public debate has been provoked, it ought to be conducted on the basis of equality among fraternal Parties and of democracy, and by presenting the facts and reasoning things out.

Since certain Party leaders have publicly attacked other fraternal Parties and provoked a public debate, it is our opinion that they have no reason or right to forbid the fraternal Parties attacked to make public replies.

Since certain Party leaders have published innumerable articles attacking other fraternal Parties, why do they not publish in their own press the articles those Parties have written in reply?

Latterly, the Communist Party of China has been subjected to preposterous attacks. The attackers have raised a great hue and cry and, disregarding the facts, have fabricated many charges against us. We have published these articles and speeches attacking us in our own press.

We have also published in full in our press the Soviet leader's report at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1962, the *Pravda* editorial board's article of January 7, 1963, the speech of the head of the C.P.S.U. delegation at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on January 16, 1963, and the *Pravda* editorial board's article of February 10, 1963.

We have also published the full texts of the two letters from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated February 21 and March 30, 1963.

We have replied to some of the articles and speeches in which fraternal Parties have attacked us, but have not yet replied to others. For example, we have not directly replied to the many articles and speeches of the comrades of the C.P.S.U.

Between December 15, 1962, and March 8, 1963, we wrote seven articles in reply to our attackers. These articles are entitled:

"Workers of All Countries, Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy!",

"The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us,"

"Leninism and Modern Revisionism,"

"Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement,"

"Whence the Differences? — A Reply to Thorez and Other Comrades,"

"More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us — Some Important Problems of Leninism in the Contemporary World,"

"A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A."

Presumably, you are referring to these articles when towards the end of your letter of March 30 you accuse the Chinese press of making "groundless attacks" on the C.P.S.U. It is turning things upside down to describe articles replying to our attackers as "attacks."

Since you describe our articles as "groundless" and as so very bad, why do you not publish all seven of these "groundless attacks," in the same way as we have published your articles, and let all the Soviet comrades and Soviet people think for themselves and judge who is right and who wrong? You are of course entitled to make a point-by-point refutation of these articles you consider "groundless attacks."

Although you call our articles "groundless" and our arguments wrong, you do not tell the Soviet people what our arguments actually are. This practice can hardly be described as showing a serious attitude towards the discussion of problems by fraternal Parties, towards the truth or towards the masses.

We hope that the public debate among fraternal Parties can be stopped. This is a problem that has to be dealt with in accordance with the principles of independence, of equality and of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties. In the international communist movement, no one has the right to launch attacks whenever he wants, or to order the "ending of open polemics" whenever he wants to prevent the other side from replying.

It is known to the comrades of the C.P.S.U. that, in order to create a favourable atmosphere for convening the meeting of the fraternal Parties, we have decided temporarily to suspend, as from March 9, 1963, public replies to the public attacks directed by name against us by comrades of fraternal Parties. We reserve the right of public reply.

In our letter of March 9, we said that on the question of suspending public debate "it is necessary that our two Parties and the fraternal Parties concerned should have some discussion and reach an agreement that is fair and acceptable to all."

* * *

The foregoing are our views regarding the general line of the international communist movement and some related questions of principle. We hope, as we indicated at the beginning of this letter, that the frank presentation of our views will be conducive to mutual understanding. Of course, comrades may agree or disagree with these views. But in our opinion, the questions we discuss here are the crucial questions calling for attention and solution by the international communist movement. We hope that all these questions and also those raised in your letter will be fully discussed in the talks between our two Parties and at the meeting of representatives of all the fraternal Parties.

In addition, there are other questions of common concern, such as the criticism of Stalin and some important matters of principle regarding the international communist movement which were raised at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U., and we hope that on these

questions, too, there will be a frank exchange of opinion in the talks.

With regard to the talks between our two Parties, in our letter of March 9 we proposed that Comrade Khrushchov come to Peking; if this was not convenient, we proposed that another responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. lead a delegation to Peking or that we send a delegation to Moscow.

Since you have stated in your letter of March 30 that Comrade Khrushchov cannot come to China, and since you have not expressed a desire to send a delegation to China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has decided to send a delegation to Moscow.

In your letter of March 30, you invited Comrade Mao Tse-tung to visit the Soviet Union. As early as February 23, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his conversation with the Soviet Ambassador to China clearly stated the reason why he was not prepared to visit the Soviet Union at the present time. You were well aware of this.

When a responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China received the Soviet Ambassador to China on May 9, he informed you that we would send a delegation to Moscow in the middle of June. Later, in compliance with the request of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., we agreed to postpone the talks between our two Parties to July 5.

We sincerely hope that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties will yield positive results and contribute to the preparations for convening the meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is now more than ever necessary for all Communists to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and of the Declaration and the Statement unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties.

Together with Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary people the world over, the Communist Party of China will continue its unremitting efforts to uphold the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples and nations, and the struggle against imperialism and for world peace.

We hope that events which grieve those near and dear to us and only gladden the enemy will not recur in the international communist movement in the future.

The Chinese Communists firmly believe that the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people everywhere will unite more closely, overcome all difficulties and obstacles and win still greater victories in the struggle against imperialism and for world peace, and in the fight for the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and the cause of international communism.

Workers of all countries, unite! Workers and oppressed peoples and nations of the world, unite! Oppose our common enemy!

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Its Party Organizations At All Levels and to All Its Party Members

On July 20, "Renmin Ribao" published, with an editor's note, the full text of the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. addressed to Party organizations at all levels and to all Party members in the Soviet Union and originally published in "Pravda" on July 14.

Following is the "Renmin Ribao" editor's note and the full text of the open letter. Bold-face emphases by "Renmin Ribao." — Ed.

"Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note

THE open letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to its Party organizations at all levels and to all its Party members is an appraisal of the letter of June 14 of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. A spokesman of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. has already pointed out that the contents of the letter do not accord with the facts and that we cannot agree with its views. The methods used in the letter are the distortion of facts and the reversal of right and wrong, methods which Marxist-Leninists can in no circumstances tolerate.

For example, on the question of nuclear war, the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. states that the leaders of the C.P.C. would have no scruples about attaining socialism through a world nuclear war, sacrificing hundreds of millions of people. By this kind of talk which confuses and poisons people's minds, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are trying to pin the vicious charge of "bellicosity" on China and, in particular, to attack Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The views of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and our Party on war and peace are completely open and fully in accord with Marxism-Leninism. Those who are racking their brains to slander Comrade Mao Tse-tung and our Party will accomplish nothing save full exposure of their own foul purposes.

The Chinese people love peace. China consistently pursues a foreign policy of peace. The Chinese Communist Party has always maintained that world war and nuclear war can be prevented through the joint struggles of the peoples of the world.

As long ago as December 1947, Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared in his report on "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" that "if everyone makes strenuous efforts, we, together with all the democratic forces of the world, can surely defeat the imperialist plan of enslavement, prevent the outbreak of a third world war. . . ."

On November 18, 1957, speaking at the 1957 Moscow conference, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a detailed analysis of the changes in international relations since World War II. He listed ten great postwar events and showed that international developments had

reached a new turning-point and that the forces of peace and socialism had already surpassed those of war and imperialism and were becoming more and more capable of preventing imperialism from unleashing a world war. In this speech, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly stated that we do not want war, that we desire peace and that we strive to achieve lasting world peace.

Since World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has consistently and relentlessly laid bare the U.S. imperialists' policy of nuclear blackmail and shown that their criminal purpose in publicizing the horrors of nuclear weapons is to terrorize the people of all countries in the attempt to enslave the whole world.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also said that we should consider another possibility: If the imperialists dare to launch nuclear war and plunge mankind into such an unprecedented disaster, what should the international proletariat and the people of all countries do? It is perfectly clear that there are two alternatives, either to resist imperialism firmly and bury it, or to be afraid of sacrifice and to capitulate. But some people believe that if nuclear war breaks out all mankind will perish. In reality such talk amounts to saying that there is no alternative to capitulation in the face of imperialist nuclear blackmail. Directing himself to this pessimistic and capitulationist talk, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that mankind will definitely not be destroyed even if the imperialists insist on a nuclear war with the possible sacrifice of hundreds of millions of people and impose it on mankind. The future of mankind will nevertheless be a bright one. The imperialists cannot succeed in their attempt to destroy humanity and civilization. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "If the imperialist 'heroes' are determined to start a third world war, the only result will be to hasten the complete destruction of the world capitalist system." Such is the truth of the matter.

Consider another example, the question of the appraisal of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. The open letter of the C.P.S.U. says that the Chinese leaders have made a 180 degree turn in evaluating the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. The leaders of the C.P.S.U. know full well that the Central Committee of the C.P.C. has never considered the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. to be

wholly positive. We have never agreed with its complete negation of Stalin, an action it took on the pretext of combating the cult of the individual, or with its one-sided emphasis on peaceful transition.

After the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the leading comrades of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. criticized the comrades of the C.P.S.U. many times with regard to the C.P.S.U. leaders' complete negation of Stalin's leadership in the thirty years after Lenin's death. Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself spoke to comrades of the C.P.S.U. on four occasions between April and November 1956. We repeatedly pointed out that Stalin's merits outweighed his faults and that an all-round evaluation was needed. We held that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. were in error in failing to make an all-round analysis, in failing to make self-criticism and in failing to consult with the fraternal Parties.

In that period, the *Renmin Ribao* published two articles on the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat which made a comprehensive evaluation of Stalin in a reasoned and positive form and tactfully criticized the error of completely negating Stalin.

Similarly, on the question of peaceful transition, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. expressed differing opinions to the C.P.S.U. on many occasions. In November 1957 we gave the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. an outline of our views on the question of peaceful transition, comprehensively and clearly explaining the viewpoint of the C.P.C.

At that time, however, we did not publicly criticize the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on the questions of Stalin and peaceful transition, for the sake of safeguarding the solidarity of the international communist movement and out of consideration for the prestige of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union.

How can anyone describe the C.P.C.'s consistent position on the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. as "vacillations and waverings" and "false statements"?

Take another example, the question of extending ideological differences to the sphere of state relations. The fact is that on July 16, 1960, the Soviet side suddenly notified China of its decision to withdraw all the 1,300 and more Soviet experts in China within a month, to scrap the hundreds of agreements and contracts it had signed and to discontinue supplies of many important items of equipment and materials. This inflicted incalculable difficulties and losses on China's economy, national defence and scientific research and was the main reason for the reduction in the economic and commercial links between China and the Soviet Union. China is the victim. Yet the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in its open letter blames China for reducing economic and commercial links with the Soviet Union and for extending ideological differences to the sphere of state relations. So complete a reversal of the truth is indeed astonishing!

The open letter is full of instances of this sort — no less than 70 to 80 of them — and it is impossible to list them all here. We shall provide the necessary material to clear these matters up in future articles.

C.P.S.U.'s Open Letter

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. deems it necessary to address this open letter to you in order to set out our position on the fundamental questions of the international communist movement in connection with the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14th, 1963.

The Soviet people are well aware that our Party and Government, expressing as they do the will of the entire Soviet people, spare no effort to strengthen fraternal friendship with the peoples of all socialist countries, with the Chinese people. We are united by a common struggle for the victory of communism, we have the same aim, the same aspirations and hopes.

For many years the relations between our Parties were good. But some time ago, serious differences came to light between the C.P.C. on the one hand and the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties on the other. At the present time the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. feels increasingly concerned over statements and actions by the leadership of the Communist Party of China undermining the cohesion of our Parties, the friendship of our peoples.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee, on its part, has been doing everything possible to overcome the differences which came to light and proposed at the end of January this year to stop the open polemic in the communist movement in order to discuss the disputed issues calmly and in a businesslike manner, to solve them on the prin-

cipled Marxist-Leninist basis. This proposal of the C.P.S.U. met with warm support on the part of all fraternal Parties. Subsequently, agreement was reached to hold a meeting between representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C., and it is under way in Moscow at present.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee hoped that the Chinese comrades, too, would display good will and would contribute to the success of the meeting in the interest of our peoples, in the interest of strengthening the unity of the communist movement. **To our regret, when agreement had already been reached on a meeting of representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. in Moscow, when the delegations had been appointed and the date of the meeting set, the Chinese comrades, instead of submitting the existing differences for discussion at the meeting, unexpectedly found it possible not only to set out the old differences openly, before the entire world, but also to make new charges against the C.P.S.U. and other Communist Parties. This found its expression in the publication of a letter from the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14th this year which gave an arbitrary interpretation of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, distorted the principal propositions of these historic documents. The letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee contained groundless, slanderous attacks on our Party and on other Communist Parties, on the decisions of the 20th, 21st, 22nd Congresses, on the Program of the C.P.S.U.**

As you know from the statement by the C.P.S.U. Central Committee published in *Pravda* on June 19th this year, the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, having studied the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14th, **arrived at the conclusion that its publication in the Soviet press at that time would be inexpedient. Its publication would naturally have required a public reply on our part, which would have led to a further sharpening of the polemic, inflamed the passions and thereby worsened the relations between our Parties.** Publication of the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee would have been the more untimely in that a meeting was to be held between representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. whose purpose, in our opinion, was to contribute through the consideration of the existing differences in a comradely spirit to better mutual understanding between our two Parties on the principal questions of the world development today, to the establishment of a favourable atmosphere for the preparation and holding of a meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

At the same time, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. found it necessary to acquaint the members of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee and all the plenum participants with the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and also informed them of the substance of differences between the C.P.C. leadership and the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

In its unanimously adopted decision, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee fully approved the political work of the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee and the First Secretary of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. Comrade N.S. Khrushchov in further rallying the forces of the world communist movement, and also all the specific actions and measures taken by the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee in its relations with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The plenary meeting of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee instructed the Presidium of the Central Committee to follow unswervingly at the meeting with representatives of the C.P.C. the line of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of our Party, the line which was approved at the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties and set out in the Declaration and Statement, the line which was fully vindicated by life, by the course of international developments. Rejecting emphatically as groundless and slanderous the attacks of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on our Party and other Communist Parties, on the decisions of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses, on the Program of the C.P.S.U., the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, expressing the will of the entire Party, declared its readiness and determination to pursue consistently the course of rallying the fraternal Parties, overcoming the existing differences. The plenary meeting declared that our Party would continue to strive to strengthen unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, fraternal friendship between the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. in the interests of struggle for our common cause.

Unfortunately, the events of the past period have shown that the Chinese comrades interpret our restraint in

their own way. They depict our sincere striving to avoid a sharpening of the polemic in the communist movement as all but an intention to hide the views of the Chinese leaders from the Communists, from the Soviet people. Mistaking our restraint for weakness, the Chinese comrades, contrary to the standards of friendly relations between fraternal socialist countries, began, with increasing importunity and persistence, to spread unlawfully in Moscow and other Soviet cities the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14th, which was brought out in Russian in a mass printing. Not content with this, the Chinese comrades began sedulously to propagandize and spread this letter and other documents directed against our Party throughout the world, not scrupling to use imperialist publishing houses and agencies for their distribution.

Matters were further aggravated by the fact that when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. called the attention of the Chinese Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the impermissibility of such actions, which **crudely violate the sovereignty of our state**, the Chinese representatives, far from halting them, declared in a demonstrative way that they considered it their right to continue to circulate the letter in the U.S.S.R.

On July 7th, when the meeting in Moscow had already begun, a mass meeting was held in Peking at which officials received as heroes the Chinese expelled from the Soviet Union for unlawfully distributing materials containing attacks on our Party and the Soviet Government. **Whipping up sentiments and feelings inimical to the U.S.S.R. among the fraternal Chinese people, Chinese officials at the meeting sought again and again to prove their right to violate the sovereignty of our state and the standards of international relations.** On July 10th, the C.P.C. Central Committee issued another statement in which it sought to justify these actions and, **in effect, tried to arrogate the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union**, which the Soviet Government, naturally, will never allow. Such actions inevitably only aggravate relations, and can do nothing but harm.

In its leading article on July 13th, the newspaper *Jenmin Jihpao* [*Renmin Ribao*] again made attacks on our Party and **twisted the fact** that the Soviet press did not publish the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14th.

The frankly inimical actions of the C.P.C. leaders, their persistent striving to sharpen the polemic in the international communist movement, the deliberate distortion of the position of our Party, the incorrect interpretation of the motives for which we refrained temporarily from publishing the letter, impel us to publish the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14th, 1963, and to give our appraisal of this document.

All who read the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee will see behind the bombastic phrases about unity and cohesion unfriendly, slanderous, attacks on our Party and the Soviet country, a striving to play down the historic significance of our people's struggle for the victory of communism in the U.S.S.R., for the triumph of peace and socialism throughout the world. The document is crammed with charges—overt and covert—against the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union. The authors of the letter permit themselves unworthy fabrications—insulting to Communists—about “betrayal of the interests of the entire international proletariat and all the peoples of the

world," about "departure from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," hint at "cowardice in face of the imperialists," "a step back in the course of historic development," and even "organizational and moral disarming of the proletariat and all the working people" tantamount to "doing a service to the restoration of capitalism" in our country. How can they say such a thing about the Party of the great Lenin, about the motherland of socialism, about the people which, the first in the world, accomplished a socialist revolution, upheld its great gains in violent battles against international imperialism and domestic counter-revolution, and displays miracles of heroism and dedication in the struggle for the building of communism, honestly fulfilling its internationalist duty to the working people of the world.

1

For nearly half a century the Soviet country under the leadership of the Communist Party is leading a struggle for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in the name of the freedom and happiness of the working people in the whole world. From the very first days of the existence of the Soviet state, when the great Lenin stood at the helm of our country, till the present day our people has rendered and is rendering a tremendous disinterested aid to all the peoples fighting for their liberation from the yoke of imperialism and colonialism, for the building up of a new life.

World history knew no example when one country would render such extensive aid to other countries in developing their economy, science and technology.

The working people of China, the Chinese Communists felt in full measure the fraternal solidarity of the Soviet people, our Party both in the period of their revolutionary struggle for the liberation of their homeland and in the years of construction of socialism. Immediately after the forming of the Chinese People's Republic, the Soviet Government signed with the Government of People's China a treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance, which is a mighty means of rebuffing the encroachments of imperialism, a factor consolidating peace in the Far East and in the whole world.

The Soviet people generously shared with its Chinese brothers all its many years' long experience in socialist construction, its achievements in the field of science and technology. Our country has rendered and is rendering substantial aid to the development of the economy of People's China. With the active assistance of the Soviet Union, People's China built 198 industrial enterprises, shops and other projects equipped with the up-to-date machinery. With the assistance of our country such new branches of industry as the automobile, tractor, aircraft manufacturing and others were created in China. The Soviet Union handed over to the P.R.C. over 21,000 sets of scientific-technical documentation, including more than 1,400 blueprints of big enterprises. We have invariably assisted China in consolidating the defense of the country and the creation of a modern defense industry. Thousands of Chinese specialists and workers were trained in Soviet establishments of higher education and at our enterprises. Now, too, the Soviet Union continues rendering technical assistance to the Chinese People's Republic in the construction of 88 industrial enterprises and projects. **We speak about all this not to brag but only because the**

leaders of the C.P.C. are striving of late to belittle the significance of Soviet aid, and we do not forget that the Soviet Union, in its turn, received the goods it needed from the P.R.C.

And only a short time ago Chinese leaders spoke much and justly about the friendship of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, about the unity of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C., highly appreciated Soviet aid and urged people to learn on the experience of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in 1957: "In the course of struggle for national liberation the Chinese people enjoyed the fraternal sympathy and support of the Soviet people. After the victory of the Chinese revolution the Soviet Union is also rendering tremendous all-round assistance to the cause of construction of socialism in China. The Chinese people will never forget all this."

One can only regret that the Chinese leaders began to forget this.

Our Party, all Soviet people rejoiced at the successes of the great Chinese people in the building up of a new life and took pride in them. Speaking at a reception in Peking on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic, N.S. Khrushchov said: "Under the leadership of its glorious Communist Party the heroic and hard-working people of China demonstrated what a people is capable of when it takes power into its own hands . . . now everybody admits the successes of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China. The peoples of Asia and Africa see by what way, under what system can the talents, the creative forces of the peoples be fully developed, when a people can demonstrate in both width and depth its mighty creative force."

This was how matters stood until the Chinese leaders began retreating from the general line of the world communist movement.

In April 1960 the Chinese comrades openly revealed their differences with the world communist movement by publishing a collection of articles called "Long Live Leninism!" This collection, based on distortions, truncated and incorrectly interpreted theses of the well-known works of Lenin, contained propositions actually directed against the foundations of the Declaration of the Moscow meeting of 1957, which was signed on behalf of the C.P.C. by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, against the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, against the possibility of preventing a world war in the present-day epoch, against the use both of the peaceful and non-peaceful road of the development of socialist revolutions. The leaders of the C.P.C. began imposing their views on all the fraternal Parties. In June 1960, during the session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which took place in Peking, the Chinese leaders gathered without the knowledge of the leaderships of fraternal Parties a meeting of representatives of several Parties, which were then in Peking, and started criticizing openly the positions of the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties, the Declaration adopted by the Moscow meeting in 1957. Furthermore, the Chinese comrades made their differences with the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties an object of an open discussion in a non-Party organization.

Such steps of the leadership of the C.P.C. aroused serious trouble among the fraternal Parties. Considering

this, an attempt was made at the Bucharest meeting of Communist Parties in 1960 to discuss the differences that had arisen with the leaders of the C.P.C. Representatives of 50 Communist and Workers' Parties subjected to comradely criticism the views and actions of the Chinese leaders and urged them to return to the road of unity and co-operation with the international communist movement in conformity with the principles of the Moscow Declaration. Unfortunately, the C.P.C. leadership ignored this comradely assistance, continued pursuing its erroneous course and deepened its differences with the fraternal Parties.

Striving to prevent such a development of events, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee came out with a proposal to hold talks with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. These negotiations took place in Moscow in September 1960. But even then it was impossible to overcome the differences that had arisen due to the stubborn unwillingness of the C.P.C. delegation to heed the opinion of the fraternal Party. At the meeting of representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, which took place in November 1960, the absolute majority of the fraternal Parties rejected the incorrect views and concepts of the C.P.C. leadership. The Chinese delegation at this meeting stubbornly upheld its own particular views and signed the Statement only when the danger arose of its full isolation.

Today it has become absolutely obvious that the C.P.C. leaders were only manoeuvring when they affixed their signatures to the Statement of 1960. Shortly after the meeting they resumed the propaganda of their course, using as the mouthpiece the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour. Behind the back of our Party they launched a campaign against the C.P.S.U. Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

In October 1961 the C.P.S.U. Central Committee undertook new attempts to normalize relations with the C.P.C. Comrades N.S. Khrushchov, F.R. Kozlov, and A.I. Mikoyan had talks with Comrades Chou En-lai, Peng Chen and other leading officials, who arrived to the 22nd C.P.S.U. Congress. Comrade N.S. Khrushchov set forth to the Chinese delegation in detail the position of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee on the questions of principle, which were discussed at the 22nd Congress, stressed our invariable desire to strengthen friendship and co-operation with the Communist Party of China.

In its letters of February 22nd and May 31st, 1962, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee drew attention of the C.P.C. Central Committee to the dangerous consequences for our common cause, which may be brought about by the weakening of the unity of the communist movement. We then offered to the Chinese comrades to take steps in order not to give the imperialists an opportunity to use in their interests the difficulties which arose in Soviet-Chinese mutual relations. The C.P.S.U. Central Committee also moved to take more effective measures on such questions as exchange of internal political information, co-ordination of the positions of fraternal Parties in the international democratic organizations and in other spheres.

However, these letters and the other steps aimed at improving relations with the C.P.C. and the P.R.C. along all lines, did not meet with response in Peking.

In the autumn of last year before the departure from Moscow of the former P.R.C. Ambassador in the Soviet

Union Comrade Liu Hsiao, the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee had a lengthy talk with him. In the course of this conversation the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee once again displayed initiative in the matter of strengthening Chinese-Soviet friendship. Comrade N.S. Khrushchov asked Comrade Liu Hsiao to forward to Comrade Mao Tse-tung our proposal: "To put aside all disputes and differences, not to try and establish who is right and who is wrong, not to rake up the past, but to start our relations with a clear page." But we have not even received an answer to this sincere call.

Deepening their ideological differences with the fraternal Parties, the leaders of the C.P.C. began carrying them over to international relations. The Chinese organs began curtailing economic and trade relations of the P.R.C. with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. On the initiative of the P.R.C. Government the volume of China's trade with the Soviet Union was cut almost 67 per cent in the past three years; deliveries of industrial plant dropped forty times. This reduction took place on the initiative of the Chinese leaders. We regret that the P.R.C. leadership has embarked on such a road. We have always believed and believe now that it is necessary to go on developing Soviet-Chinese relations, to develop co-operation. This would have been mutually beneficial for both sides, and above all to People's China, which had received great assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Soviet Union developed extensive relations with China before, and it comes out today, too, for their expansion and not curtailment. It seems that the C.P.C. leadership should have displayed primary concern for the development of economic relations with the socialist countries. However, it began acting in the opposite direction, disregarding the damage caused by such actions to the P.R.C. economy.

The Chinese leaders did not tell their people truthfully through whose fault these relations were curtailed. Broad propaganda aimed at discrediting the foreign and domestic policy of the C.P.S.U., at stirring up anti-Soviet sentiment was started among the Chinese Communists and even among the population.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee called attention of the Chinese comrades to these incorrect actions. We told the Chinese comrades that the people should not be prompted to praise or anathematize this or that Party depending on the arising disputes or differences. It is clear to every Communist that disagreements among fraternal Parties are nothing more than a temporary episode, whereas relations among the peoples of the socialist countries are now being established for all times to come.

But the Chinese leaders every time ignored the comradely warnings of the C.P.S.U., further exacerbating the Chinese-Soviet relations.

Since the end of 1961 the Chinese representatives at international democratic organizations began openly imposing their erroneous views. In December 1961 at the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace the Chinese delegation came out against the convocation of the World Congress for Peace and Disarmament. In the course of 1962 the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Movement of Peace Champions, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International

Democratic Federation and many other organizations were endangered as a result of the splitting activities of the Chinese representatives. They came out against the participation of representatives of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees of the European socialist countries in the Third Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Asian and African Countries in Moshi. The leader of the Chinese delegation told the Soviet representatives that "the white have nothing to do here." At the Journalists' Conference in Djakarta the Chinese representatives followed a line towards preventing Soviet journalists from participating as full-fledged delegates on the plea that the Soviet Union... is not an Asian country.

It is strange and surprising that Chinese comrades accused of splitting activities and erroneous political line the overwhelming majority of the recent World Congress of Women while during the adoption of the Appeal to the Women of All Continents only representatives of two countries — China and Albania — out of 110 countries represented at the congress voted against. Well, indeed, the entire multi-millioned army of freedom-loving women is marching out of step and only two are marching in step, keeping in line!

Such is in brief the history of the differences of the Chinese leadership with the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties. It shows that the C.P.C. leaders counterpose their own special line to the general course of the communist movement, trying to impose on it their own dictate, their deeply erroneous views on the key problems of our time.

2

What is the gist of the differences between the C.P.C. on the one hand and the C.P.S.U., the international communist movement on the other hand? This question, undoubtedly, is asked by anyone who familiarizes himself with the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14th.

At the first glance many theses of the letter may seem puzzling: Whom are the Chinese comrades actually arguing with? Are there Communists who object, for instance, to socialist revolution or who do not regard as their duty to fight against imperialism, to support the national-liberation movement? Why does the C.P.C. leadership set forth such theses so obtrusively?

The question may also arise why is it impossible to agree with the positions of the Chinese comrades set forth in their letter on many important problems? Take, for instance, such cardinal problem as war and peace. In its letter the C.P.C. Central Committee speaks of peace and peaceful coexistence.

The essence of the matter is that having started an offensive against the positions of the Marxist-Leninist parties on cardinal problems of today, the Chinese comrades firstly ascribe to the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties such views which they have never expressed and which are alien to them; secondly they try by verbal recognition of the formula and positions borrowed from the documents of the communist movement, to camouflage their erroneous views and incorrect positions. To come out openly against the people's struggle for peace, and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, against disarmament, etc., would mean

to lay bare their positions in the eyes of the Communists of the whole world and peace-loving peoples and to repulse them. Therefore the further the polemics develop and the clearer becomes the weakness of the positions of the C.P.C. leadership, the more zealously it resorts to such camouflage.

If this method of the Chinese comrades is not taken into consideration, it may even seem from outside that the dispute has acquired a scholastic nature, that separate formulas far removed from vital problems are the points at issue.

In point of fact, however, the questions which bear on vital interests of the peoples are in the center of the dispute.

These are the questions of war and peace, the question of the role and development of the world socialist system, these are the questions of the struggle against the ideology and practice of the "personality cult," these are the questions of strategy and tactics of the world labour movement and the national-liberation struggle.

These questions have been advanced by life itself, by the deep-going changes that have occurred in the socialist countries, throughout the world, the changes in the balance of forces in the recent years between socialism and imperialism, the new possibilities for our movement. The communist movement had to give and gave answers to these questions by outlining the general course applicable to the conditions and demands of the present stage of the world development.

The unanimous opinion of the Communist Parties is that a tremendous role in this respect was played by the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. which ushered in a new stage in the development of the entire communist movement. This appraisal was recorded in the 1957 Declaration and in the 1960 Statement, the documents of the Communist Parties worked out collectively and formulating the general political course of the communist movement in our epoch.

But the C.P.C. leaders have now advanced a different course as a counterbalance to it, their positions divert more and more from the joint line of the communist movement on basic issues.

This first of all refers to the question of war and peace.

In the appraisal of problems of war and peace, in the approach to their solution there can be no uncertainties or reservations, for this involves the destinies of peoples, the future of all mankind.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee believes it its duty to tell the Party and the people with all frankness that in questions of war and peace the C.P.C. leadership has cardinal, based on principle differences with us, with the world communist movement. The essence of these differences lies in the diametrically opposite approach to such vital problems as the possibility of averting world thermonuclear war, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, interconnection between the struggle for peace and the development of the world revolutionary movement.

Our Party in the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congress, the world communist movement in the Declaration and Statement, set before Communists as a task of extreme importance the task of struggling for peace, for averting a world thermonuclear catastrophe. We realistically appraise the balance of forces in the world and

hence draw the conclusions that though the nature of imperialism has not changed, and the danger of the beginning of war has not been averted, in modern conditions forces of peace, of which the mighty community of socialist states is the main bulwark, can through their joint efforts avert a new world war.

We also soberly appraise the radical, qualitative change in the means of waging war and, consequently, its possible aftermaths. **The nuclear rocket weapons that were created in the middle of our century changed the old notions about war.** These weapons possess an unheard-of devastating force. Suffice it to say that the explosion of only one powerful thermonuclear bomb surpasses the explosive force of all ammunition used during all previous wars, including the First and the Second World Wars. And many thousands such bombs have been accumulated!

Do Communists have the right to ignore this danger? Do we have to tell the people all the truth about the consequences of thermonuclear war? We believe that, undoubtedly, we must. This cannot have a "paralysing" effect on the masses, as the Chinese comrades assert. On the contrary truth about modern war will mobilize the will and energy of the masses to the struggle for peace, against imperialism — the source of military danger.

The historic task of Communists is to organize and head the struggle of the peoples for averting a world thermonuclear war.

To prevent a new world war is quite a real and feasible task. **The 20th Congress of our Party made the extremely important conclusion that in our times there is no fatal inevitability of war between states.** This conclusion is not a fruit of good intentions, but the result of a realistic, strictly scientific analysis of the balance of class forces on the world arena; it is based on the gigantic might of world socialism. Our views on this question are shared by the entire world communist movement. "World war can be averted"; "a real possibility to exclude world war from the life of society will appear yet before the complete victory of socialism on earth, while capitalism still remains in a part of the world," the Statement stresses.

This Statement also bears the signature of the Chinese comrades.

And what is the position of the C.P.C. leadership? What do the theses that they propagate mean: an end cannot be put to wars as long as imperialism exists; peaceful coexistence is an illusion, it is not the general principle of the foreign policy of socialist countries; struggle for peace hinders revolutionary struggles?

These theses mean that the Chinese comrades act contrary to the general course of the world communist movement in questions of war and peace. They do not believe in the possibility of preventing a new world war, underestimate the forces of peace and socialism and overestimate the forces of imperialism, actually ignore the mobilisation of popular masses to the struggle with the war danger.

It comes out that the Chinese comrades do not believe in the ability of the peoples of socialist countries, the international working class, of all democratic and peace-loving forces to frustrate the plans of the warmongers and to achieve peace for our and future generations. What stands behind the loud revolutionary phrases of the Chinese comrades? Lack of faith in the forces of the working class, its revolutionary capabilities, lack of faith both in the pos-

sibility of peaceful coexistence and in the victory of the proletariat in class struggle. All peace-loving forces unite in the struggle for averting war. They differ as to their class composition and their class interests. But they can be united by the struggle for peace, for averting war because **the atomic bomb does not adhere to the class principle**—it destroys everybody within the range of its devastating force.

To take up the way proposed by the Chinese comrades means to alienate popular masses from Communist Parties that have won the sympathies of the peoples by their insistent and courageous struggle for peace.

Socialism and peace are now inseparable in the minds of the broad masses!

The Chinese comrades obviously underestimate all the danger of thermonuclear war. "The atomic bomb is a paper tiger," it "is not terrible at all," they contend.

The main thing, don't you see, is to put an end to imperialism as quickly as possible, but how, with what losses will this be achieved seems to be a secondary question. To whom, it is right to ask, is it secondary? To the hundreds of millions of people who are doomed to death in the event of the unleashing of a thermonuclear war? To the states that will be erased from the face of the earth in the very first hours of such a war?

No one, including also big states, has the right to play with the destinies of millions of people. Those who do not want to exert efforts to exclude world war from the life of the peoples, to avert a mass annihilation of people, and the destruction of the values of human civilization deserve condemnation.

The letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14th says much about "inevitable sacrifices" allegedly in the name of the revolution. Some responsible Chinese leaders have also declared that it is possible to sacrifice hundreds of millions of people in war. "On the ruins of destroyed imperialism the victorious peoples — asserts the collection "Long Live Leninism!" that was approved by the C.P.C. Central Committee, will create with tremendous speed a civilization a thousand times higher than under the capitalist system, will build their really bright future."

It is permissible to ask the Chinese comrades if they realize what sort of "ruins" would a world nuclear rocket war leave behind?

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee, and we are convinced that all our Party, the whole Soviet people unanimously support us in this — cannot share the views of the Chinese leadership about the creation "of a thousand times higher civilization" on the corpses of hundreds of millions of people. Such views are in crying contradiction with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

It is permissible to ask the Chinese comrades: what means do they propose for the destruction of imperialism? We fully stand for the destruction of imperialism and capitalism. We not only believe in the inevitable destruction of capitalism but also are doing everything for this to be accomplished by way of class struggle and as soon as possible. Who must decide this historic question? First of all the working class led by its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist party, the working people of each country.

The Chinese comrades propose another thing. They straightforwardly say: "On the ruins of destroyed imperialism," in other words, as a result of the unleashing of war

“a bright future will be built.” If we agree to this theme, indeed, there is no need for the principle of peaceful coexistence, for the struggle for the strengthening of peace. We cannot agree to such an adventurist way: it contradicts the nature of Marxism-Leninism.

It is generally known that under present conditions a world war would be a thermonuclear war. The imperialists will never agree to withdraw from the scene voluntarily, to lie in the coffin of their own free will, without having used the extreme means they have at their disposal.

Apparently the people who refer to the thermonuclear weapon as a “paper tiger” are not fully aware of the destructive force of this weapon.

We soberly consider this. We ourselves produce thermonuclear weapon and have manufactured it in sufficient quantity. We know its destructive force full well. And if imperialism starts a war against us we shall not hesitate to use this formidable weapon against the aggressor. But if we are not attacked, we shall not be the first to use this weapon.

The Marxist-Leninists strive for ensuring durable peace not by soliciting it of imperialism but by rallying the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, by rallying the working class of all countries, by rallying the peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence, by relying on the economic and defence might of the socialist states.

We would like to ask the Chinese comrades, who suggest to build a bright future on the ruins of the old world destroyed by a thermonuclear war, if they consulted the working class of the countries where imperialism dominates? The working class of the capitalist countries would be sure to tell them: Do we ask you to trigger off a war and destroy our countries while annihilating imperialists? Is it not a fact that the monopolists, the imperialists are only a comparatively small group while the bulk of the population of the capitalist countries consists of the working class, working peasantry, working intelligentsia. The atomic bomb does not distinguish between the imperialists and working people, it hits big areas and therefore millions of workers would be destroyed per one monopolist. The working class, the working people will ask such “revolutionaries”: What right do you have to settle for us the questions of our existence and our class struggle? We are also in favour of socialism but we want to gain it through the class struggle and not by unleashing a world war.

Such posing of the question by the Chinese comrades may engender well justified suspicion that this is no longer a class approach in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism but some entirely different aims. If both the exploiters and the exploited are buried under the ruins of the old world, who will build the “bright future”?

In this connection it is impossible not to note the fact that instead of the class internationalist approach expressed in the call “workers of the world, unite” the Chinese comrades stubbornly propagate the slogan deprived of any class meaning: “The wind from the East prevails over the wind from the West.”

In the questions of the socialist revolution our Party firmly adheres to the Marxist-Leninist class positions, being of the opinion that revolutions in every country are carried out by the working class, the working people without military interference from outside.

It is doubtless, of course, that if the imperialist madmen do unleash a war, the peoples will wipe out and bury capitalism. But the Communists representing the peoples, the true advocates of socialist humanism, are to do everything they can to prevent another world war in which hundreds of millions of people would perish.

No Party to which the interests of the people are truly dear can fail to realize its responsibility in the struggle for averting another world war, for ensuring peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Expressing the line of our Party, Comrade Nikita Khrushchov said: “There will be wars of liberation as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. These are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only permissible but even unavoidable since the colonialists do not grant independence to people voluntarily. Therefore it is only through struggle, including armed struggle, that the peoples can win their freedom and independence.” The Soviet Union is rendering broadest support to the national liberation movement. Everybody is familiar with the practical assistance our country rendered the peoples of Viet Nam, Egypt, Iraq, Algeria, Yemen, the Cuban and other peoples.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proclaimed the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence as the general line of the Soviet foreign policy and is following it unswervingly. Since 1953 and particularly after the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress there was a sharp increase in the activity of our peaceful policy and its influence on the entire course of international relations grew in the interests of popular masses.

The Chinese comrades allege that we proceed from the premise that the concept of “peaceful coexistence” covers all the principles of our relations not only with the imperialist countries but also with the socialist countries and the countries that have recently got rid of the colonial yoke. They know very well that this is not so, that we were the first to proclaim the principle of friendship and comradely mutual assistance as the most important principle in the relations between the countries of socialism and we adhere to it firmly and consistently, that we render all-round and many-sided assistance to the liberated peoples. And yet, for some motives, they find it advantageous for themselves to present all this in an entirely distorted light.

The Soviet Union’s persistent struggle for peace and international security, for general and complete disarmament, for the elimination of the leftovers of World War II, for the settlement of all disputable international issues through negotiation has yielded fruit. The prestige of our country throughout the world stands higher than ever. Our international position is more solid than ever. We owe this to the steadily growing economic and military might of the Soviet Union, of other socialist countries, to their peaceful foreign policy.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee declares that we have been, are and will be pursuing the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. In this our Party sees its duty both to the Soviet people and the peoples of all other countries. To ensure peace means to contribute most effectively to the consolidation of the socialist system, and, consequently, to the growth of its influence on the entire course of the liberation struggle, on the world revolutionary process.

The deep difference in the views of the C.P.S.U., other Marxist-Leninist parties on the one hand and the C.P.C. leaders on the other hand on the questions of war, peace and peaceful coexistence was manifested with particular clarity during the 1962 crisis in the Caribbean Sea. It was a sharp international crisis: never before did mankind come so close to the brink of a thermonuclear war as it did in October last year.

The Chinese comrades allege that in the period of the Caribbean crisis we made an "adventurist" mistake by introducing rockets in Cuba and then, "capitulated" to the American imperialism when we removed the rockets from Cuba. (Such allegations were made in the leading article in *Jenmin Jihpao* on March 8, 1963 "On the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.")

Such assertions utterly contradict the facts.

What was the actual state of affairs? The C.P.S.U. Central Committee and the Soviet Government possessed trustworthy information that an armed aggression of United States imperialism against Cuba was about to start. We realized with sufficient clarity that the most resolute steps were needed to rebuff aggression, to defend the Cuban revolution effectively. **Curses and warnings — even if they are called "serious warnings" and are repeated 250 times over — have no effect on the imperialists.**

Proceeding from the need of defending the Cuban revolution, the Soviet Government and the Government of Cuba reached agreement on the delivery of missiles to Cuba, because this was the only effective way of preventing aggression on the part of American imperialism. The delivery of missiles to Cuba signified that an attack on her would meet resolute rebuff with the employment of rocket weapons against the organizers of the aggression. Such a resolute step on the part of the Soviet Union and Cuba was a shock to the American imperialists, who felt for the first time in their history that in case they undertake an armed invasion on Cuba, a shattering retaliatory blow will be dealt at their own territory.

Inasmuch as the point in question was not simply a conflict between the United States and Cuba, but a clash between two major nuclear powers, the crisis in the area of the Caribbean Sea would have turned from a local into a world one. A real danger of world thermonuclear war arose.

There was one alternative in the prevailing situation: either to follow in the wake of the "madmen" (that is how the most aggressive and reactionary representatives of American imperialism are called) and embark upon the road of unleashing a world thermonuclear war, or, using the opportunities offered by the delivery of missiles, to take all measures to reach agreement on the peaceful solution of the crisis and to prevent aggression against the Cuban Republic.

We have chosen, as is known, the second road and are convinced that we have done the right thing. We are confident that all our people are unanimous on this score. The Soviet people have proved more than once that they know how to stand up for themselves, how to defend the cause of the revolution, the cause of socialism. And nobody knows better than they do how much sorrow and suffering a war brings, what difficulties and sacrifices it costs to the peoples.

Agreement on the removal of missile weapons in reply to the United States Government's commitment not

to invade Cuba and to keep its allies from doing this, the heroic struggle of the Cuban people, the support rendered to them by the peace-loving nations, have made possible the frustration of the plans of the extreme adventuristic circles of American imperialism, which were ready to go the whole hog. As a result it was possible to defend revolutionary Cuba and save peace.

The Chinese comrades regard as "embellishment of imperialism" our statement that the Kennedy government has also displayed definite reasonableness, a realistic approach in the course of the crisis around Cuba. Do they really think that all bourgeois governments lack all reason in everything they do?

Thanks to the courageous and farsighted position of the U.S.S.R., the staunchness and restraint of the heroic Cuban people, their Government, the forces of socialism and peace have proved that they are able to curb the aggressive forces of imperialism, to impose peace on the war advocates. This was a major victory of the policy of reason, of the forces of peace and socialism; this was a defeat of the forces of imperialism, of the policy of military ventures.

As a result of this revolutionary Cuba is living in peace and building socialism under the guidance of its United Party of the Socialist Revolution and the leader of the Cuban people Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz.

When agreement was reached with the President of the United States of America and the beginning was thereby laid for the liquidation of the crisis in the Caribbean Sea area, the Chinese comrades did their best in insulting and attacking the Soviet Union, trying to prove that the imperialists cannot be trusted in anything.

We are living in an epoch when there are two worlds, two systems: socialism and imperialism. **It would be absurd to think that all the questions inevitably arising in relations among the countries of these two systems must be solved only by force of arms, ruling out all talks and agreements. Wars would never end then. We are against such an approach.**

The Chinese comrades argue that the imperialists cannot be trusted in anything, that they are bound to cheat. But this is not a case of faith, but rather a case of sober calculation. **Eight months have passed since the liquidation of the crisis in the Caribbean Sea area, and the United States Government is keeping its word — there is no invasion of Cuba. We have also assumed a commitment to remove our missiles from Cuba and we have fulfilled it.**

But it should not be forgotten that we have also given a commitment to the Cuban people: if the United States imperialists do not keep their promise and invade Cuba, we shall come to the assistance of the Cuban people. **Every sober-minded person understands well that in case of an aggression of American imperialists we shall come to the assistance of the Cuban people from Soviet territory, just as we would have helped them from Cuban territory, too. True, in this case the rockets would be in flight slightly longer, but their precision will not be impaired.**

Why then do the Chinese comrades stubbornly ignore the assessment which the leaders of the Cuban revolution themselves give to the policy of the Government of the Soviet Union, which they call a policy of fraternal solidarity and genuine internationalism? **What are the Chinese leaders dissatisfied with? Is it, perhaps, the fact**

that it was possible to prevent the invasion of Cuba and the unleashing of a world war?

And what was the line of behaviour of the C.P.C. leadership during the Caribbean crisis? **At this critical moment the Chinese comrades counterposed the realistic and firm stand of the Soviet Government by their own particular position. Guided by some sort of their own, specific concepts, they concentrated the fire of their criticism not so much on the aggressive imperialism of the United States, but rather on the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union.**

The C.P.C. leadership, which argued prior to that, that imperialism may unleash a world war at any time, assumed the stand of a critic, not of a militant ally and comrade at the most responsible moment. Nobody has heard from the Chinese leaders in those days statements about their practical actions in defense of the Cuban revolution. Instead of this the Chinese leaders obviously endeavoured to aggravate the situation in the Caribbean Sea area, which was tense even without this, added fuel to the smouldering fire of the conflict.

The true position of the C.P.C. leadership is manifested very clearly in questions of war and peace, in its full underestimation, and what is more, deliberate ignoring of the struggle for disarmament. The Chinese Communists object even to the very raising by Communists of this question, permitting references to Marxism-Leninism and going out of their way to prove the "infeasibility" of disarmament, on the one hand, and its needlessness, on the other. Juggling quotations, they try to prove that general disarmament is possible only when socialism triumphs all over the world.

Must the Marxists sit on their hands waiting for the victory of socialism all over the world while mankind suffocates in the clutches of the arms race, while the imperialists, stockpiling nuclear arms, threatened to plunge mankind into the abyss of a world war?

No, this would have been criminal inaction in face of the imperative call of the time.

This truth has long ago been understood by all true Marxist-Leninists, who realize their responsibility to the peoples and who wage for several years already—and will go on waging—a stubborn and persistent struggle for general and complete disarmament, for the discontinuance of tests and the banning of nuclear weapons.

In fighting for peace, in advancing the slogan of universal disarmament, we proceed from the vital interests of the peoples, take account of the actual situation and do not shut our eyes to the difficulties. The imperialists are naturally doing everything to delay and wreck agreement on disarmament—they stand to gain by this. They use the arms race to enrich themselves and to hold the popular masses in the capitalist countries in fear. But must we go with the current, must we follow in the wake of imperialism and refuse to mobilize all forces to struggle for peace, for disarmament?

No. To do this would be to capitulate to the aggressive forces, to militarists and imperialists. We hold that the working class, the working people of all countries, can force the imperialist governments to consent to disarmament, can prevent war. For this, they must above all realize their strength and unite.

To the forces of imperialism and war it is necessary to oppose the organized might of the world working class. It now has that advantage that it is backed up by the material power, the defensive might of the socialist countries opposed to imperialism. The times have gone when imperialism held undivided sway. The situation has also changed sharply compared with the first decades after the October Revolution, when our country was alone and much weaker than today. In our days the balance of forces in the world has become entirely different. This is why to hold now that war is inevitable is to show lack of faith in the forces of socialism, to surrender to the mood of hopelessness and defeatism.

One can repeat ad infinitum that war is inevitable, passing this view off for one's "revolutionary spirit." Actually, this approach merely indicates lack of faith in one's strength, a fear of imperialism.

There still are powerful forces opposed to disarmament in the imperialist camp. But it is precisely to compel these forces to retreat that we must arouse the peoples' wrath against them, force them to comply with the will of the peoples.

The peoples want disarmament and believe that it is the Communists that are the vanguard and organizers of the peoples' struggle for it.

Our struggle for disarmament is not a tactical expedient. We sincerely want disarmament. And here we stand four square on Marxism-Leninism. As far back as the end of the last century Friedrich Engels pointed out that disarmament was possible, and he called it a "guarantee of peace." In our time the slogan of disarmament was first advanced as a practical task by V.I. Lenin, and the first Soviet proposals on complete or partial disarmament were submitted as early as 1922, at the Genoa conference. It was in Lenin's lifetime, and the disarmament proposals were formulated by him.

The struggle for disarmament is a most important factor of averting war. It is effective struggle against imperialism. In this struggle the socialist camp has on its side the absolute majority of mankind.

The Chinese comrades advanced the slogan of "spear-point against spearpoint," opposing it to the policy of other socialist countries aimed at relaxing the international situation and ending the "cold war." This slogan, in effect, adds grist to the mill of the imperialist policy of brinkmanship, and helps the champions of the arms race. The impression arises that the leaders of the C.P.C. consider it to their advantage to preserve and intensify the international tension, especially in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. They apparently believe that the Soviet Union should reply to provocations by provocations, to fall into the traps set by the "madmen" from the imperialist camp, should accept the challenge of the imperialists to a competition in adventurism and aggressiveness, that is, in competition not for ensuring peace but for unleashing war.

To take to this road would be to jeopardise peace and the security of peoples. The Communists, who hold dear the interests of the peoples, will never follow this road.

Struggle for peace, for implementing the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, is one of the most important forms of struggle against imperialism, against new wars prepared by it, against the aggressive actions of imperialists in colonial

countries, against the military bases of imperialists on foreign territories, against the arms race, etc. This struggle is in the interest of the working class, of all the working people, and in this sense it is class struggle.

Our Party, all fraternal Parties, remember and are guided by the conclusion in the Statement that struggle against the danger of a new world war should be developed without waiting for the first atom and hydrogen bombs to begin to fall, this struggle should be waged now, and intensified daily. The main thing is to curb the aggressors in time, to prevent war, not to allow it to flare up. To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, to expose tirelessly the policy of imperialism, to follow vigilantly the manoeuvrings and machinations of war incendiaries, to arouse the sacred wrath of the peoples against those who aim at war, to enhance the organization of all the forces of peace, to step up continuously the actions of the masses in defense of peace, to strengthen co-operation with all states which are not interested in new wars.

The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence weakens the front of imperialism, isolates its most aggressive circles from the people, and helps forward the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples.

The struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence, is organically linked with the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. "In conditions of peaceful coexistence," 81 Communist Parties stated, "favourable opportunities are created for the development of class struggle in the capitalist countries and of the national-liberation movement of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries. In turn, the successes of the revolutionary class struggle and national-liberation struggle help to strengthen peaceful coexistence."

In conditions of peaceful coexistence new important victories have been scored in recent years in the class struggle of the proletariat and in the struggle of the peoples for national freedom. The world revolutionary process is developing successfully.

This is why to separate the struggle for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems from the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, against colonialism, for independence and socialism, to juxtapose them as the Chinese comrades are doing, is to reduce the principle of peaceful coexistence to an empty phrase, to emasculate it, to ignore in fact the need for resolute struggle against imperialism, for peace and peaceful coexistence — which would be to the benefit of imperialists only.

In its letter of June 14th, the C.P.C. Central Committee accuses Communist Parties of allegedly extending the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems to the relations between the exploiters and the exploited, between the oppressed and the oppressing classes, between the working masses and the imperialists. This is a truly monstrous fabrication and slander on the fraternal Parties which lead the proletariat in its class battles against the capital, which always support the revolutionary struggle and the just wars of liberation against imperialism.

The C.P.C. leaders have such weak arguments in the struggle against the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties that they have to resort to all sorts of ruses. They begin by ascribing to us absolutely groundless positions of their own invention and then accuse us and fight against us by

exposing these positions. Such precisely is the case with their absurd allegation that the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties renounce revolution and substitute peaceful coexistence for class struggle. It is well known in any political study group in our country that when we speak of peaceful coexistence we mean the inter-state relations of the socialist countries with the countries of capitalism. The principle of peaceful coexistence, naturally, can in no way be extended to the relations between the antagonistic classes in the capitalist states; it is impermissible to extend it to the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie for its class interests, to the struggle of the oppressed peoples against the colonialists. The C.P.S.U. resolutely comes out against peaceful coexistence in ideology. This is a simple truth which all who regard themselves as Marxist-Leninists should have mastered.

3

There are serious differences between the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties on the question of struggle against the consequences of Stalin personality cult.

The C.P.C. leaders took upon themselves the role of the defenders of the personality cult: the propagators of Stalin's faulty ideas. They are trying to thrust upon other Parties the practices, the ideology and morals, the forms and methods of the leadership which were flourishing in the period of the personality cult. We must say outright that this is an unenviable role which will bring them neither honour nor glory. No one will succeed in embroiling the Marxist-Leninists and the progressive people onto the road of defending the personality cult!

The Soviet people, the world communist movement duly appreciated the courage and boldness, the truly Leninist firmness of principle demonstrated by our Party, by its Central Committee headed by Comrade Nikita Khrushchov in the struggle against the consequences of personality cult.

Everybody knows that our Party did so in order to remove the heavy burden that fettered the powerful forces of the working people and thus to speed up the development of Soviet society. Our Party did so in order to purify the ideas of socialism bequeathed to us by great Lenin from the stigma of abuses of personal power and arbitrariness. It did so in order to prevent recurrence of the tragic events that accompanied the personality cult, to make all fighters for socialism derive lessons from our experience.

The entire communist movement correctly understood and supported the struggle against the personality cult alien to Marxism-Leninism, against its harmful consequences. **At one time it was approved by the Chinese leaders too. They spoke about the tremendous international significance of the C.P.S.U. 20th Congress.**

Opening the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China in September 1956, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The Soviet comrades, the Soviet people acted in accordance with Lenin's instructions. They achieved brilliant successes in a brief space of time. The recent 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. also worked out many correct political positions, denounced the shortcomings in the work of the Party. It can be said with confidence that in the future their work will get exceptionally great development."

In the political report of the C.P.C. Central Committee made at the Congress by Comrade Liu Shao-chi this appraisal was developed further:

"The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in February this year is a most important political event of worldwide significance. Not only did the congress outline the magnificent Sixth Five-Year Plan and a number of most important political propositions directed towards further development of the cause of socialism and condemned the personality cult which had led to serious consequences inside the Party, but it also advanced proposals for further promotion of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation, made an outstanding contribution to the cause of easing international tensions."

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping in his report about the changes in the Party rules at the same Eighth Congress of the C.P.C. said:

"Leninism demands that decisions on all important questions should be taken in the Party by an appropriate collective and not individually. The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. provided convincing explanation of the most important significance of the unswerving observance of the principle of collective leadership and the struggle against the personality cult. This explanation had a tremendous influence not only on the C.P.S.U. but also on other Communist Parties in all countries of the world."

In the well-known editorial in the newspaper *Jenmin Jihpao* "Once More About Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (December 1956) Chinese comrades wrote:

"The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union displayed tremendous determination and courage in eliminating Stalin's cult, in exposing Stalin's serious mistakes and in liquidating the consequences of Stalin's mistakes. Throughout the world the Marxist-Leninists and the persons sympathizing with the cause of communism support the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union directed towards corrections of mistakes and wish the efforts of the Soviet comrades to be crowned with complete success."

And this is really so.

Any unbiased person who compares these pronouncements of the Chinese leaders with what is said in the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14 will become convinced that they have made a 180 degree turn in evaluation of the 20th Congress of our Party.

But are any vacillations and waverings permissible on such questions of principle? Of course, they are impermissible. **Either the Chinese leaders then had no differences with the C.P.S.U. Central Committee on these questions of principles or all these statements were false — it must be one or the other.**

It is well known that practice is the best measure of truth.

It is precisely the practice that proves convincingly the wonderful results in the life of our country brought about by the realization of the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. In the course of the ten years that have passed since the time when our Party made a sharp turn towards restoration of the Leninist principles and norms in the Party life the Soviet society achieved truly majestic results in developing economy, promoting culture and science, in raising the people's wel-

fare, in consolidating the defence potential, in the successes of foreign policy.

The atmosphere of fear, suspicion, uncertainty which poisoned the life of the people in the period of the personality cult is gone never to return. It is impossible to deny the fact that the Soviet people now live better, enjoy the benefits of socialism. Ask the worker who got a new apartment (and there are millions of them!), ask the pensioner who is well provided for in his old age, the collective farmer who is now well-to-do, ask thousands upon thousands of people who undeservedly suffered from reprisals in the period of the personality cult and to whom freedom and good repute have been restored and you will know what the victory of the Leninist course of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. practically means for the Soviet people.

Ask the people whose fathers and mothers were victims of the reprisals in the period of the personality cult what it means for them to get the recognition that their fathers, mothers and brothers had been honest people and that they themselves are not the outcasts in our society but worthy, full-fledged sons and daughters of the Soviet homeland.

Industry, agriculture, culture, science, art — no matter where we turn our eyes, everywhere we shall witness rapid progress. Our spaceships are furrowing the expanses of the universe and this also provides a brilliant confirmation of the correctness of the course along which our Party leads the Soviet people.

Of course we do not consider that everything has already been done for the Soviet person, for improving his life. Soviet people understand that the achievement of this principle depends not only on our wish. We have to build a communist society, to create an abundance of material benefits. That is why people is stubbornly working in order to create faster the material and spiritual values, to bring closer the victory of communism. Everybody can see that we are following a correct course, that we clearly see the prospects of our development.

The C.P.S.U. Program maps out a concrete plan of the construction of communism. Its implementation will ensure the Soviet people the highest living standards, will mean the beginning of a gradual transition to the cherished communist principle — "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Soviet people find it strange and outrageous that the Chinese comrades are trying to smear the C.P.S.U. Program, this grandiose plan of creating a communist society.

Alluding to the fact that our Party proclaims for its task the struggle for a better life for the people, the C.P.C. leaders hint at some sort of "bourgeoisisation" and "degeneration" of the Soviet society. To follow their line of thinking it comes out that if a people walks in bast sandals, eats watery soup out of a common bowl — this is communism, and if a working man lives well and wants to live even better tomorrow — this is nearly tantamount to a restoration of capitalism!

And they want to present this philosophy to us as the latest revelation in Marxism-Leninism! This fully discloses the authors of such "theories" as people who do not believe in the strength and capabilities of the working class, that took power into its own hands and created its own, socialist state.

If we turn to the history of our country, the C.P.S.U. Program, we will easily see from what we began, when under the leadership of Lenin we took power into our hands, and what summits has the Soviet people achieved. Our country has become a great socialist power. In the volume of industrial production the Soviet Union is first in Europe and second in the world, and will soon surpass the United States and move to first place. The Soviet working class, the Soviet collective-farm peasantry, the Soviet intelligentsia are the creators of all our victories.

We are convinced that not only the Soviet people but also the peoples of other countries of socialism are capable of great labour exploits — it is only necessary that a correct guidance of the working class and peasantry be ensured, it is necessary that the people implementing this guidance would reason realistically and make decisions that would allow to channel the strength and energy of the working people along the correct way.

In an attempt to justify the personality cult the Chinese leaders filled their letter with discourses about class struggle in the U.S.S.R., about the allegedly erroneous theses of the C.P.S.U. Program on the state of the whole people and the party of the whole people — that are distant from Marxism.

We do not intend in this letter to analyse all their arguments in detail. Anyone who reads the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14th will undoubtedly pay attention to **the utter helplessness and lack of knowledge about the life of the Soviet people of the discourses contained in the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee.** We are being taught that hostile classes still remain in Soviet society and therefore, you see, the need in the dictatorship of the proletariat remains. What then are these classes? One can see from the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee that these are “bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, blackmarketeers, swindlers, idlers, hooligans, embezzlers of public property.”

One must concede, this is quite an original notion of the Chinese comrades about classes and class struggle. Since when are these parasitical elements considered a class? And what class? A class of idlers or a class of hooligans, a class of embezzlers of public property or a class of parasites? In no society did criminals comprise a certain class. Of course, in socialist society, too, these elements do not comprise a class. These were manifestations of the leftovers of capitalism.

A dictatorship of the proletariat is not necessary for the struggle with such people. The state of the whole people can cope and is coping with this task. We know from our own experience that the better the level of educational work in Party, trade union and other public organizations, the higher the role of the public, the better the work of the Soviet militia, the more effective is the struggle against crime.

It is impossible to refute the fact that the present Soviet society is made up of two main classes — the workers and the peasants, as well as the intelligentsia, that not a single class of the Soviet society occupies a position allowing it to exploit other classes. Dictatorship is a class concept; over whom do the Chinese comrades propose to effect a dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union: over the collective-farm peasantry or over the people's intelligentsia? One cannot discount the fact that in socialist society the class of workers and the class of peasants

have undergone considerable changes, the differences, distinctions between them are disappearing more and more.

After the complete and ultimate victory of socialism, the working class effects its guiding role already not through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class remains the front-ranking class of society also in conditions of all-out construction of communism. Its front-ranking role is determined both by its economic position — it is directly connected with the highest form of socialist ownership, and the fact that it is most hardened as a result of decades of class struggle, revolutionary experience.

The Chinese comrades refer to the pronouncement of Karl Marx that the content of the transitional period from capitalism to communism cannot be anything else than a dictatorship of the proletariat. But stating this Marx spoke of communism as a whole, as a single socio-economic formation (of which socialism is the first stage) a transition to which would be impossible without a socialist revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat. There are a number of pronouncements of V.I. Lenin which absolutely clearly stress that the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed precisely to overcome the resistance of the exploiting classes, to organize socialist construction, to ensure victory of socialism — the first phase of communism. It is clear from this that the need in the dictatorship of the proletariat disappears after the victory of socialism, when only working people, friendly classes, the nature of which has absolutely changed, remain in society, and there is no one to suppress any more.

If one is to extract the genuine content of all this mass of pseudo-theoretical discourses contained in the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee on these questions, it boils down to the following: the Chinese comrades come out against the line of the C.P.S.U. aimed at developing socialist democracy, that was proclaimed with such force in the decisions of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of our Party, in the C.P.S.U. Program. It is not fortuitous that nowhere in their long letter did they find place even for a mere mentioning of the development of democracy in conditions of socialism, in conditions of construction of communism.

It is difficult to judge in full measure about the motives the Chinese comrades guide themselves by when upholding the personality cult. Actually, for the first time in the history of the international communist movement we encounter an open exaltation of the personality cult. It must be said that even during the period when the personality cult flourished in our country, Stalin himself was forced, at least in words, to refuse to have anything to do with this petty bourgeois theory and said that it came from the Socialist Revolutionaries.

The attempts to use Marx and Lenin to defend the ideology of the personality cult can evoke nothing but surprise. Can it really be true that the Chinese comrades do not know that Lenin, as far back as during the birth of our Party, waged a gigantic struggle against the narodniks' theories about the heroes and the masses, that genuinely collective methods of leadership were implemented under Lenin in the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet state, that Lenin was extremely modest and mercilessly lashed out at the slightest manifestations of toadyism and servility to his person.

Of course, struggle against the personality cult was never regarded by our Party, or the other Marxist-Leninist parties, as negation of the authority of Party and government leaders. The C.P.S.U. stressed time and again, including at the 20th and 22nd Congresses, that the Party cherishes the authority of its leadership, that while debunking the personality cult and fighting against its consequences the Party puts high the leaders who really express the interests of the people and give all their strength to struggle for the victory of communism, and for this reason enjoy deserved prestige.

4

The next important question on which we differ is that of the ways and methods of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the countries of capitalism, the struggle for national liberation, the ways of the transition of all mankind to socialism.

As depicted by the Chinese comrades, the differences on this question appear as follows: one side — they themselves — stands for the world revolution, while the other — the C.P.S.U., the Marxist-Leninist parties — have forgotten the revolution, even “fear” it, and, instead of revolutionary struggle, are concerned with such things “unworthy” of a real revolutionary as peace, the economic development of the socialist countries and improvement of the living standards of their peoples, as struggle for the democratic rights and vital interests of the working people of the capitalist countries.

Actually, the divide between the views of the C.P.C. and the views of the international communist movement lies on an entirely different plane: some — namely the leaders of the C.P.C. — talk about the world revolution in and out of place, sport the “revolutionary” phrase on any occasion, and sometimes without it, while others — those precisely whom the Chinese comrades criticize — approach the question of the revolution with utmost seriousness and, instead of phrase-mongering, work hard, seeking to find the best ways to the victory of socialism, ways which conform the best to the present conditions, fight hard for national independence, democracy and socialism.

Let us consider the main views of the Chinese comrades on questions of the revolutionary movement today.

Is the thesis of ceasing in the name of the “world revolution” to fight for peace, renouncing the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition, renouncing the struggle for the vital interests of the workers and for democratic reforms in the capitalist countries, conducive to the transition of countries and peoples to socialism? Is it true that in coming out for peace and pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence the Communists of the socialist countries think only of themselves and have forgotten of their class brothers in the countries of capital?

Everyone who has pondered the meaning of the present struggle for peace, against thermonuclear war, realizes that by their policy of peace the Soviet Communists, the fraternal Parties of the other socialist countries, give inestimable aid to the working class, the working people of the capitalist countries. And this is not because to avert nuclear war means to save from death the working class, the peoples of whole countries and even continents — though this alone is enough to justify all our policy.

The other reason is that this policy is the best way to help the international revolutionary working-class movement to achieve its principal class aims. Is it not a tremendous contribution to the struggle of the working class when the countries of socialism, in the conditions of peace they themselves have won, score magnificent successes in the development of economy, score ever new victories in science and technology, constantly improve the living and working conditions of the people, develop and improve socialist democracy?

Looking at these successes and victories, every worker in a capitalist country will say: “Socialism proves by deeds that it is superior to capitalism. This system is worth fighting for.” In the present conditions, socialism wins the hearts and minds of the people not only through books, but primarily by its deeds, by its living example.

The Statement of 1960 sees the main feature of our time in that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor of the development of human society. All the Communist Parties which took part in the meeting arrived at the common conclusion that at the heart of our epoch there stands the international working class and its creation — the world system of socialism.

The realization of all other tasks of the revolutionary movement depends to a tremendous extent on the consolidation of the world system of socialism. This is why the Communist and Workers’ Parties have pledged themselves “to strengthen tirelessly the great socialist community of peoples whose international role and influence on the course of world development is growing annually.” Our Party regards the fulfilment of this overriding task as its supreme internationalist duty.

V.I. Lenin taught that “the main influence on the international revolution we exert by our economic policy . . . in this field the struggle is waged on a world-wide scale. If we accomplish this task, we shall win on the international scale, for sure and forever.” (*Works*, Vol. 32, page 413.)

This behest of the great Lenin has been firmly learned by Soviet Communists. It is followed by the Communists of other countries of socialism. But now it turns out that there are comrades who think that V.I. Lenin was wrong.

What is this — lack of faith in the ability of the countries of socialism to defeat capitalism in economic competition? Or is this the position of people who, encountering difficulties in the building of socialism, have become disappointed, do not see the possibility of exerting the main influence on the international revolutionary movement by their economic successes, by the example of the successful building of socialism in their countries. They want to achieve the revolution sooner, by other, what seem to them to be shorter, ways. But victorious revolution can consolidate its successes and prove the superiority of socialism over capitalism by the work and only by the work of the people. True, this is not easy, especially if the revolutions are accomplished in countries which have inherited an underdeveloped economy. But the example of the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries proves convincingly that in these conditions, too — if correct leadership is provided — it is possible to score great successes and demonstrate to the entire world the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Further, what situation is more propitious to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist

countries—the situation of peace and peaceful coexistence or the situation of permanent international tension and the cold war?

There is no doubt as to the answer to this question. Who does not know that the ruling circles of the imperialist states exploit the situation of the cold war to whip up chauvinism, war hysteria, unbridled anti-communism, to put in power the most rabid reactionaries and pro-fascists, to suspend democracy, to do away with political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations of the working class.

The struggle of the Communists for peace greatly consolidates their ties with the masses, their authority and influence and, consequently, helps to build up what is called the political army of the revolution.

The struggle for peace and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, far from delaying, makes it possible to develop in full measure the struggle for the attainment of the ultimate aims of the international working class.

It is hard to believe that the Chinese comrades, who are experienced men, who have themselves accomplished a revolution, do not understand the main thing: that the world revolution today comes both through consolidation of the world system of socialism, and through the revolutionary class struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries, and through struggle for national liberation, the strengthening of political and economic independence of newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa, and through struggle for peace, against the wars of aggression and through the anti-monopoly struggle of the masses, and by many other ways which should not be opposed to each other but united and directed toward the same goal—to overthrow the rule of imperialism.

The Chinese Communists haughtily and abusively accuse the Communist Parties of France, Italy, the United States and other countries of nothing less than opportunism and reformism, of “parliamentary cretinism” and even of slipping down to “bourgeois socialism.” On what grounds? On the ground that these Communist Parties do not advance the slogan for an immediate proletarian revolution, although even the Chinese leaders must realize that this cannot be done without the existence of a revolutionary situation.

Every knowledgeable Marxist-Leninist knows that to advance a slogan for an armed uprising, when there is no revolutionary situation in the country, means to doom the working class to defeat. It is common knowledge how exceedingly serious was V.I. Lenin's approach to this question, with what political perspicacity and knowledge of the concrete situation he approached the selection of the time for revolutionary action. On the very eve of the October Revolution Lenin pointed out that it was too early to start on October 24, too late on October 26, everything could be lost, and, consequently, power was to be taken cost what it may on October 25. Who determines the intensity of class contradictions, the existence of a revolutionary situation, chooses the moment for the uprising? This can be done only by the working class of each given country, its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party.

The history of the international working-class movement shows that a party is bad, indeed, if, calling itself a working-class party, it deals only with economic questions, does not bring up the working class in a revolu-

tionary spirit, does not prepare it for political struggle, for the seizure of power. In such a case it inevitably slips down to the positions of reformism. But equally bad is a party which sets the tasks of political struggle separately from efforts to improve the economic standards of the working class, peasantry and all the working people. Such a party inevitably becomes divorced from the masses. Only given the correct use of all forms of class struggle, given their skilful combination, a party can become a really revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, the leader of the masses, can successfully lead the working class in the storming of capital, in the winning of power.

The Chinese leaders regard as a mortal sin of the Communist Parties of the developed capitalist states the fact that they see their direct tasks in the struggle for economic and social interests of the working people, for democratic reforms, feasible yet under capitalism and easing the living conditions of the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeois sections of the population, contributing to the establishment of a broad anti-monopolistic front, which will serve as a basis for further struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, that is, the fact that they are doing precisely what is recorded in the Moscow Statement of 1960.

Having come out against everything the Communist Parties of the developed capitalist countries are doing, the Chinese comrades did not display either an elementary sense of solidarity with Communists fighting against capitalism on the frontline of class struggle, or an understanding of the concrete conditions in these countries, the specific ways along which the revolutionary movement of the working class is proceeding there. Actually “for the sake of revolution” they reject precisely the ways leading to revolution, try to impose a course which would have placed the Communist Parties in isolation from the masses, resulted in the loss by the working class of its allies in the struggle against the domination of the monopolies, against capitalism.

The Chinese comrades have disagreed with the world communist movement also concerning the forms of the transition of different countries to socialism.

It is common knowledge that the C.P.S.U. and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, as it is clearly pointed out in the documents of the Moscow meetings, in the Program of the C.P.S.U., proceed from the possibility of a peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism. **Despite this the Chinese comrades stubbornly ascribe to our Party and the other fraternal Parties the recognition of the peaceful method alone.**

In its letter of March 30, 1963, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee has again outlined its position on this score:

“The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties, endeavour to carry out socialist revolution in a peaceful way without civil war. The realization of such a possibility is in keeping with the interests of the working class and all the people, and with the national interests of the country. At the same time the choice of the means of developing the revolution depends not only on the working class. If the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the working class will be forced to use non-peaceful means of seizing power. Everything depends on the particular conditions and on the distribution of class forces within the country and in the world arena.

"Naturally, no matter what forms are used for the transition from capitalism to socialism, such a transition is only possible by means of a socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in various forms. Appreciating highly the selfless struggle of the working class headed by the Communists in the capitalist countries, the C.P.S.U. considers it its duty to render them every kind of aid and support."

We have repeatedly explained our viewpoint and there is no need of outlining it in greater detail here.

And what is the position of the Chinese comrades on this question? It keynotes all their statements and the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14.

The Chinese comrades regard as the main criterion of revolutionary spirit the recognition of an armed uprising always, in everything, everywhere. Thereby the Chinese comrades actually deny the possibility of using peaceful forms of struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, whereas Marxism-Leninism teaches that the Communists must master all forms of revolutionary class struggle — both violent and non-violent.

Yet another important question is that of relationship between the struggle of the international working class and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The international revolutionary working-class movement, represented today by the world system of socialism and the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America — these are the great forces of our epoch. The correct co-ordination among them constitutes one of the main requisites for victory over imperialism.

How do the Chinese comrades solve this question? This is seen from their new "theory," according to which the main contradiction of our time is, you see, contradiction not between socialism and imperialism, but between the national-liberation movement and imperialism. The decisive force in the struggle against imperialism, the Chinese comrades hold, is not the world system of socialism, not struggle of the international working class, but again the national-liberation movement.

In this way the Chinese comrades, apparently, wish to win in the easiest way popularity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But let nobody be deceived by this "theory." Whether the Chinese theoreticians want it or not, this theory essentially means the isolation of the national-liberation movement from the international working class and its offspring — the world system of socialism. But this would have constituted a tremendous danger to the national-liberation movement itself.

Indeed, could the numerous peoples of Asia have won, despite all their heroism and selflessness, if the October Revolution and then the formation of the world system of socialism, had not shaken imperialism to the very foundation, had not undermined the forces of the colonialists?

And now that the liberated peoples have entered a new stage of their struggle, concentrating their efforts on the consolidation of their political gains and economic independence, do they not see that it would be immeasurably more difficult, if not altogether impossible, to solve these tasks without the assistance of the socialist states?

The Marxist-Leninists always stress the epochal significance of the national-liberation movement and its great future, but they regard as one of the main requisites for its further victories solid alliance and co-operation with the countries of the world system of socialism as the main force in the struggle against imperialism, the solid alliance with the labour movement in the capitalist countries. This position was laid down in the Statement of 1960. It is based on Lenin's idea of working-class leadership (hegemony) as a requisite for victory in the anti-imperialist struggle. Only given such a hegemony can this movement assume in the final count a truly socialist character, culminating in transition to the road of a socialist revolution.

This idea of Lenin was verified on the experience of the October Revolution, on the experience of other countries, and it does not arouse doubts in anybody's mind. However, the Chinese comrades, it was observed, wish to "amend" Lenin and prove that it is not the working class, but the petty bourgeoisie or the national bourgeoisie, or even "certain patriotically-minded kings, princes and aristocrats" that must be the leaders of the world's struggle against imperialism. And after this the leadership of the C.P.C. teaches the world communist movement that the proletarian, class approach to the problems in hand must never, under no circumstances, be forfeited!

The earnest of the future victories both of the international working class and the national-liberation movement lies in their solid alliance and co-operation, in their joint struggle against imperialism, dictated by their common interests, struggle in which the working class earns by its selflessness, by its devoted service in the interests of all peoples, the recognition of its leading role, convinces its allies that its leadership is a reliable guarantee both of its own victory and the victory of its allies, too.

Our Leninist party regards the national-liberation movement as part and parcel of the world revolutionary process, as a mighty force coming out against imperialism. The great call of the founders of scientific communism Marx and Engels "Workers of all countries, unite!" has become the battle standard of the international working class. The continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, noted particularly in the new historical conditions, which emerged after the victory of the Great October Revolution, the inseparable bonds of the socialist revolution and the national-liberation movement.

The slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" has been and remains the chief slogan of the struggle for the victory of the world revolution. In the new conditions this slogan has a broader connotation. It is common knowledge that Lenin approved the slogan: "Workers of all countries and the oppressed peoples, unite!" This slogan stresses the leading role of the proletariat and the increased significance of the national-liberation movement. In all its activities our Party strictly abides by this Marxist-Leninist internationalist principle.

The question arises: What is the explanation for the incorrect propositions of the C.P.C. leadership on the basic problems of our time? It is either the complete divorcement of the Chinese comrades from actual reality, dogmatic, bookish approach to problems of war, peace and the revolution, their lack of understanding of the concrete conditions of the modern epoch, or the fact that behind the rumpus about the "world revolution," raised

by the Chinese comrades, are other goals, which have nothing in common with revolution.

All this shows the erroneousness, disastrous nature of the course which the C.P.C. leadership tries to impose on the world communist movement. What the Chinese leaders propose under the guise of a "general line" is nothing else but an enumeration of the most general tasks of the working class, made without due consideration for time and the concrete correlation of class forces, without due consideration for the peculiarities of the modern stage of history. The Chinese comrades do not notice or do not wish to notice how the tasks of our movement change in conditions of the present-day epoch. Reducing the general line to general tasks, which are valid for all stages of transition from capitalism to socialism, they deprive it of its concreteness, purposefulness, genuine effectiveness.

Elaborating their present course, the fraternal Parties have analysed thoroughly the distribution of class forces both in separate countries, and on a world-wide scale, peculiarities in the development of the two opposite systems, in the development of the national-liberation movement at the present stage.

A thorough analysis of changes taking place in the world situation has permitted the fraternal Parties of all the world to draw up a Marxist-Leninist description of the epoch: "Our epoch, whose substance consists in transition from capitalism to socialism, started by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is the epoch of struggle between the two counterposed social systems, the epoch of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of imperialism, liquidation of the colonial system, the epoch of transition to the road when ever new peoples embark upon the road of socialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale."

Definition of the modern epoch served as the basis for a correct approach when drawing up the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement.

The Marxist-Leninist parties have determined their common line, the main provisions of which boil down to the following:

— The nature and substance of the world revolutionary process in the modern epoch is determined by the merging into one stream of the struggle against imperialism, waged by the peoples that are building up socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, the democratic movements in general; in the alliance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces the decisive role belongs to the international working class and its main offspring — the world system of socialism, which exerts the principal influence on the development of the world socialist revolution by the force of its example, by its economic construction;

— Due to the prevailing objective historical conditions (maximum growth of the aggressiveness of imperialism, emergence of weapons of tremendous destructive power, etc.) central place among all tasks, facing the anti-imperialist forces in the modern epoch, is held by the struggle to prevent a thermonuclear war. The primary task of the Communist Parties is to rally together all the

peace-loving forces to the defense of peace, to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe;

— The socialist revolution takes place as a result of the internal development of class struggle in every country, and its forms and ways are determined by the concrete conditions of each given nation. The general regularity lies in the revolutionary overthrow of the power of capital and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in this or that form. It is the task of the working class and the Communist Parties to make maximum use of the now available opportunities for the peaceful road of a socialist revolution, not connected with a civil war, and to be at the same time ready for the non-peaceful method, for the armed suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie; the general democratic struggle is an indispensable part of struggle for socialism;

— The goals of the working class and the Communist Parties in the national-liberation movement lie in carrying to the end the tasks of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, in the development and consolidation of the national front, based on the alliance with the peasantry and the patriotically-minded national bourgeoisie, in the preparation of conditions for the setting up of a state of the national democracy and transition to the non-capitalist road of development;

— Relations of co-operation and mutual assistance between the socialist countries, the cohesion and unity of the international communist and labour movement, the loyalty to the positions and appraisals worked out jointly, to the Leninist principles of the life of the Parties and the relations between them constitute the necessary conditions for a successful solution of the historical tasks facing the Communists.

Such in our epoch are the main ways of the development of the world revolutionary process, such are the basic provisions of the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage. The struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism — such is in brief the essence of this general line. Consistent realization of this line in practice is the earnest of the successes of the world communist movement.

All these most important principled theses of the international communist movement under present conditions, worked out collectively by the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties in the Declaration and the Statement, found expression in the new Program of the C.P.S.U. which fully rests on the Marxist-Leninist generalization of the revolutionary experience both in our country and on the international scale.

5

The erroneous views of the C.P.C. leaders on the cardinal political and theoretical questions of our time are inseparably linked with their practical activities directed towards undermining the unity of the world socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The Chinese comrades recognize in oratory that the unity of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic is a mainstay of the entire socialist community, but in fact they are undermining contacts with our Party, with our country in all directions.

The C.P.C. leadership often speaks of its loyalty to the commonwealth of the socialist countries but the at-

titude of the Chinese comrades to this commonwealth refutes their high-sounding declarations.

The statistics show that in the course of the past three years the Chinese People's Republic cut the volume of its trade with the countries of the socialist community by more than 50 per cent. Some socialist countries felt the results of this line of the Chinese comrades with particular sharpness.

The actions of the Chinese leadership stand in glaring contradiction not only to the principles of mutual relations between socialist countries but in many cases even to the generally recognized rules and norms which should be observed by all states.

The flouting of the agreements signed earlier inflicted serious damage on the national economy of some socialist states. It is quite understandable that the economy of China also suffers tangibly from the curtailment of its economic contacts.

In an effort to justify its actions in the eyes of the popular masses the C.P.C. leadership recently advanced a theory of "reliance on one's own forces." Generally speaking, to build socialism in every country relying primarily on the efforts of its people, with the best utilization of the internal resources of the country is the correct way of creating a material and technical basis for socialism. The construction of socialism in every country is primarily a matter of concern for the people of that country, its working class and the Communist Party.

The Soviet Union which was the first country of socialism had to build socialism relying only on its own forces and using its internal resources. And although there is now a system of socialist countries, this in no way means that the people of some country may sit with folded arms and rely exclusively on the assistance of other countries of socialism. The Communist Party of every socialist country regards it as its duty to mobilize all internal reserves for successful economic development. Therefore the statement of the C.P.C. Central Committee about the construction of socialism mainly by its own forces would, in its direct meaning, give rise to no objections.

However, as shown by the whole text of the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee and the numerous statements in the Chinese press, this thesis is actually given an interpretation with which it is impossible to agree.

The formula of the "socialist construction mainly by our own forces" conceals the concept of creating self-sufficing national economies for which the economic contact with other countries are restricted to trade only. The Chinese comrades are trying to impose this approach on other socialist countries, too.

The proclamation of the course of "reliance on our own forces," apparently was needed by C.P.C. leadership in order to weaken the bonds of close friendship between the socialist countries. This policy, of course, has nothing in common with the principles of socialist internationalism. It cannot be regarded otherwise than as an attempt to undermine the unity of the socialist commonwealth.

Parallel to the line towards curtailment of economic contacts the C.P.C. leadership took a number of measures aimed at aggravating the relations with the Soviet Union.

The Chinese leaders are undermining the unity not only of the socialist camp but also of the entire world communist movement, trampling under foot the principles

of proletarian internationalism and grossly violating the norms of relations between fraternal Parties.

The C.P.C. leadership organizes and supports various anti-Party groups of renegades who come out against the Communist Parties in the United States, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia, India. For instance in Belgium the C.P.C. is rendering support to the group of Gripp expelled from the Party at the last congress. In the United States support is rendered to the subversive activities of the Left-wing opportunist group "Hammer and Steel" which set itself the main task of fighting against the Communist Party of the United States. In Brazil Chinese comrades support the factional groups expelled from the Communist Party (as for instance the Amazonas-Graboio group).

In Australia the C.P.C. Central Committee tried to organize splitting activities against the Communist Party and its leadership with the help of a former member of the leadership E. Hill. Having visited the Chinese People's Republic at one time E. Hill came out publicly against the Communist Party of Australia and tried to organize a group of like-thinking men. After the Communist Party of Australia expelled Hill from the Central Committee of the Party he demonstratively went to Peking.

In Italy Chinese representatives are encouraging the activity of the group of the former officials of the Padua Federation of the Communist Party who issued leaflets with a provocative call for a "revolutionary" uprising.

Comrades from the C.P.C. are making particular efforts to conduct subversive activities in the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Glorifying the outcasts and renegades who found themselves outside the ranks of the communist movement, the Chinese leaders reprint in their newspapers and magazines slanderous articles from the publications of these renegade groups directed against the policy of the C.P.S.U., against the course of the entire world communist movement.

In Ceylon Chinese representatives are maintaining close contact with the grouping of E. Semarakkodi, that is a tool of the Trotskyist "Fourth International."

The Trotskyists from the "Fourth International" are trying to use the position of the Chinese comrades in their own aims, and even addressed an open letter to the C.P.C. Central Committee in which they openly declared: "The Fourth International, which from the very first day of its creation is waging . . . a struggle with ideas against which you are coming out today, is standing on your side. . . . The international secretariat of the Fourth International welcomes this discussion that you have started in the entire communist movement. It urges you to develop it."

The Chinese leaders make sharp attacks on the fraternal Communist Parties and their leaders, who do not want to retreat from the general line of the international communist movement. They have published and circulated in many languages articles discrediting the activity of the Communist Party of the United States, the French, Italian and Indian Communist Parties. To what sort of foul language do not the authors of these articles resort to when writing about prominent leaders of fraternal Parties! Among them are "double-dealing" and "right-wing opportunism," "revisionism" and "incompatibility with norms of communist morality," "social-

democratic regeneration," and "faint-heartedness," "irresponsibility," and "parroting," "haughtiness and contempt for the revolutionary peoples of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

The Chinese leaders accuse the Communist Parties of the United States and Western Europe of acting "at one with the most adventuristic American imperialists." The leadership of the Communist Party of India is not termed otherwise as a "clique." Against the leaders of the Communist Parties of France, Italy, India, the United States is hurled the horrible accusation of "solicitude for the destinies of imperialism and all reactionaries." And in its letter of June 14 the C.P.C. leadership sinks to insinuations that the C.P.S.U. too allegedly "comes out in the role of a helper of imperialism." No one except Trotskyists has yet dared, in view of the obvious absurdity of this, to level such slanderous accusations at the great Party of Lenin!

Should one be surprised that imperialist propaganda rejoices at such actions of the Chinese comrades? It is not by chance that the bourgeois press often shouts about a "crisis" in the international communist movement and urges the imperialist governments to use the differences caused by the position of the C.P.C. Central Committee in their own interests.

Representatives of the C.P.C. left the editorial board of the magazine "Problems of Peace and Socialism" — the collective theoretical and information organ of Communist and Workers' Parties, stopped the publication of this magazine in the Chinese language, striving thus to deprive Chinese Communists of an objective source of information on the activity of the international communist movement.

The splitting activity of the Chinese leadership in the ranks of international communist movement evokes rightful indignation and rebuff on the part of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

The letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee says that in relations with fraternal Communist Parties it is "impermissible for one Party to place itself above the other fraternal Parties, it is impermissible to interfere into the internal affairs of fraternal Parties. . . ." This is quite a good statement. But it is precisely the Chinese comrades who resort to such impermissible actions. Flouting the interests of the world communist movement they act contrary to the norms and principles stated in the Declaration and Statement, are trying to subordinate other fraternal Parties to their influence and control.

One of the patent examples of the special line of the C.P.C. leadership in the socialist camp and the international communist movement is its position on the Albanian question. As is known, in the second half of 1960 the Albanian leaders openly came out with a Left-wing opportunist platform on the main questions of our times, began promoting a hostile policy in respect of the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties. The Albanian leadership started an anti-Soviet campaign in the country that led to a rupture of political, economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union.

The overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' Parties resolutely condemned this anti-Leninist activity of the Albanian leaders. The C.P.C. leaders took an absolutely different position and did everything to use the Albanian leaders as their mouthpiece. Now it is

known that the Chinese comrades openly pushed them to the road of open struggle against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and fraternal Parties.

In their attacks on the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties, the C.P.C. leaders assign a special place to the Yugoslavian question. They try to present matters in such a way as though difficulties in the communist movement were caused by an improvement of relations between the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and Yugoslavia. Contrary to facts they stubbornly contend that Yugoslavia allegedly is not a socialist country.

As is known in 1955 the C.P.S.U. together with other fraternal Parties displayed initiative in normalizing relations with Yugoslavia so as to overcome the protracted conflict, the main guilt for which lies with Stalin. At that time the C.P.C. leaders had no doubts as to the nature of the socialist system in Yugoslavia. Thus the newspaper *Jenmin Jihpao* noted that "Yugoslavia has already achieved notable successes in the construction of socialism."

An objective analysis of the socio-economic processes in Yugoslavia shows that the positions of socialism have consolidated there in the following years. If in 1958 the socialist sector in industry amounted to 100 per cent, in agriculture to 6 per cent, and in trade to 97 per cent, now the socialist sector in industry amounts to 100 per cent, in agriculture to 15 per cent, and in trade — to 100 per cent. A rapprochement of Yugoslavia's position with the position of the Soviet Union and other socialist states in foreign policy questions took place in the period since the beginning of the normalization of relations.

Why then have the Chinese leaders changed so drastically their position on the Yugoslavian question? It is hard to find an explanation other than that they saw in this one of the advantageous, in their opinion, pretexts to discredit the policy of the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

Soviet Communists know that differences on a number of ideological questions of principle continue to remain between the C.P.S.U. and the Yugoslav Communist League. We have openly stated and continue to state this to the Yugoslav leaders. But it would be wrong to "excommunicate" Yugoslavia on these grounds from socialism, to sever her from socialist countries and to push her into the camp of imperialism, just as the C.P.C. leaders are doing. This is precisely what the imperialists want.

At present there are 14 socialist countries in the world. We are profoundly convinced that in the near future their number will be considerably greater. The range of questions encountered by the fraternal Parties, that stand at the helm of state, is increasing, besides each of the fraternal Parties is working in different conditions.

It is not surprising that under these circumstances the fraternal Parties may develop different approaches to the solution of this or that problem. How should Marxist-Leninists act in this case? Declare that this or that socialist country, whose leaders do not agree with them, is no longer a socialist country? This would be real arbitrariness. This method has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

If we were to follow the example of the Chinese leaders, then, because of our serious differences with the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour, we should have long proclaimed Albania to be a non-socialist country.

But this would be an erroneous, subjectivist approach. Despite our differences with the Albanian leaders, the Soviet Communists regard Albania as a socialist country and, for their part, do everything to prevent Albania from being split away from the socialist community.

We watch with regret how the leaders of the C.P.C. undermine the traditional Soviet-Chinese friendship, weaken the unity of the socialist countries.

The C.P.S.U. stands and will stand for the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, of the entire world communist movement.

6

Let us recapitulate:

The time since the adoption of the Statement of 1960 has fully confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist program of the world communist and working-class movement. The Soviet Union's successes in building communism, the successes of socialist construction in the other countries of socialism, exert an ever greater revolutionizing influence on the minds of people throughout the world. The revolutionary Cuba has lit a beacon of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. Decisive blows have been struck at the colonial system, which is close to complete liquidation. New victories have been scored by the working class of imperialist countries. The world revolutionary movement is developing inexorably.

All this shows that the Statement of 1960 set correctly the general line of the world communist movement. The task now is to act in conformity with this general line, to develop and specify it as applied the conditions in which each given Communist Party operates. Therefore, all attempts to impose some new general line on the world communist and working-class movement, as was done in the letter of the C.P.C. Central Committee of June 14, are insolvent and harmful. To accept such a "general line" would be to depart from the Statement of 1960, to agree to programmatic theses contrary to this Statement which was adopted by 81 Parties. Our Party will not do this.

Throughout its history, our glorious Leninist Party has waged an implacable struggle against Right-wing and Left-wing opportunism, Trotskyism and revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, nationalism and chauvinism in all their manifestations, both within the country and in the international arena. Our Party was steeled and strengthened in this struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and fears no attacks by latter-day splitters and opportunists from whatever quarter.

Life shows that having become a political organization of the whole people, the C.P.S.U. has consolidated its ties with the masses, has become even stronger, and has an even higher discipline. With the victory of socialism the ideology of the working class — Marxism-Leninism — became the ideology of the entire people, its progressive part. The aim of the working class — the building of communism — has become the aim of the whole people. Marxist-Leninists can only rejoice, of course, in this growth of the influence of communist ideology. We can say that never since the death of V.I. Lenin has our Party been so strong, so capable of accomplishing the most daring tasks associated with building a new world.

Now, when socialism has won finally and completely in our country, when we are raising, stone by stone, the

beautiful edifice of communism, our Party, the entire Soviet people, are even more convinced that the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism will triumph throughout the world.

Our confidence is shared by the peoples of the socialist countries, by all the working people of the world. They highly appreciate the great contribution made by the Soviet Union to the common cause of struggle for peace, democracy, national freedom, independence and socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union stood and stands for close friendship with the Communist Party of China. There are serious differences between us and the leaders of the C.P.C., but we hold that the relations between the two Parties, between our two peoples, should be built on that we have the same aim — the building of a new communist society, that we have the same enemy — imperialism. United, the two great powers the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, can do much for the triumph of communism. This is well known to our friends and enemies.

A meeting of the delegations of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. is being held in Moscow at present. Unfortunately, the C.P.C. representatives at the meeting continue to aggravate the situation. Despite this, the delegation of the C.P.S.U. display the utmost patience and self-control, working for a successful outcome of the negotiations. The nearest future will show whether the Chinese comrades agree to build our relations on the basis of what unites us, and not what divides us, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Our enemies build their calculations on deepening the contradictions between the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. They are now looking for something to profit by. The American *Daily News* wrote recently: Let us set red Russia and red China against each other so that they tear each other to pieces. We, Communists, should never forget these insidious plans of the imperialists.

Aware of its responsibility to the international communist movement, to the peoples of the world, our Party urges the Chinese comrades to take to the road of resolving the differences and strengthening the genuine unity of our Parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Together with all fraternal Parties, our Leninist Party fought and fights to rally the working class, all the working people, in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. declares with utmost responsibility before the Party and the entire Soviet people that we have done and will do everything within our power to strengthen unity with the Communist Party of China, to rally the world communist movement under the banner of Lenin, to rally the countries of the world system of socialism, to provide effective aid to all peoples fighting against colonialism, to strengthen the cause of peace, to ensure the victory of the great ideas of communism throughout the world.

All the working people of the Soviet Union will rally even closer around their own Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, will devote all their energy to fulfilling the majestic program of building communism.

(Signed) The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

U.S. Nuclear Fraud Exposed

Following is a translation of the full text of the July 19 editorial of "Renmin Ribao." Our subheads.—Ed.

TALKS on a nuclear test ban are being held in Moscow by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. In view of the fact that the United States is making continued efforts to manufacture and stockpile nuclear weapons in large quantities, to prepare for nuclear war and to carry out its policy of nuclear blackmail, an ever increasing demand for a total prohibition of nuclear weapons and for opposing nuclear warfare has been raised by all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. This demand and aspiration of the peoples of the world has found concentrated expression in the world conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs held annually in Japan. It is only natural, therefore, that people will pin hopes on the tripartite Moscow talks.

We Demand Total Ban on Nuclear Weapons

The Chinese Government always stands opposed to nuclear war and has consistently advocated a total prohibition of nuclear weapons. We stand for a ban on the use, manufacture, stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons and for the destruction of all existing nuclear weapons. The danger of a nuclear war today comes from the fact that U.S. imperialism, which possesses large quantities of nuclear weapons, is day and night manufacturing more and threatening to use them. How can the danger of nuclear war be eliminated if an end is not put to this situation? That is why only by totally prohibiting nuclear weapons can a nuclear war be effectively prevented.

However, negotiations for general disarmament and a total ban on nuclear arms in the past few years bear witness to the fact that U.S. imperialism and its followers have put up a thousand and one pretexts in persistently refusing to agree to a total ban on nuclear arms, raising one obstacle after another in the talks. What is more, they have attempted to throw the responsibility for the failure to achieve a total ban on nuclear weapons onto the Soviet Union. This is absolutely unjustifiable.

The socialist countries have no need for nuclear weapons in the first place and, what is more, they are firmly opposed to nuclear war. Nuclear weapons were first manufactured by the United States. Only in order to resist imperialist nuclear blackmail do the socialist countries find it necessary to possess such weapons. The Soviet Union has consistently worked for their total prohibition. How can one shift to the Soviet Union the blame for the failure so far to reach an agreement on banning these weapons?

The socialist countries' persistent stand for a total ban on nuclear arms has the support of an ever increasing number of peace-loving nations and peoples. Under the mounting pressure of the peoples of the world, the United States has to resort all the more to deceitful tactics to achieve its objective of preventing a ban on nuclear weapons. It has laid aside the question of a total ban on nuclear arms, and put forward the proposal for the termination or partial termination of nuclear testing, to divert the peoples' attention.

The United States has, through more than 200 tests, acquired the necessary technical data for the manufacture of nuclear weapons and has officially announced that it has stockpiled 25,000 nuclear warheads. Therefore, a suspension of nuclear testing will not in any way hinder its continued manufacture of nuclear weapons and its continued pursuit of nuclear blackmail.

On the other hand, the United States can use suspension to create a pressure of public opinion to prevent socialist countries other than the Soviet Union from conducting nuclear tests and possessing nuclear capability, thus preventing the socialist camp from reinforcing its power to resist U.S. nuclear blackmail.

U.S. imperialism has made no secret of all this. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said on March 11 that the various types of nuclear weapons the United States possessed today "are useful for a variety of strategic and tactical uses," and that if a nuclear test ban treaty was concluded, the U.S. "military position might well be more secure."

U.S. Under-Secretary of State, Averell Harriman, went a step further when he said on June 21, "One of the reasons why we had hoped we could come to an agreement with the Soviet Union and the British on a test ban was that that might stop the proliferation [of nuclear weapons] and that we could work together to prevent China from getting a nuclear capability."

Obviously, the United States proposal for the cessation of nuclear testing is an out-and-out fraud.

Test Ban Gives False Sense of Security

What is of more serious consequence is that to cease nuclear tests according to the U.S. proposal may give rise to a false sense of security among the peoples and lull their vigilance in their struggle to defend peace. In September 1961 the Soviet Government correctly pointed out in its memorandum on nuclear weapon tests to the 16th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, "It became clear that the conclusion of a separate treaty on discontinuing nuclear tests at a time when the Western powers were pursuing

a reckless arms race could only create a general illusion that something was being done to prevent a nuclear war, whereas the Western powers were actually pushing matters precisely to such a war.

"The conclusion of a treaty on discontinuing nuclear tests in such an atmosphere and in isolation from a programme for general and complete disarmament could only give the peoples of the world a false sense of security, and would act as a kind of drug to lull their vigilance on the question of the preservation of peace."

Thus, if this U.S. fraud should succeed, the pursuit of nuclear blackmail and the danger of a nuclear war would not be reduced but would increase greatly.

U.S. Has No Intention to Ban Nuclear Arms

What serves to reveal the sinister motives of the United States most tellingly is its proposal for partial cessation of nuclear tests to the exclusion of the underground ones. This proposal clearly shows that it has no intention at all of prohibiting nuclear weapons.

H. Bethe, former member of the U.S. President's Science Advisory Committee and Counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission and Defence Department, said that the United States must carry on underground tests because such tests had a practical military effect. Everybody knows that through underground tests the capability of strategic nuclear weapons can be improved and tactical nuclear weapons tested and developed. The U.S. underground nuclear tests in the recent period were conducted for these very purposes.

Some kind-hearted people may believe that cessation of nuclear tests, whether total or partial, represents a step forward towards a total ban on nuclear weapons and therefore should be welcomed. In view of the fact that the U.S. atmospheric nuclear tests in the Pacific have seriously threatened the health and even lives of inhabitants in this region, peoples' pressing desire for the cessation of these tests is legitimate and fully understandable. But we should not allow imperialism to exploit this desire to attain an objective contrary to the wishes of the broad masses of the people.

At present the nuclear powers have acquired technical data necessary to them through a series of nuclear tests. They not only have already stockpiled large numbers of nuclear weapons but are also continuing to manufacture them. In these circumstances the step that is of real practical significance is not to cease nuclear testing alone but first of all to make these countries undertake the obligation not to use and manufacture nuclear weapons. If nuclear testing alone is discontinued while those countries already in possession of nuclear weapons are allowed to continue manufacturing and stockpiling them and retain the right to use them, of what significance would such discontinuance of nuclear testing be? The cessation of nuclear tests will have positive significance only when it forms a component part of a programme for general disarmament and the total prohibition of nuclear weapons. If one undertakes to stop nuclear testing as a separate measure, it will be playing right into the hands

of the United States, and running counter to the aspirations of the world's peoples for a total prohibition of nuclear weapons and for the prevention of nuclear war.

We are in favour of achieving a total prohibition of nuclear weapons stage by stage. This goal may be attained by following the procedure mentioned above, or its attainment may be promoted by the establishment and expansion of nuclear weapon-free zones. Both methods hinge on the fact that the countries possessing nuclear weapons must undertake practical obligations. The Chinese Government proposed long ago that Asia and the Pacific region be turned into a nuclear weapon-free zone. The proposal clearly stipulates that the United States must be included and undertake the same obligations. We consider the establishment and expansion of other nuclear weapon-free zones to be helpful in diminishing the scope of activity of the nuclear powers and helpful to the prevention of nuclear war. But, inasmuch as nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles have been developed as they are today, it is only when the nuclear powers undertake obligations and show respect for the nuclear weapon-free zones that the aspirations of the people there can be fulfilled.

Test Ban Will Not Stop U.S. Nuclear Proliferation

U.S. imperialism is doing its best to publicize the claim that an end to nuclear testing can prevent nuclear proliferation and reduce the danger of a nuclear war. This, too, is deceptive talk. The danger of a nuclear war comes from the United States. So long as the United States possesses nuclear weapons the danger of a nuclear war will always exist, whether or not it proliferates such weapons among other Western countries. It is true that in order to maintain its nuclear monopoly in the imperialist camp, and prevent its allies from acquiring an independent nuclear force, U.S. imperialism is engaged in bitter strife with its allies, especially with France. But one cannot infer from this that the United States will not proliferate nuclear weapons among its allies. On the contrary, if the United States can place its allies under its control through the adoption of such projects as the "multilateral nuclear force," there is every possibility that it may supply its allies not only with nuclear weapons but also with technical data on their manufacture, to enable these countries to make and stockpile nuclear weapons, thus increasing the power of the imperialist camp to carry out nuclear blackmail against the peoples of the world. What grounds are there for saying that an agreement on termination or partial termination of nuclear tests can serve the purpose of hindering the United States from proliferating nuclear weapons? To put it bluntly, the U.S. intention is not at all to manacle the other imperialist countries but to manacle the socialist countries.

The peoples throughout the world are following closely the tripartite talks in Moscow. If the talks should fail to contribute positively to a total ban on nuclear weapons, they should at least not produce a negative effect. It was reported that before the talks began, the Soviet Government had already expressed willingness to reach an agreement with the United States on a partial cessation of nuclear tests. This situation causes us concern. Proceeding from our consistent stand of opposing imperialism

and of preserving world peace, we consider it our duty to expose thoroughly the U.S. fraud in connection with termination or partial termination of nuclear tests. We hope that the Soviet Union will not fall into this trap.

World peace is being seriously threatened by the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail. All peace-loving countries and peoples in the world are pressing eagerly for a total ban on nuclear weapons and for the prevention of nuclear war. U.S. imperialism is cunning. We must in no circumstances allow

it to attain its war purposes by taking advantage of our desire for peace. The people of the world must heighten their vigilance against the U.S. imperialist conspiratorial schemes in connection with the termination or partial termination of nuclear tests. No matter how long the road of struggle may be, we will certainly attain our goal so long as we remain cool-headed, follow a correct policy and persist in struggle. The outcome of the struggle can only be the elimination of nuclear weapons by man and not of man by nuclear weapons.

Report on the Moscow World Congress of Women

by YANG YUN-YU

Leader of the Chinese Women's Delegation

Following is a translation of the report given by Yang Yun-yu to the July 18 Peking mass rally which welcomed home the delegation. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

Comrades:

On behalf of Chinese women throughout the country, we, the Chinese Women's Delegation, participated in the World Congress of Women held in Moscow with a full sense of the heavy responsibility of defending world peace and upholding the fundamental interests of women and the people and with the sincere desire of strengthening the unity of the women of all countries.

A Most Disgraceful and Undemocratic Congress

As a result of manipulation by N.V. Popova, leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and Vice-President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, and by some other leaders of the W.I.D.F., the congress made a very bad showing.

The congress lasted six days from June 24 to 29. It was announced that 1,289 delegates and 136 observers from 113 countries participated in the congress; there were also 116 guests. Apart from the five congress reports and the speeches made during its sessions, six commissions — to deal with the general document, peace and disarmament, national independence, the rights of women, children's questions and the Programme for the Activities of the W.I.D.F. — were set up to draft the relevant documents and submit proposals. An "Appeal to the Women of the World" devoid of revolutionary content was imposed on the congress; an opportunist Programme for the Activities of the W.I.D.F. was forced through at a meeting of national organizations of the W.I.D.F. held during the congress and a new Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F. was elected by the most undemocratic methods. Prior to the congress, the W.I.D.F. held Executive Bureau and Council meetings.

The congress was convened on the eve of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and at a time when

the Kennedy Administration, under the smokescreen of "peace," is actively engaged in an arms drive and war preparations and is stepping up the big conspiracy of its "strategy of peace." All the women of the world expected that the congress would carry forward the revolutionary traditions of anti-imperialism and democracy of the W.I.D.F., that it would make positive contributions to the unity of all the women of the world, and to the strengthening of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for world peace, and to the cause of winning and safeguarding the rights of women and children. But most disappointingly the congress ran completely counter to the aspirations and fundamental interests of the women and people of the world. The two documents forced through the congress are extremely harmful to the world women's movement; they discarded the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist tasks of the movement and tampered with its revolutionary and progressive line. The organizers of the congress, bowing to the will of the imperialists and particularly Kennedy, the common enemy of the people of the world, and flouting the aspirations of the masses of women in Asia, Africa and Latin America, imposed their wrong political line on the congress and enforced that line by means of a wrong organizational line. They pursued a pro-U.S. and anti-China and pro-Indian reactionaries and anti-socialist China line. They carefully planned an anti-China chorus. They engaged in a series of sectarian and splitting activities, rudely trampled underfoot the democratic principles of the W.I.D.F. and undermined the unity of the world women's movement. It was the most disgraceful and most undemocratic congress in the history of the W.I.D.F. It gave a profound lesson by negative example to the women and people of the world.

It was not an accident that this distressing situation should have arisen at the congress. We have to point out that this resulted from the fact that certain leaders of the W.I.D.F. have for a long time separated themselves from the basic demands of women in various countries, and particularly from the fact that the leader of the Soviet women's movement waved batons in the W.I.D.F.

Resolution of Support for Actions of Chinese Women's Delegation Adopted by Peking Rally of Welcome

July 18, 1963

WE, people from various walks of life in our capital, have gathered today at a grand meeting to give a warm welcome to the Chinese Women's Delegation returned from the World Congress of Women in Moscow and to hear a report by Yang Yun-yu, leader of the delegation, on how it took part in the congress. We completely support the actions of our country's delegation at the congress. The Chinese delegation, together with women delegates from other countries who oppose imperialism and want revolution and democracy, firmly upheld the correct line of opposing U.S.-led imperialism and colonialism, old and new, defending world peace, winning and safeguarding national independence, striving for people's democracy and social progress and defending the rights of women and children. Defying all kinds of pressure, the Chinese Women's Delegation courageously and determinedly repudiated the erroneous line which sets general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence as the overriding central task of the international women's movement; it frustrated the unbridled anti-China chorus; and, with great patience and self-restraint, it waged a sharp, intense struggle against the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the Women's International Democratic Federation who insisted on the erroneous line and on opposition to China. All this fully demonstrates the noble quality of the Chinese people and women who defend truth and uphold justice, and their correct stand of persevering in principle, eliminating differences, strengthening unity and waging a common struggle against the enemy.

We firmly support the Chinese Women's Delegation in voting against the "Programme for the Activities of the Women's International Democratic Federation" and the "Appeal to the Women of All Countries" of the congress, which were rammed through as a result of pressure exerted by the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F.

We resolutely condemn the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. for flagrantly instigating an anti-China chorus at the congress. We resolutely condemn their arrogance and arbitrariness, their violation of democracy and their sectarian and splitting activities. Under their manipulation and control, the congress set the worst precedent in the history of international democratic organizations.

Despite the fact that the congress was badly run, we are firmly convinced that demand for revolution and emancipation is the pressing common aspiration of the women of the world and that no force can change the correct direction of the world women's movement. The correct line adhered to by the Chinese women and the rest of the Chinese people fully accords with the fundamental interests of the women and other people of the world. Truth is on our side. Any activity designed to isolate us from the women and other people of the world is of no avail. The Chinese women and the rest of the Chinese people will always stand united with the women and other people of all countries and struggle for the complete victory of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

to enforce their erroneous line. Certain Soviet comrades have reduced the general line of the foreign policy of socialist countries to the single aspect of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition, and oppose the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries to the struggle for world peace. Moreover, disregarding the demands of the masses represented by the W.I.D.F. to oppose imperialism and colonialism and to strive for and safeguard national independence, they imposed their own will on the W.I.D.F., thus turning this organization into an instrument serving one country's foreign policy. In these circumstances, serious differences of principle arose on the question of the line of the W.I.D.F. To sum up: these differences relate to whether imperialism is to be opposed or not; whether or not disarmament and peaceful coexistence are to be taken as the dominant central task; whether the national-independence movement is to be supported or not; whether or not it should one-sidedly serve the needs of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union; and whether principles are to be abandoned for the sake of broad unity with people of all social strata. The efforts made by the Soviet comrades to carry through their erroneous line in the W.I.D.F. have on many occasions

met with resistance. They have used all kinds of despicable means to attain their purposes and this was developed to a new height at the congress.

In face of this situation, the Chinese Women's Delegation could not but come forward. In accordance with the policy of "persevering in principle, strengthening unity, eliminating differences and waging a common struggle against the enemy," the Chinese delegation, together with the delegations from Albania, Korea, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Japan and many other Asian, African and Latin American countries, held high the revolutionary banner of opposing imperialism and colonialism, old and new, of winning and safeguarding national independence and defending world peace, and waged a resolute struggle against the handful of people who insisted on an erroneous line; this it did in order to safeguard the fundamental interests of the broad masses of women and children, to uphold the correct line of the world's women's movement and the revolutionary traditions and democratic principles of the W.I.D.F. Although the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. were outrageously rude to the Chinese delega-

tion and took a series of hostile actions against it, we, on our part, still treasured unity, and the fundamental interests of the people and women of the world, exercised the utmost patience and restraint, expounded our own correct position and proposals, criticized and exposed their mistakes, and condemned their schemes to oppose and isolate China, and strengthened unity with the delegates of the various countries. This upright, fair and reasonable attitude of the Chinese delegation had the sympathy and support of the delegates of the various countries. (*Applause.*)

Acute Struggle Between Two Lines

This struggle is absolutely necessary. It is not only a struggle to uphold the basic interests of women and children; it is also a struggle connected with the cause of strengthening the unity of the world's people, opposing imperialism and defending world peace.

Let me now tell you something about the course of this grave struggle.

The struggle between two lines ran through the congress from first to last. This was shown most clearly in regard to the following questions.

1. Concerning the problem as to whether imperialism, and first of all, U.S. imperialism, is to be opposed or not. Struggle against imperialism is not only the common demand of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples but also the demand of the peoples in the capitalist countries in Europe and North America. It is only natural that the W.I.D.F., reflecting the demand of the progressive women of the whole world, should call upon and lead the masses of women in waging struggles against imperialism. However, the most astonishing thing is that differences occurred even on this question which is a matter of common sense. **The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. not only refrained from condemning imperialism but instead did their utmost to prettify imperialism in their speeches.** Madame Eugenie Cotton, President of the W.I.D.F., said openly: "And should we not rejoice . . . at the will for peace expressed by the American people and which is conveyed in the speech President Kennedy has just made at the graduation ceremony of the Washington University? [Should be American University — *Tr.*] In that speech he recognized the necessity for peaceful co-existence." She added: "Isn't it encouraging that the two great nuclear powers and Great Britain have agreed to attempt, during a meeting to be held in Moscow next July, to conclude a treaty for the total ban of nuclear tests?" Dolores Ibarruri, Honorary Vice-President of the W.I.D.F. and President of the Spanish Communist Party, went so far as to pin her hopes on Mrs. Kennedy. (*Laughter.*) She said ingratiatingly: "Yes. We intend to come to an understanding even with Mrs. Kennedy with regard to the question of the struggle for peace, if Mrs. Kennedy, who is also a mother, should express readiness to co-operate with the women of the whole world in the cause of defending the lives of their children from the menace of war and death."

It is truly astonishing that leaders of the W.I.D.F. should have made such speeches in which the revolutionary stand is missing.

These people do not oppose imperialism themselves, nor do they allow others to do so. They attempted by

every possible means to weaken the anti-imperialist content of the congress reports and documents and strike out from these documents words about opposition to imperialism. They are as scared of references to opposition to imperialism as a child is of monsters.

The original draft of the report on peace and disarmament made by the Japanese delegate on behalf of the congress devoted a great deal of space to exposure of the criminal acts of U.S. imperialism. The whole report was permeated with the central idea of the need to oppose imperialist policies of war and aggression; it was originally a good report reflecting the basic demands of the women of the world. But N.V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, and certain leaders of the W.I.D.F. were from first to last hostile to this report and determined to reject it. They racked their brains to tamper with it. At the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F. held prior to the opening of the congress, they repeatedly exerted pressure and forced the Japanese delegate to make revisions. They said that too many references to "imperialism" were too irritating. (*Laughter.*) They could not even tolerate the statement that U.S. imperialism was the enemy of peace and insisted on striking it out of the documents. **Yvonne Dumont, the General Secretary of the Union of French Women, even made the fallacious statement that if imperialism was said to be the enemy of peace, women would be alienated and the forces of peace weakened, which would be favourable to imperialism.** They used every despicable method to force the Japanese delegate to yield ground; they even accused her of imposing the line of the minority on the congress.

Similar things happened in regard to the report drafted by the Cuban delegate on behalf of the congress on the question of health, upbringing and education of children and youth. In this report the Cuban delegate censured imperialism headed by the United States and colonialism, old and new, for the sufferings they brought to children and young people, and pointed out that for their happiness imperialism must be opposed. N.V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, and certain leaders of the W.I.D.F. showed extreme alarm and worry over the report and one of them went so far as to say that the report "is an atomic bomb," (*laughter*) and must be drastically revised. The original report contained more than 30 pages, but it was forcibly cut by more than ten pages, and almost all passages revealing the U.S. imperialist crimes of aggression and plunder were deleted. However, this did not satisfy them. In discussing the revised version, Vaillant-Couturier, Vice-President of the W.I.D.F. and Member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, suddenly held it up, saying that there were typing errors and the version must be further revised. The fact was that what they wanted was not to correct the technical errors of typing but to cut out that part exposing the colonialist and imperialist powers' use of Africans as slaves, about Algeria waging seven years of bloody struggle and the workers and peasants in the capitalist countries being the cheapest of commodities for the imperialists. This is the way they protect and serve the imperialists!

Popova and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. not only misused the powers entrusted to them by the women

of the countries represented at the congress and emasculated the anti-imperialist content of these documents, but also manufactured extremely mistaken documents according to their own ideas, which ran counter to the interests of the masses of women. Two such products are the **"Programme for the Activities of the W.I.D.F."** whose adoption was forced through at the meeting of the national organizations of the W.I.D.F. and the **"Appeal to the Women of the World"** adopted at the congress. These two documents fail to point out that imperialism headed by the United States is the enemy of peace and the source of war. They fail to point out that an important cause of the sufferings of women and children lies in imperialism. These two documents simply contain meaningless cries about the rights of women and children, friendship and unity. Unhealthy sentiments were spread among the masses of women, as well as all kinds of illusions and the horrors of war and nuclear weapons. These documents certainly do not bring any good to the world women's movement; they merely benefit imperialism. They are bound to be rejected by the broad masses of women of all lands.

In complete contrast to the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., many delegates from the Asian, African and Latin American countries and from the capitalist countries in Europe and North America expressed the view that it is essential to oppose imperialism resolutely in order to safeguard the interests of the women and children of the world. The Japanese and Cuban delegates were subjected to great pressure in the course of revising the reports they drafted. But the Japanese delegate, in her speech at the congress, nevertheless condemned the U.S. imperialist crimes in forcing ahead the arms drive and war preparations and in setting up military bases, and the Cuban delegate continued to hold aloft the banner of the Second Havana Declaration. Delegates from the African countries just freed from imperialist and colonialist rule and fighting a life-and-death struggle against imperialism and colonialism, also strongly expressed the same views. The delegate from Comoro said that after more than 100 years of imperialist rule, the people of her country lived in the utmost misery and that they could not continue to live unless imperialism were thrown out. **The Chinese delegation, together with the delegations from Albania, Korea, Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Indonesia, Laos, Zanzibar, Southwest Africa, Mozambique, Angola and Venezuela, in the speeches at the general and group meetings and in their written statements, repeatedly and clearly expounded the principled stand and attitude that struggles must be waged against imperialism.** The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. could do nothing to refute the just stand and attitude against imperialism taken by large numbers of delegates. But they were determined to go their own way and acted truculently in order to put into effect their erroneous line of seeking a compromise with imperialism. The diehard and extremely wrong attitude they took is bound to be condemned by history and life.

2. On the question of how to realize the demand of the broad sections of women to check imperialist wars of aggression and defend world peace. Differences of principle also arose on this question. In the opinion of the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain

other leaders of the W.I.D.F., in order to check imperialist wars of aggression and defend world peace, there is no need to expose the enemy of peace and to rely on the struggles of the peoples in various countries and the national-liberation movement. In their view, war can be avoided and world peace ensured only if the leaders of a few big powers can reach a certain understanding on international issues, only if the charity of Kennedy and his like is aroused and only if the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples coexist with imperialism in complete obedience and make no trouble.

Starting from this point, they did their best to play up the role of the heads of the big powers. In her report Madame Cotton said: "Our congress opens in auspicious circumstances since the problem closest to women's hearts, that of peace, has become the chief concern of the heads of government of the greatest nuclear powers." An Italian delegate even said: "Some great men such as the Pope, the Soviet Premier and President Kennedy have issued statements of peace (*laughter from all the audience*) and showed a great sense of responsibility."

They tried to clothe the wolf in a sheep skin, and paint Kennedy, chieftain of imperialism, as an angel of peace. We frequently heard nauseating praises of Kennedy.

They tried to scare people by making alarming and sensational statements about war and nuclear weapons in an attempt to blunt the vigour of the people's struggle and tie their hands. Madame Cotton said, ". . . and now there are bombs millions of times more powerful than those of Hiroshima . . . which can make whole continents disappear." N.V. Popova of the Soviet Union said in her opening speech: "In our time, the peoples are menaced by the threat of a destructive atomic war, which — should it break out — will not leave untouched any region of the world. . . ." Madame Vermeersch, Vice-President of the Union of French Women and the wife of Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, declared, "It's indeed war that we women are afraid of," (*laughter*) and added, "we gather here with fear and hope," "it is a question of either peace or death." (*Laughter.*)

Delegates of many countries adopted a stand which was completely opposed to that of the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. on the question of how to check imperialist wars and defend world peace. The Chinese delegates and those of many other countries unequivocally expressed their ardent love for peace and at the same time pointed out that in order to prevent imperialist wars of aggression and defend world peace it was necessary to expose widely and profoundly the enemy of peace, imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, to rely on the struggles of the broad masses of the people, to support the liberation movements of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and to combat resolutely those forces which, with their ulterior motives, try to benumb the fighting spirit of the people and to obstruct their struggle. The delegates of many countries, especially those from Asia, Africa and Latin America, sharply repudiated the erroneous arguments in this respect advanced by the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. However hard the organizers of the congress tried to repress them, many delegates gallantly and

wrathfully tore off the peace camouflage of U.S. imperialism and expressed their just stand of defending peace through struggle. The Zanzibar delegate said: "We must unite and wage a resolute struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. Of course, some will have to sacrifice their life in the struggle, but this cannot intimidate us. We would rather die while standing than live fawning like a dog." (*Applause.*) The Venezuelan delegate said: "No matter how much blood we shall have to shed, we shall fight on until victory is won."

In this principled struggle, the Chinese delegation, together with the various other delegations opposing the erroneous line, from first to last took a firm stand and an unequivocal attitude, exerted its utmost efforts and made its own contributions (*applause*), and at the same time, won widespread sympathy and respect.

3. The question whether general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence are the overriding tasks of the women's movement. This was the most hotly debated point. The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. had worked deliberately to make disarmament and peaceful coexistence the central and overriding tasks of the international women's movement. They practically described disarmament and peaceful coexistence as a sovereign remedy to save the world. The Soviet delegate said: "General and complete disarmament is an extremely important precondition for enduring peace." The French delegate said: "Disarmament and peace are the questions of primary importance in our time." She spoke of "general and complete disarmament which alone is efficacious because it makes provision for all controls." They also attempted to deceive others by saying that once disarmament is realized national independence and the happiness of women and children are assured. Madame Cotton declared that "disarmament would serve as a guarantee of independence of all peoples" and "it would make it possible to use all the wealth of the world for the good of mankind. As a result of disarmament the powers could save 3,000,000 million dollars in 25 years. This is precisely the value of all wealth accumulated throughout the world by mankind in the course of thousands of years." Someone even alleged that general and complete disarmament was "the only way out." The Yugoslav delegate claimed that "positive coexistence" was the "overriding question" now facing the women's movement and that "the only alternative to war is to strive for positive coexistence." Some others alleged: "Only in conditions of peace and only when the peaceful coexistence of countries having different social systems becomes a reality, can the struggle for women's rights in the capitalist countries and the women's struggle for emancipation in the colonies and in countries newly freed from colonial oppression proceed smoothly."

The congress "Appeal to the Women of the World" and the "Programme for the Activities of the W.I.D.F." concocted from beginning to end by the leader of the Soviet delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., are permeated by the idea that general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence are the overriding tasks.

This absurd viewpoint evoked strong opposition from the delegations of China, Albania, Korea, Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Indonesia, Japan and many other Asian, African

and Latin American countries. The Korean delegate solemnly pointed out: "It will only harm the struggle for national liberation to preach that disarmament is the task of primary importance for the oppressed peoples who are now waging struggles and at the same time to insist that if we ensure peaceful coexistence and realize disarmament this will naturally bring national independence with it. We must never beg imperialism for independence, freedom and peace; we must win them through struggle." The Indonesian delegate said: "We believe that the demand for disarmament cannot be easily realized because it meets with strong opposition from imperialism. We maintain therefore that there is a pressing need to launch an unrelenting struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism, a struggle in which women must take an active part." The Japanese delegate said: "Imperialism, while paying lip-service to peace and disarmament, is actually pursuing a dual policy; it is carrying on aggressive wars and an arms race. Therefore, the women of the whole world must have enough vigilance not to be fascinated by fine words." The Zanzibar delegate declared: "We should not allow ourselves to be fooled by the imperialist 'policy of peace.' Imperialism will never disarm voluntarily. . . . To hope that imperialism will disarm is like expecting a man-eating tiger to go to a dentist to have its fangs removed." (*Warm applause.*)

Delegates from many countries strongly refuted the preposterous arguments of the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. who arbitrarily extended the concept of peaceful coexistence to include relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed countries and oppressor countries and between oppressed classes and oppressor classes. The delegate from Southwest Africa said: "Don't endlessly and enthusiastically preach so-called peaceful coexistence with imperialism at the expense of us, the suffering peoples of various countries." Some other delegates said: "Many of our friends at home are either in jail or have been sacrificed. How could we 'coexist peacefully' with imperialism? Is it not a betrayal of the motherland if we agree with their line of disarmament and peaceful coexistence?" (*Applause.*)

4. On the question of how to treat the national-liberation movement of the oppressed nations. At the congress, certain persons erroneously opposed the national-liberation movement to the struggle for the defence of world peace, and divorced it from the movement for the emancipation of women.

They paid lavish lip-service to support of the national-independence movement, but their deeds proved just the opposite. While the congress was in session, the delegations from Laos, south Viet Nam, Korea, Venezuela, Southwest Africa and other countries, which are struggling heroically against imperialism, repeatedly appealed to the congress to adopt separate resolutions in support of their peoples' struggles for liberation. Those who ran the congress turned a deaf ear to these appeals and thus completely exposed themselves as hypocrites whose actions do not tally with their words.

Their erroneous views were severely and justly refuted by the delegates from China and other countries. The Albanian delegate pointed out: "The national-liberation wars waged by the enslaved people are anti-

imperialist wars which deal imperialism powerful blows, undermining its foundations and weakening its strength. Such wars are favourable to peace." She added: "Any action to oppose the national-liberation wars to the struggle in defence of peace, any action to hinder these wars under various pretexts, not only do not conform with the vital interests of the peoples who are struggling to rid themselves of imperialism, but will also bring great damage to the cause of safeguarding peace and international security." The Korean delegate pointed out the correct path for the struggle for national independence. She said: "Only by launching attacks against the imperialists from various sides and by tying their hands with all kinds of methods of struggles, can we win national independence and liberation, the rights of women and the happy future of the younger generations, and the victory of the great cause of lasting world peace." The delegate from Laos said: Our historical experience has taught us that to defend national independence we must wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism. We are deeply aware that only after the attainment of national independence can the rights of women and the happiness of children be thoroughly realized. Women's emancipation must be linked with the struggle for national liberation. Many delegates complained during the recess: It seems that they have forgotten their past struggles against imperialism. Now that they have become rich, they don't care about the sufferings and sacrifices others are experiencing under imperialist oppression.

The activities of the leader of the Soviet delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. in doing their utmost to negate the national-independence movement have not only alienated them from the progressive women of the world, and particularly from the broad masses of Asian, African and Latin American women who are in the storm of the national-liberation struggle, but have also led to the weakness which is being shown in the women's emancipation movement under the influence of the W.I.D.F.

5. The question of whether or not the women's movement can be separated from the current, common struggle of the broad masses. Certain persons did all they could to vulgarize the lofty feelings and sentiments of women and mothers. Dolores Ibarruri talked glibly at the congress about charming womanhood and women's moral beauty. (Laughter.) Some persons talked much about women who "grieve in fear of war." In its proposal to the W.I.D.F., the Union of French Women said: "Mother love is the basis of women's unity." (Laughter.) Some persons confined women's function to motherhood, giving birth to and looking after children. (Laughter.) On the surface, these views seemed to take no notice of politics, but they actually involved a very big political question. Their aim was to exclude women from political life. If these views were accepted, women would never win complete emancipation. The broad masses of women must on no account allow themselves to be pushed around at will by others. No one can cut them off from the current struggle of the broad masses of the people. The erroneous views expressed were refuted by an African delegate in her speech. She said: "It is impossible to oppose imperialism without the participation of women. (Applause.) Many African women are waging a revolu-

tionary struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence." (Applause.)

Soviet Delegation Leader Conducted Anti-China Chorus

From what has been said above, it is clear to us that the struggle between two lines was extremely sharp and acute at the World Congress of Women. Our Party and country have persevered in the correct line of anti-imperialism and revolution in the international struggle; the Chinese Women's Delegation at the congress energetically defended the correct line of the international women's movement. As a result, we incurred the bitter hatred of those who persisted in the erroneous line. **Marshalling all elements hostile to China, they staged one anti-China farce after another. They deliberately blockaded and attacked the Chinese delegation; they spread rumours and slanders inside and outside the congress hall, vilifying the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. What warrants special mention is that the Indian delegate at the instigation of the organizers of the congress launched unbridled attacks against China on the morning of June 26 by raising at the congress the Sino-Indian boundary question, something which had nothing to do with the theme of the congress.**

As early as March this year, at the Berlin meeting of the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F., the Soviet delegate Popova openly supported the Indian delegate's demand that the Bureau pass a resolution on the Sino-Indian boundary question. But this failed because of our resolute opposition. Before this congress, in her letter to the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F., the Indian delegate once again distorted the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question, slandered China as having committed aggression against India and submitted a draft resolution. The Chinese delegate at that time strongly refuted this and resolutely expressed her disagreement to raising at the women's congress a boundary question between two Asian countries. The Chinese delegate also informed Carmen Zanti of Italy, General Secretary of the W.I.D.F., that if the Indian delegate were allowed to attack China at the congress, the Chinese delegate should have the right to reply. In her reply, Carmen Zanti went so far as to say that if we no longer persisted in our views on the question of the line of the women's movement, then consideration might also be given to refraining from passing any resolution on the Sino-Indian boundary question. This meant a demand that the Chinese delegate should barter away principles. How shameful this was! Of course, we had no alternative but to reject this demand categorically and strongly refute it. It was under these circumstances that the Indian delegate's scheme to use the rostrum of the World Congress of Women to attack China was eventually realized with the support of the organizers of the congress.

In her speech at the congress on June 26, the Indian delegate mainly repeated the shop-worn arguments of Nehru, demanding that China should first accept *in toto* the Colombo proposals with India's own interpretations attached. She thanked the Soviet Union for the sympathy and support it gave to India at what she called the "most critical moment," and declared that this had encouraged the Indian women. Obviously, this speech had

been carefully planned. But for the planned arrangements and energetic support given by the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., the Indian delegate's attacks against China could never have erupted at the World Congress of Women held in Moscow. **It is not difficult for clear-sighted people to see what inglorious a role the leader of the Soviet delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. played in the anti-China chorus.**

As the Indian delegate was using the rostrum of the World Congress of Women for an open attack on China, the Chinese delegation, according to the procedure, immediately asked the executive chairman for the floor. **When the Indian delegate concluded her speech, Kuo Chien, deputy leader of the Chinese delegation, went to the rostrum, preparing to speak. But the executive chairman rudely stopped her, rang the bell and declared the session adjourned. At this moment, the loudspeakers were disconnected and then the lights were switched off. Many delegates were indignant at this farce in which the democratic principles and normal practice observed in such international conferences were violated by allowing the Indian delegate to attack China but forbidding the Chinese delegate to reply. Despite the chairman's announcement of adjournment, crowds stayed at the conference hall for a long time. The leader and deputy leader of the Japanese delegation mounted the rostrum to protest against forbidding the Chinese delegate to speak. Afterwards, the delegates from Albania, Korea and Indonesia respectively sent written protests to the congress. Delegates from 18 Asian and African countries, including Korea, Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Mozambique and Kenya, signed a joint demand that the Indian delegate withdraw that part of her speech concerning the Sino-Indian boundary question and that the congress respect the right of the Chinese delegate to reply. (Applause.)**

On June 29, the last day of the congress, the executive chairman suddenly announced before the adjournment in the morning that the Chinese delegate was given three minutes to speak. In her reply to the Indian delegate's speech, the Chinese delegate pointed out its deceitful nature, expressed the Chinese people's desire to live in friendship with the Indian people for generations to come and at the same time solemnly denounced certain persons for using the rostrum of the World Congress of Women to engage in anti-China activities. But the Chinese delegate's speech was again arbitrarily interrupted by the executive chairman and immediate arrangements were made at the congress for the Indian delegate to make another speech against China. The Chinese delegation and the women and men of China cannot but feel distressed and regretful that such flagrant anti-China activities should have taken place at the World Congress of Women held in Moscow.

The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. cannot harm us in the least by striking up an anti-China chorus in Moscow. On the contrary, it has exposed them before the people of the world. No matter what pains they have taken to isolate China, sympathy is with the Chinese delegation. Seeing with their own eyes the two anti-China farces on June 26 and 29, many delegations voiced their indignation. The Korean delegation in its statement said: "It expressed

its surprise at the use of the congress as a rostrum for an anti-China campaign. Some members of the executive body of the congress not only gave the Indian delegate permission to raise provocatively the Sino-Indian boundary question which should not be discussed by the World Congress of Women, and to deliver a speech to slander and damage the People's Republic of China, but also even came openly to their defence. But the Chinese women's delegate who asked for the floor to answer the slanders of the Indian delegate was subjected to attacks and forbidden to speak." Madame Umi Sardjono, leader of the Indonesian delegation, said in her statement: "I must express our great regret that such an event should have taken place at the World Congress of Women held in Moscow. We hope that there will be no repetition of such events." Several African delegates told the Chinese delegation that the effort to harm the Chinese delegates was tantamount to harming them too. A U.S. delegate also told us that she had felt sick at heart the day the chairman rang the bell and forbade the Chinese delegate to speak. She had never imagined that women could be so rude to women. Precisely because sympathy was on the side of China, the directors of the anti-China chorus, although they could instigate the Indian delegate to attack China, dared not after all put before the congress their previously prepared draft resolution which favoured India against China. This showed that they themselves knew that such things could not bear the light of day.

Soviet Delegation Leader and Some Other W.I.D.F. Leaders Pushed the Organizational Line Of Sectarianism, Splittism and Great-Power Chauvinism

An acute and bitter struggle took place at the World Congress of Women not only on the question of its political line but also on the question of its organizational line. The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F., in order to carry out their erroneous political line, must inevitably pursue a completely wrong organizational line, one of sectarianism, splittism and great-power chauvinism. I will now deal with specific problems in regard to this.

1. The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. completely ignored the broad masses of women of the world. They do not want to orient the activities of the W.I.D.F. towards the broad masses of the women of the world. They are only too eager to fall in with the wishes of a small group of women of the upper social strata in the European and North American capitalist countries and make compromises with them, confining the activities of the W.I.D.F. within this small circle of women of the upper social strata, and turning the W.I.D.F. into their "club."

The various continents were represented at the congress very disproportionately and the rights enjoyed by the delegates from small countries and by those from big countries were far from equal. Of the 1,289 delegates who attended the congress, nearly 700 came from 27 European countries, more than 100 came from the United States and Canada, and 115 from the German Democratic Republic, West Germany and West Berlin, while less than 100 came from 34 African countries and less than 250 from 23 Asian countries. The total number of delegates from Asia, Af-

rica and Latin America was less than that from the European countries. In her opening speech, N.V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, boasted that the congress is "the most representative assembly in the history of the international co-operation of women." But, what kind of "representative" was it, pray?

Such a situation, it must be pointed out, was brought about deliberately by the leader of the Soviet Women's Committee which was host to the congress. Early in April this year, they had already formed the "Soviet Committee to Assist the Preparation and Convening of the World Congress of Women." To ensure that their erroneous line would get majority support from participating delegates, the leader of the Soviet Women's Committee ignored some member organizations of the W.I.D.F. and arbitrarily invited people whom they deemed "suitable" and gave them plane tickets. They placed various obstacles in the way of a number of women delegates of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America so that these countries were unable to send bigger delegations to the congress. This way of doing things caused many delegates to be dissatisfied; one British woman delegate had this to say: Most of those invited by the congress are women of the middle and upper social strata while working women do not have the chance to attend. They just do not have the money to come as tourists at their own expense. Our Soviet friends talk all day long about what they call the well-known figures; people are tired of hearing that.

In view of the unfairness of the fact that most delegates to the congress came from the European and North American countries while there were relatively few delegates from Asian, African and Latin American countries, the Chinese delegation and delegates from many other countries put forward the proposal that in accordance with the principle of equality among big and small nations, the system of one country one vote, or a limited number of votes, be followed when the documents of the congress were voted on. They objected to the voting method proposed by the W.I.D.F. that the system of one country one vote be followed in adopting the programme while the system of one delegate one vote be followed for the adoption of congress documents. A heated argument about this occurred at the meeting of the heads of delegations. The manipulators of the congress asserted that the meeting of the heads of delegations was not entitled to make any decision and shifted the question to the presidium for further discussion. However, no meeting of the presidium was ever called. As a result, when the "Appeal to the Women of the World" was put to the vote, it was still a mystery as to how the votes were counted.

2. Throughout the congress, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other W.I.D.F. leaders, in order to push through their erroneous political line, adopted the most undemocratic practices in imposing their views on others. They manipulated the congress and wantonly suppressed those holding a correct view by violating the most elementary democratic principles to be observed in an international democratic organization, by trampling under foot the most elementary democratic rights of the delegates of various countries and by resorting to all kinds of the crudest means. Their way of doing this has set the worst possible precedents for international democratic organizations.

Madame Cotton's report was made on behalf of the W.I.D.F., it involved the line and orientation of the W.I.D.F. An important report like this should have been fully discussed at meetings of the Executive Bureau and the Council of the W.I.D.F. and approved by them before being submitted to the congress. But disregarding the democratic principles of international mass organizations, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. actually refused to allow the Executive Bureau and Council of the W.I.D.F. to discuss the report. When the delegations of China and other countries asked for a discussion on it, some person even declared that daughters could not discuss their mamma's report. (*Laughter from all the audience.*) It was said that discussion meant distrust of her and lack of respect for her. Some persons even fooled the delegates by saying that the report was not a general report but one on ordinary activities. So, they claimed, there was no need for discussion. As a result, Madame Cotton's report was delivered to the congress without being discussed by the W.I.D.F. Executive Bureau and Council. Madame Cotton moreover announced that this report represented the line of the W.I.D.F. And this was how this so-called line of the W.I.D.F. was imposed on the women of various countries without being discussed in any way.

Employing their artificial majority, the leader of the Soviet delegation and certain other W.I.D.F. leaders time and again put their voting machine into operation. What was even more outrageous was that they accepted the voting when it turned out to be favourable to them, but when the voting was unfavourable to them, they found fault with everything and had the matter voted again so that they could get what they wanted. The Executive Bureau meeting held before the congress discussed four other reports to be submitted to the congress; they were: the report on peace and disarmament to be given by a Japanese delegate, the report on national independence by a Mali delegate, the report on children by a Cuban delegate and the report on women's rights by an Italian delegate. The original draft of the first three reports was good; they exposed the criminal deeds of imperialism and raised the question of fighting against imperialism and new and old colonialism. This was apparently not to the liking of the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. who tried a thousand and one ways to take out the anti-imperialist contents of these reports and replaced it with a content making complete and general disarmament the task transcending all others. But they failed to revise the report on national independence to be given by the Mali delegate. In regard to the reports to be made by the Japanese and Cuban delegates, as I have told you earlier, they hung on like grim death bringing pressure to bear on the Japanese and Cuban delegates and insisting that they revise their reports; they also insisted on forming a group to revise these two reports arbitrarily. And when the Japanese and Cuban delegates refused to listen to this tall order they threatened to allow these two reports to be given only in the name of individuals. Then when the Executive Bureau approved the proposal that these two reports should be made in the name of individuals, the manipulators, thinking that this was more to their disadvantage, then declared that the voting at the Executive Bureau was null and void and once again started

operating their voting machine (*laughter*) demanding that the Japanese and Cuban delegates revise the reports in the way they wanted and that the revised reports would then be submitted to the congress in the name of the Executive Bureau.

The session of the Council should have lasted a day, according to the published timetable. But in fact the session came hastily to an end after a little over an hour. The Council members were not permitted to discuss major problems of the congress, thus depriving the Council of its functions and powers. The congress set up a presidium, but it did not meet once. The executive chairmen of the congress and the chairmen of the commissions were appointed by the so-called secretariat of the congress. Except for the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F., nobody knew how the secretariat was formed, who were its members and what powers it had. On the question of documents of the congress it happened that, without discussion by the presidium of the congress, a few people, using the name of the Executive Bureau, announced that the congress would produce only one general document. All the documents and resolutions adopted at commissions were regarded by them as proposals, not official documents of the congress.

The draft programme submitted by the W.I.D.F. for discussion by its national organizations is a document which does not oppose imperialism and which follows an erroneous line. The National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China seriously and carefully studied that draft programme and put forward its proposals. Delegates from Albania, Korea, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Japan and other countries also put forward their proposals. But Carmen Zanti of Italy, self-appointed chairman of the programme commission, simply paid no attention to these proposals of principle at all. **At the meeting of the delegates of W.I.D.F.'s national organizations the voting machine was put into action and the result was that four delegations, namely, China, Albania, Korea and Indonesia, voted against and four delegations, namely, Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Laos and Japan abstained — those who voted against and those who abstained constituted one-sixth of all national organizations taking part in the voting. The membership of these eight countries makes up more than 70 per cent of the total membership of the W.I.D.F. which is 200 million. (*Warm applause.*)**

The "Appeal to the Women of the World" is the only document issued in the name of the congress. It should have been fully discussed by all participating delegates. But the fact was that the draft of this document was discussed only once in the commission for drafting the general document, and the final version was not only never discussed in the commission, but was not even seen by delegates of many countries before it was put to the vote in the congress. At the closing ceremony of the congress, its manipulators resorted to the tactics of a blitzkrieg: Madame Cotton read out the "appeal," then delegates from the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic took the lead in standing up, then a team to give the cheers in the "visitors' galleries" hip, hip, hip hurrahed and clapped their hands for about as long as 20 minutes. None of the members of the Chinese Women's Delegation

either stood up or applauded, but kept to their seats with great presence of mind. (*Warm applause.*) When they arbitrarily put the document to the vote, the Chinese, Albanian and Korean delegations voted against, and the Vietnamese delegation abstained. The delegates of south Viet Nam and a number of other delegates did not take part in the voting at all.

At the congress sessions and commissions, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. applied the regulations of the congress as they saw fit, treating different people differently. Those who were to their liking were not restricted in their speeches. It was stipulated at the congress that every nation should have only one delegate speaking at the plenary session and no speech must exceed ten minutes. But there was a delegate who spoke for thirty minutes without being stopped by the chairman while some people were free to take the floor again and again without going through any formalities. The Soviet Union spoke on five occasions in various ways at the plenary session and four of her speeches were lengthy ones. Dolores Ibarruri of Spain spoke on two occasions. The speeches of those not to their liking were interrupted, obstructed and restricted in a hundred and one ways. As I just told you a moment ago, the Indian delegate who attacked China at the congress was subjected to no restrictions of any kind, but when the Chinese delegation asked for the floor to answer the Indian delegate's attacks, the executive chairman of the congress used every means to prevent us from speaking. After the "Appeal to the Women of the World" was railroaded through the congress, the Chinese delegate read to the congress a statement of the Chinese delegation concerning this "appeal." At this moment, Madame Maddalena Rossi of Italy, the executive chairman of the congress, rudely interfered with the speech of the Chinese delegation and finally went so far as to break it up. Immediately following this, Dolores Ibarruri, ignoring all procedure, hurried up to the platform to make a speech attacking China. Not only was her speech not restricted at all but it was backed by the cheering squad organized by the manipulators of the congress. The Albanian and Korean delegates asked to present their views at the congress on the "Appeal to the Women of the World," but the executive chairman of the congress illegally deprived them of their right to speak, on the pretext that Ibarruri had already wound up discussion on this matter.

When the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F. was being re-elected, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. adopted the most disgraceful means to manipulate and control the election so as to prevent those who disagreed with their line from being elected to the Bureau. They unilaterally announced that the former Bureau members would remain unchanged and only several new members would be added. Korea nominated Viet Nam and China nominated Korea as new Bureau members and the nominations were seconded by quite a few countries. But these properly made and seconded motions were completely ignored by the executive chairman who refused to put them to the vote. This evoked the dissatisfaction of many delegates; even some delegates from Denmark and Belgium thought it unfair that things were done in this most undemocratic way and expressed their indignation.

N.V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, bragged at the Moscow meeting of women activists on July 8 that at the Moscow Congress of Women "freedom to exchange opinions was fully assured," "everyone spoke out freely, stated their position, their thoughts, hopes and aspirations." This was a monstrous lie deceiving herself as well as others.

Moreover, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., in order to control the congress and the delegations of all countries, besides trampling on the principles of democracy, also adopted other vile methods. We will take this opportunity to tell you about it.

The host of the congress made careful arrangements for the accommodation of the various delegations. The delegations of most countries were accommodated in one hotel, the Albanian delegation was placed in another, and the delegations of Korea and Viet Nam in a third. The Chinese delegation, greatly honoured by the special concern given by the host, was accommodated in the most luxurious Soviet Hotel; this arrangement was made on purpose. Apart from the members of the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F., there was only the Chinese delegation in this hotel. So the Chinese delegation was walled in and found it very hard to have any contact with other delegations. It was also arranged that we should have our meals all alone in a separate hall. Once three members of the Chinese delegation went to the hotel where most of the delegations lived, but the management of the hotel dining-room simply did not let them eat there on the grounds that the Chinese delegation was not staying in that hotel. It appeared that our host did not like the Chinese delegation to come to that hotel.

The host of the congress also made careful arrangements at the conference hall, where, in addition to the delegates, a great number of Soviet "listeners" in the "visitors' galleries" were present; but they did more than listen. Some of them were in fact a cheering squad of the manipulators of the congress. Their job was twofold: to applaud and back up those who put forward the erroneous line and to boo and catcall those who insisted on the correct line.

N.V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, said explicitly at a Moscow meeting of women activists held on July 8 that the "Soviet Women's Delegation, fulfilling the instructions given them, took all measures to secure the fruitful work of the congress." Now we know more clearly that the series of disgraceful acts described above were, in fact, all designed to fulfil the task given to them from above and to force the erroneous line upon the congress.

This erroneous organizational line carried out by the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., and especially their violation of the principles of democracy, roused widespread indignation and censure among the delegates taking part in the congress. The Albanian Women's Delegation's statement on this congress says: "Practices violating the principle of democracy were adopted at the plenary sessions and commission meetings of the congress and this hampered the normal proceedings of the work of the congress. This situation made it impossible for the delegates to have thoroughgoing discussions on all questions put before

the congress." The Korean Women's Delegation in its statement says: "Some members of the executive body of the congress . . . steered the congress in an undemocratic manner in an uproarious atmosphere of slander and calumny, disorder and duress." ". . . Certain members of the executive body, obsessed by biased views, failed to discharge their duty with sincerity, betraying the confidence of the congress, and exerted negative influence in bringing the congress to a successful conclusion." "The Korean Women's Delegation, together with the delegates of some other countries, was denied the right to express its will to the full. . . ." "But, speeches running counter to the character of the congress and detrimental to the development of the world women's movement were actively defended and encouraged by certain members of the executive body of the congress and delegates from certain countries." "We sternly protest against this unjust act of some members of the executive body of the congress." (Applause.) Among the delegates from the Western countries, quite a few also showed their dissatisfaction with the manipulators of the congress who acted in such a disgraceful way. Some of the Italian delegates, for instance, told us that although they did not agree with the Chinese viewpoints, they too firmly disagreed with the manipulators of the congress who did things in that way.

World Women Will Advance More Resolutely in Correct Direction

Comrades: The present era is one pregnant with great and profound changes. At this critical juncture, there invariably are people who fail to catch up with the pace of historical development and even become a stumbling block on the way of progress. These people not only stand still themselves but also try to prevent others from advancing; they not only themselves do not make revolution but also forbid others to do so. At the World Congress of Women in Moscow, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. thought that the correct course of the world women's movement could be changed, the emancipation of the world's women hindered and the aim of isolating China achieved by bringing the congress to turn out certain resolutions. But they completely miscalculated. (Warm applause.) By so doing, they completely betrayed the fundamental interests of the women of the world, thus cutting themselves off from the broad masses of women in all countries and the revolutionary people of the world. (Applause.)

The attempt of the organizers of the Moscow World Congress of Women to isolate China and oppose China will never succeed. (Warm applause.) One delegate said: "We're discriminated against. Fortunately we have our brave Chinese sisters who speak out what we want to say." (Applause.) "China supports us in fighting against imperialism. To oppose China means to oppose us." During the congress session, after the Albanian delegate repudiated the attacks made by Mrs. Ulbricht on the Chinese delegation, someone speaking Russian went to the Albanian delegate, holding her hand tightly and said: "Thank you for supporting China." (Applause.) After the Chinese Women's Delegation voted against the "Appeal to the Women of the World" and made a statement on it, one Soviet friend of ours said to us: The Chinese Communist Party is the genuine Party of Lenin. (Warm

applause.) Another, raising her fist, whispered: "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" (*Prolonged warm applause.*) On the day following the close of the congress, some 160 women delegates from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and North America attended the reception given by our Ambassador to the Soviet Union Pan Tzu-li and his wife. At the reception, women delegates from various countries, all warm-hearted, danced, sang songs and expressed, in all manner of ways, their profound friendship for Chinese women and the Chinese people. One delegate said: "These people hope to isolate our dear Chinese friends but in vain." (*Applause.*) Let those anti-China heroes listen to these resounding voices! By opposing China and pleasing U.S. imperialism, they will certainly lift a rock to crush their own feet (*applause*) and will certainly be deserted by the people of the whole world. Those who will eventually be isolated will be none other than this small group who go against the current of the time and the people. (*Applause.*)

To make revolution and to get emancipation are the urgent common desires of the women of the whole world and the irresistible historical tide of the present time. At present, U.S. imperialism, under cover of its "strategy of peace," is engaged in a still more frenzied arms drive and war preparations, intensifying its aggressions against the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, intensifying its subversion and sabotage against the socialist countries, intensifying its oppression and exploitation of the people at home and in the countries allied to it. U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the world. To safeguard their vital interests, women of all countries must unite closely, form a broad united front and join the other sections of the world's people in waging the most resolute struggles against U.S. imperialism. The W.I.D.F. is a united organization of democratic women in all countries; under these circumstances it should reflect their common aspirations and mobilize women in the various countries to rise and fight U.S. imperialism. But some leaders of the present organization said nothing about opposing imperialism and about revolution, instead, they are engaged in empty talk of disarmament and peaceful coexistence. What is there in common between this and the original purpose and revolutionary tradition of this organization? If they go on like this, how can they avoid being deserted by the revolutionary women of the whole world?

Comrades, throughout the World Congress of Women in Moscow, the Chinese Women's Delegation has all along held to the stand of persevering in principle, strengthening unity, eliminating differences and waging a common struggle against the enemy and has also made great efforts in the hope that this congress would press on along the path progressive women and the revolutionary people have hoped for, so that it could make positive contributions to the cause of the world women's fight against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, people's democracy, social progress and women's emancipation. If the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. could have proceeded from the revolutionary interests of the women and people of the world, if they treasured the cause of the unity of the world's progressive women in their fight against imperialism, if they treasured the fundamental interests of women and children of the world and had given up their wrong stand

and line and come back to the correct and revolutionary stand, the congress could have been held very satisfactorily. It is only because the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. persisted in their wrong stand and erroneous line that the congress went astray under their manipulation, thus leaving a most disgraceful page in the history of the world women's movement.

But, just as Chairman Mao has said, a bad thing can be turned into a good one. This congress has taught the women of the world a vivid lesson by negative example and made them see clearly who really oppose imperialism, and who neither oppose imperialism themselves nor allow others to do so; who really support the national-liberation movement and promote the emancipation of women, and who do not support the national-liberation movement and hold back the emancipation of women; who stand for uniting women the world over on the basis of opposing imperialism, and who discriminate against the women opposing imperialism, create a split in the women's movement and weaken the unity of the women of the world. All these will exert a far-reaching effect on raising the consciousness of women the world over and on the development of the world women's movement. Four days ago, in this very hall, a meeting was held by people of all circles in the capital to welcome the women delegations from Asian, African and Latin American countries, namely, those from Brazil, Comoro, Indonesia, Mozambique, Nepal, Venezuela, south Viet Nam, Zanzibar and other countries, who came to visit our country after having attended the World Congress of Women. At that meeting, delegates strongly criticized the Moscow World Congress of Women for having cast aside the anti-imperialist banner and conducting a number of anti-China farces; they unanimously and solemnly declared that they would carry to the end the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and the struggle for women's emancipation. (*Applause.*) This shows the bankruptcy of the schemes of those pulling the strings at the Moscow World Congress of Women. It is our belief that in the wake of the sharp struggle between the two lines at the Moscow World Congress of Women, progressive women of the world will see more clearly the course their struggle should take. They will march forward more firmly in their struggle, strengthen unity in their own ranks, shoulder the serious tasks of opposing imperialism and colonialism, old and new, striving for national independence, people's democracy, social progress and the emancipation of women, and courageously march on to new victories. (*Warm applause.*)

And now, let us shout together:

Oppose U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of the women and children of the world!

Support the struggle of the women of the world against imperialism, against old and new colonialism, for national independence, people's democracy, social progress and women's emancipation!

Long live the victory of the struggle of the women of the world!

Long live the great unity of the women of the world!

Long live world peace! (*Prolonged and warm applause from all the audience.*)

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.S.R.

Full-Scale Campaign Against C.P.C.

Following the publication in *Pravda* of the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to Party organizations and all Party members on July 14, an unprecedented campaign of misrepresentation and libel against the Chinese Communist Party was launched in the Soviet Union. This brought to a new high the attacks on the C.P.C. which have been going on since the June C.P.S.U. Central Committee Plenum.

After the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Azerbaijan, Georgian, Latvian, Moldavian and Armenian Republics, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Uzbek, Turkmen, Tajik, Kirghiz, Estonian and Lithuanian Republics adopted resolutions which repeated, sometimes word for word, the attacks against the C.P.C. made by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. in their speeches at the Central Committee Plenum and in the resolution subsequently adopted.

The Soviet press and radio were also mobilized to malign the Chinese Communist Party. For two days in succession (July 15 and 16), for example, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* devoted much space to this inglorious task, publishing editorials, signed articles, statements and letters from readers.

In the articles published by *Pravda* on July 15 (signed by Tikhonov, Korneichuk and Zhukov) and *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on July 16 (signed by Safronov and Levchenko), vicious attacks were made on the C.P.C. Because the C.P.C. persists in its correct stand of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism in conferences of the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the W.I.D.F. and other international organizations, it was stigmatized as having carried out "splitting activities." *Izvestia* (July 16) published an article by Mirsky vilifying the C.P.C.'s stand on the relationship between the national-liberation struggle

in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the proletarian world revolution, libelling the C.P.C. as "modern splitters," insinuating it as guilty of "racialism" and accusing it of advocating the superiority of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America over the "white race."

The articles, statements and letters published in the Soviet papers also sought to confound the truth by charging the C.P.C. with "distorting" the reasons for the withdrawal of Soviet experts from China. They smeared the C.P.C. as "renegades," "Left-wing social revolutionaries," and "being ungrateful" and slandered it as "calling for war," "following a policy aggravating international tension and provoking thermonuclear war," and "seeking to build a new world on the corpses of the working people."

Some Soviet papers went so far as to carry statements openly calling on the Chinese people and Communists to oppose their tried and tested leadership. Kasiyan, Chairman of the Administration of the Ukrainian Artists' Union, for example, stated in *Soviet Culture* (July 16): "We hope that there will be found in the Chinese Communist Party those healthy forces and that understanding of high international responsibility which the Soviet people expect of them." In *Leningrad Pravda* (July 16) authoress Ketlinskaya wrote that the C.P.C. letter of June 14 reminded her of "leaflets on international affairs issued by Trotsky many years ago" and declared she was confident that "the Chinese Communists would rectify the situation when they realized they were caught in a web of lies!"

Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, G.D.R.

Following the Baton

In the wake of the July 14 open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the leadership of the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria and of the German United Socialist Party too plunged into campaigns against the Chinese Communist Party.

In its statement of July 19, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party expressed "unqualified approval" of the Soviet open letter and "full agreement" with the Soviet line and also did its utmost to stigmatize the C.P.C. This followed the vicious calumnies spread by Cestmir Cisar, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in a July 17 radio and television speech when he said that the programme of the C.P.C. was "the biggest revision of Marxism-Leninism that people can possibly imagine in our time" and "a return to the views of Trotskyism, to the stand of nationalism and to big-nation chauvinism."

The Czechoslovak press and radio also got into high gear to traduce the C.P.C. *Rude Pravo*, for example, published on July 16 a long editorial which parroted the muddled attacks made by others against the C.P.C. Newspapers also carried statements and letters from readers which defamed the C.P.C. as holding views which are "utopian," which "show ignorance of the changes in the world," and which are leading the world to "war" and to the "destruction of human civilization."

The leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party called numerous meetings throughout the country to "propagate" the Soviet line and "explain" the Soviet open letter. The press carried attacks against the C.P.C. Typical was the editorial of *Rabotnichesko Delo* of July 17 which accused the C.P.C. of "groundless and slanderous attacks aimed at the solidarity and common policy of the international communist movement," of "subversive activities," and of extending "ideological differences to the activities of international democratic organizations and to state relations."

In the German Democratic Republic, the leadership of the United Socialist Party lost no time in turning the fire of its press and radio at the C.P.C. The editorial of *Neues Deutschland* (July 20), for example, not only distorted the views of the C.P.C. on major international questions and assailed China's foreign policy, but extended the attack to China's internal policies, including the big leap forward and the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom,

letting a hundred schools of thought contend."

U.S.-Britain-U.S.S.R.

The Test-Ban Talks

A week has gone by since the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union opened their nuclear test-ban talks in Moscow. While official communiques indicated that the negotiators were still discussing "a draft nuclear test-ban treaty covering tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water" and "other matters of mutual interest," press reports from the West gave more than an inkling of what was taking place inside the Kremlin conference rooms.

According to UPI, "a Western draft treaty for banning explosions in the three environments was submitted to Premier Nikita Khrushchov. The terms of the Western draft do not differ substantially from the Soviet position." The three nations, it reported, saw "eye to eye on the necessity to close the so-called nuclear club" and would undertake "not to assist other nations with the development of nuclear weapons." Reuter and AFP speculated in their dispatches that the Soviet Union will no longer insist, as it has done before, on an uncontrolled moratorium on underground tests as a condition of a partial test-ban agreement; nor will it hold out for the East-West non-aggression treaty recently mooted as a prerequisite to a test-ban agreement.

Western newsmen played up the cordial and even jovial mood of the negotiators and especially Khrushchov's personal participation. AP reported: "As they sat down at the green-covered conference table, Khrushchov joked, 'Shall we start off by signing the agreement right away?' Harriman, who was seated across the table from Khrushchov, immediately pushed a white pad and pencil towards the Premier. Foreign Minister Andre Gromyko, who sat on Khrushchov's left, grinned and said to his chief, 'Sign and then leave it to be filled in.'" Referring to the Khrushchov joke, the *New York Herald Tribune* editorialized on July 18: "Like every good joke, this one contains a grain of truth. It is not unlikely that the Russians had

made up their minds to sign before the conference began, so they were ready with pen and paper, in effect, at the opening session. The Soviet leader's jovial mood also reflected an air of confidence in the policy on which the Kremlin was embarking—a virtual break with communist China and closer relations with the West. He seemed quite pleased to be 'surrounded by imperialists' when he stood between Averell Harriman of the United States and Lord Hailsham of Britain in posing for photographs."

What after all are the U.S. imperialists seeking in the test-ban talks? To understand their motives, it is better to recall what Kennedy and members of his Administration have said.

Speaking in Italy on July 2, Kennedy declared: "Our negotiations for an end to nuclear tests and our opposition of nuclear dispersal are fully consistent with our attention to defence [should read arms drive]—these are all complementary parts of a single strategy for peace." U.S. Secretary of State Rusk emphasized in a statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 11 that the conclusion of a test-ban treaty "is in our national interest" and will have "both political and military advantages" for the U.S. as it already has a huge nuclear arsenal. McNamara, U.S. Defence Secretary, has also repeatedly stressed that if a partial nuclear test-ban treaty is signed, "the United States would be stronger, not weaker." And Harriman, chief American negotiator at the Moscow talks, said on June 21, "One of the reasons why we had hoped we could come to an agreement with the Soviet Union and the British on a test ban was that it might stop the proliferation and that we could work together to prevent China getting a nuclear capability."

It is clear that the purpose of the U.S. imperialists negotiating in Moscow is not to ban all nuclear testings let alone nuclear weapons. They aim to perpetuate their nuclear advantages and strengthen their hands for their policy of nuclear blackmail. By signing a partial test-ban treaty they seek to cloak their war preparations and give the people of the world a false sense of security. Finally, they hope to prevent China from developing nuclear weapons and also to poison Chinese-Soviet relations.

India-U.S.S.R.

Negotiations for More Arms

After the ten-day visit of Chief of the Indian Air Staff Air Marshal A.M. Engineer, an Indian mission led by Secretary of the Ministry of Defence and Economic Co-ordination S. Bhoothalingam is now in Moscow to negotiate the supply of further Soviet military equipment to India.

On the purpose of the mission, a Reuter dispatch revealed that it "would discuss the possibility of the supply of two or three squadrons of MIGs as the Indian Government was keen to have supersonic fighters which Britain and the United States were so far reluctant to supply." The Indian Information Service reported that the mission would spend two weeks in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and "explore the availability of defence and defence production equipment." The *Times of India* indicated that India also wants for local manufacture a more advanced prototype than the MIG-21 which she already has. India is asking for a model with greater firepower, increased range and equipment for all-weather operations.

* * *

Meanwhile, the first Indian National Exhibition in Moscow was opened on July 20 with big fanfares. Chairman of the Council of Ministers N.S. Khrushchov personally cut the ribbon and in his speech he said the Soviet Union highly values Soviet-Indian friendly relations and Soviet co-operation with India on many international questions.

International Communist Movement

Indonesian C.P. Delegation

An Indonesian Communist Party delegation led by its Chairman, Comrade Aidit, is visiting first the Soviet Union and later China at the invitations of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Central Committee of the C.P.C. respectively.

In a statement issued before the delegation's departure from Djakarta, Comrade Aidit declared he was aware of the essence of the present differences.

The imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists, he noted, are trying their utmost to torpedo the talks between the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. For this reason, he said, the only wise policy and one comprehensible to Communists and the working people the world over is to make the talks a success.

"For my part," Comrade Aidit said, "I believe to have consultations with

these two Communist Parties will not only be in the interests of the international movement, but also in the interests of the development of the new emerging forces. Every son of Indonesia who supports the policy of the new emerging forces in confrontation with the old established forces certainly does not like to see the polemics between the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. drag on. I and the delegation

led by me will work in accordance with the aspirations of Communists and the working people of the world."

Answering a question by a Western correspondent, Comrade Aidit declared: "I and the Indonesian Communist Party stand by the Moscow Statement because it states in definite terms that all Communists must condemn and expose modern revisionism."

THE WEEK

(Continued from p.5.)

people's struggle against U.S. aggression.

Support for African Peoples

China's firm support for the African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism found expression again in a letter from Chairman Liu Shao-chi to President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea and in a statement issued by the Hsinhua News Agency.

President Sekou Toure recently sent a letter to Chairman Liu Shao-chi telling him about the achievements of the Conference of African Heads of State. "Convinced of your great concern for the liberation of the African countries dominated by imperialism and for the social progress of their peoples," wrote President Toure, "I deem it my duty to call for your personal support, and the support of your great people and Government in expediting the African peoples' emancipation movement."

In his reply, Chairman Liu warmly welcomed the positive results achieved by the Conference of African Heads of State in strengthening friendship and co-operation among African countries and in the struggle against colonialism, old and new. He reaffirmed the Chinese people's unswerving support for the African peoples in their just struggle against imperialism, and expressed his confidence in their final triumph.

The recent Conference of African Heads of State denounced the policy of racial discrimination of the South African Government and issued a call for a diplomatic and economic boycott against it. The Hsinhua News Agency was authorized to issue a statement expressing the full support of the Chi-

nese Government and people for the South African people's struggle against apartheid and for independence and freedom. Basing itself on this stand, the statement said, the Chinese Government had since July 1960 severed all economic and trade ties with the South African colonial authorities, and it would in the future continue its severance of all such relations, direct or indirect, with the colonialists in South Africa.

Chairman Liu Receives Indonesian Sports Delegation

The Indonesian sports delegation led by Soengkono, First Assistant Minister of Sports, was received by Chairman Liu Shao-chi on July 17. The next day, it was guest of honour at a party jointly given by the China-Indonesia Friendship Association, the Chinese Preparatory Committee for Participation in the Games of the New Emerging Forces and the All-China Athletic Federation.

Homage to Victims of Aeroplane Disaster

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and his wife, leading officials

of various government departments, and members of the diplomatic corps in Peking on July 17 went to the funeral halls in the eastern suburbs to pay their last respects to Mrs. Malile, wife of the Albanian Ambassador to China, and six other Albanian and three Chinese comrades who were killed in a Soviet aeroplane crash. The TU-104 airliner carrying them from Peking to Moscow met disaster on July 13 while landing at the airport of Irkutsk in the Soviet Union. The remains of the ten deceased were brought to Peking for burial.

Wreaths were sent by Premier Chou En-lai and Madame Chou, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Madame Chen, and by various government ministries and people's organizations. The Vice-Premier and his wife and other officials stood in mourning before the remains of the ten comrades, and expressed their deep condolences and sympathy to Ambassador Reis Malile and the other Albanian diplomatic officials and students, and to the members of the families of the Chinese victims. The remains of the seven Albanian comrades were laid to rest in Peking's Futien cemetery.

GUOZI SHUDIAN ANNOUNCEMENT

Certain persons with ulterior motives, forging the imprint of the **GUOZI SHUDIAN** bookstore of China, have printed and circulated bogus copies of "Publication News From China" in which they announce the publication of a book, "Stalin on World Revolution," purportedly written by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the tenth anniversary of the death of J. V. Stalin.

GUOZI SHUDIAN hereby declares that it has never announced the publication of such a book in any issue of its catalogue "Publication News From China," nor has such a book ever been published by any publishing house in China.

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The Long March

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

Here is the story of the world-famous Long March of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army by men who took part in it.

The authors are of that gallant band of revolutionary fighters who broke through the encirclements of Chiang Kai-shek troops in October 1934, and started out on the 25,000-*li* Long March. Pursued and intercepted by Kuomintang troops who were far superior in numbers and equipment, they stormed mountain passes and strategic strongholds, crossed swift rivers in the teeth of heavy enemy fire, scaled towering mountains of eternal snow and trekked for weeks across boundless uninhabited marshland. Enduring untold hardships and privations, they swept across eleven provinces till they reached northern Shensi in October 1935 and triumphantly joined forces with the Red Army units there. Moving episodes and thrilling stories of bitter fighting on the march are described here. In sum this is an account of the victory of the Long March as a living manifestation of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant leadership and his revolutionary military strategy and tactics.

Illustrated and with a map of the Long March

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pp. 224



The Unquenchable Spark

When the main force of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army started on the Long March to northern Shensi, a part of the revolutionary forces remained in eight southern provinces in the enemy's rear. These Red Army units joined with the local people's forces, formed Red guerrilla bands and from 1934 to 1937 waged a heroic struggle against an enemy overwhelmingly superior in numbers and equipment. When the War of Resistance Against Japan broke out in 1937, these guerrilla units were brought together and reorganized into the New Fourth Army, which marched into the Japanese-occupied areas north and south of the Yangtse River and played an important part under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the war against Japan.

How the tiny spark started a prairie fire! How the Red guerrilla units grew in size as they fought! This volume brings you the reminiscences of those who took part in these struggles. Vigorously and vividly told, they are as dramatic as they are true.

Illustrated and with a map of the guerrilla areas

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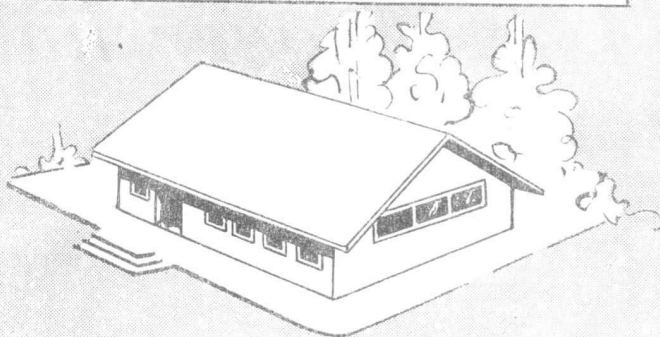
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