

PEKING REVIEW

10

March 5, 1965

Pakistan President in Peking

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For the Economic Emancipation of Afro-Asian Peoples

Full analysis by head of Chinese delegation at Afro-Asian
Economic Seminar (p. 16).

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報

Afro-Asian Solidarity Against Imperialism

(English Language Edition)

This is a collection of documents issued in connection with the visits of Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders to 13 Asian and African countries between December 1963 and February 1964.

The documents comprise speeches made by hosts and visitors, the joint statements issued by them, and three *Renmin Ribao* editorials dealing with these visits.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

March 5, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 10

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• President Ayub Khan of Pakistan arrived in Peking on March 2 for a state visit.

• The Foreign Ministry issued a statement on February 27 supporting the just stand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in opposing the "ROK-Japan talks" and the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty."

Peking held a mass rally on March 1 which expressed full support for the Korean and Japanese peoples' struggle against the "ROK-Japan talks" and the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty."

• The nation's leading newspapers carried the publisher's note to the third volume of *Statements by Khrushchov* brought out recently by the Shijie Zhishi Press, Peking.

• Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to the Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference which opened in Phnom Penh on March 1.

• *Renmin Ribao* in its February 25 editorial said that the United Nations was in a mess as the result of U.S. manipulation and control.

• In its March 1 editorial *Renmin Ribao* exposed the Johnson Administration's policy of blackmail through war in south Viet Nam.

• Commenting on the murder of Malcolm X, the American Negro leader, the *Renmin Ribao* Commentator on February 24 said: "One Malcolm X has fallen, but thousands more will step forward!"

• The Chinese press published:

— a report with quotations from *The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class*, an anti-China book whose chief editor is B.N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee.

— news reports that many periodicals and bookstores in the Soviet Union are recommending or selling Khrushchovian revisionist writings and fanning anti-China sentiments.

— a report from Warsaw that the Polish *Political and Economic Year-Book, 1964* carried an article attacking the Communist Party of China.

— a report from Prague that Czechoslovak papers recently attacked China and Albania in connection with the Albanian delegate's proposal at the 19th U.N. General Assembly, which called for an end to U.S. manipulation of the U.N. and a return to normal procedure.

For an Economic Upsurge In 1965

The major tasks for industrial and transport departments this year were discussed at a national conference held last month in Peking. It was attended by leading officials of industrial and transport ministries under the State Council and responsible cadres from the various prov-

inces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Vice-Premier Po I-po presided and gave an important report.

After a fortnight's deliberations, the conference decided that the central tasks this year were to organize an upsurge in production and construction and fulfil and overfulfil this year's production plans so as to create favourable conditions for developing the national economy during

Premier Chou Greet Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference

Premier Chou En-lai on February 23 greeted the Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference on its opening in Phnom Penh, capital of Cambodia. In a message to the presidium of the conference, Premier Chou, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, warmly congratulated Prince Norodom Sihanouk, initiator of the conference, and the delegates and people of the participating countries. He paid tribute to Prince Sihanouk for his important contributions to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and to safeguarding peace in Indo-China by proposing the conference at this critical moment.

Premier Chou pointed out in his message that the current tension in Indo-China had been created single-handedly by U.S. imperialism. "The United States," the message said, "in gross violation of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements, has launched a war of aggression in south Viet Nam, engaged in direct armed intervention against Laos, and is continually making military provocations and engaging in political subversion even against the Kingdom of Cambodia, a state which has consistently followed a policy of peace and neutrality. In an attempt to retrieve its defeat in south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is stepping up the dispatch of its aggressive troops and forcing its lackeys to send troops to serve as cannon-fodder to intensify

its 'special warfare' there. Recently, the U.S. imperialists, growing desperate, went so far as to launch a succession of air raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus extending the flames of war step by step beyond south Viet Nam and posing a grave threat to peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia."

The message said that the root cause of all the disasters suffered by the Indo-Chinese peoples was U.S. imperialism. It declared: "As long as this root cause is not pulled out, Indo-China will not enjoy tranquility. Without the withdrawal of the U.S. aggressors from this region, every international agreement seeking to solve the Indo-Chinese question will, like the Geneva agreements of 1954 and 1962, be sabotaged and trampled underfoot by U.S. imperialism. The United States and its followers must withdraw their military forces from Indo-China completely, immediately and unconditionally. Only in this way can peace in Indo-China be guaranteed and the people of the Indo-Chinese states solve their own problems without foreign intervention."

Wishing the conference success, Premier Chou expressed the hope that it would promote closer unity among the Indo-Chinese peoples in their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle and help them win new and still greater victories.

the Third Five-Year Plan scheduled to begin next year.

Stressing that ideological and political work should be given first place, it called on all industrial and transport departments to continue to hold high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, study Chairman Mao's works and learn from the experience of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in doing political work. Great importance was also attached to socialist education which,

the conference noted, should be carried on extensively and intensively among the cadres and workers to enhance their class consciousness further. Drawing attention to the fact that participation by cadres in productive labour is one of the basic systems in our country, the conference called on all administrative cadres in industrial enterprises to join the rank and file and master production skills by learning from the veteran workers. Only in this way, said the conference, could cadres strengthen their ties

with the workers and give sound leadership in production.

Keen discussion centred around the question of organizing this year's upsurge in production. The consensus was that, on the basis of continuing to emphasize quality and variety, raising labour productivity and reducing production costs, industrial and transport departments should strive for a relatively big increase in production and construction this year.

Another important topic that came under discussion was revolutionization of the systems of economic management. These included planning, designing, management of enterprises, and co-operation between specialized trades. The conference pointed out that revolution in the work of economic management was, first and foremost, a revolution in ideology, aiming at eliminating capitalist influence and establishing management systems suited to the nation's actual conditions, bringing into play the workers' initiative and developing the forces of production with greater, faster, better and more economical results. The call was sent out to the workers throughout the country to develop technical innovations and carry on the technical revolution, extend the campaign of "comparing with the advanced, learning from and overtaking them, and helping the less advanced," and by concerted efforts bring about a production upsurge to fulfil and overfulfil this year's production plans.

G.D.R. Army Day

On the 9th anniversary of the founding of the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence Marshal Lin Piao sent a message of greetings to Colonel General Heinz Hoffmann, the G.D.R. Minister of National Defence.

In Peking, Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Kautzsch, military attache of the G.D.R. Embassy, gave a reception on March 1 attended by Li Tien-yu, Deputy Chief of the General Staff

(Continued on p. 12.)

China Welcomes President Ayub Khan

PEKING rolled out the red carpet on March 2 to welcome President Field Marshal Ayub Khan on his first state visit to China. It was a festive occasion for the capital. Changan Boulevard, the main thoroughfare leading to the Guest House, was festooned with countless coloured banners and flags. Across the wide avenue stretched huge, scarlet streamers bearing slogans accenting China-Pakistan friendship.

At 3:20 in the afternoon the presidential airliner, escorted by eight P.L.A. planes, touched down to the thunderous clapping and cheers of the welcoming crowds at Peking's airport, and to the beating of gongs and drums, a traditional Chinese gesture of welcome for distinguished guests. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai came forward to the ramp to accord President Ayub Khan and his party a warm welcome.

Other Chinese government leaders on hand to greet the Pakistan President included Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi; Peng Chen, Yang Ming-hsuan, Lin Feng and Liu Ning-I, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun. Mme. Chou En-lai and Mme. Chen Yi were also present at the airport.

President Ayub Khan's visit to China is made the more memorable because it coincides with the second anniversary of the signing of the 1963 Sino-Pakistani Boundary Agreement, a milestone in the development of friendly relations between the two countries. Friendship has steadily grown in recent years, especially since Ayub Khan became President in 1960, and the Chinese people have been looking forward to his visit.

Crowds Wave and Cheer

An auspicious ceremony at the aerodrome was opened by the playing of the national anthems and the firing of a 21-gun salute. Then the Pakistan head of state reviewed a guard of honour in the company of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. After this the presidential party drove to the Guest House. The President rode in an open car with Chairman Liu

Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai past row upon row of tightly packed people. Welcomers all along the route waved and cheered, and President Ayub Khan, acknowledging their greetings, waved back.

The tumultuous public welcome reached its climax when the motorcade reached spacious Tien An Men Square. Here in China's most famous square more than two thousand gorgeously dressed dancers took the centre of the square as their stage and performed a variety of dances. Huge red balloons carrying slogans with words of welcome went aloft and were overhead the moment the President's car reached the square. The thousands of multi-coloured balloons released by school children, the flags and garlands of flowers waved by the throngs all around the square, and the Pakistani and Chinese music over the public address system combined to turn the event into an occasion for public rejoicing.

To honour President Ayub Khan's visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi gave a state banquet in the evening in the Great Hall of the People. The band struck up when the President, his daughter Begum Aurangzeb, Foreign Minister and Begum Bhutto and other distinguished Pakistan guests entered the banquet hall with Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier and Mme. Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Peng Chen of the Standing Committee of the



President Ayub Khan enters banquet hall with Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai

National People's Congress, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister and Mme. Chen Yi and other Chinese government leaders.

Friendship — Long-Term Policy

In his welcoming speech Chairman Liu Shao-chi praised the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Pakistan. These, he pointed out, have been steadily growing and developing in all spheres. "Our two countries," he said, "have given sympathy and support to each other in safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of our respective countries. The Pakistan Government and people unequivocally oppose the 'two Chinas' scheme and support China's foreign policy of peace. The Chinese Government and people, in turn, firmly support Pakistan in its just struggle to uphold national dignity and oppose foreign pressure."

Turning to the Ten Principles adopted at the First Asian-African Conference ten years ago at Bandung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi spoke about the vigorous efforts made by both countries for the successful convening of the Second African-Asian Conference. "Both China and Pakistan are big Asian countries," Chairman Liu Shao-chi noted. "The strengthening of friendly co-operation between us is of great significance to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace."

Chairman Liu declared that "on China's part, friendship with Pakistan is a long-term policy. It is not a matter of expediency." He stressed the correct principles and approaches by which the two countries conduct their relations. "We truly respect each other, treat each other as equals and understand and trust each other. Neither of us considers ourselves superior to the other, seeks benefit at the other's expense, adopts a tru-

culent attitude towards the other or imposes its views on the other." This, added Chairman Liu Shao-chi, is why no force on earth can break the friendship between the two countries, which can stand the test of time.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi paid tribute to President Ayub Khan for the resolute measures he had taken to promote friendship between Pakistan and China. He referred to the notable successes Pakistan has achieved under the President's leadership in opposing foreign interference, pursuing an independent policy and in developing its national economy and culture. Chairman Liu Shao-chi concluded by expressing the belief that President Ayub Khan's visit to China will contribute to the common cause of strengthening China-Pakistan friendship, promoting Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding world peace.

Developing Sino-Pakistani Relations

In his speech President Ayub Khan, referring to the resumption of normal relations between Pakistan and China after the two countries had emerged triumphant from their fight against colonialism and imperialism, declared that relations between our two countries have developed progressively along friendly lines ever since 1949. He said Pakistan derives satisfaction from the way that mutual co-operation has developed between Pakistan and China, and he added that the people of Pakistan deeply appreciate the fair and equitable stand adopted by China over the Kashmir dispute.

Referring to the Ten Bandung Principles, the Pakistan President said his country stands by them and is determined to strengthen them in the interest of international peace and security. Close co-operation

between Pakistan and China at the forthcoming Asian-African Conference in Algiers in June, he said, would serve to promote the solidarity of the Asian-African peoples.

A new chapter in the 2,000-year history of Sino-Pakistani relations, one which will cement the ties of friendship between two close neighbours, is being written during President Ayub Khan's visit.

—Our Correspondent



Thousands dance to greet motorcade on way to Guest House

China Fully Supports Just Stand of Korean Government

- Resolutely oppose the U.S.-manipulated "ROK-Japan talks"! Nullify the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty"!
- Japan's Sato government and south Korea's Pak Jung Hi clique hurriedly initialled the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty" in an attempt to bring about an early conclusion to the "ROK-Japan talks." This is a serious move by U.S. imperialism to step up the tempo of fostering Japanese militarism for a come-back to Korea, plot the rigging up of a "Northeast Asia military alliance" and aggravate Far East tension.
- The criminal activities of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and the traitorous clique in south Korea are directed against both the entire Korean people and the 650 million Chinese people.
- Should U.S. imperialism insist on linking together its battlefronts for aggression against the Asian countries and should the Sato government and the south Korean puppet clique persist in trailing after the United States, they would only hasten their own defeat.

Following is a translation of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement issued on February 27. — Ed.

ON February 20, the Sato government of Japan and the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea hurriedly initialled the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty" in Seoul, in an attempt to bring the "ROK-Japan talks" to an early conclusion. This is a serious move taken by the U.S. imperialists to step up their fostering of Japanese militarism for its come-back to the Korean Peninsula, plot the rigging up of a "Northeast Asia military alliance" and aggravate tension in the Far East. This is a grave provocation against the peoples of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries.

On February 25, the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement exposing the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarists and the traitorous crimes of the Pak Jung Hi clique. The statement sternly pointed out that the Pak Jung Hi clique was a puppet regime illegally created by U.S. imperialism and that "whatever agreements the Japanese Government and the Pak Jung Hi clique may reach at the 'ROK-Japan talks' on questions concerning the interests of the entire Korean people, they will never be recognized but will be declared null and void." The statement resolutely demanded an immediate end to the "ROK-Japan talks" which ran counter to the general interests of both the Korean and Japanese peoples and the nullification of

the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty," and solemnly expressed the determination of the Korean Government and people to carry on a persevering struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war provocations and against the new aggressive schemes of the Japanese militarists. The Chinese Government and people wholeheartedly support this just stand of the Korean Government.

The "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty" was initialled under the direct manipulation of U.S. imperialism. For many years, U.S. imperialism has been directing the Japanese ruling circles and the south Korean puppet regime to hold "ROK-Japan talks" so as to link up Japan and south Korea to pave the way for rigging up a "Northeast Asia military alliance." Running into snags in its aggressions all over Asia, U.S. imperialism has now landed itself in an extremely difficult position. Both the south Korean people's patriotic and just anti-U.S. struggle and the Japanese people's struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality are gaining momentum. In Southeast Asia, the United States is coming to the end of a blind alley in its war of aggression in southern Viet Nam, and the U.S. aggression and interference in Laos and Cambodia has met with ever stronger resistance. The Indonesian people's struggle against the U.S. and British imperialist manufactured "Malaysia" is surging forward with increasing vigour. And the aspirations of the people of the Philippines and Thailand for shaking off U.S. control have become increasingly evident. All this has completely shaken

the U.S. positions for aggression in Asia. In order to hold its ground there, U.S. imperialism has tried hard to speed up the rise of the Japanese militarist forces and form a "Northeast Asia military alliance" with Japan as the nucleus so as to provide the United States with cannon-fodder and realize its sinister plot of making Asians fight Asians. The "ROK-Japan talks" constitute an important link in the efforts of U.S. imperialism to realize this plot.

Since its installation, the Sato government of Japan, taking the cue from U.S. imperialism, has stepped up its collusion with the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea. Following its decision to send south Korean puppet troops to join the U.S. war of aggression in southern Viet Nam, the Pak Jung Hi clique has illegally initialled with Japan the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty." All this shows that with the support of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese militarist forces have lifted their heads higher. The recently disclosed "Operation Three Arrows" worked out by the Japanese "Defence Agency," which makes China and Korea the imaginary enemies, has fully bared the aggressive designs of the Japanese militarist forces, and the initialling of the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty" confirms that these designs are being put into practice step by step.

But times have changed. The Asia of today is no longer the Asia of yesterday. The Japan of today is

no longer the Japan of yesterday, and the Korea of today is no longer the Korea of yesterday. Both the Korean and Japanese peoples are waging a vigorous struggle against the "ROK-Japan talks" and the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty." We are sure that U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and the traitorous clique in south Korea will have absolutely no way out in the face of the resolute opposition of the peoples of Korea, Japan and all Asia.

China and Korea are neighbours closely related like the lips and the teeth. We two peoples have always been brothers in weal and woe. The criminal activities of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and the traitorous clique in south Korea are directed against both the entire Korean people and the 650 million Chinese people. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Korean people in their just struggle against the "ROK-Japan talks" and for the nullification of the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty." Innumerable facts have shown that U.S. imperialism has landed itself in an impasse in Asia. Should U.S. imperialism insist on linking together its battlefronts for aggression against the Asian countries and should the Sato government of Japan and the puppet clique in south Korea persist in trailing after the United States further, they would only accelerate their own defeat.

Kuo Mo-jo's Speech at Peking Rally

In Support of Korean and Japanese Peoples' Struggle Against "ROK-Japan Talks" and "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty"

IN the name of the 650 million Chinese people, Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, on March 1 sternly condemned U.S. imperialism for directing the Sato government of Japan and the puppet Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea to speed up the "ROK-Japan talks" and initial the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty."

"The Chinese people firmly support the Korean people in their just stand against the 'ROK-Japan talks' and for nullification of the 'ROK-Japan Basic Treaty.' We resolutely support them in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and Japanese militarist expansion and for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland," Kuo Mo-jo declared. "The Chinese people resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialist revival of Japanese militarism and firmly support the Japanese people's national democratic revolutionary movement against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries."

He appealed to the people of all Asian countries to oppose the "ROK-Japan talks" resolutely and smash the criminal schemes of U.S. imperialism.

Kuo Mo-jo said that the initialling of the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty" was "a grave step taken by the U.S. imperialists in encouraging a come-back of Japanese militarism on the Korean Peninsula and in rigging up a so-called 'Northeast Asia military alliance' and aggravating tension in the Far East."

In his speech, Kuo Mo-jo also denounced U.S. imperialism for sending American-piloted strategic bombers to make direct attacks on the people of south Viet Nam, for sending more reinforcements into south Viet Nam and getting its lackeys to send troops there to internationalize the war.

"This shows that U.S. imperialism has taken another dangerous step on the path of expanding its war of aggression," Kuo Mo-jo pointed out. He warned the U.S. aggressors: "In so doing you will only draw still more resolute blows from the heroic Vietnamese people and cause the people of China, the other socialist countries and all other countries who uphold the Geneva agreements to give more resolute support and aid in

terms of concrete action to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression."

Vicious Plan to Make Asians Fight Asians

The so-called "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty," initialled as a result of direct manipulation by the United States, was an important measure to speed up conclusion of the "ROK-Japan talks." This "is an important component of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war in Asia," he said. The "treaty" actually meant opening the door wide for a re-entry of Japanese militarist forces into south Korea, putting up greater obstacles to the peaceful reunification of Korea, and tying the Japanese militarist forces to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism. "All this shows that U.S. imperialism is stepping up its vicious plan to make Asians fight Asians. The peace and security of Asia are under greater threat than ever before," Kuo Mo-jo said.

He condemned the Sato government of Japan for "actively following the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and putting itself at the service of U.S. imperialism." Since Sato's coming to office, he said, the Japanese militarist forces "have stepped up their repressions against the anti-U.S. democratic movements of the Japanese people" in an attempt to "restore the prewar fascist system; they are accelerating their arms drive and war preparations with the sinister intention of sending their armed forces abroad; and they are carrying out more brazenly a whole series of conspiratorial activities hostile to the people of China, Korea and other Southeast Asian countries."

"The fact that the Sato government resumed the 'Japan-ROK talks' and initialled the 'Japan-ROK Basic Treaty' in such a big hurry shows that the Japanese militarist forces are now attempting to resume the old path of aggression against Korea, China and Asia and revive the dream of a 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.'" But in trailing after Tanaka Giichi, Tojo Hideki and their likes, could the Sato government expect any better results? Kuo Mo-jo asked.

He described the Pak Jung Hi clique in south Korea as "a puppet kept in power solely by the bayonets of the U.S. imperialists," which "has no scruples about selling out the national interests and letting a wolf into the house."

The traitorous "treaty" initialled by the Pak Jung Hi clique with Japan "has confronted south Korea with the danger of becoming a colony ruled by both the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarist forces." The Pak Jung Hi clique "has brazenly sent south Korean puppet troops as cannon-fodder for the U.S. war of aggression in south Viet Nam. Those who act as servile lackeys of U.S. imperialism will come to no good end," Kuo Mo-jo said.

The fact that U.S. imperialism had stepped up its stage-managing of the "ROK-Japan talks" and the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty" "is by no means a sign of its strength, but rather an indication of its weakness

and debility. At the present time, U.S. imperialism is in an impasse in Asia and is placing itself in an ever more isolated and difficult position," Kuo Mo-jo pointed out.

"U.S. imperialism rigged up a 'Southeast Asia military bloc,'" he continued. "As a result, however, far from improving, its position in Southeast Asia has grown worse every day. Asia today is a revolutionary Asia against U.S. imperialism, an Asia of storms and thunder. The U.S. imperialist attempt to rig up a so-called 'Northeast Asia military alliance' in order to check the advance of history is like a mantis trying to stop a chariot with its feelers and thus bringing about its own destruction."

Resolute Support for Korean and Japanese Peoples

The Chinese and Korean peoples, he said, "have always been brothers in weal and woe and comrades-in-arms. The criminal activities of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and the traitorous south Korean clique are directed both against the entire Korean people and against the 650 million Chinese people." He pledged the Chinese people's resolute support for the just struggle of the Korean people.

"The Japanese people's patriotic anti-U.S. struggle is surging forward. The Japanese people's call for friendship with China is becoming stronger and stronger. The Japanese people will not countenance any action subservient to U.S. imperialism and hostile to the People's Republic of China," Kuo Mo-jo said. He expressed confidence that "the Japanese people will be able to drive the U.S. imperialists out of Japan and an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous new Japan will emerge."

Kuo Mo-jo pointed out in particular that "U.S. imperialism, after receiving a series of telling blows in southern Viet Nam, is now stepping up its scheme to expand its war of aggression." He said: "U.S. aggressors, your fate is sealed — either you withdraw from southern Viet Nam on your own, or you will be driven out. Neither your desperate struggles nor your scheming activities will avail you."

Kuo Mo-jo went on to say: "All this demonstrates that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of Korea, Japan and Viet Nam, and of all Asia and the whole world. It is the main force of aggression and war in the world today and the chief menace to world peace. All the peoples and nations of the world who want revolution and liberation and all the countries and peoples of the world who strive for independence, who want to safeguard sovereignty and defend world peace must direct the spear of their struggle against U.S. imperialism."

Concluding his speech, Kuo Mo-jo declared: "U.S. imperialism, get out of south Korea, Japan, south Viet Nam, Laos, Indo-China, China's territory of Taiwan, Asia, Africa, Latin America and every place you now occupy!

U.S.-Masterminded "ROK-Japan Talks" Condemned

ON March 1, 10,000 people met in the Great Hall of the People in Peking to voice the Chinese people's firm support for the just struggle of the Korean and Japanese peoples against the "ROK-Japan talks" and the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty" and to express their stern condemnation of U.S. imperialism's new and desperate provocations against the Asian peoples.

Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress were among those present. The rally was sponsored by the China Peace Committee and 10 other people's organizations.

Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, who presided, declared in an opening speech: "The 650 million Chinese people will resolutely stand together and fight shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Korea, Japan and other Asian countries. We are sure that the Korean and Japanese peoples will win final victory in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression."

U.S. Plot for New Military Bloc

He said: "The U.S. imperialists are now vainly attempting to hold their ground in Asia and save themselves from defeat in south Viet Nam by rigging up a Northeast Asia military bloc. But this plot of theirs will never succeed. Their fresh acts of aggression in Northeast Asia will only draw still more and tighter nooses around their necks. They have got into a hopeless impasse in Asia, and however frenzied the struggle they put up, it will only hasten their destruction."

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for directing the Sato government of Japan and the puppet Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea to speed up the "ROK-Japan talks" and initial the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty." (For excerpts of his speech see p. 8.)

The rally was then addressed by Jung Bong Koo, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Korean Embassy in China. Describing the "ROK-Japan talks" as a new aggressive act of U.S. imperialism against the Korean people, he stressed that Washington was organizing collusion between the Japanese militarists and the Pak Jung Hi clique through the "talks" in order to maintain its tottering colonial rule in south Korea, to obstruct Korea's reunification and to step up preparations for an aggressive war there, and to rig up the so-called Northeast Asia military alliance.

He called attention to the fact that "U.S. imperialism is plotting to carry out its aim of aggression against

Asia by making Asians fight Asians." It was obvious, he emphasized, that after the "restoration of diplomatic relations" between south Korea and Japan and the knocking together of a "Northeast Asia military alliance," U.S. imperialism would bring Japanese troops into south Korea and south Viet Nam, thereby formally involving them in various aggressive activities.

Japanese Militarists' Rapacious Ambitions

Jung Bong Koo said that the Japanese militarists, revived by U.S. imperialism, had blatantly shown their ambition for expansion. They were attempting to infiltrate into south Korea as the first step in regaining their former position as colonial rulers.

Jung Bong Koo stressed that any agreements the Japanese Government and the Pak Jung Hi gang might reach at the "ROK-Japan talks" on questions affecting the interests of the entire Korean people would never be recognized but would be declared null and void.

The Korean people would smash the "ROK-Japan talks," drive the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of their fatherland, he emphasized.

A Grave Threat to Far East Peace

Then Ichiji Abe, head of the second group of defendants in the "Matsukawa case" in Japan, and Tomitaro Kaneda, Vice-Chairman of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and Chairman of the All-Japan Dock Workers' Union, took the floor. They both expressed the determination of the Japanese people to oppose the "ROK-Japan talks" and the initialing of the "ROK-Japan Basic Treaty." Ichiji Abe said that the Japanese people had linked this struggle with their struggle against the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines into Japan and the revision of the Japanese Constitution, all of which, he said, were aimed at launching aggression in Asia.

Tomitaro Kaneda pointed out that in essence the "ROK-Japan talks" was a scheme of U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism to bring south Korea once more under their rule. Noting that this scheme had posed a grave threat to peace in the Far East, he stressed that the struggle against the "talks" was a common struggle of the Japanese, Korean and Chinese peoples.

In recent days the Chinese press has given prominent coverage to the struggle of the Korean and Japanese peoples against the "talks" and the "treaty." In its February 28 editorial, *Renmin Ribao* warned U.S. imperialism and its followers that the situation will not develop as they wish. "No matter what tricks U.S. imperialism may play, its strongholds for aggression in Asia are doomed to complete collapse," the paper declared.

— Our Correspondent

Publisher's Note on "Statements by Khrushchov," Vol. III

- Khrushchovian revisionism is a highly poisonous weed. When uprooted it can be used as fertilizer. Materialism cannot develop without the repudiation of idealism, and dialectics cannot develop without the repudiation of metaphysics. There can be no creative development of Marxism-Leninism if modern revisionism and modern dogmatism are not repudiated.
- Khrushchov's statements provide us with a mirror with which to see what Khrushchovism without Khrushchov is, so that we can carry the struggle against Khrushchovian revisionism through to the end.

The third volume of "Statements by Khrushchov" has been published in Chinese by Shijie Zhishi (World Culture) Press and is now on sale throughout China.

Volume III contains 24 of Khrushchov's speeches, reports, letters and articles published in 1954. In all, they come to some 325,000 Chinese characters. The volume carries a "Publisher's Note" which reads:

BEFORE Khrushchov's downfall, we published two volumes of *Statements by Khrushchov*. They contain his statements covering the period 1932 to 1953. In accordance with our earlier plan, from now on we shall publish in full, volume by volume, all the public statements made by Khrushchov from the time he became First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to his fall in October 1964.

Khrushchov is no theoretician, but he made speeches almost every day and commented on everything that was happening in the world at large and in the Soviet Union, often speaking at random and talking nonsense. A rough count shows that his public statements during his eleven years in office total 10 million words, truly a flood of putrid verbosity. Thus, in accordance with our present plan to publish them in separate volumes, *Statements by Khrushchov* will run to as many as 30 volumes. By then Khrushchov can boast of his own complete works which he will leave to the world, saved from oblivion for people to savour.

However, it is a matter of regret that for the time being we will have to leave out that shameful, secret anti-Stalin report which Khrushchov delivered at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Though some Western newspapers carried in full the copy of the report obtained by the U.S. State Department, it was never made public in the Soviet Union.

One may ask: Is there really any use or need to take all this trouble and waste all this paper to publish the complete works of Khrushchov?

We say it is of great use and very necessary, for Khrushchov is the biggest revisionist of our times.

Modern revisionism bears the mark of the name Khrushchov. The collection of Khrushchov's statements is an encyclopaedia of modern revisionism. From it, people can see what Khrushchovian revisionism is and witness the history of its growth and bankruptcy.

Khrushchovian revisionism was first put forward as an anti-Marxist-Leninist line at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. By the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. it had become more systematized and, moreover, took a fixed form as the Programme of the C.P.S.U. Inheriting the legacy of Bernstein and Kautsky, and under the slogans of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition," it opposes revolution and Marxist-Leninist teachings on proletarian revolution. Under the slogans of a "state of the whole people" and a "party of the entire people," it liquidates the dictatorship of the proletariat and transmutes the nature of the proletarian party, keeping the doors wide open to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In front of U.S. imperialism Khrushchov was all servility, showing himself up as a renegade. But he clenched his teeth and showed inveterate hatred towards the fraternal socialist countries, the fraternal Parties upholding Marxism-Leninism and the masses of the people. He did his very best to undermine the socialist camp and the international communist movement, playing a part which is beyond the power of the imperialists and reactionaries to play. He deserves to be called the biggest splitter of the day. And precisely because Khrushchov set himself in opposition to the Soviet masses constituting more than 90 per cent of the Soviet population and the masses elsewhere making up more than 90 per cent of the world's population, he very quickly slid downhill and was quickly finished. This is an inevitable law of historical development.

Khrushchovian revisionism is a highly poisonous weed. When uprooted it can be used as fertilizer. Materialism cannot develop without the repudiation of idealism, and dialectics cannot develop without the repudiation of metaphysics. There can be no creative development of Marxism-Leninism if modern revision-

ism and modern dogmatism are not repudiated. History shows that each advance of Marxism-Leninism is won in the struggle against antagonistic ideology. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always told us that revolutionary parties and the revolutionary people can temper themselves, reach maturity and gain assurance of victory only through the process of repeated education by positive and negative examples and through the process of comparison and contrast. We Chinese Communists have positive teachers in Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We also have teachers by negative example in Chiang Kai-shek, the Japanese imperialists, the U.S. imperialists and those people in our Party who made the mistake of adopting "Left" or Right opportunist lines. The Chinese revolution would not have been victorious if there had been only positive teachers and no teachers by negative example. Those who belittle the role of teachers by negative example are not thoroughgoing dialectical materialists. In this sense, our publication of Khrushchov's complete works will benefit not only China's revolution and construction but also the revolutionary cause throughout the world.

By no means do we interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and other Parties. Nevertheless, we do want, just a bit, to take up the cudgels for Khrushchov against the injustice done to him. Those who had spared no efforts in extolling Khrushchov and had only recently awarded him medals of the highest order suddenly about-faced when he fell, and ordered the confiscation and destruction of all his works, photographs and portraits. That is not quite the way to do things. Had they not been saying, just a few days earlier, that Khrushchov had developed Marxism-Leninism, that Khrushchov was an outstanding and talented leader and theoretician, that Khrushchov was a man who had the greatest concern for the unity of the international communist movement? Then why take such serious administrative measures only a few days later and consign his works running to more than 10 million

words to the flames? What is the use of withdrawing and burning books? How is it possible to prove by this that Khrushchovian revisionism has been thrown overboard?

Khrushchov's forced exit from the world political scene marked the bankruptcy of Khrushchovian revisionism. But the sinister spirit of Khrushchov has not departed. After all there still are larger or smaller groups of people in the world, in the Soviet Union and even here in China, who believe in Khrushchovian revisionism. Why? Because the origin and growth of Khrushchovian revisionism is by no means a question involving a particular individual, nor is it generated by any accidental factor. Khrushchovian revisionism is a product of the times. It is a reflection of reactionary bourgeois ideology in the epoch of the demise of imperialism and the victory of socialism. So long as imperialism and reaction and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie exist in the world, the sinister spirit of Khrushchovian revisionism is bound to appear to oppose Marxism-Leninism. And so the struggle against Khrushchovian revisionism must go on. There is an old Chinese saying, "By re-studying the old one learns something new." Khrushchov's statements provide us with a mirror with which to see what Khrushchovism without Khrushchov is, so that the struggle against Khrushchovian revisionism can be carried through to the end.

In view of the reasons given above, we have collected the statements made by Khrushchov over the years and are publishing them in full. Readers are advised not to be reluctant or impatient about reading them because the language used by this gentleman is so much rubbish. We still maintain that "a remarkable work should be enjoyed together and doubts analysed in company." Khrushchov's statements make up a complete set of excellent material for learning by negative example and we ask you not to miss them by any means.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and other high-ranking P.L.A. officers.

Speaking at the reception, Colonel Kautzsch condemned the Bonn ruling circles for trying to get possession of nuclear weapons via the multilateral nuclear force and other means in order to implement their aggressive and revanchist aims. But, he declared, "this aggressive plan is doomed to failure." Referring to Walter Ulbricht's visit to the United Arab Republic, he described it as a

new proof of the growing international prestige of the G.D.R. and a defeat for the policy of neo-colonialism.

Li Tien-yu, in his speech, denounced U.S. imperialism for trying by every possible means to advance the so-called multilateral nuclear force plan and for actively scheming to lay an atomic mine belt near the border of the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia. "The West German militarists, supported and encouraged by U.S. imperialism," he said, "have become more and more frantic. They have raised a hue and cry that they will swallow the G.D.R. and recover the so-called 1937 frontier. This has

seriously menaced not only the security of the G.D.R. but also that of the other East European socialist countries and the whole of Europe."

Pledging China's support for the people and army of the G.D.R. in their struggle against U.S. imperialist fostering of West German militarism, for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the safeguarding of their national sovereignty, he declared: "The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, upholding the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism, will always unite with you in the common struggle against the enemy until final victory."

The Johnson Administration's War Blackmail

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" March 1 editorial. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE Johnson Administration is in a dilemma on the question of south Viet Nam. What will its next move be?

Will it beat a retreat in face of the difficulties? Like the proverbial diehard who "does not shed tears until he sees his own coffin," the U.S. aggressors will not stay their hands in south Viet Nam until they are completely wiped out or thrown out.

The facts before us right now once again prove this.

1. The United States has used its air force directly in attacking the south Vietnamese liberation forces. Following this, the U.S. press deliberately let loose a flood of propaganda saying that this indicated a tougher attitude on the part of the United States.

2. U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara said that U.S. combat aircraft, weapons and troops would be directly committed in south Viet Nam "whenever necessary."

3. Plots for aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam continue unabated. Puppet air force commander of south Viet Nam Nguyen Cao Ky revealed that the U.S. and puppet air forces planned to make their fourth raid on the D.R.V. on February 19, but they had to call it off because of the coup d'etat in Saigon.

4. U.S. military commentator Hanson Baldwin was even more outspoken. He proposed that the United States get ready to send 200,000-1,000,000 troops to Viet Nam to fight a Korean-type war.

The so-called U.S. "special warfare" essentially means building a native mercenary army, supplied with U.S. money and guns, to put down the local people's revolutionary movement. This is what the United States is doing in south Viet Nam. It has sent more than 20,000 military personnel to control and direct the puppet south Vietnamese troops and it has actually participated in the massacre of the south Vietnamese people. Nevertheless, in the past it still disguised its military personnel as "advisers." But now, the United States has come out into the open and used its air force directly in attacking the south Vietnamese libera-

tion forces. "The United States Government is abandoning the pretense," as one British newspaper put it. This move is another new step to intensify the U.S. war of aggression in south Viet Nam.

The strange thing is that after committing such a towering crime the U.S. aggressors have made no effort to hide it. Instead, they have made a big noise about it so that no one can fail to take notice. Even stranger is the fact that what they are trying to do — as revealed by McNamara, what they have planned to do but have not done — as disclosed by Nguyen Cao Ky and what they want to do but probably dare not do — as hinted at by Baldwin, were all told to their opponent. What is the reason for this?

U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said on February 25: "Political channels have been and are open." "If that [assault] is relieved and removed, then things can begin to move."

Thus the truth of the matter has become clear. The Johnson Administration is attempting to use the action of gradually extending the war, as well as the threat to escalate it even more, as a means to force the Vietnamese people to submit and accept the terms dictated by Washington. The Johnson Administration is also attempting to take advantage of the fear of a big war among certain people and of the so-called formulas for peace negotiations, advanced by various people for a variety of motives, as a way of putting pressure on the Vietnamese people to abandon their just struggle and tolerate brutal U.S. aggression.

It seems that the Johnson Administration knows nothing whatever about the awakening of the world's people.

The United States is the aggressor. It is the United States which has intruded into south Viet Nam to commit murder and arson, wrecked the 1954 Geneva agreements, and thus imposed the war on the south Vietnamese people. The aggressor has no right to ask its victims to stop their resistance unless it gets out of south Viet Nam. More and more people have come to understand this.

The United States is the defeated. Its three air strikes against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have failed to improve in the slightest its difficult situation in south Viet Nam. On the contrary, they have only aroused the militant anger of the 30 million

Vietnamese people who are dealing the U.S. aggressors heavier blows than ever. No matter what, the United States' defeat is sealed. In the past, people did not quite understand this. But now more and more have realized it; even within the U.S. ruling groups some are beginning to wake up to this fact.

But the Johnson Administration does not dare face the reality of defeat. Suddenly it has put on an air as if it were able to browbeat others by war. It seems to be saying: Aren't you going to let me save face? I'm prepared to fight a Korean-type war in Viet Nam and even extend the war beyond Indo-China. Are you afraid of this or aren't you? Why don't you find some way to let me climb down?

This is outright war blackmail. It is out-and-out gangsterism. **One should not underestimate the mania of U.S. imperialism which may take risks in desperation. But in no case should one submit to U.S. imperialist war blackmail. The socialist countries should not do so. Certainly, all the world's people, who cherish justice, will also increasingly realize that to accommodate U.S. imperialism will only increase its arrogance.**

Viet Nam has committed no aggression against the United States. It is the latter which has sent its armed forces from thousands of miles away to carry out aggression in Viet Nam. It is up to those who have got themselves into trouble to get themselves out of it. **The United States must withdraw all its armed forces from south Viet Nam. Once this is done, the south Vietnamese people will themselves settle their own problems. Otherwise, anything which is seemingly fair will only mean winking at U.S. aggression, compromising with Washington, giving it a breathing spell and falling into the trap set by its stalling tactics.**

In the face of the current situation in Indo-China, the task confronting the world's people is to broaden and deepen further the movement supporting the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression. People of the countries in the socialist camp, people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all people of the world who oppose U.S. imperialism: unite and take all possible and effective measures to support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people with concrete actions and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors!

What a Mess the U.N. Has Become

Following is "Renmin Ribao's" February 25 editorial "Look At What the United Nations Has Become!" Bold-face emphases are ours. — Ed.

MANIPULATION and control by the United States have made a mess of the United Nations. That was why the 19th session of the U.N. General Assembly merely pottered about for more than two months without adopting an agenda and without allowing any concrete issues to be discussed. Pandemonium reigned throughout and the session indeed was "neither fish nor fowl."

A so-called "financial crisis" generated by the United States threw that grandiose world organization, the United Nations, into a state of paralysis. What is this "financial crisis"? Bluntly speaking, the United States tries to force the other countries to share the burden of expense for its aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) which was carried out under the U.N. flag.

On July 14, 1960, the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution to organize a "United Nations Force" to intervene in the national-liberation movement of the Congo (L). The Soviet Union voted for this. The "United Nations Force" used by the United States to intervene in the Congo spent more than 400 million U.S. dollars, draining the U.N. treasury. Now the United States is bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet Union and arrogantly demanding that it foot part of the bill. Though the Soviet Union has made major con-

cessions and repeatedly expressed willingness to contribute to the U.N. "special emergency fund" in order to bring the issue to a close, the United States is still not satisfied. Instead, it has specified the sum the Soviet Union should pay and set the deadline as well, and it threatens to deprive others of the right to vote by invoking Article 19 of the U.N. Charter. Thus an "impasse" has resulted, making it impossible for the United Nations to carry out its so-called normal functions. This reveals the height of impudence of the United States!

Many member states were revolted by the strange goings-on at the 19th U.N. General Assembly. The Algerian Foreign Minister pointed out that the session would close with a drop in prestige and a loss of authority. The delegate from Saudi Arabia said that observers outside the United Nations already regarded that organization as a "big joke." The Tanzanian delegate exposed the fact that the paralysis in the United Nations was created "to suit some countries" while subjecting the small countries to "indignities." The Albanian delegate sternly condemned the United States for imposing an "irregular procedure" on the U.N. General Assembly and demanded that the assembly disregard U.S. threats and obstructions, immediately return to its normal procedure and put an end to this intolerable state of affairs. The Albanian proposal was entirely just. But, as a result of manipulation by the big powers, it was voted down. This is another shameful record in the history of the United Nations.

Why did the United States make such a big issue of the "U.N. Force" expenses for aggression against the Congo (L) and did not even hesitate to muddle up the 19th U.N. General Assembly? The question, of course, is not a matter of so many millions of dollars. **What the United States is after is to make the other countries share part of the responsibility for its crimes in strangling the Congolese (L) national-liberation movement, then to establish its use of the United Nations for purposes of aggression as a principle which no one would dare oppose, and turn the "U.N. Force," a tool used by the United States for aggression, into something permanent and legal.**

Is not all this borne out by the facts? The 19th U.N. General Assembly did not discuss a single concrete issue after sitting for more than two months. But after Albania's reasonable proposal was voted down under U.S. direction, **the assembly decided, without putting it to a vote, to authorize its president to set up a "special committee for peace-keeping operations" to study the question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, including measures to solve the present U.N. financial crisis. In addition, it prescribed that a report should be sent in before June 15 this year. According to the documents issued by the U.S. and Soviet Governments since March 1964 and related materials of the 19th U.N. General Assembly, the so-called "question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects" mainly consists of the establishment, command and use of the U.N. armed forces and the raising of funds for this purpose.**

On February 17, just before the U.N. General Assembly decided to set up a "special committee for peace-keeping operations," U.S. Vice-President Humphrey let the cat out of the bag in a speech advocating the need "to supplement and complement and improve the operational peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations." He said: 1. "In its most operational and visible form, peace-keeping in action is an armed patrol of soldiers of peace in blue berets." Thus the establishment by the United Nations of a flexible troop call-up system for future emergencies is "an essential step." 2. The United States has "no desire to play the role of global gendarme." Wherever the United States finds it inconvenient or is unable to send its own troops to intervene in "explosive local disputes," "a stable professional U.N. force can play that role." 3. The United States can help "to train and equip" the U.N. contingents, to provide transport and pay the costs. It hopes "others will do the same." 4. This U.N. force will be sent mainly to "protect" the smaller countries. Humphrey said that the implementation of this plan was one of the "most urgent tasks" for strengthening the United Nations.

Humphrey's speech is barefaced and clear enough, and hardly needs any further explanation. Still we would like to say a few words about it.

In carrying out aggression and intervention in all parts of the world, U.S. imperialism has completely

revealed its true colours and aroused strong opposition from the world's people. As a notorious international gendarme, the United States is having an increasingly difficult time. It is for this reason that the United States has for a long time been trying to establish a permanent U.N. force and use it as a tool for aggression. The late U.S. President, John F. Kennedy, in summing up the U.S. experience of aggression against the Congo (L), said that "the U.S. goal could best be pursued through the United Nations." U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk was even more to the point when he said: "The flag of the United Nations is the emblem of a world community. It can be flown in places where the flag of another sovereign nation would be considered an affront." The United States is now going to put into effect its plan through the so-called U.N. "special committee for peace-keeping operations." In other words, it is bent on converting the United Nations into a U.S.-controlled headquarters of international gendarmes to suppress and stamp out the revolutionary struggles of the world's people.

Humphrey took great pains to describe this U.N. force as one aimed at "peace-keeping" and intervening in "explosive local disputes." This is an oft-repeated U.S. imperialist pretext for aggression. The Truman Administration used the "United Nations Forces" for its aggression in Korea, but it claimed that the "use of force" in Korea by the United Nations had "greatly strengthened the cause of peace." In using the "United Nations Force" to swallow up the Congo (L), the Kennedy Administration asserted that what was at stake "is the issue of peace not only for the Congo but for the world." The Johnson Administration alleged that its bloody suppression of the Panamanian people was for the preservation of "peace and security." It also described its aggression in south Viet Nam and expansion of the war in Indo-China as moves for the "realization of peace in Southeast Asia." In the eyes of the U.S. imperialists, the moment the people of other countries rise in revolution to oppose them and their stooges, an "explosive issue" is created and the United Nations must send troops to intervene. **The special design of the United States in trying to build a permanent U.N. force, therefore, is to crack down on the small countries and suppress the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.**

The setting up of a U.N. "special committee for peace-keeping operations" is obviously a vicious U.S. scheme to promote neo-colonialism. On February 23, British Foreign Secretary Stewart made it clear in Parliament that Britain would put forward more explicit proposals when this committee started to draw up the general structure of the proposed U.N. special peace-keeping force. He also expressed willingness to provide logistic support for this force.

What attitude did the Soviet delegate take towards the U.S. plan to set up a permanent U.N. force through the instrumentality of the U.N. "special committee for

peace-keeping operations"? At the General Assembly meeting on February 18, the Soviet delegate spoke in support of the plan and expressed the hope that the committee would be able to solve the U.N. crisis. The Soviet delegate's attitude has its origin. It should be recalled that, in early July 1964, Khrushchov sent a memorandum to the Governments of the United States, Britain, Japan and other countries and to the U.N. Secretary-General proposing that a "U.N. force" under U.N. control be created so that it could be sent to any "troubled area" in the world to "prevent or stop military aggression" and achieve the "maintenance of peace." The memorandum added that this was an action "to enhance the United Nations' function." Khrushchov's proposal was later repeatedly affirmed by the Soviet Government and its U.N. delegate. It is, indeed, difficult to see any essential difference between the Soviet proposal and the U.S. plan.

Through control of the United Nations, the United States has committed innumerable crimes and aroused universal anger. Many countries have proposed that the United Nations be thoroughly reorganized so that it can be freed from the grip of the United States. Instead of meeting their hopes, matters have now developed in a direction diametrically opposed to the wishes of these countries. The establishment of the "special committee for peace-keeping operations" means that the United Nations will degenerate still more as a tool of the United States in the latter's aggression. But U.S. imperialism had better not rejoice too soon. What it did at the 19th U.N. General Assembly has further aggravated the crisis of that international organization. It can be said with certainty that the day the U.S.-controlled U.N. permanent force is formed will also be the day the death knell tolls for the United Nations.

Fight Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism

For the Economic Emancipation of Afro-Asian Peoples

— Speech by Nan Han-chen at the Afro-Asian Economic Seminar

- **Exploitation and plunder by imperialism and old and new colonialism is the root cause of the poverty and backwardness of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. To shake off completely the control, plunder and all unequal treatment imposed by imperialism and old and new colonialism is the unanimous voice of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.**
- **The fundamental way for the Afro-Asian peoples to achieve complete national liberation is to develop independent national economies on the basis of self-reliance and through assistance to each other based on equality and mutual benefit.**
- **It is hoped that the seminar will develop the revolutionary spirit of fighting imperialism and make due contributions in pointing out for the Afro-Asian countries the correct path to full political and economic independence.**

Following is a translation of the speech delivered by Nan Han-chen, leader of the Chinese delegation to the Afro-Asian Economic Seminar, in Algiers on February 23, 1965. The speech is entitled "Let Us Resolutely Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism and for the Economic Emancipation of the Afro-Asian Peoples." Subheads and boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, brothers and friends,

The Afro-Asian Economic Seminar is formally opened today. We are honoured that His Excellency Ahmed Ben Bella, President of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, has personally come to attend

the opening session and address us. The independence of Algeria is a great event in the African national-liberation movement of our time. In recent years, the Algerian people, holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, have actively supported the national-liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and made important contributions to the strengthening of the comradeship-in-arms and solidarity of the peoples of China and Algeria as well as the Afro-Asian peoples. Allow me, on behalf of the Chinese delegation and the Chinese people, to salute the valiant Algerian people and the peoples in Asia and Africa and other parts of the world who are resolutely fighting against imperialism to achieve their complete national liberation.

The present seminar is being held in accordance with the relevant resolution adopted by the Third Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference. The Chinese delegation sincerely hopes that through the common efforts of the delegates the seminar will go still further in carrying through and developing the revolutionary spirit of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference to fight imperialism to the end, and by holding aloft the banner of the Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, the banner of developing independent national economies, the banner of self-reliance and the banner of mutual support on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, the seminar will carry through the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to the end, and make due contributions in pointing out for the Asian and African countries the correct path to full political and economic independence.

Here we cannot but recall the Second Asian Economic Seminar held successfully in June 1964 at Pyongyang, capital of the heroic Democratic People's Republic of Korea, with the participation of delegates and friends from 34 Asian and African countries and regions. That seminar was a great event in the political and economic life of the Afro-Asian peoples. The famous Pyongyang Declaration it adopted further exposed the new schemes of aggression by imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, against Asia, Africa and Latin America, and pointed out self-reliance as the correct path for the Asian and other peoples to build independent national economies and thereby to free themselves completely from imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist control and plunder. The declaration also called upon the peoples of the three continents to co-operate closely, assist each other, develop and extend economic co-operation between themselves and further intensify their struggle to accomplish the revolutionary tasks of frustrating the policy of aggression and enslavement of the imperialists headed by the United States and achieving social progress. It is quite clear that the Second Asian Economic Seminar fully expressed the valour of the awakened Asian, African and Latin American peoples who have stood up and become masters of their own countries. It correctly pointed out the immediate tasks of their struggle and gave expression to their long-term and fundamental interests. That is why the Pyongyang seminar has won general approval and enthusiastic support from the peoples of Asia and other regions.

The present world situation is excellent. In the course of the great struggle against imperialism, the revolutionary consciousness of the people throughout the world is constantly rising and the forces of revolution are growing from strength to strength. Notably, since the end of World War II the great victories gained one after another by the broad masses of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for national liberation have dealt telling blows to imperialism and colonialism and weakened the foundations of their rule. At present, the national-democratic revolu-

tion in Asia is developing in depth, the whole of Africa is in the midst of an anti-imperialist revolutionary upsurge and the national-democratic revolutionary movement in Latin America is rising to new heights. Thus, Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm-centres of world revolution of our time.

However, imperialism and colonialism will never reconcile themselves to their defeats. They have not and will never step out of the arena of history "of their own accord." They not only carry out acts of aggression, intervention and subversion against the newly independent countries in the political and military fields, but also go a step further in controlling, infiltrating and plundering these countries in the economic field. Therefore, objective facts have shown that the tasks of completing their national-democratic revolution have not yet been accomplished by the Afro-Asian peoples. We must continuously carry on the military and political struggle against imperialism in order to defend our independence. Moreover, we must also work energetically for the achievement of our economic independence and complete national liberation.

In accordance with the first item of the agenda adopted by our seminar, the Chinese delegation wishes now to submit, for your consideration, the following report entitled: "Let Us Resolutely Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism and for the Economic Emancipation of the Afro-Asian Peoples."

In order to make a more penetrating analysis of this subject, we feel it is necessary to make a study of the three following points:

1. What is the root cause of the poverty and backwardness in the economy of the Afro-Asian countries at the present time?
2. Why is it that the development of an independent national economy is the basic way to achieve economic independence?
3. Self-reliance and mutual assistance.

I. What Is the Root Cause of the Poverty and Backwardness in the Economy of the Afro-Asian Countries at the Present Time?

It is a great joy to see that in less than 20 years, many newly independent countries in Asia and Africa have made encouraging achievements in the elimination of the remnants of colonialism and its influence and in the development of independent national economies and culture. But, relatively speaking, most of the Afro-Asian countries have not yet completely freed themselves from poverty and backwardness in the economic field. What then is the root cause of this phenomenon?

The imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists have been talking such nonsense as: "You are overpopulated," "You are backward and ignorant," "Your

national income is too low," "Your rate of savings is too low," and so forth. Obviously all these assertions are shameless lies.

Many indisputable facts show that the root cause of the economic "underdevelopment" of Afro-Asian countries is undoubtedly the continuous aggression, control, rapacious plunder and exploitation by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. He who refuses to recognize this truth and purposely tries to hide or distort it is but an apologist of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

It is obvious that today while the old colonialists are still trying to use their remaining influence in the newly independent countries to hold on to their colonial interests, the neo-colonialists are resorting to more cunning and deceptive tactics by handing out political independence while continuing their economic control and exploitation in order to keep the newly independent countries under their thumb for ever. It is therefore essential that the Afro-Asian peoples see through this plot in good time.

The following facts are to be noted.

1. **Under various forms and in various degrees, the imperialists and old and new colonialists still maintain various kinds of privileges which encroach upon the sovereignty and independence of many countries.** Militarily, for instance, the imperialists headed by the United States have the privilege of establishing military bases and stationing troops in many countries; politically, they enjoy extra-territoriality and, economically, the so-called rights of land concessions, prospecting and exploiting mines, customs administration, issuance of paper money, reduction of and exemption from customs duties and taxes for their enterprises as well as many other unequal stipulations imposed by them through providing so-called "aid" upon the recipient countries. Furthermore, they also have special privileges in the cultural field. In short, all these privileges without exception encroach upon the sovereignty and independence of the countries concerned and violate the basic rights of the Afro-Asian peoples.

2. **The imperialists and old and new colonialists still control the major branches of production and economic life lines of many countries.** For instance, monopoly capital in several imperialist countries headed by the United States controls more than three-fourths of the known major mineral resources in Asian, African and Latin American countries. About four-fifths of the total output of 22 kinds of important raw materials in Asia, Africa and Latin America are under the control of the monopoly capital of these imperialist countries.

In many countries they also control large plantations, big enterprises, transport and communications, national and international telecommunications, banking and insurance, foreign trade and even the domestic commerce of some countries, in order to make enormous profits out of them.

What merits special mention is the exploitation of the oil resources by the imperialists in Asian and African countries. As is well known, most of the oil resources in Asia, Africa and even Latin America still remain in the hands of the international cartels mainly controlled and monopolized by monopoly capital of the U.S. and the British imperialists. For years, the Asian, African and Latin American countries have become more and more important as the chief oil suppliers for the imperialist countries. Of the total amount of world oil export, the share of the Asian, African and Latin American countries had increased from 68 per cent in 1938 to 93 per cent in 1961. If we take the four major oil-producing countries in West Asia as an example, we see that from 1953 to 1962 the imperialists took from them 1,590 million tons of oil to the value of U.S.\$23,630 million. After the deduction of the cost of production amounting to U.S.\$2,380 million, the profits and other gains squeezed out by the imperialists come to U.S.\$21,250 million, nine times the cost of production! Among these imperialists, the U.S. imperialists are the biggest exploiters of the world's oil production. The five big U.S. oil companies occupy about 70 per cent of the total area of the oil concessions in the Middle East. According to the greatly reduced figures published by official U.S. sources, the oil profits obtained from abroad by U.S. monopoly capital in 1962 amounted to U.S.\$1,716 million, i.e., 40.4 per cent of the total net profit of U.S.\$4,245 million made by direct U.S. private investment abroad that year. In the same year, total U.S. investments in the oil industry in West Asia amounted to U.S.\$1.148 billion with a net profit of U.S.\$845 million, that is to say, the rate of profit is as high as 73 per cent! Does this kind of robbery of the Afro-Asian peoples' national wealth not make people shudder?

It should also be pointed out that the plunder and control of non-ferrous and rare metals by the imperialist countries headed by the United States in Afro-Asian countries are equally shocking. For instance, it is well known that such non-ferrous metals as copper in Africa and tin in Asia are respectively controlled by the U.S., British and other imperialists. As to rare metals, the lithium mines in Southern Rhodesia are almost wholly controlled by the four big American lithium companies and the uranium mines in the Congo (Leopoldville) are monopolized by the Union Minière du Haut Katanga controlled by the United States, Belgium and Britain. According to trade statistics published by the United Nations, of the total value of rare metals imported by the six imperialist countries from the capitalist world in 1962 the United States' share was more than three-fourths. Such rare metals as tantalum, niobium and lithium necessary for the manufacturing of rockets, missiles and for atomic industries in the United States are almost wholly imported from Asian, African and Latin American countries, while about 90 per cent of the beryllium and cobalt are also imported from abroad.

The imperialist plunder of Afro-Asian economic resources has an incalculable and disastrous effect on the future economic development of the Asian and African countries.

3. The imperialists also control the international market, manipulate world prices, arbitrarily lower the prices of primary products and raise the prices of manufactured goods, they buy cheap and sell dear, practising non-equivalent exchange and causing great losses to the Afro-Asian countries. According to official statistics, from 1951 to 1961 the general level of the prices of primary products (not including oil) exported by the Asian, African and Latin American countries fell by 33.1 per cent; among these products the prices of agricultural and mineral products fell by 39.2 per cent. In the same period, the general level of the prices of manufactured goods imported by these countries from the imperialist countries went up by 3.5 per cent; of these goods the prices of machinery and equipment went up by 31.3 per cent. As compared with the prices in 1951, the Asian, African and Latin American countries lost an astonishing sum of U.S.\$41,400 million in the period of 1952-61, and such losses have been increasing every year. While the losses were U.S.\$2,400 million in 1952, they went up to U.S.\$6,200 million in 1961. Expressed in barter terms, in order to import a tractor of 30 to 39 h.p., Ghana had to export 3.06 tons of cocoa beans in 1955, but 7.14 tons in 1962; similarly, Brazil had to export 2.38 tons of coffee in 1955, but 4.79 tons in 1962; the United Arab Republic had to export 2.11 tons of cotton in 1955, but 3.41 tons in 1962; Burma had to export 26.35 tons of rice in 1955, but 32.57 tons in 1962. In the same period, exports of many countries increased while their earnings in foreign exchange from these exports decreased. This is how large sums of profits rolled into the pockets of the imperialists through what they called "equal" and "voluntary" trade, which actually is outrageous robbery.

4. The imperialists also practise usury in various forms, exacting high rates of interest and seriously impairing the normal development of the national economy of the debtor nations. According to the statistics published by the World Bank, the foreign debts of 71 Asian, African and Latin American countries (or regions) amounted to nearly U.S.\$27,000 million in 1962, while a sum of about U.S.\$5,000 million was paid that year to service the foreign loans. It is estimated that the total amount of foreign debts incurred by these countries has now increased to more than U.S.\$30,000 million.

High rates of interest which have to be paid for these foreign debts cannot but be a very heavy burden to the debtor nations. For instance, the annual rate of interest for 72 per cent of the loans made by the few major imperialist countries in 1961 was more than 5 per cent, and for some of the loans, annual interest was as high as 7 or 8 per cent. At the same time, in most cases exacting conditions for their use and repayment were imposed on the borrowing countries.

Consequently, even according to official statistics, the capital exported by the imperialists in various forms to the 56 "developing countries" from 1956 to 1962 amounted to U.S.\$30,000 million, while they squeezed U.S.\$15,100 million out of these countries in interest and profit alone. The situation is even worse in some regions and countries. During the above-mentioned period, the foreign capital imported by West Asia amounted to only U.S.\$2,800 million, while the interest and profit taken out of this region amounted to U.S.\$3,600 million; in Latin America, imported foreign capital was U.S.\$9,500 million, while the interest and profit squeezed out of here were U.S.\$9,300 million. For this reason, many Asian and African countries which are already deep in debt have to incur new debts in order to pay the old ones. When will the people of these countries be able to get rid of these ever increasing foreign debts which weigh upon them like a huge mountain?

At the same time, it must also be pointed out that so-called "multilateral aid" through international organizations ~~is a new trap set~~ by the neo-colonialists to exploit the Afro-Asian countries. As is well known, the so-called International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association are all "political banks" with U.S. imperialism as their nerve centre for carrying out activities of aggression. For instance, up to June 1963 the World Bank signed loan agreements with Asian, African and Latin American countries amounting to a total of U.S.\$5,000 million. These debtor countries, in addition to submitting to harsh terms of trade, must also undertake many obligations such as supplying information about their national economy, submitting their national economic policy and planning to be "reviewed" by the World Bank and accepting its "supervision" over the use of such loans, etc. Does not all this prove that the so-called "multilateral aid" is nothing but a new device of the neo-colonialists for economic penetration and robbery?

As to the so-called "development" loans supplied by the International Development Association, the nominally long-term interest-free loans with only a commission of 0.75 per cent, are but window-dressing put up by U.S. imperialism.

From 1960 to June 1963, the International Development Association promised such loans to a limited number of applicants, totalling U.S.\$500 million, while only U.S.\$70 million was actually received.

5. The so-called "economic aid" provided by the imperialists, particularly by the U.S. imperialists, is a typical instrument through which the neo-colonialists attempt to extend their control and exploitation, even to interfere in the internal affairs of or to subvert the recipient countries.

According to official publications, the long-term investments and governmental grants made to the "devel-

oping countries" by the imperialist countries and the international organizations under their control amount to an annual average of U.S.\$2,600 million from 1951 to 1955, U.S.\$4,007 million from 1956 to 1959, and U.S.\$6,000 million from 1960 to 1962. But the average gain made by the imperialist countries from these countries in the corresponding periods far exceeded these figures. Take 1961 for example. It is estimated that the gains from exploitation by the imperialist countries of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries were about U.S.\$5,000 million in profits, over U.S.\$1,000 million in interest and U.S.\$5,800 million from non-equivalent exchange. These three items amounted to U.S.\$11,800 million, the first two alone amounting to U.S.\$6,000 million.

It is therefore very clear that the so-called "aid" from the imperialists represents but a very insignificant part of their gains squeezed out of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and is used as a means for new aggression.

Of all the imperialists, the U.S. imperialists, in giving foreign "aid," usually impose on the recipient countries the greatest number of conditions which are most exacting and of a most aggressive and oppressive character.

As is well known, the U.S. imperialists often use their "aid" to force the recipient countries to conclude "treaties of commerce and navigation," "agreements of economic co-operation" or other unequal treaties. The recipient countries have to make commitments such as: 1) "to stabilize the economy, currency, finance and foreign exchange" and "to lower trade barriers" so as to facilitate exports of goods and capital by U.S. imperialism; 2) to give U.S. citizens "national treatment" and "the most favoured nation treatment"; 3) to "protect the interests of private investments"; 4) the use of the "aid" funds to be determined by the United States; 5) setting up "counterpart funds," the use of which is controlled by the United States; 6) "supplying raw materials" to the United States; 7) a very large part of the "aid" funds must be used to buy U.S. goods which moreover must be transported by U.S. shipping; and 8) the recipient countries must supply the United States with all necessary economic information, etc. We can all see what unequal stipulations these are!

There are also the so-called "Foreign Aid Act," the "Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act," etc., which even more openly impose exacting "conditions" upon the recipient countries when granting such "aid."

Furthermore, it is also an open secret that political and military conditions are often attached when U.S. imperialism grants such "aid."

One can see from the above that the aggressive nature of the so-called "aid" by U.S. imperialism has been exposed to the full, without even a fig leaf left on it!

The above-mentioned facts indisputably show that U.S. imperialism is the biggest exploiter of the peoples all over the world.

At present, U.S. imperialism is resorting to all kinds of new devices, such as the so-called "technical assistance," "peace corps," etc. As the Dar-es-Salaam bi-weekly *Vigilance Africa* very rightly pointed out last January, the members of the U.S. "peace corps" are but "spies and adventurers," neo-colonialist tools in Africa.

Are these not the facts?

The peoples of Asia and Africa are naturally very indignant and strongly condemn all these. Thus, President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria laid special emphasis on the fact that "neo-colonialism remains a real danger for the young states," and he said in no uncertain terms: We shall never eat any bread poisoned with an aid which, with attacks, would prevent us from cultivating friendship.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic solemnly pointed out: "America gives us a minimal aid and they think by this aid they can control us and direct our policy. This is impossible." He added that those "who do not like our conduct can drink from the sea!"

As President Sukarno of Indonesia so rightly put it, "Go to hell with your aid! We do not need such aid! Without it we shall continue to go onward."

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, also pointed out that one of the objectives of U.S. "aid" was "to poison our administration and our people so that we cannot achieve economic independence and consequently, ensure genuine political independence, by injecting a kind of real opium which would make us give up everything and commit all kinds of treason."

6. The imperialists also control and monopolize maritime shipping and insurance business, and exploit the Afro-Asian countries through invisible trade. The ten Western countries possessing merchant fleets headed by the United States had in 1963 at their disposal a total tonnage of 90 million in merchant vessels (each over 300 tons), and monopolizing over two-thirds of the world's total tonnage. Over 90 per cent of world ocean shipping is controlled by the imperialists. They control the liner shipping conference (the "freight conference"), colluding with each other to increase freight rates at will. In recent years, the number and scale of freight rate increases in Asia and Africa imposed by the maritime shipping monopolies have reached an astonishing degree. From 1951 to 1961 liner freight rates were increased five times with an accrued rise of about 60 per cent, and since 1962 they have gone up again. This has greatly increased the economic burdens of the Afro-Asian countries, and it has hit the heavy, bulky and low-priced primary products which represented 85 per cent of the total Afro-Asian exports particularly hard. It is estimated that the net annual freight expenditures incurred by the Asian, African and Latin American

countries total no less than U.S.\$1,600 million which also flow into the pockets of the imperialist monopoly capitalists.

In the same way, the imperialist monopoly of the world's insurance business has more and more adverse effects on the balance of the insurance payments of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. In 1961 alone, the unfavourable balance in the insurance payments of the latter reached U.S.\$370 million.

Brothers and friends,

From the above it is clear that the tremendous exploitation and plundering of the Afro-Asian peoples by the imperialists and old and new colonialists over a long period of years cannot but be the root cause of our poverty and backwardness.

The Afro-Asian peoples have created tremendous wealth with their own hands, but unfortunately in the past few centuries they have become the object of the enslavement and exploitation by the imperialists and old and new colonialists.

As the old saying goes, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of god. In a world where there still exist imperialism and colonialism, where can one find any monopoly capitalist who might be called "reasonable"? The truth is that it is exactly these monopoly capitalists who depend on us Afro-Asian peoples for their living, and not vice versa!

We must completely free ourselves of the control, exploitation and all inequalities imposed on us by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism! This is a just demand, the unanimous voice of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America!

The clarion call for the victory of the Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle for full political and economic independence is now resounding throughout Asia and Africa!

II. Why Is It That the Development of an Independent National Economy Is the Basic Way to Achieve Economic Independence?

In the last ten years and more, the Afro-Asian peoples have scored brilliant victories in their struggle for national liberation, ushering in a new era for the building of an independent, prosperous and strong new Asia and new Africa.

From their own experience in the struggle, the Afro-Asian peoples have come to understand that the achievement of political independence is but the first step towards complete national liberation, because political independence and economic independence are inseparable. Political independence is the basic prerequisite for economic independence, while political independence can only be consolidated through effecting complete economic independence.

Therefore, the fundamental way for the Afro-Asian peoples to realize these aspirations is to develop an

independent national economy on the basis of self-reliance and through assistance to each other based on equality and mutual benefit.

In order to free themselves completely from the control and plundering by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to radically change the deformed structure of national economy resulting from long years of past colonial rule, it is necessary for the Afro-Asian peoples to make full use of their national resources and gradually to achieve industrialization of their respective countries in accordance with their specific conditions, so that they may change the dependent economy left over from the past into an independent economy and at the same time transform the single-product economy into a diversified economy.

For many years since 1840, old China suffered aggression and plunder at the hands of almost all the colonialist countries in the world, big and small. These countries forced us to sign or accept very many unequal treaties, agreements and other documents. In those days, they enjoyed all kinds of privileges in China. What is more, over 1,000 enterprises owned by foreign monopoly capitalists controlled the lifelines of our national economy. Consequently old China became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country and its national economy impoverished and backward. Old China was an agricultural country, but it was far from self-sufficient in cotton and food grains. Its industrial foundation was also very weak. It had no real heavy industry, while its light industry had to depend on foreign countries for technique, capital, raw materials, markets, and so forth. Naturally, the living conditions of the broad masses of our people were very miserable.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, in order to rid ourselves completely of the poverty and backwardness left over from old China, to develop an independent national economy and culture and to gradually raise the material and cultural living standards of our people on the basis of increasing production, we have made efforts in various fields as recounted below:

1. Immediately after the advent of New China, we declared the complete abolition of all privileges enjoyed by the imperialists in old China. In the military field, we abolished the imperialists' "rights" to station troops in China and to navigate on our inland waters. In the political field, we abolished extra-territoriality and the old system of so-called "foreign concessions." In the economic field, we abolished the imperialists' "rights" to control our customs administration which they had enjoyed over a long period of time as well as their "rights" to control our foreign trade, foreign exchange clearance, issuance of paper money, prospecting and exploitation of mineral resources, and their privileges of establishing factories, building railways, owning land, reduction of or exemption from taxes and customs duties and the so-called "freedom to travel" in China. In the cultural field, we also abolished all the privileges they enjoyed and educated the

whole people to be patriotic, and gradually eliminated all the remnant influences left by the old colonial domination.

Since then, the Chinese people have stood up and really hold their destiny in their own hands. For us, a great new era of building a New China has begun.

2. We firmly took hold of all the lifelines of our national economy, including factories, mines, railways, post and telecommunications, foreign trade, finance, banking, insurance, commerce, as well as undertakings in education and culture. At the same time, we made the state-owned sector of the economy the dominant factor in our national economy. At last the old humiliating era of letting foreign monopoly enterprises run the economic lifelines of our country came to an end.

3. We carried out necessary social and democratic reforms, raised the political consciousness of the whole people and gave full play to their enthusiasm and initiative for production and construction. The people are the real masters of our country. Once they come to know the aim of labour and what they are striving for, they can go all out and bring their herculean force into full play on the production and construction front. **The land reform was carried out and completed in 1952,** which abolished the feudal land system left over from old China, liberated the social productive force in the countryside, expanded our internal market, and thereby opened up a broad road to the industrialization of our country.

4. In accordance with the conditions of our national resources and technical level, our socialist construction has been carried out in a planned way since 1953. We worked out plans for an active and steady development of our national economy. Targets are decided according to needs and capabilities. We are fully convinced that we are able to transform our country from a backward agricultural country into a prosperous, strong and advanced country with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern science and technology and modern national defence in comparatively not too long a historical period.

In the course of our national construction, it became clear to us that the correct handling of the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry is of great importance.

First of all, in order to carry on national construction, the people must be provided with food, clothing and the necessary articles for daily life. The policy of a diversified economy with food grains as the key link in developing agriculture is therefore an important prerequisite for the rapid development of the national economy and steady industrialization. Agriculture is the basis for the development of the national economy, as it supplies food to the people, provides raw materials and market to industry, accumulates capital for national construction, and supplies other daily necessities to the city population and manpower

for national construction. In the course of our construction, running agriculture in a big way and developing agricultural production are precisely for speeding up the industrialization of our country. It is unthinkable that industrialization could be successfully carried out without the necessary food grains, raw materials and a gradually expanding market for industrial products within the country. For most of our Afro-Asian countries today, to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains in time and to free ourselves from dependence on imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, is of paramount importance in attaining our economic independence. **By putting more emphasis on the development of agriculture and light industry in order to gradually develop heavy industry and speed up industrialization is therefore a very important and successful experience.**

In accordance with the specific conditions of our country, we adopted the following two measures to develop our agriculture: Firstly, after the land reform, we gradually led the peasants to get themselves organized on the basis of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, in this way transforming the agriculture of individual cultivation to collectivized agriculture. Secondly, on the basis of the collectivization of agriculture, technical reform of agriculture was introduced step by step, namely, the modernization of agriculture.

In the last few years, owing to the efforts made by the broad masses of the Chinese peasants, fairly comprehensive experience has been accumulated in technical innovations which were found to be necessary for the development of irrigation projects, the application of more fertilizer, the improvement of soil, the improvement of seed strains, rational close planting, the protection of plants, field management and the reform in the use of tools. Among these, irrigation, fertilizer and soil play a marked role in raising agricultural production.

Experience testifies to the fact that educating the peasants patiently and improving their living conditions step by step so as to fully mobilize their enthusiasm and initiative for production is a very important factor in the development of agricultural production.

5. In national construction great attention is given to the rational distribution of investment and its economic results. In principle it is better to make more investment in productive enterprises and less in non-productive enterprises. In setting up new enterprises, it is necessary to calculate not only the economic results of the investments in these particular enterprises but also in the national economy as a whole, and strive to enhance as far as possible the economic results of investments in various aspects of national construction. If the objective conditions are not taken into account, but one-sided emphasis is placed on setting up only large-scale and modern enterprises as well as on seeking to set up all-inclusive units when designing

plants, it will inevitably reduce the value of the investment. For this reason, we would rather establish more enterprises which require less investment and give quicker results and establish fewer, or even temporarily refrain from establishing enterprises which require larger investment and give slower results.

We also call on our people throughout the country to save even "one cent of money" and "one sheet of paper" and to develop the spirit of building our country with diligence and thrift in order to have all our manpower, material and financial resources effectively used in national construction.

6. To get the necessary capital for national construction through internal accumulation of the national economy, our experience has shown that this is a practicable and reliable way. Before liberation, our production level was very low, the national income of which the imperialists, feudal landlords and comprador-bourgeoisie took a considerable part, was quite limited. It was therefore very difficult to get capital from internal sources. After liberation, this irrational distribution of national income was radically changed, while production has rapidly developed and labour productivity has speedily gone up, and the total national income has correspondingly increased. Thus it is now possible to distribute our national income in accordance with the needs of state planning so as to accumulate the necessary capital to finance national construction and at the same time to raise the living standard of the people. It is therefore a reliable way to solve the problem of capital on the basis of self-reliance.

The national construction carried out by New China in the 15 years since its founding is of a considerable scale. But far from incurring any debt, however small, from any Western country, we have completely paid off all our debts (including interest) to the Soviet Union to the total amount of 1,406 million new rubles. This figure does not include the cost of machinery equipment, blueprints, and the pay for technical experts provided by the Soviet Union, which we already paid off.

Finally, we have taken various effective steps actively to train and expand the ranks of our scientific and technical personnel and managerial personnel of the national economy, so as to meet the needs of the development of the national economy, gradually change the backward state in our science and technology and scale the heights of modern science and technology.

Brothers and friends,

It is only 15 years since the People's Republic of China was founded. In this short period of time, because we have continuously achieved great successes on the economic construction front, our national economy has undergone a tremendous change. Before liberation, we suffered from the domination of imperialism; but now we are entirely able to carry on national construction independently. Before liberation,

China was a backward agricultural country, with 80 per cent of the total value of industrial and agricultural output coming from agriculture; but now we have built up on the basis of self-reliance a fairly powerful industrial system, with the output of industry accounting for an important share in the total value of industrial and agricultural output. Before liberation, China had basically no heavy industry of its own, and the level of technology was very low; but now we have built up a heavy industry which rests on a relatively strong foundation and covers a fairly complete range of enterprises, including mining, ferrous metals, non-ferrous metals, machine building, power, petroleum, chemical and other allied industries. Remarkable advancement has also been made in the level of technology. For example, China is now able to manufacture, from its own resources and by its own engineering skill, many types of high-grade, precision, or big equipment; China's ability to build complete industrial plants by itself has become far greater than before, and the rate of self-sufficiency in the production of the necessary main industrial and raw materials has been considerably stepped up. Besides, the material and cultural life of the vast Chinese population has, on the basis of the development of production, been markedly improved.

As a great Chinese writer once said: "Actually the earth had no roads to begin with, but when many men pass one way, a road is made." **Indeed, the experience of China has shown that provided the orientation is right, the policies are correct, and the people work hard, it is entirely possible to transform the old national economy in not too long a period of time.**

In the course of our economic construction, owing to the lack of experience, we sometimes took roundabout ways and in some of our specific work, mistakes or shortcomings sometimes did occur. Thus we encountered some difficulties, but these were only temporary and it was entirely possible to overcome them. Provided we draw useful lessons from them, we may turn difficulties to good account and improve our work. **Like other peoples in Asia and Africa, the Chinese people also suffered from long years of imperialist aggression and plunder in the past. Therefore we share identical or similar situations and problems. Perhaps the experience of the Chinese people in national construction during the past ten years and more may serve as useful reference for many friends in Asia and Africa, and if so, we shall feel greatly honoured.**

III. Self-Reliance and Mutual Assistance

In the course of developing an independent national economy, the correct handling of the relations between self-reliance and international assistance is of great importance.

We have always held that self-reliance is the foundation-stone of revolution and national construction. In carrying on the revolution and national construction, the people, whatever the size of their country and pop-

ulation, can all rely first of all on their own strength, after which comes aid from other countries. As correctly pointed out in the China-Indonesia Joint Statement which was made public on January 28, 1965, in Peking: "Self-reliance of the Asian and African countries and economic co-operation between them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit are reliable guarantees for the development of their respective national economies, and are helpful to the safeguarding and consolidation of their national independence." This not only reflects the common desire of the Afro-Asian peoples but also corresponds to their long-term and fundamental interests.

Certain persons have purposely distorted self-reliance as a "closed" economy, a return to "medieval times," something which "simply negates the external contacts" and is "a narrow nationalism." Obviously, such assertions are nothing but distortion and lies.

In reality, self-reliance is a vital policy for the newly independent countries. It is reliable and practicable for any country. It is a correct orientation. Given determination, perseverance and endeavour, it can be realized step by step.

Self-reliance means to depend first of all on the labour and ingenuity of the people concerned to carry out their national construction actively. We must help ourselves, depend on ourselves; only by standing on our own feet can we expect to stand firmly and steadily.

Self-reliance also means to make use of all available resources of the country concerned and to carry out the whole national construction mainly on the basis of that country's manpower, material and financial resources.

Premier Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea put it very well: "The line of self-reliance and building an independent national economy is a correct one, reflecting the lofty aspiration of the people towards liquidating all forms of oppression and subordination and achieving complete national liberation, independence and prosperity. This line is being translated into reality in a number of countries, and will win final victory in all Asian, African and Latin American countries."

President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam also pointed out: "Today the society in the northern part [of Viet Nam] is one where the workers act collectively as masters of their own land; they give full play to the spirit of self-reliance, build socialism diligently and thriftily and create a new life for themselves and the generations to come."

President Sukarno of Indonesia has time and again stressed that "we must build on the basis of our own strength. If our independence is to be real, we must rely upon ourselves." Recently, he said with great foresight: "The crown of independence of a country does not lie in membership in the United Nations. No! The crown of independence lies in self-reliance."

Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk announced: "Cambodia is no longer prepared to accept American-conditioned aid. Cambodia has decided to rely on its own efforts in developing the country."

Algerian President Ben Bella said: "Algeria should depend on and utilize its own tremendous potentials to build a new country."

President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the U.A.R. also declared that the U.A.R. must rely on itself to fight imperialism and Zionism.

President Modibo Keita of Mali clearly pointed out: "If we depend on other people, our independence will remain incomplete. We must depend first of all on ourselves and only on ourselves."

Premier Pascal Lissouba of the Congo (B) also said: "We are determined, in accordance with the actual situation of our country, to depend first of all on our own efforts to build up a new economy which aims at supplying the indispensable complement for our political independence and to lay the foundation of a real independence."

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania emphasized: "Our own progress has to be made by ourselves."

It is therefore clear that to build their own countries and realize full political and economic independence by relying on their own efforts is the unanimous demand and general aspiration of the Afro-Asian peoples.

Of course, self-reliance does not exclude friendly co-operation with other countries. Such co-operation, however, should be in conformity with the principles of equality and mutual benefit with no privileges and conditions attached to it, and should be conducive to the national independence and the sound development of the national economies of the countries concerned.

In accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism, every socialist country has the duty to assist the Afro-Asian countries which are fighting for full political and economic independence. Such assistance will be sincerely and warmly welcomed by the people of the recipient countries if it really promotes the spirit of self-reliance of these countries to further develop their independent national economies and thereby free themselves of the control of and dependency on foreign countries sooner and quicker.

In order to shake off as quickly as possible the state of backwardness and poverty which has resulted from long periods of colonialist rule and to carry out the fundamental task of developing their national economies, the peoples of Asia and Africa after gaining their independence have embarked on the complete reconstruction of the deformed structure of their national economies which the imperialists left them. We can fully understand that while doing this, they may have to accept certain amounts of aid from some Western capitalist countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

But, considering the long-term and fundamental interests of the peoples of Asian and African countries, we must resolutely oppose the predatory policies of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, which aim at the plunder of foreign countries; at the same time we must also firmly oppose the U.S. imperialists' schemes to extend "aid" in name but to carry out intervention, infiltration and subversive activities in reality.

For several centuries imperialism and old and new colonialism have, in various forms, plundered and exploited enormous wealth from the Afro-Asian peoples. Now, it is high time for a thorough settling of accounts!

Acting in the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity, the Chinese Government has consistently made efforts to develop its economic co-operation with other Afro-Asian countries. In the course of their revolution and national construction, the Chinese people have always had the sympathy and support of the people of other Asian and African countries. We have always considered it merely our internationalist duty to give support to the fighting Afro-Asian peoples. Only 15 years have passed since the founding of New China, and in this short period, we have achieved fairly great successes on the front of socialist construction, **but, comparatively speaking, the current level of our economic strength is still not very high. But, in the fields of extending aid to Afro-Asian countries to develop their national economies and of strengthening mutual aid and co-operation among the Afro-Asian countries, we have, as much as our capacity permits, contributed our share.** As is known to all, the Chinese people by living frugally have in the past ten years and more furnished certain amounts of funds and materials in support of socialist, and national independent countries. The total amount, at the end of 1964, exceeded the sum total of China's debts, including interest, to the Soviet Union which have already been entirely repaid.

The starting point of our aid to foreign countries is: in accordance with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, first, to support the fraternal countries of the socialist camp to carry out their socialist construction so as to increase the might of the whole socialist camp; secondly, to support the newly independent countries in developing their national economies through their own efforts so as to consolidate their independence and to strengthen the forces of the peoples of the world in their united struggle against imperialism; and, thirdly, to support those countries which are not yet independent in winning their independence.

Acting in this spirit, we have evolved eight principles as a guide in carrying out our economic co-operation with the Afro-Asian countries and in providing aid to foreign countries. These principles are:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of course, due to our lack of experience, the above-mentioned principles are only preliminary and need to be further supplemented and improved. We are at present making studies on the following points: the best use of investment, local costs, technological patent rights, supply of equipment and parts, transport, insurance, conditions of repayment, and so forth, so as to better assist the newly independent countries in developing their national economies and achieve a common upsurge in the national economies of the Asian and African countries.

We shall be much obliged, if our friends from the Afro-Asian countries will be so kind as to make suggestions for improvement of our work.

Brothers and friends,

We must emphatically point out that **there are very bright and broad prospects for the economic co-operation among the Afro-Asian countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.**

Both Asia and Africa have vast land, favourable climate and fertile soil.

Both have exceedingly rich natural resources such as petroleum, copper, tin, uranium, diamonds, natural rubber and other non-ferrous and rare metals, which account for 50 to nearly 100 per cent of known world deposits.

The broad masses of the people in both continents are industrious, courageous and ingenious.

Asia and Africa have ever expanding markets.

All this is a very favourable prerequisite for the development of independent national economies for the Afro-Asian countries as well as for the friendly co-operation among these countries.

For the last few centuries, the imperialists and colonialists have been living upon the fabulous wealth robbed from the Afro-Asian peoples.

At present, a considerable portion of such resources are still monopolized or controlled by imperialism. However, once all these resources return to the hands of the broad masses of the peoples of the Afro-Asian countries, they will certainly constitute an inexhaustible source of strength for the future economic development of the Afro-Asian countries.

To develop economic co-operation among the Afro-Asian countries is a universal demand and common aspiration of the Afro-Asian peoples, which is of paramount significance to the promotion of the steady development of the independent national economy of each country.

The peoples of the Afro-Asian countries shared a similar experience and same plight in the past. Therefore, they can best understand each other and most easily know each other's needs. They can best weather storms together, help each other in need and treat each other as equals. Hence, such fraternal economic co-operation established and developed in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference is a new type of international economic relations.

At present, although such economic co-operation is in its initial stage of development, yet with the daily growing strength of the national economy of each country and the new victories successively won by the peoples in these countries in their struggle against imperialism, it will inevitably develop on a wider scale. We are of the opinion that it is opportune at present to explore in accordance with the needs of the countries concerned in developing their national economies and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, the specific ways and means of co-operation on certain specialized matters (e.g., shipping, insurance, banking, prices, and so on) and to carry out such activities step by step so as to accumulate experience and to expand the economic co-operation in the Afro-Asian regions.

Brothers and friends,

The present seminar where a large number of delegates and friends from many countries or regions are happily meeting, exchanging views on problems of com-

mon concern and experiences and learning from each other will certainly make a positive contribution to the further strengthening of the solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples, to the struggles of the peoples of Afro-Asian countries against imperialism and old and new colonialism, to the building and development of an independent national economy and the achievement of a full political and economic independence of each country. We strongly condemn the piratical acts of the Johnson Administration of the United States to expand the war in southern Viet Nam and firmly support the righteous struggle of the south Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs; we resolutely oppose the armed U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and support the righteous struggle of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam against the aggression of U.S. imperialism; we firmly support the struggle of the Laotian and Cambodian peoples against the aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism; we resolutely support the struggle of the Korean people against U.S. occupation of south Korea and for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland; we firmly support the struggle of the Indonesian people to oppose the so-called "Malaysia," the product of U.S. and British imperialism; we firmly support the struggle of the people of North Kalimantan for national independence; we firmly support the patriotic anti-U.S. struggle of the Japanese people; we strongly condemn the direct armed aggression against the Congo (Leopoldville) by U.S. imperialism in collusion with Belgian colonialism and support the just struggle of the Congolese people; we firmly support the people of the Arab countries in their struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and against its tool of aggression, namely Israel, and support the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homeland; we firmly support the peoples of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Southwest Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, South Africa, and Zimbabwe and of other countries in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and for independence and freedom. Here it must emphatically be pointed out that today the United Nations is in fact still controlled by U.S. imperialism. For many years, the United Nations has, by its actions, proved that all it says are good words but all it does are evil deeds. It cannot reflect at all the position of the Afro-Asian countries in international affairs. The Afro-Asian countries have suffered many bitter experiences from the United Nations. It is only a tool of U.S. imperialism for pushing neo-colonialism. Therefore we believe that the Afro-Asian peoples must keep their eyes wide open, be vigilant and cherish no illusions about it. Let us, Afro-Asian peoples and peoples of the world unite even more closely. Let us persevere in struggle, defy difficulties, advance wave upon wave, carry the struggle against imperialism, especially against U.S. imperialism, to the end and thoroughly achieve the national liberation of the peoples of all Afro-Asian countries. Victory will certainly belong to the peoples of the world!

Thank you.

A Big Exposure of Those Calling for Solidarity But Actually Working for a Split

The book, whose chief editor is B.N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, disseminates a lot of Khrushchovian revisionism and feverishly attacks the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese leaders. Only one conclusion can be drawn by readers: despite Khrushchov's downfall, Khrushchovian revisionism still exists, exerting its evil influence.

AN anti-China book, *The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class*, with B.N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, as its chief editor, was recently out on sale in Moscow.

Systematically, viciously, and in an all-round way the book profusely propagates Khrushchovian revisionism and feverishly attacks the Communist Party of China which upholds Marxism-Leninism. It openly maligns Comrade Mao Tse-tung — the great leader of the Chinese people — and pins on China's leaders a whole lot of political labels, such as neo-Trotskyism, petty-bourgeois nationalism, "Left" opportunism, ultra-revolutionary, capitulationism, theoretical Messianism, adventurism, hegemonyism, nationalism, subjectivism, Chinese dogmatists, Chinese splitters, modern dogmatists, and so on.

This new anti-China book whose chief editor is a leader of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and which is published by the Soviet State Political Literature Publishing House, once again reveals the hypocrisy of those who profess to reinforce the solidarity of the international communist movement, but in actual fact are doing something else. While talking about reinforcing solidarity, they actually deepen the split; while talking about putting an end to the public debate, they actually intensify anti-China agitation; while talking about the need to conduct the debate "in a comradely tone, in a correct and calm manner" and "not to pin political labels on others," they actually level "crude and groundless attacks" and "substitute smear campaigns for theoretical debate."

The great publicity given in the book to Khrushchovian revisionism is additional proof that Khrushchov's downfall is merely a change of signboard while what is on sale remains Khrushchovian revisionism's old wares.

This latest anti-China book, prefaced by an introduction, consists of three parts in nine chapters. It cites widely from the resolutions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.S.U. Programme. In almost every chapter, it rabidly attacks by name the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese leaders.

The introduction charges that the proposal of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. on the general line of the international communist movement "represents an eclectic selection of appraisals and propositions which do not take into account the concrete conditions of the

present stage" and describes it as "unacceptable and harmful." It alleges that the proposal was put forward "in opposition to" the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement.

The introduction brands the propositions of the Chinese Communist Party on the question of war as "propaganda of fatalism" and abuses the C.P.C. leaders as proposing "to test" the durability of the capitalist system by means of war" and advocating "the path of war as a means of 'pushing' the world revolution." It, moreover, vilifies the Chinese leaders by saying that "in trying to justify their own hegemonic, nationalistic and great-power aims, they revise the most important theses of Marxism-Leninism in the spirit of petty-bourgeois nationalism."

In part one, "The Premises and Moving Force of the World Socialist Revolution," the Marxist-Leninist views of the Chinese Communist Party are labelled a "dogmatic, 'Left' opportunistic and neo-Trotskyist platform." and "capitulationist viewpoints." The Chinese leaders, it says, "attempt to prove that it is not the struggle of the international working class, but the national-liberation movement that is playing the leading role in the world revolutionary process" and "proclaim the peasantry the 'prime moving force' of world revolution."

Part two viciously assails the Chinese Communist Party's analysis of the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world and its proposition based on this analysis that Asia, Africa and Latin America are the areas where these contradictions converge. This proposition, the book says, is "basically incorrect and contradicts Marxist dialectics"; it "means the advancement of the petty bourgeoisie and even the national bourgeoisie to the leading role in the world revolutionary process. It also means underestimation of the significance of labour-capital contradiction — the principal class contradiction under capitalism."

This book tries to justify Khrushchov's capitulationist line of "peaceful coexistence" and preposterously asserts that the repudiation of this line by the Chinese Communist Party means "to count, in the development of world revolution, not on the struggle of the masses, but on military-administrative methods, not on the growing socio-economic and ideological superiority of the forces of socialism over the forces of imperialism, but

on the forcible 'advancement of the welfare' of the peoples through the 'export of revolution' by means of war."

Harping on Khrushchov's erroneous theme of "peaceful economic competition," this book asserts that "in our time, economic competition between the opposing social systems is the concentrated expression of class struggle on a worldwide scale." While devoting much space to Soviet achievements, it shamelessly distorts and lies about the domestic policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the state of affairs in China. The Chinese leaders, the book says, "while advertising about putting everyone on the same level, disregard questions of material welfare, and reject the Leninist principle of material interests in building socialism and communism. Essentially, such a line means the complete subordination of the vital interests of the working masses to the adventurist plans of the Chinese leadership."

The Chinese leaders are alleged to "demand the all-round restriction of the individual, his needs and interests" and "present the socialist and communist society in the form of barracks, in which consumption is kept to the barest minimum and where there is no place for personal interests." The book even spreads the canard that "the Peking leaders have in essence raised the demand for the 'redistribution' of the national income and national wealth of the Soviet Union and a number of other economically developed socialist countries among the less developed countries of the socialist community with a view to dragging these countries down to a certain 'average level.'"

The book gives false publicity to the "difficulties" facing China in building socialism by saying that because of these "difficulties," "the leaders of the C.P.C. lost faith in the possibility to exercise a decisive influence on the world revolutionary process through economic successes and by example in the building of socialism. Hence the vituperation against peaceful economic competition, rejection of the principle of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries, the stake on war, the absolutization of armed struggle and the search for ways of 'pushing' the revolution by means of war."

Dealing with the workers' movement in the developed capitalist countries and the present-day national-liberation movement, the editors of the book **give much publicity to Khrushchov's erroneous statements about "peaceful transition."** They claim that "at present, when the situation has undergone a fundamental change, the possibilities have broadened for the transition to socialism through a relatively peaceful road." The book attacks the Chinese leaders as "denying in fact the inevitability of the struggle for democracy in the capitalist countries," adding that "splinter groups of the Trotskyite trend" were "founded on Peking's instructions in a number of countries in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist parties." It utters such nonsense as that the Chinese leaders "discredit the communist movement in the Western countries" and have pushed the Communist Parties in these countries "on to the adventurous road." The book slanders that as far as the Chi-

nese Communist Party is concerned, "the struggle of the working class in the industrially developed capitalist countries for democracy runs counter to the struggle for socialism," that "for revolutions one may have to pay the price of a world thermonuclear war." It alleges that agreement with the position of the Chinese leaders would mean that the struggle [for democracy] is "not for the interests of the working people of every given country" but for "the failure of the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries."

On the present-day national-liberation movement, the book says: "The Chinese splitters strive to separate the national-liberation movement from the general current of the world anti-imperialist forces and to proclaim it as the primary and almost the only factor which will bring about the collapse of imperialism." It accuses the Chinese leaders of "violating the principles of proletarian internationalism" and "leading to the rejection of the class solidarity of the working people of the whole world." And, "in the opinion of the Chinese dogmatists," it says, "the struggle for economic independence cannot be regarded as a revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle." The Chinese leaders, it alleges, "have failed to see or do not wish to see that the national-liberation revolution has entered a new stage." Repeating the myths spread by Khrushchov, it says that the Chinese leaders believe that the newly independent countries may solve the task of "economic liberation from the yoke of foreign monopolies, the task of building an independent national economy" with "rifles and guns."

In part three, entitled "The Triumphant Strides of Marxism-Leninism," **the editors devote much space to praise of the Khrushchov revisionist group's activity "in the period ushered in by the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U."** They assert that Khrushchov and his like have "creatively developed" Marxism-Leninism, while scurrilously accusing the Chinese Communist Party of "trying to impose dogmatic formulas on the world communist movement." They attack China's great leap forward and its people's communes, and the correct stand taken by the Chinese leaders on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Communist Party, they say, "on the one hand, has made its own national experience absolute truth" and "on the other hand, ignoring the peculiarities of other countries, tries to impose its own formulas and dogmas upon the fraternal Parties."

Turning facts upside down, the editors say that the Chinese Communist Party has "forced the polemics on the international communist movement" and imparted to it an "intolerable, crude, insulting and uncomradely character." They add that the Chinese Communist Party "counterposes its anti-Leninist 'general line' to the general line of the international communist movement," and uses the polemics as a "peculiar form of political war against other Communist Parties and the world communist movement as a whole," that the Chinese Communist Party works for "splits in the Communist Parties and organizes separatist Party groupings obedient to Peking," "extends ideological differences to interstate relations," "sows discord between the socialist countries and the young independent countries and dis-

criminate against the socialist countries," "weakens economic and political ties with the world socialist system." They even go so far as to accuse China of having "raised the absurd demand for a re-examination of the boundary of the U.S.S.R. in favour of China." They also attack the Chinese Communist Party's adherence to the dialectic formula—"one divides into two"—as something against "the unity of the world communist movement."

In this part, the editors also malign the Chinese Communist Party as "dogmatically and nationalistically distorting the essence of Marxist-Leninist theory," "belittling the historical mission and revolutionary role of the working class and pushing the peasantry into first place in the world revolutionary forces," "subjecting the communist ideal to impermissible perversion," and "portraying the future communist society as something between a primitive community and barrack-like military settlements." It alleges that conditions have been created for "the spread within the Chinese Communist Party of Leftist and dogmatist viewpoints aggravated by petty-bourgeois nationalism," and that "problems of policy or specific action are solved in Peking not on the basis of principled convictions (even incorrect ones), but depending on advantages they hope to derive for their own nationalist aims."

In part three, the editors especially attack by name Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, in connection with his Marxist-Leninist analysis

on the question of the "intermediate zone." They allege that "the Chinese leaders have taken the course of approaching the French, British and West German imperialists. They do not even stop at adjusting ties with the fascist government of the Republic of South Africa." They slander the C.P.C. leaders as making nationalism "the real moving force of their policy." "This nationalism," they say, "takes the form of hegemonyism—efforts to secure a dominating position for the C.P.C. in the communist movement and for the People's Republic of China in the world socialist system." They abuse the C.P.C. leaders as "calculating to attain such a position by trampling other Parties underfoot, abusing and isolating the C.P.S.U. . . . and slinging mud at the Soviet Union."

The editors absurdly claim that under present conditions the world communist movement is dealing with a dangerous trend which "is petty-bourgeois in its social origin, nationalistic in its political aims, and in its ideological content, it is Left opportunistic and has taken many Trotskyite propositions as its own."

In a word, this rabidly anti-China book is packed with rubbish taken from Khrushchov's anti-China and anti-Marxist-Leninist warehouse. Apart from falsehoods and calumnies, it contains nothing new. Only one conclusion can be drawn by readers: despite Khrushchov's downfall, Khrushchovian revisionism still exists, exerting its evil influence.

The Evils of Khrushchovian Revisionism Linger On

Sales of Khrushchovian revisionist literature are being pushed in the Soviet Union as attacks on the C.P.C. and anti-China agitation continue

DURING the past week the Chinese press reported that a large quantity of anti-China literature has been listed as reading material for political study and is on sale in bookshops throughout the Soviet Union. All these documents, while propagating Khrushchovian revisionist viewpoints, heap slander on and fling mud at the Communist Party, Government and leaders of China.

Suslov's Anti-China Report a "Must." *Renmin Ribao* reports on February 26: The Moscow Television Station has openly recommended as a must for its audience the anti-China report made by M.A. Suslov at the February 1964 plenary meeting of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee.

Under the column "Aid to Agitators," *Politics Self-Taught*, a magazine published under the sponsorship of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, in its 1964 No. 12 issue, also listed the Suslov report as a "basic document" to be read by Soviet agitators.

In his report "Struggle of the C.P.S.U. for the Unity of the World Communist Movement," it can be recalled, Suslov vilely attacked and slandered the Com-

munist Party of China which upholds Marxism-Leninism; Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people; the C.P.C.'s proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement and its general line in building socialism. At the same time he lavished praise on Khrushchovian revisionism and referred to Khrushchov as a "faithful Leninist." Khrushchov, said Suslov, "with his inexhaustible energy and his truly Bolshevik fervour and adherence to principles, is a recognized leader of our Party and people. He expresses the innermost thoughts and aspirations of the Soviet people. . . ."

More Anti-China Material Recommended. . . *Renmin Ribao* reports on February 27: Among recent Soviet periodicals recommending lists of anti-China documents and publications for political study to their readers are *Politics Self-Taught*; *Communist of the Armed Forces*; *Communist of Byelo-Russia*; *Communist of Soviet Latvia* and *Party Life* (published in the Kazakh S.S.R.).

The documents and publications listed included the July 1963 open letter of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee; the resolution of the February 1964 plenum of

the C.P.S.U. Central Committee; the Suslov report; and the recently published book *The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class* (vide supra).

. . . and Sold in Soviet Bookshops. Over the last few months, anti-China books and pamphlets have been on sale in bookshops all over the Soviet Union. The anti-China publications now available in huge quantity in Moscow bookshops, apart from the Suslov report and the July 1963 open letter, include: "Communism Is the Highest Embodiment of Humanism"—an article by the editorial department of the *Communist* (No. 11, 1964), a C.P.S.U. Central Committee organ; "Against the Splitters, For the Solidarity of the Communist Movement"—an article by the editorial department of *Party Life* (No. 11, 1964) published by the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. The *Communist* article fraudulently accuses the C.P.C. of "suppressing democracy" and practising the "personality cult" while the *Party Life* article would have readers believe that the C.P.C. "splits the international communist movement."

Anti-China pamphlets were available at the book booth in the Hall of Columns even while a public meeting was held there on February 13 to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance.

Outline for Political Study. *Renmin Ribao* reports on February 28: a number of Soviet republics reprinted in recent issues of their Party organs an outline for political study, which was first published in the December issue of *Politics Self-Taught*. These include *Communist of Ukraine*, *Communist of Uzbekistan*, *Communist (Lithuania)*, *Communist of Moldavia* and *Communist of Estonia*. The outline, "Marxist-Leninist Theory on the Party and Its Development in the C.P.S.U. Programme," peddles among the Soviet people the viewpoints of Khrushchovian revisionism and recommends anti-China documents to its readers.

Anti-China Documents for Students. *Renmin Ribao* reports on March 2: Khrushchovian revisionism is still exerting its evil influence all over the Soviet Union. Anti-China documents and books listed as "reading material" in the syllabi of various courses of studies are now on sale in Soviet bookshops as a means of instilling Khrushchovian revisionism and indoctrinating the Soviet people with anti-China ideas.

Among the anti-China material which Soviet students are required to read are: the Suslov report; the July 1963 open letter; the C.P.S.U. Central Committee resolution adopted at its February 1964 plenary session; "Centenary of the First International"—a thesis of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee; "For Unity of the International Communist Movement on the Basis of Marxist-Leninist Principles"—an article by the editorial department of the *Communist* (No. 5, 1964); *Certain Aspects in the Party Life of the Communist Party of China*—a book published by the Soviet State Political Literature Publishing House; "On Mao Tse-tung's Statement to a

Group of Japanese Socialists"—an article by the editorial department of *Pravda* (September 2, 1964); and *Fight for the Purity of Marxism-Leninism* published by the Thought Publishing House in 1964.

This anti-China literature is full of shopworn phraseology from Khrushchovian revisionism. It levels malicious attacks on the Chinese Communist Party which persists in Marxism-Leninism, distorts and adulterates the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and peddles the modern revisionist wares of the 20th and 22nd C.P.S.U. Congresses and the Programme of the C.P.S.U.

More Anti-China Pamphlets on Sale. The following is an additional list of anti-China pamphlets now on sale in Soviet bookshops:

the speech delivered by the late O.V. Kuusinen, then Member of the Presidium, Member of the Secretariat of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, at the February plenum in which he abused the political power in China as a "leader's dictatorship and dictator's dictatorship" and the Chinese Communist Party as "not a vanguard of the working class," and also maligned Chairman Mao Tse-tung;

the article "Lenin's Policy of Peaceful Coexistence and Class Struggle" carried in the No. 13, 1964 issue of the *Communist* which slanders the Chinese leaders as "engaging in a dirty speculation with hundreds of millions lives." "putting forward an ambitious expansionist programme," and "playing upon the nationalist sentiments of the most reactionary forces";

the article "Don't Go Astray" by the Soviet writer K.M. Simonov published in *Pravda*. The author smears the Chinese leaders as following a policy of "racism" and "splittism";

the three articles published in *Pravda* from May 10 to 12 under the general heading "Marxism-Leninism Is an International Doctrine of the Communists." These articles slander and distort the Chinese Communist Party's correct stand in regard to the general line of the international communist movement;

"Oppose Dogmatism and Vulgarity in Literature and Art," another article by the editorial department of the *Communist*, which heaps calumny on the Chinese Communist Party's Marxist-Leninist policy on literature and art—a policy for serving the workers, peasants and soldiers—as "dogmatic and sectarian" and which describes the Chinese policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" as a "discredited" slogan;

For a World Without Arms, For a World Without War, a book by S. Viskov which went to press in April 1964. In this book the author attacks the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party by name and lauds Nikita Khrushchov to the skies.

Museum "Exhibits." In Moscow, on display as "exhibits" in the halls of the Lenin Museum and the Marx and Engels Museum are the Suslov report, the July 1963 open letter and other anti-China documents.

ROUND THE WORLD

In Johnson's "Great Society"

Malcolm X Murdered in Cold Blood

World opinion has condemned the foul murder of Malcolm X, the prominent Negro leader who was struck down by hired assassins in a district on the fringe of Harlem, New York City, on February 21 while addressing a rally. Malcolm X was Chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, a fearless fighter for the rights of the Negro people and a devoted leader who forcefully exposed the oppression and reactionary nature of the American power structure. His stirring call to American Negroes was "to meet violence with violence, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

An implacable enemy of American racialism, Malcolm X was held in great esteem by fellow Negroes who embraced the truth he expounded — that the Negro people can win freedom only by fighting for it. He debunked the humbug of the American ruling class which tries to inculcate in the minds of the Negro people the belief that militant struggle will lead them nowhere and that their best interest lies in accepting the "benevolence" of those in power. He espoused a course of direct action, and was jailed many a time. But once out of prison Malcolm returned to the struggle, giving battle as before to the hated system of racial discrimination which keeps America's 20 million Negroes in subjection.

In recent years Malcolm X worked indefatigably to expose the crimes of U.S. imperialism abroad and the many frauds it practised on the American Negro movement at home. He punctured the hypocrisy underlying the "Civil Rights Act" adopted by the American Congress last summer and dismissed this legislation as a sop intended to divert the Negro struggle. It was not surprising that the American power structure should seek to remove this thorn in its side. There had been an abortive attempt on his life in his home only two weeks before the actual assassination.

So they murdered him in cold blood at a public rally.

Thus behind the thugs who fired the fatal shots stand the real murderers. They are the forces which do not scruple to spill blood and which try to silence those who dare to challenge and fight the rotten rule of the dollar. The murderers of Malcolm X are the same as those who murdered Patrice Lumumba of the Congo (L) and Felix Roland Moumie of the Cameroon.

But though one Malcolm X has fallen, thousands more will step forward to fill the void. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung said: "All reactionaries try to stamp out revolution by mass murder, believing that the more people they massacre, the weaker the revolution will become. But, contrary to this reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more people the reactionaries massacre, the greater becomes the strength of the revolution and the nearer the reactionaries come to their doom. This is an irresistible law."

The American Negro movement will go forward irresistibly no matter how many more murders the violence-worshipping and power-drunk rulers of today's America may commit. The torch of freedom Malcolm X held high during his lifetime did not go out with his dying heart-beat. To the awakening Negroes Malcolm X's murder is a grim reminder that democracy is a lie and justice a mockery in the United States today. They must follow the path pointed out to them by their martyred comrade — to meet reactionary violence with revolutionary violence till freedom is won.

Laos

More U.S. Planes Shot Down

On February 19 the Laotian people won a great victory in the liberated areas. They shot down half the

aircraft which the United States sent to bomb Sam Neua, capital of the province bearing the same name, and the surrounding area. American losses included seven jets, one reconnaissance plane and one helicopter, all of which were brought down within the province. Several of the raiders that managed to escape were hit.

The U.S. planes made three attacks. The first one came from U.S. air bases in Thailand, the second from 7th Fleet aircraft carriers and U.S. air bases in south Viet Nam, and the third was Laos-based. The February 19 bombing, following that of January 30, constituted a grave act of war. It was another instance of direct American participation in the war in Laos.

That it came at this time was not accidental. The U.S. aggressors in south Viet Nam had been bombing various points in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam north of the 17th Parallel, and the raids on the Laotian liberated areas were part and parcel of the American plan to escalate the war in Indo-China.

The secret Saigon meeting of the U.S. ambassadors to Laos and Thailand with Maxwell Taylor to coordinate U.S. war efforts in this region showed that Washington, badly knocked about in south Viet Nam, was getting ready for desperate gambles. American officials tried to camouflage the talks as "routine" but AP hinted at the scope of the U.S. war moves. "From the U.S. viewpoint," the agency said, "borders are no longer so important."

Of course, considerations arising from the worsening situation for the United States in Laos itself have been at work, too. The Right-wing forces under its control, far from winning battles, had turned their guns on each other. Last month's open clash between the rival groups in Vientiane was bad news for the U.S. Laos was catching up with the coup d'etat game as played in Saigon. The Americans did not want the war in Laos to go the same way as that in south Viet Nam. They bombed the liberated areas, hoping that it would serve a double purpose: to push their plans for extending the war in Indo-China and to boost the sagging morale of their stooges who are fighting among themselves.



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