

PEKING REVIEW

36

September 6, 1963

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Statement

Opposing Aggression Against Southern Viet Nam and
Slaughter of Its People by the U.S.-Diem Clique

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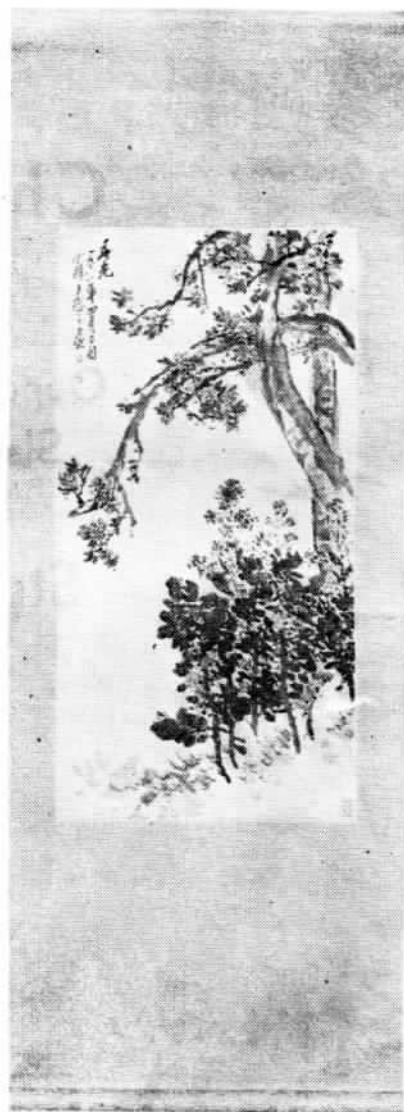
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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 6, 1963 Vol. VI No. 36

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung made a statement on August 29 opposing aggression against south Viet Nam and the slaughter of the south Vietnamese people by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

- The spokesman of the Chinese Government issued a statement on September 1 commenting on the Soviet government statement of August 21 which attacked China and tried to defend the Soviet leaders' capitulationist policy.

The Chinese press published the full text of the Soviet government statement.

- A rousing welcome was given to the delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party, led by its Chairman D.N. Aidit, which came to China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Talks were held between the comrades of the two Parties.

Chairman Aidit gave a report at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. on the subject of "The Revolution of Indonesia and the Urgent Tasks of the Indonesian Communist Party."

- Laotian Premier Souvanna Phouma wrote to Premier Chou En-lai expressing agreement with the Chinese government proposal on convening a conference of government heads of all countries to discuss the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

- *Renmin Ribao* on August 30 published an editorial entitled "Further Exposure of the Soviet Leaders' Acts of Betrayal." It denounced the Soviet leaders' collaboration with U.S. imperialism in the "two Chinas" scheme.

- The paper devoted full pages to letters from all parts of the world supporting the Marxist-Leninist position of the Chinese Communist Party.

- China and Pakistan signed an air transport agreement.

- *Renmin Ribao* published the full text of a resolution adopted by the Brussels Federal Committee of the Belgian Communist Party in reply to the open letter of the C.P.S.U.

- The Chinese press last week reprinted in full an article of the Albanian paper *Zeri I Popullit* of August 22 calling on the people of the world to be vigilant against a new conspiracy now being cooked up by Khrushchov and Tito; and an article from the Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon* entitled "Yugoslav Revisionists Serve Imperialism."

- The Chinese Foreign Ministry last week sent three notes to the Indian Embassy in China: (1) reiterating the Chinese Government's denunciation of the detention of large numbers of victimized Chinese nationals in India by the Indian Government (August 26); (2) protesting against renewed crossing of the line of actual control in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border by Indian troops (August 26); and (3) protesting strongly against the intrusion by Indian soldiers and administrative personnel into Wuje area (August 29).

Chairman Mao Receives South Vietnamese Delegation

Chairman Mao Tse-tung had a cordial and friendly talk with a delegation of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front which he received on August 29. At this reception Chairman Mao made the statement opposing aggression against south

Viet Nam and the slaughter of the people there by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique. (For full text of the statement, see p. 6.)

The south Vietnamese delegation was also received by Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National



Chairman Mao Tse-tung receives Chairman D.N. Aidit's gift — a specimen of a bird of paradise from West Irian

People's Congress Chu Teh on August 30. The delegation, led by Nguyen Thi Binh, Member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, had come to China at the invitation of the China Peace Committee and the

Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity to attend a Peking rally supporting the south Vietnamese people and Buddhists in the struggle they are waging against U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

Talks Between Chinese and Indonesian C.P. Comrades

The delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party, led by Chairman of its Central Committee D.N. Aidit, arrived in Peking on August 28. The delegation has come to visit China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. On hand to greet the Indonesian comrades at the airport were Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee Chou En-lai and other leading comrades of the Party.

On September 3, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, met with the Indonesian Communist Party delegation led by Comrade D.N. Aidit. The comrades of the two Parties held a talk in a cordial atmosphere.

Taking part in the talk were:

D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party's

Central Committee and head of the delegation; Sudisman, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Party's Central Committee and deputy head of the delegation; and members of the delegation: Sugijono, Member of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Party's Central Committee; Fachrul Baragbah, Alternate Member of the Party's Central Committee and Secretary of the Party's Greater East Kalimantan Regional Committee; Rakut Sembiring, Standing Member of the Party's Greater North Sumatra Regional Committee; Zain Nasution, Vice-Head of the International Department of the Party's Central Committee; and Jacobson Tundjan, Comrade Aidit's secretary.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee; Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-

lai and Chu Teh, Vice-Chairmen of the Party's Central Committee; Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee; Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee; Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee; Liu Ning-I, Member of the Party's Central Committee; and Chang Shang-ming, leading cadre of a department under the Party's Central Committee.

In honour of Chairman Aidit and his party, Vice-Chairmen Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh and General Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping of the Party's Central Committee gave a banquet on August 30.

At the invitation of the Higher Party School of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, Chairman Aidit gave a talk to its teachers and students on September 2.

Guests From Africa

Several guests from Africa now visiting the country were received by and had friendly talks with Chinese leaders this past week.

On August 30, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai on separate occasions received the visiting Algerian journalists' delegation led by Meghraoui Mohamed, Member of the Algerian Constituent National Assembly and member of the Assembly's Foreign Affairs and Press Committee.

On August 27, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received Racine Kane, Director of the National Broadcasting Station of the Republic of Mali. On August 31, Racine Kane and Mei Yi, Director of the Broadcasting Administrative Bureau of China, signed an agreement on co-operation between their organizations.

China-Pakistan Air Link

The air transport agreement signed by China and Pakistan in Karachi on August 29 will strengthen the friendly ties between the two countries as well as promote air transport in this vast region. The negotiations leading to the agreement were described as most friendly and cordial.

The arrangements agreed upon provide for the airlines of the two coun-

tries to operate over each other's territories and for the provision of all facilities needed to ensure a smooth flow of air traffic through all the airports specified in the two countries. Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Ting Kuo-yu gave a reception in Karachi to celebrate the agreement.

V.D.R. National Day Celebrated

September 2 this year marked the 18th anniversary of the founding of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic.

A rally sponsored by the China-Viet Nam Friendship Association and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions was held in the capital to celebrate the occasion. Chairman of the China-Viet Nam Friendship Association Yang Hsiu-feng, Vietnamese Ambassador to China Tran Tu Binh and Ton Quang Phiet, head of the delegation of the Viet Nam-China Friendship Association, spoke at the rally.

Yang Hsiu-feng warmly praised the brilliant achievements of the Vietnamese people led by the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh in giving full play to their spirit of reliance on their own efforts and of building up their country industriously and with thrift.

Speaking of the struggle of the south Vietnamese people, Yang Hsiu-feng said, "Whoever adopted a passive, scornful and negative attitude towards the struggle of the south Vietnamese people, or even asked them to abandon their revolutionary struggle on the pretext of avoiding sacrifices," he pointed out, "would be shamefully betraying Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

Ambassador Tran Tu Binh, in his speech, denounced the sanguinary suppression of the south Vietnamese people by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique and obstruction of the peaceful unification of Viet Nam. But, he said, it was impossible for the U.S. aggressors to subdue the unyielding will of the people in south Viet Nam. The decisive factor for victory was the people who were united and resolute in revolution. True peace could not be achieved unless the people resolutely rose and fought against imperialist aggression, the Ambassador declared.

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung's August 29 statement is of the greatest political significance," he said. "It inspires

the people in south Viet Nam in their struggle against the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique and at the same time inspires the liberation movements of all peoples."

Warmly praising fraternal Sino-Vietnamese friendship, Ton Quang Phiet said: "Our two Communist Parties and two states always fight shoulder to shoulder in the revolutionary struggle against modern revisionism represented by Yugoslavia, in holding firm to the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in strengthening the international communist movement."

Call to Free Victimized Chinese

More than 800 Chinese nationals and members of their families who had been victimized in India were given a warm homecoming when, aboard the S.S. *Kuanghua*, they reached the south China port of Chankiang on August 12. This was the third group of Chinese to be repatriated from the hell of Indian imprisonment. As soon as Chen Ke-chiang, a Calcutta headmaster, got off the gangway, his first words were about other Chinese held and suffering in India — in concentration camp, in prisons and elsewhere — and an expression of hope on behalf of all the returnees that urgent steps be taken to bring them home.

In its note of August 26, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Indian Embassy in Peking that China would send ships for the fourth time to bring back victimized Chinese nationals from India. The note pointed out: "According to verified information available to the Chinese Government and revelations made by the third batch of returned Chinese, a large number of peaceable and law-abiding Chinese nationals are still interned in the Indian concentration camp and prisons." The note reaffirmed China's resolute opposition to the Indian Government's detention of large numbers of victimized Chinese and to its act of obstructing under whatever pretext the Chinese Government from sending more ships to bring them back. The Chinese Government requests the Indian Government:

(1) to provide a complete name list along with the health conditions of the Chinese nationals interned in the concentration camp and prisons at various places;

(2) to instruct the local Indian authorities to give proper facilities to the Chinese embassy officials for carrying out their work there, and effectively ensure their safety;

(3) to hold concrete discussions with the Chinese Embassy on questions related to the Chinese Government's continued shipping back of Chinese nationals, such as the time and port of embarkation for the shipping, simplification of their departure procedures and the question of bringing back their properties.

Condemning the Indian Government's acts of persecuting and forcibly detaining Chinese nationals, the August 28 editorial of *Renmin Ribao* said: "The aim of the Indian Government's actions is obviously to obstruct a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question by continuing to stir up an anti-China atmosphere in the country, creating tension and worsening Sino-Indian relations." The editorial stressed that it was both necessary and just for the Chinese Government to continue sending ships to India to bring back the victimized Chinese. "The Indian Government," declared the editorial, "has no justification at all to refuse. The Chinese people insist that all the victimized Chinese nationals in India be rescued from the abyss of sufferings and brought back to China."

As many as 600 peaceable and law-abiding Chinese nationals are still detained in the Deoli concentration camp alone. The Indian Government has even gone so far as to detain members of victimized Chinese families as hostages.

Besides, there are hundreds more who have been thrown into jails for no reason at all. More than 20 of the third group of returned Chinese had been incarcerated in the prison at Nowgong, Assam State. These returnees reveal that there are still more than 100 Chinese victims in that prison who want to return to China as soon as possible. Many more Chinese are jailed in Calcutta and Bombay. Conditions in the prisons are appalling.

A preliminary estimate based on the statements submitted by members of the three groups of returned Chinese shows that they have more than 300 dependents who are being prevented by the Indian Government from joining their families in China.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Statement

Opposing Aggression Against Southern Viet Nam and Slaughter of Its People by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem Clique

August 29, 1963

RECENTLY, the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique in southern Viet Nam has intensified its sanguinary suppression of the Buddhists, students, intellectuals and the mass of the people in the southern part of Viet Nam. The Chinese people feel the deepest indignation at this monstrous crime of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique and vehemently condemn it. President Ho Chi Minh has issued a statement strongly protesting against the criminal acts of the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique. We, the Chinese people, warmly support the statement of President Ho Chi Minh.

U.S. imperialism and its lackey Ngo Dinh Diem have been pursuing a policy of turning southern Viet Nam into a U.S. colony, of unleashing counter-revolutionary war and of reinforcing the fascist, dictatorial rule. This has compelled the people of various strata in southern Viet Nam to unite on a wide scale and wage a resolute struggle against the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

Setting itself against all the people of southern Viet Nam, the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique now finds itself besieged by them. No matter what inhuman weapons U.S. imperialism may use or what ruthless means of suppression the Ngo Dinh Diem clique may employ, the Ngo Dinh Diem regime cannot escape its end in total isolation and disintegration and U.S. imperialism will finally have to get out of southern Viet Nam.

Ngo Dinh Diem is a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism. However, once a lackey has outlived his usefulness, and is becoming an encumbrance to the carrying out of the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression, the U.S. imperialists will not hesitate to replace him with another lackey. The downfall of Syngman Rhee of south Korea is a case in point. A flunkey who servilely allows himself to be led by the nose by U.S. imperialism will only end up as a sacrifice and be buried along with it.

U.S. imperialism has violated the agreements reached at the first Geneva Conference by obstructing the unification of Viet Nam, openly carrying out armed aggression against southern Viet Nam and engaging in so-called special warfare for many years. It has also violated the agreements of the second Geneva Conference by its flagrant intervention in Laos in an attempt to rekindle the civil war there. Apart from those who are deliberately deceiving the people or are utterly naive, no one will believe that a treaty will make U.S. imperialism lay down its butcher's knife and suddenly become a Buddha, or behave itself a little better.

The oppressed people and oppressed nations must not entrust their liberation to the "wisdom" of imperialism and its lackeys. Only by strengthening unity and persevering in their struggle will they triumph. This is what the people of southern Viet Nam have been doing.

The people of southern Viet Nam have won important victories both politically and militarily in their just, patriotic struggle against the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique. We, the Chinese people, firmly support their just struggle.

I am convinced that through this struggle they will certainly attain the goal of liberating the southern part of Viet Nam and contribute to the peaceful unification of their fatherland.

It is my hope that the working class, the revolutionary people and progressives all over the world will all stand by the people of southern Viet Nam and, in response to the call of President Ho Chi Minh, support the just struggle of the heroic people of the southern part of Viet Nam and oppose aggression and oppression by the counter-revolutionary U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique, so as to save the people there from slaughter; so that they will achieve their complete liberation.

Statement by the Spokesman of the Chinese Government

— A Comment on the Soviet Government's Statement Of August 21

September 1, 1963

- All the apologies for the tripartite treaty given in the Soviet statement are untenable.
- The Soviet leaders may very well hold on to nuclear weapons without giving them away but to put pressure on China in collusion with the imperialist gangsters will not do.
- To cover up their capitulationist stand the Soviet leaders are doing their utmost to spread rumours and tell lies alleging that China wants to let half of mankind perish in a thermonuclear war.
- The Soviet leaders' theory on nuclear war is a theory of forbidding revolution.
- Nuclear weapons cannot curb the popular revolutionary current.
- The Soviet leaders idolize nuclear weapons and dismiss with one stroke the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world.
- The Soviet leaders drift from adventurism to capitulationism.
- China's Marxist-Leninist line on the question of war and peace cannot be distorted.

ON August 21 the Soviet Government issued a statement in reply to the statement made by the spokesman of the Chinese Government on August 15.

This Soviet statement is even less presentable than its fore-runners. It is unable to advance a single logical argument in defence of the Soviet leaders' act of betrayal; it cannot answer any of the questions of substance we raised in our last statement. The only new element in it is its assertion that China wants to gain victory through the launching of thermonuclear war and to bring about the death of half of mankind. With this assertion, the latest slander campaign of the Soviet leaders against China plumbs new depths. Apparently the Soviet leaders have already become so degenerate that they now depend on telling lies for a living.

More and more facts bear witness that on the question of war and peace the Soviet leaders' theory is one of forbidding revolution and their practice is one of moving from adventurism to capitulationism; and the conclusion of the tripartite treaty marks the further development of their capitulationism. To cover all this up they are desperately distorting the Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government on the question of war and peace, asserting that China wants to impose its "adventurist programme" on other countries.

The Soviet Government in its statement is insolent enough to say that we are able to criticize them only because China enjoys the protection of Soviet nuclear weapons.

Well, then, leaders of the Soviet Union, please continue to protect us awhile with your nuclear weapons. We shall continue to criticize you, and we hope you will have the courage to argue the matter out with us.

IN our statements of July 31 and August 15, we demonstrated irrefutably that in signing the tripartite treaty the Soviet leaders betrayed their original stand, sold out the interests of the Soviet people, sold out the interests of the peoples in the socialist camp, and sold out the interests of the people throughout the world.

In its statement of August 3, the Soviet Government erected the shield of state sovereignty against this criticism of ours. Now they are erecting a shield out of national defence secrets. They say that what had changed was circumstances, and not the Soviet leaders. And what were the changed circumstances? Ah! That cannot be divulged because it is a national defence secret.

This is sheer hypocrisy. National defence secret indeed! The simple fact is that after its tests in 1961 and 1962, the Soviet Union came into possession of the technical data which it needed. Who does not know this so-called national defence secret! That took place back in 1962, but as late as June 15, 1963, the Soviet leaders were still saying that the position of the West was unacceptable. How can the 180-degree turn made by the Soviet leaders after June 15, 1963, in betrayal of their original position be explained away by the change which took place in 1962?

With the conclusion of the tripartite treaty, the Soviet statement asserts: At the worst the situation is the same as without the treaty; how can anyone say the treaty has increased the danger of war? The United States may conduct underground nuclear tests, but cannot the Soviet Union do the same?

This assertion can only delude people who do not look beyond the surface or are most naive. The essence of the matter is that the United States is in the lead in the field of underground nuclear testing. Without the tripartite treaty, the United States would have been condemned when it engaged in underground nuclear testing. The tripartite treaty legalizes underground nuclear testing, which precisely helps the United States maintain and improve on its lead.

In the short period since the conclusion of the tripartite treaty the United States has already conducted three underground nuclear tests. On August 24 the U.S. Defence Department submitted a programme to the Senate, proposing a great increase in underground nuclear tests. U.S. Deputy Defence Secretary Gilpatrick said,

"The underground testing programme of the United States will be comprehensive. Therefore, it will be revised to include as many as feasible of the objectives of the tests which we would otherwise do under conditions of unrestricted testing," so as "to ensure the highest practicable rate of progress in nuclear technology."

All this is shocking to people who are truly concerned about peace. How can the Soviet leaders feign blindness?

The whole world knows that the tripartite treaty is designed to manacle socialist countries other than the Soviet Union and all the peace-loving countries, and that it has no restraining effect whatsoever on U.S. imperialism. It does not hinder the United States from using nuclear weapons in time of war, manufacturing and stockpiling nuclear weapons and proliferating nuclear weapons among its allies. Since the conclusion of the tripartite treaty, U.S. imperialism has continuously declared that it is not bound in any way, and the Soviet leaders have not uttered a sound of protest.

The Soviet statement feigns ignorance of all this and maintains that the Soviet leaders' position on the question of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons is perfectly reasonable.

The Soviet statement says it would not mean much if one or two more socialist countries came into possession of nuclear weapons, but it would be terrible if one or two more capitalist countries did so; that the Soviet Union cannot on the one hand give nuclear weapons to China and on the other oppose the United States giving

nuclear weapons to West Germany; and that if the Soviet Union did so, the United States would surely arm West Germany with nuclear weapons. The Soviet statement boastfully proclaims this to be the Soviet leaders' "principled stand" on the question of preventing nuclear proliferation.

My! A "principled stand"! But let us see what this "principled stand" amounts to.

Anyone having some knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and using his head a little will see

— that it is a cowardly stand which holds the strength of one's own class brothers in utter contempt and holds the strength of the imperialists in awe and veneration;

— that it is an absurd stand which puts the socialist camp and the imperialist camp on a par and makes no distinction between the enemy and ourselves; and

— that it is a reactionary stand which implies that U.S. imperialist nuclear proliferation is not for aggression but for defence and that the aggressive nature of imperialism has already changed.

Even a bourgeois statesman with some commonsense can understand that a commitment undertaken must be premised on a commitment accepted by the other party. The Soviet Union is not giving nuclear weapons to China, but has the United States undertaken an obligation not to arm West Germany with nuclear weapons?

In our view, the dogged adherence by the Soviet leaders to their "principled stand" is a matter of unrequited love. Look how pitiless the U.S. imperialists are! After signing the tripartite treaty, they noisily proceed with building up the NATO "multilateral nuclear force" and continue to ship nuclear weapons to West Germany. Where is there any sign of a commitment?

The tripartite treaty marks the surrender of the Soviet leaders to U.S. imperialism. It is rotten to the core. China of course cannot be a party to it.

The Soviet statement asserts that in refusing to sign this treaty, China is assuming the role of those in the Right-wing of the ranks of the U.S. "madmen," the West German revanchists and the French extremists. If that is the case, do not Chiang Kai-shek, Adenauer and Franco, who have signed, become Left-wing forces of peace? So that is how matters stand! It is indeed a great discovery by the Soviet leaders!

II

UNABLE to find any reasonable arguments to defend the tripartite treaty, the Soviet leaders resort to slandering China. One slander is that China is opposed to the tripartite treaty because the Soviet Union has denied it the atom bomb. This is a deliberate distortion of China's position.

In our last statement we explained in detail how, as far back as 1959, the Soviet leaders made a gift to the United States of their refusal to provide China with the technical data required for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. But for the sake of larger interests, we never mentioned this before, not even between fraternal Parties. If it were not because the Soviet leaders have col-

luded with the U.S. imperialists in an effort to force China to undertake not to manufacture nuclear weapons, we would not have wanted to discuss this.

Our exposure has enraged the Soviet leaders, who declare that it amounts to divulgence of confidential documents and information relating to the defences of the countries in the socialist camp, and that they will draw their own conclusions.

Please do not pretend. You know very well that long before we published our last statement you had informed the Americans the secrets between China and the Soviet Union concerning nuclear weapons.

As for drawing conclusions, have you not already done that long ago? Not only have you perfidiously and unilaterally scrapped the agreement on providing China with nuclear technical data, but you have blatantly given more and more military aid to the Indian reactionaries, who are hostile to China and have made incessant armed provocations against it. What is this if it is not drawing your "own conclusions"?

The real point is that the Soviet leaders hold that China should not, and must not, manufacture nuclear weapons, and that only the few nuclear powers, and particularly U.S. imperialism, the enemy of the people of the whole world, are entitled to the continued production of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet statement asserts that China can rely on the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union and need not manufacture them itself; that if it tries to manufacture them it will result in a great strain on China's economy.

Should or should not China itself master the means of resisting U.S. nuclear blackmail?

True, if the Soviet leaders really practised proletarian internationalism, China might consider it unnecessary to manufacture its own nuclear weapons.

But it is equally true that if the Soviet leaders really practised proletarian internationalism, they would have no reason whatever for obstructing China from manufacturing nuclear weapons.

Is not China very poor and backward? Yes, it is. The Soviet leaders say, how can the Chinese be qualified to manufacture nuclear weapons when they eat watery soup out of a common bowl and do not even have pants to wear?

The Soviet leaders are perhaps too hasty in deriding China for its backwardness. They may or may not have judged right. But in any case, even if we Chinese people are unable to produce an atom bomb for a hundred years, we will neither crawl to the baton of the Soviet leaders nor kneel before the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. imperialists.

The Soviet statement says that if China were to produce two or three atom bombs, the imperialists would aim many more atom bombs at China. This is in effect instigating the imperialists to threaten China with atom bombs.

Of course the fact that the U.S. imperialists may wish to aim more atom and hydrogen bombs at China

merits attention and vigilance. But there is nothing terrifying about it. At this very moment the United States has many such bombs already poised against China. It will not make much difference if the United States listens to the Soviet leaders and adds a few more. The Chinese people will not tremble before U.S. nuclear threats. But one must ask: Where do the Soviet leaders place themselves in making such an instigation?

In the eyes of the Soviet leaders, the whole world and the destiny of all mankind revolve round nuclear weapons. Therefore they hold on tightly to their nuclear weapons, afraid that someone might take them away or come to possess them, and so break up their monopoly. They are very nervous. They attribute China's principled criticism of the tripartite treaty to its failure to obtain the atom bombs it desires.

We feel that this attitude of the Soviet leaders is ludicrous. It calls to mind the following ancient Chinese fable:

Hui Tzu was Prime Minister of the State of Liang. Chuang Tzu was on his way to call on him.

Somebody said to Hui Tzu, "Chuang Tzu is coming with the intention of taking over your place as Prime Minister."

Hui Tzu became afraid and hunted for Chuang Tzu high and low for three days and three nights.

Chuang Tzu appeared before Hui Tzu and said, "Have you heard about the southern bird, the phoenix? It set out from the South Sea to fly to the North Sea. It would not alight except on the Wutung tree. It would eat nothing except the fruit of the bamboo. It would drink nothing except the purest spring water. An owl, which had got hold of a dead rat, looked up as the phoenix flew over and screeched to warn it off. Are you, too, not screeching at me, over your kingdom of Liang?"

The moral of this fable is that different people have different aspirations, and it is improper to measure the stature of great men by the yardstick of small men.

III

THE main feature of the Soviet Government's latest statement is its slander that we want socialism to win by means of thermonuclear war and that we would sacrifice 300 million Chinese and a half of mankind in order to create a greater civilization on the corpses and the ruins. Railing at China, the Soviet statement asserts that China is carrying out "an inhuman policy" and following a "bestial conception."

This is really hair-raising stuff. How shocking! The Chinese Communists are nothing but a bunch of blood-thirsty monsters, worse than Hitler, worse than any tyrants past or present, and, needless to say, hundreds of times worse than the U.S. imperialists.

But how is this possible? On what do the Soviet leaders base themselves in making such fantastic charges against China? Their charges, however varied, boil down to two counts:

First, that some responsible Chinese leaders have talked about the possibility that in a war people may die by hundreds of millions;

Second, that the Chinese journal *Hongqi* (Red Flag) has made the assertion that the victorious people would create a beautiful future for themselves on the ruins of imperialism.

The references are to certain remarks made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his speech at the Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties on November 18, 1957, and to a passage in the article "Long Live Leninism!" written by the editorial department of *Hongqi*.

Let us now see what the Chinese Communist Party actually said.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

It is my opinion that the international situation has now reached a new turning point. There are two winds in the world today, the East wind and the West wind. There is a Chinese saying, "Either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind." **It is characteristic of the situation today, I believe, that the East wind is prevailing over the West wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism are overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism.**

Proceeding from that estimation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed to the steadily growing possibility of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung then added,

At present another situation has to be taken into account, **namely, that the war maniacs may drop atomic and hydrogen bombs everywhere.** They drop them and we act after their fashion; thus there will be chaos and lives will be lost. The question has to be considered for the worst. The Political Bureau of our Party has held several sessions to discuss this question. If fighting breaks out now, China has got only hand-grenades and not atomic bombs—which the Soviet Union has though. Let us imagine, how many people will die if war should break out? Out of the world's population of 2,700 million, one third—or, if more, half—may be lost. **It is they and not we who want to fight;** when a fight starts, atomic and hydrogen bombs may be dropped. I debated this question with a foreign statesman. He believed that if an atomic war was fought, the whole of mankind would be annihilated. I said that if the worst came to the worst and half of mankind died, the other half would remain while imperialism would be razed to the ground and the whole world would become socialist; in a number of years there would be 2,700 million people again and definitely more. **We Chinese have not yet completed our construction and we desire peace.** However, **if imperialism insists on fighting a war, we will have no alternative but to make up our minds and fight to the finish before going ahead with our construction.** If every day you are afraid of war and war eventually comes, what will you do then? First I have said that the East wind prevails over the West wind and that war will not break out, and now I have added these explanations about the situation in case war should break out. In this way both possibilities have been taken into account.

The passage in "Long Live Leninism!" reads:

We consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism, because imperialist war would impose enormous sacrifices upon the people of various countries (in-

cluding the people of the United States and other imperialist countries). But **should the imperialists impose such sacrifices on them,** we believe that just as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution shows, those sacrifices would not be in vain. The victorious people would very swiftly create on the ruins of imperialism a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves.

The meaning of these words is very clear:

1. China wants peace, and not war;
2. It is the imperialists, and not we, who want to fight;
3. A world war can be prevented;
4. Even in the eventuality that imperialism should impose a war on the people of the world and inflict tragic losses on them, it is the imperialist system, and not mankind, that would perish, and the future of mankind would still be bright.

In effect, we make the point in these four sentences. These four sentences are interrelated. But the Soviet leaders have seized hold of half the sentence in which we mention the possibility that the people of the world might suffer tragic sacrifice, quoted it out of context and turned the other three and a half sentences inside out. Hence the conclusion: China wants war, and not peace; China, and not imperialism, wants to fight; a world war is inevitable; and China wants to launch a nuclear world war and bring about the death of half of mankind so as to attain a bright future for mankind. It is indeed pitiable that the leaders of a great power, and a great socialist power at that, should resort to such low fabrications.

But the lies told by the Soviet leaders are really too gross and fantastic. Anyone who uses his brains will ask, how can China launch a nuclear war if it does not have a single atom bomb? All revolutionaries throughout the world know that imperialism is the source of war. How can anyone imagine that socialist China will launch a world war? It is inconceivable.

The quoted remarks of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in 1957 were a reply to some people's view that mankind will be annihilated if imperialism unleashes a nuclear war. The Soviet leaders have spread this view over a number of years and are still spreading it. They say that if imperialism unleashes a nuclear war, it will not only scorch but will burn everything to ashes, i.e., the 3,000 million people of the world will all die. We do not agree with this pessimistic and despairing view of theirs. We say that if imperialism should unleash a nuclear war and the worst came to the worst, half of the world's population would be killed. We are optimistic about the future of mankind.

They say, our extreme supposition that half the world's population might die is a bestial conception. Does that not make their oft-repeated view, that all the 3,000 million people of the world would die, doubly bestial?

While propagating the theory of the annihilation of mankind, they say that the people of the world will bury imperialism if imperialism forces a nuclear war on them. For instance, the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of July 14 declared, "It stands to reason,

of course, that if the imperialist madmen unleash a war, the peoples will sweep away capitalism and bury it." But people are bound to ask, if according to your theory all the 3,000 million people in the world will die if imperialism unleashes a nuclear war, then who would remain to bury imperialism?

As a matter of fact, this lie of the Soviet leaders is not a new one, nor can they claim its authorship.

On October 1 and then on October 8, 1960, Wadsworth, the U.S. delegate to the U.N. General Assembly, quoted out of context the sentences in "Long Live Leninism!" concerning the ruins of imperialism. He slanderously asserted that China "welcomes an atomic war," and wants a world war "fought with hydrogen bombs," "if only that war promises the conquest of the world by communism."

In his book *Socialism and War* published in 1960, Kardelj of the renegade Tito clique also slandered China as wanting to unleash a world war to promote world revolution. On September 2, 1960, the Soviet paper *Pravda* said in criticizing this book that Kardelj was helping the U.S. imperialist big guns and that he, "in substance, repeats the slanders spread by the U.S. imperialists about the 'aggressiveness' of People's China."

Now the Soviet leaders have simply collected the spittle of the imperialists and the renegades. The U.S. imperialists had a try at this slander but then dropped it when they saw that no one paid it any attention. But the Soviet leaders are endlessly repeating the same lie, toning it up with colour and life, and insisting on making people believe it.

Why do the Soviet leaders continuously repeat this big lie? Do they really believe that the imperialists would not launch another world war? Do they really believe that China wants to launch a world war? Clearly, this is not the crux of the matter.

The crucial point is what should be the policy in face of U.S. imperialist nuclear blackmail and threats—resistance or capitulation? We stand for resistance, and so they say we want to launch a war and bring about the death of half of mankind. They even hold that whoever dares to assume that imperialism may launch a war wants to launch a war himself. In that case, what is the way out? Of course, the only way is capitulation and to capitulate before the imperialists act. In the final analysis, they are racking their brains and telling all these lies for the purpose of covering up their disreputable capitulationist stand.

IV

THE Soviet statement declares that "the appeals of the P.R.C. leaders smack strongly of demagoguery and adventurism," and that "to link the fate of the national-liberation movement with an aggravation of international tension, with urging humanity to a world thermonuclear war, as the P.R.C. leaders are doing, is like promising the peoples freedom after death."

What the Soviet leaders mean is clear. Possessing nuclear weapons, imperialism must not be resisted. Should

the oppressed peoples and nations resist and should the socialist countries support their resistance, that would be pushing mankind into a world thermonuclear war.

The Soviet leaders hold that "no problem of the revolutionary movement of the working class or the national-liberation movement can now be considered in isolation from the struggle to preserve peace and avert a world thermonuclear war."

The Soviet leaders hold that "'local wars' in our time are very dangerous, for any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war."

The Soviet leaders hold that if the people of any country dare to wage a revolutionary war against imperialism, all they are doing is hankering after "dying beautifully" and engaging in a "movement for piling up corpses."

The Soviet leaders hold that if a nuclear war should break out, "in the case of many peoples the question of socialism would be eliminated altogether, because they would have disappeared bodily from our planet."

The Soviet leaders even hold that, under the threat of a nuclear war, Kennedy, the chieftain of U.S. imperialism, and people like him have "shown concern for the preservation of peace" and "try on their part to avert a war."

In short, in the opinion of the Soviet leaders, the emergence of nuclear weapons has changed everything, it has changed both the nature of imperialism and the nature of our epoch. Our epoch is no longer one of revolution as defined in the Moscow Statement, but a nuclear epoch, a nuclear century.

In the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated July 14, the Soviet leaders said, "The nuclear rocket weapons that were created in the middle of our century changed old notions about wars." In reality, this means that, since the emergence of nuclear weapons, war is no longer the continuation of politics, there is no longer any difference between unjust and just wars, imperialism is no longer the source of war, and the people of various countries should no longer wage just wars against imperialist armed aggression and armed suppression by the reactionary regime for such just wars cannot possibly be won but will only bring about the annihilation of mankind.

The conclusion must be: The only thing for all the oppressed peoples and nations and for all countries and people subjected to aggression and oppression to do, if they do not want to court self-destruction, is to capitulate to imperialism which possesses nuclear weapons. Anyone who dares to resist imperialist oppression, aggression and threats and to wage revolutionary war for independence and liberation, and anyone who dares to support such revolutionary war, is guilty of the error of adventurism and will be held responsible for the disaster of the so-called annihilation of mankind. In the opinion of the Soviet leaders, in this nuclear century to remain alive is everything, and there is no other aim in life. This is the philosophy of docile slaves which demands of the people of the world that they should submit to the tender mercies

of imperialism. It is a reactionary theory in the service of imperialism. It is a truly bestial conception.

V

THE views of the Soviet leaders referred to above are a total betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and are completely contradicted by the facts of history since the end of World War II.

It is clear except to the blind that since the emergence of nuclear weapons, the imperialists have continued to resort to counter-revolutionary wars as a way of carrying out their policies of oppressing and enslaving the peoples of various countries and that the countries and peoples suffering from aggression and oppression have continued to regard revolutionary wars as the way to oppose imperialist aggression and oppression and to win their independence and liberation. The history of the last eighteen years is replete with wars of aggression and wars against aggression, with unjust and just wars. War is still the continuation of politics.

At the end of World War II, after it had dropped two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, U.S. imperialism assumed that armed with this "ultimate weapon" it could ride roughshod over the world and do whatever it pleased. At the time there was a kind of fearmentality among the Chinese people as well as among the peoples of other countries. U.S. imperialism, possessed of atomic weapons, appeared to them so powerful that they thought it could put down peoples' revolutions at will.

Precisely at that crucial moment Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in his talk with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong in 1946:

The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

This Marxist-Leninist thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's was a timely exposure of the U.S. imperialists' plot of atomic blackmail and armed the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of all countries against it. The victory after victory which the people of many countries have won in their revolutionary wars against the aggression and enslavement by the imperialists and their lackeys in the past seventeen years have repeatedly proved the correctness of this thesis.

While the U.S. imperialists still had a monopoly of nuclear weapons, the Chinese people achieved the great victory of their revolution in defiance of U.S. imperialist blackmail and intimidation.

While the U.S. imperialists still retained their nuclear superiority, they were not able to prevent the defeat of their war of aggression in Korea. In November 1950, after the U.S. imperialists had met with serious reverses on the Korean battlefield, Truman, then President of the United States, cried for the use of atomic bombs, and this

immediately aroused indignant protests from the people of the whole world and also general panic and opposition from the allies of the United States. Furthermore, U.S. military personnel did not believe that the use of atomic weapons on the Korean battlefield would actually be effective. As a result, throughout the Korean war the U.S. imperialists never dared to use atomic weapons.

Following the armistice in Korea, the people of Viet Nam were victorious in their revolutionary war against French imperialism. Even though it held atomic weapons, U.S. imperialism was unable to realize its plan of increasing its intervention in the war in Viet Nam.

After more than seven years of hard and bitter struggle, the people of Algeria were victorious in their war for national independence.

At the very gate of U.S. imperialism, the people of Cuba won victory in their revolution through armed struggle. U.S. imperialism has never dared to declare that it would use nuclear weapons against the Cuban people.

The people's armed forces in southern Viet Nam are now carrying on a victorious struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackey, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Although the U.S. imperialists have employed a great variety of new weapons, they have not dared to use nuclear weapons.

U.S. imperialism cannot stop the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries by means of nuclear weapons. The reason is that, politically, recourse to this kind of weapon would place U.S. imperialism in a position of extreme isolation and, militarily, the massive destructiveness of nuclear weapons limits their use, for in civil wars and wars of national independence, where the lines are zigzag and the fighting is at close range, the use of nuclear weapons of mass destruction would inflict damage on both belligerents.

In a speech delivered on December 16, 1959, Kennedy admitted that U.S. nuclear strength "cannot be used in so-called 'brush-fire' peripheral war. It was not used in Korea, Indo-China, Hungary, Suez, Lebanon, Quemoy, Tibet or Laos. In short, it cannot prevent the Communists from gradually nibbling away at the fringe of the free world's territory and strength, until our security is being steadily eroded in piecemeal fashion . . ."

It is therefore evident that, provided the revolutionary people are not afraid of the imperialists' nuclear blackmail and persevere in their just struggles, they can gain victories in their revolutions. Such struggles and victories have not led to world war, but have constantly weakened and effectively restrained imperialism, and thus have reduced the danger of the imperialists' launching a world war and safeguarded world peace.

The interests of the people's revolutions and the interests of world peace are identical. It is a manifestation of the proletarian internationalism of the Chinese Communist Party when it gives full support to the constantly growing national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Soviet leaders slander this stand of the Chinese Communist Party as being racist and accuse us of undermining the unity of the national-liberation movement with the international proletariat. As a matter of fact, since you smear the national-liberation movement

as a "movement for piling up corpses" and as "promising the peoples freedom after death," what is the need of your talking about this unity? Is there any meaning in uniting with a pile of corpses? Your contempt for the coloured peoples and the oppressed nations is a downright racist and reactionary nationalist viewpoint.

VI

IMPERIALISM, whose doom is sealed, cannot save itself by relying on nuclear weapons, nor can the socialist countries win victory in their struggle against imperialism by relying solely on nuclear weapons.

We have always fully appreciated the important role played by the Soviet Union's possession of nuclear weapons in the struggle of the people of the world against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for world peace. But there is a limit to everything, and once the limit is exceeded, the thing is reduced to absurdity. It is a pity that in their attitude towards the Soviet Union's possession of nuclear weapons the Soviet leaders have exceeded limit.

The Soviet leaders keep on exaggerating the role of nuclear weapons and blindly trust in them, despise the masses and have forgotten that the masses are the makers of history, and so they have degenerated into worshippers of nuclear weapons.

In June 1960, during the meeting in Bucharest, the Soviet leader, Khrushchov, remarked that in the past they too had once organized militia but that now they had modern weapons, to them, militia were not troops but just human flesh.

It is crystal clear that in the eyes of the Soviet leaders the 3,000 million people of the world are nothing but rubbish, while the nuclear arms of the Soviet Union and the U.S. imperialists are infinitely powerful magic weapons.

That is why they boast so much about what they call the decisive role of Soviet nuclear weapons in the defence of world peace and completely deny the great significance of the peoples' anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world.

On July 10, 1962, the Soviet leader said at the World Conference for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow that "the rocket-nuclear might of the Soviet Union serves as a decisive means of defending peace and has already more than once saved mankind from a world war which the Western imperialist cliques attempted to unleash."

The latest statement of the Soviet Government is even more brazen in asserting that Soviet nuclear weapons played the decisive role in defeating the Anglo-French war of aggression against Egypt in 1956 and frustrating the plot of the U.S. armed threat against Syria in 1957 and the U.S.-British plot to send troops for intervention in Iraq in 1958.

All these defeats suffered by the imperialists resulted primarily from the struggles of the Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi peoples. The firm support to these peoples by the people of the world, including the Soviet people, also

played an important part. How then can all this be credited solely to Soviet nuclear weapons?

It is especially ridiculous that the Soviet statement also gives all the credit to Soviet nuclear weapons for the Chinese people's victory in smashing the armed provocations of U.S. imperialism in the Taiwan Straits in 1958. The Soviet paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* even said on August 25, 1963, "The nuclear might of the Soviet Union, the very country which has now been abused by the slanderers of Peking, had saved millions of Chinese from nuclear death and defended the sovereignty, security and independence of their country."

What were the facts? In August and September of 1958, the situation in the Taiwan Straits was indeed very tense as a result of the aggression and provocations by the U.S. imperialists. The Soviet leaders expressed their support for China on September 7 and 19 respectively. Although at that time the situation in the Taiwan Straits was tense, there was no possibility that a nuclear war would break out and no need for the Soviet Union to support China with its nuclear weapons. It was only when they were clear that this was the situation that the Soviet leaders expressed their support for China.

We have not forgotten and will not forget the support which the Soviet people have given to China on the question of Taiwan over a long period.

Likewise, however, we have not forgotten and will not forget what the Soviet leader, Khrushchov, said about the question of Taiwan after his visit to the United States in October 1959.

He said that the question of Taiwan was an incendiary factor in the international situation and that because the United States supported Chiang Kai-shek and the Soviet Union supported China, there resulted the atmosphere of an imminent great war; but what the Soviet Union stood for was the creation of all conditions to ease international tension and eliminate war.

He further said that there was more than one way to solve every complicated question, depending on what basis you took. For example, after the October Revolution, there was established in the Soviet Far East the Far Eastern Republic, and Lenin recognized it at the time; this was a temporary concession and sacrifice, but later on it was united with Russia.

The meaning of this statement by the Soviet leader was quite clear. To put it bluntly, this was asking China to agree to the U.S. scheme of creating "two Chinas."

This absurd view was of course rebutted and rejected by China, whereupon the Soviet leader made a series of speeches hinting that China was "craving for war like a cock for a fight," and, like Trotsky, wanted "neither peace nor war," etc.

In accordance with the procedure mutually agreed upon by the Soviet Union and the United States, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, swaggering as if it were a sovereign state, has now signed the tripartite treaty. Not only has the Soviet leader asked the Chinese Government to sign the same tripartite treaty along with the Chiang Kai-shek clique spurned by the Chinese people, and thus to create a two Chinas situation, he has also threatened that, if the Chinese Government opposed this treaty and

refused to be bound by it, the United States would help the Chiang Kai-shek clique to manufacture nuclear weapons. It turns out that in order to "save millions of Chinese from nuclear death," one China has to become two Chinas! It is evident that the Soviet leaders will stop at nothing in order to curry favour with the U.S. imperialists. The international position of the German Democratic Republic is beneath their notice and so is China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Although the truth has been exposed so fully, they still assert that the nuclear strength of the Soviet Union guarantees China's independence and sovereignty. What effrontery!

VII

NUCLEAR weapons in the hands of socialist countries should always be defensive weapons against the nuclear threats of the imperialists. In contrast to the imperialists, socialist countries have no need to use nuclear weapons for blackmail or gambling and must not do so. The question of using nuclear weapons concerns the interests of millions upon millions of people; and the socialist countries must be extremely prudent on this question and never act recklessly. In this connection, both adventurism and capitulationism are extremely dangerous.

During the Caribbean crisis, the Soviet leaders committed both the error of adventurism and the error of capitulationism. Instead of criticizing themselves, they have prided themselves on the slap in their face, boasted of their "genuine proletarian internationalism" and proclaimed what they have called a "major victory of the policy of reason, of the forces of peace and socialism." They have wantonly attacked the Chinese Communist Party for the just position it took on this issue, alleging that China hoped for a head-on clash between the United States and the Soviet Union and tried to provoke a nuclear war. This is thoroughly disgusting.

The Soviet leaders never weary of asserting that there was a thermonuclear war crisis in the Caribbean Sea which was averted only because the Soviet leaders firmly pursued the policy of peaceful coexistence.

But the facts are there for everyone to see. Although the tension in the Caribbean Sea stemmed from the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression against Cuba and although there has been a continuing danger of an invasion of Cuba by the U.S. imperialists, nevertheless, before the Soviet Union sent rockets into Cuba, there did not exist a crisis of the United States using nuclear weapons in the Caribbean Sea and of a nuclear war breaking out. If it should be said that such a crisis did arise, it was a result of the rash action of the Soviet leaders.

The Soviet leaders slanderously accuse China of having hoped for a head-on clash between the United States and the Soviet Union. The question is, did we ask you to transport rockets to Cuba? The label of adventurism cannot be pinned on us. If the Marxist-Leninist line we always follow had been acted on, there would never have been a question of shipping rockets to Cuba and the so-called nuclear war crisis would never have existed. How could the question of adventurism have then arisen?

We should like to ask the Soviet leaders, since the transport of rockets to Cuba was a matter of such great importance, did you ever consult the Soviet people, or the other socialist countries, or the working class in capitalist countries about it? Without consulting anybody, you wilfully embarked on a reckless course and irresponsibly played with the lives of millions upon millions of people. The errors were of your own making, and so what ground is there for you to blame others?

There is no need whatsoever to transport rockets to Cuba in order to support the Cuban revolution. That was what the Soviet leaders said in the past, and it is also what they are saying now, and in very beautiful language. For instance, the Open Letter of July 14 of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. said that "in case of aggression by American imperialists we shall come to the assistance of the Cuban people from Soviet territory, just as we would have helped them from Cuban territory. True, in this case the rockets would take slightly longer in the flight, but their accuracy would not be impaired by this." That being so, why did you have to ship rockets to Cuba? Was your purpose really to defend the Cuban revolution? Would it not be more correct to say that what you did in the name of defending the Cuban revolution was in reality political gambling?

Anyone with common-sense will ask: since the rockets were introduced, why did they have to be withdrawn afterwards? And inasmuch as the rockets were withdrawn afterwards, why had they to be introduced before? According to you, there was a great deal of finesse in first putting them in, and then taking them out. The withdrawal of the Soviet rockets is said to have gained in exchange a guarantee from the United States that it would refrain from invading Cuba. The Americans have said there was no such guarantee. You have said there was. But where is the guarantee? Do you really believe that the United States will not invade Cuba again? Unfortunately, you do not seem to have much confidence in that.

The Soviet leaders have said that China was opposed to the withdrawal of the rockets from Cuba and to the efforts of the Soviet Union to avert a nuclear war. This is a completely groundless statement. As we were totally opposed to your sending the rockets in, why should we oppose their withdrawal? It is understandable you should have tried to extricate yourselves from difficulties of your own creation. But we were resolutely opposed to your acceptance of the completely unjustifiable and humiliating terms which the U.S. imperialists advanced.

The Soviet leaders blame China for not having supported them as an ally should. You had better look up the documents. Was there anything you did right during the Caribbean crisis on which we did not support you? You are dissatisfied, but exactly what did you want us to support?

Did you want us to support you in your decision to accept the inspection of Soviet ships on the high seas by the U.S. pirates? That would not have done! If we had given you support on that, we would have done a disservice to the great Soviet people.

Did you want us to support you in your acceptance of the U.S. imperialists' demand for the "international in-

spection" of Cuba? That would not have done! If we had given you support on that, we would have done a disservice to the great Cuban people.

In recklessly introducing the rockets into Cuba and then humiliatingly withdrawing them, the Soviet leaders moved from adventurism to capitulationism, and brought disgrace to the Soviet people, the Cuban people, the people of the countries in the socialist camp and the people of the whole world. They have inflicted unprecedented shame and humiliation on the international proletariat. All this has been unalterably written into history. No matter how the Soviet leaders lie or what sleight-of-hand they perform, they can never wash away their shame.

The capitulation of the Soviet leaders has inflated the aggressiveness and arrogance of the imperialists.

After the Caribbean crisis, when the U.S. imperialists saw that their policy of nuclear blackmail had succeeded they concluded that Moscow was more afraid of atomic war than Washington. Just like any fortune hunter who gets a windfall, the U.S. imperialists became overweeningly arrogant. Now that they fully understand the weaknesses of the Soviet leaders, they are using both tough and soft tactics to force them into further capitulation.

The signing of the tripartite treaty is the hallmark of such further capitulation to U.S. imperialism on the part of the Soviet leaders.

VIII

THE position and line of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government on the question of war and peace have always been clear and cannot be distorted.

We resolutely oppose world war and we resolutely defend world peace. Not long after World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated definitely that a third world war can be prevented. For over a decade, the Chinese people have been firmly persisting in the struggle to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, to prevent a new world war and to preserve world peace. We have consistently held that provided the people of the whole world become united, follow a correct line and persevere in struggle, a new world war can be prevented, a nuclear war can be prevented, and world peace can be preserved.

It is our view that imperialism is the source of modern wars and that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Unless a resolute struggle is waged against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, defence of world peace is completely out of the question. If one prettifies U.S. imperialism and obscures the targets of this struggle from the people of the world, this will only endanger world peace.

It is our view that in order to strive for world peace, it is necessary to unite in joint efforts all the peace-loving forces of the world, namely, the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement, the revolutionary movement of the people of all countries, and all the peace-loving countries and people. If one despises the force of the masses of the people and blindly trusts nuclear

weapons as omnipotent, this will only endanger world peace.

It is our view that in order to strive for world peace, it is necessary to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and enhance the strength of the national defences of all the countries in the socialist camp. If one splits the socialist camp and weakens its defence forces, it will only endanger world peace.

It is our view that in order to strive for world peace, it is necessary to give full support to the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries. The more these struggles develop, the more the imperialist forces will be weakened and the greater the possibility of preventing the imperialists from launching world war. If one refuses to support, and even sabotages, the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries, this will only endanger world peace.

We consistently maintain that countries with different social systems should coexist peacefully. It was China which initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It has made unremitting efforts for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles. For the socialist countries, peaceful coexistence must in all circumstances be based on principles and must not depart from them. Negotiation is one form of struggle against imperialism. Necessary compromises can be made in negotiations, so long as the principle of upholding the fundamental interests of the people is observed. But if one regards negotiations as the main means, or even the sole means, of striving for peaceful coexistence and does not scruple to sell out the fundamental interests of the people in order to seek compromises with imperialism, that is not peaceful coexistence but capitulationist coexistence. And it will only result in endangering world peace.

We are in favour of general disarmament and hold that the imperialists can be forced to accept certain agreements on disarmament through the unremitting struggle of the people of all countries. We are of the opinion that the complete and thorough prohibition of nuclear weapons can be achieved while imperialism still exists, just as poison gas was prohibited. The reason is that the use of such a weapon of mass destruction is completely contrary to the will of the people and would, moreover, subject the users to destruction. However, universal and complete disarmament can be realized only after imperialism, capitalism and all systems of exploitation have been eliminated. To make propaganda about the possibility of realizing "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars" through universal and complete disarmament while imperialism still exists, is to deceive the people of the world and is detrimental to the struggle for world peace.

We hold that while affirming the growing possibility that imperialism can be prevented from launching a new world war, one should also recognize that the danger of a new world war still exists. Necessary preparations must be made against this danger. The better we are prepared, the smaller is the possibility that the imperialists will dare to launch such a war. If anyone stresses only one possibility, the possibility that imperialism will not

launch such a war, tries to make the people of the world believe that no other possibility exists, and does not even dare think of the other possibility, that will only lull the vigilance of the world's people, provide opportunities for imperialism to exploit and increase the danger of world war.

In fighting imperialism, we are of the opinion that, strategically and with regard to the whole, one must despise the enemy, dare to struggle against him and dare to seize victory; at the same time, tactically and with regard to each specific struggle, one must take the enemy seriously and be prudent. If one does not take full account of the enemy tactically, and is heedless and reckless, while strategically one dares not despise the enemy, it is inevitable that one will commit the error of adventurism in tactics and the error of capitulationism in strategy.

The position and line of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government on the question of war and peace are in full conformity with the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 State-

ment. Ours is a Marxist-Leninist line. Adherence to this line will lead both to victory for the peoples' revolutions and to victory for world peace.

We maintain that the line pursued by the Soviet leaders is an anti-Marxist-Leninist line, one that runs counter to the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. Adherence to this line will harm the fundamental interests of the people of all countries, and it will endanger world peace.

Our line on the question of war and peace is indeed the diametrical opposite of that of the Soviet leaders. The Soviet leaders are of course entitled to defend their own line. However, abuse is not debate and misrepresentation is not argument. Communists should always have respect for the facts and talk reason. It is for the Chinese people, the Soviet people and the people of the whole world to judge which line is correct, ours or yours, and which line is wrong. We note that the Soviet papers have published our statement of August 15. We hope you will continue this good practice and also publish our present statement.

Statement of the Soviet Government

August 21, 1963

Following is the full text of the Soviet government statement. Boldface emphases are the same as those appearing in "Renmin Ribao," which published the Soviet government statement on September 1.—Ed.

LESS than a month has passed since the day the Governments of the USSR, the United States and Britain signed in Moscow the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. But even within this short space of time the attitude of the peoples and governments to the Treaty has become clear: the day it was signed, August 5, 1963, is impressed on the minds of all who value peace as a date when the fruits of the policy of peaceful coexistence, of efforts aimed at preventing a new world war, became more tangible.

For the first time in many years overshadowed by the cold war, **the states of the East and the West have managed to reach agreement on a burning international issue involving the vital interests of the entire population of the Earth.** For the first time an issue concerning the most devastating weapon that ever threatened mankind has become the subject of agreement. And for the first time an international agreement initially worked out by three nuclear powers has met such a mighty response and support in all parts of our planet. All continents have become the scene of a referendum, as it were, and its results are already known: the peoples of the world have taken a firm stand in support of the Treaty.

The majority of states, differing in their political and social systems, sometimes holding opposing world outlooks, have proclaimed their support for or have already affixed their signatures to the Treaty. Despite all the differences separating them, they are united in one thing: in the striving to put an end to the contamination of the Earth's atmosphere and at the same time to lay the foundation for further steps

towards reducing international tension and towards diminishing the danger of the outbreak of a thermonuclear war.

The universal approval shown by the peoples for the nuclear test ban Treaty has at the same time demonstrated the pitiable isolation in which the enemies of the Treaty have found themselves. Even among those who at first started back at the very mention of the possibility of ending nuclear tests, there are now governments and statesmen who are beginning to reform their positions as they go along. For example, **the FRG Government decided to sign the Treaty, and has already done so. Apparently it realised after all that there are limits beyond which you cannot go if you do not want to show the whole world that your policy is contrary to the vital interests of the peoples. Chancellor Adenauer, who even in Western countries has won unenviable reputation as one of the last Mohicans of the cold war, decided, under pressure of circumstances and of world public opinion, that it is better to stop openly opposing the nuclear test ban Treaty.**

But the PRC leaders, covering up with pseudo-revolutionary phrases, continue pouring pailfuls of slander on this Treaty which expresses the hopes of the peoples.

As early as on the eve of the signing of the Treaty the leaders of the People's Republic of China attempted to turn world public opinion against its signing. On July 31, 1963, they addressed a statement to the governments of all countries of the world, the essence of which, besides slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union and its peaceful foreign policy, was to "prove" to all and sundry that this Treaty was a "trap" and "fraud", that it contradicted the interests of the peoples and the interests of peace. Today the Chinese leaders can themselves judge how this stand of the PRC Government has been evaluated by the world. A bare examination of the list of states that have signed the Treaty speaks for itself.

And more and more signatures of the representatives of countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are appearing under the text of the Treaty every day.

One would think that this would be food for serious thought, one would think that in Peking too they would understand the meaning of this response from the states and the peoples to the attempts of the Chinese Government to torpedo the nuclear test ban Treaty. It goes without saying that the PRC Government, like the government of any other country, is free to decide its attitude—favourable or unfavourable—to the Treaty, whether to accede to it or not. However, **if no special purposes were being pursued, purposes having, perhaps, no direct bearing on the given Treaty, it would be enough simply to refuse to sign the Treaty and let matters rest at that. But apparently the point is that the conclusion of the nuclear test ban Treaty did not merely cause a fit of vexation and political nervousness among the Chinese leaders, but that they also want to use this major event of international life to try and impose on other countries, by means of fabrications and low tricks, their adventurist stand on the fundamental issues of war and peace.** Only this can explain the fact that on August 15 one more batch of slander directed against the nuclear test ban Treaty and against the foreign policy of the USSR came from Peking, this time in the form of a statement by a PRC Government spokesman.

Anyone who takes an objective view of the world situation will easily see that this move, hostile to the cause of peace and socialism, cannot drown the calm and confident voice of the peoples expressing their satisfaction at the success of the peaceloving forces which for many years have been waging an unrelenting struggle for the cessation of nuclear tests, for disarmament, for peace and international friendship. If the new Chinese statement proves anything, it is only that **the PRC Government, in its attitude to the test ban Treaty, not only joins hands with the most aggressive-minded circles of the imperialist powers but even assumes the role of those in the extreme right wing of the ranks of the American "madmen", the West German revenge-seekers, and the French extremists.**

Properly speaking, the statement of the Chinese Government spokesman in actual fact adds little to what has already been said by the PRC Government in its statement of July 31, to which the Soviet Government has already replied on August 3. Like the previous one, the new Chinese statement shows that **the PRC leadership only pays lip-service to the policy approved by the international communist movement at the meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960, the policy of peaceful coexistence, of reducing international tension and strengthening peace among the peoples, while in practice it sabotages efforts to implement this common policy of the countries of the socialist community and of the world communist movement.**

It seems as if all the invectives in the Chinese language have migrated from the pages of **the Chinese press, which is waging a rampant anti-Soviet campaign,** to the official documents of the PRC Government. "Shame", "plot", "treachery"—what words do the Chinese leaders not use against the country to which, as they themselves have repeatedly admitted, the Chinese people owe a lot. It is quite natural therefore that because of their slanderous and hostile attitude to the Soviet Union neither statement of the PRC Government was accepted by the USSR Embassy in the PRC for presentation to the Soviet Government, and that both were returned to the senders, the PRC Government.

It is hard, or to be more accurate it is impossible, to detect in the statement of the spokesman of the Chinese Gov-

ernment any well-grounded, serious arguments, or any objective statement of facts.

The new Chinese statement is full of the old assertions that the nuclear test ban Treaty "is advantageous to the forces of war and disadvantageous to the forces struggling for peace", that it is "a capitulation to American imperialism", and that it is aimed at consolidating the "nuclear monopoly" of certain powers, etc. It goes without saying that these unwarranted assertions do not become more convincing for being endlessly repeated. That is why the Soviet Government does not see any need to start a new detailed study of all these trumped-up assertions and stilted arguments being advanced by the Chinese Government against the Treaty. Their untenability has already been proved in the Soviet Government's statement of August 3.

For example, the Chinese leaders are again contending that "the danger of war has increased" as a result of the signing of the nuclear test ban Treaty. What does this assertion mean? If they had said that the Treaty does not eliminate the danger of war, they would be right. The Soviet Government said this during the signing of the Treaty and stressed that of course this Treaty does not and cannot eliminate the danger of war, although it does open new and more favourable opportunities for developing the struggle to strengthen peace. But the Chinese leaders are asserting something entirely different. They want to prove that as a result of the signing of the nuclear test ban Treaty the danger of war has increased, has become greater than it was before the signing. It appears that the whole world is wrong in its estimation of the significance of the nuclear test ban Treaty, and that **only the Chinese leaders have the key to wisdom.** One can only say that this is very strange wisdom, characteristic only of those **who think it is possible to sit on some Olympus and utter truths from there which have nothing in common with real life, and to guide their actions by the belief that if life does not fit into their dead schemes, then so much the worse for life.**

But how do the Chinese leaders support their assertion that the Treaty on the banning of nuclear tests increases the threat of war? To believe them one would think that the continuation and expansion of nuclear weapon tests, the creation of ever more deadly types of these weapons, the emergence of a situation in which **these weapons would be spread all over the world and the West German revanchists would begin producing them tomorrow and the day after perhaps the Chiang Kai-shek clique would also do so—and there might be people willing to help them—all this would contribute to the cause of strengthening peace.**

The authors of the new Chinese statement go so far as to state: if there were no nuclear test ban Treaty, there would be no tests either, because the Government of the United States would, if you please, hardly have dared to resume them "light-mindedly". But this is utterly absurd. Such a claim is tantamount to an attempt to persuade people that there would be no violations of law if states did not pass laws. It is also strange that the Chinese leaders have taken it upon themselves to speak for the United States Government about its intentions concerning the holding of nuclear tests.

Realising, evidently that all their statements concerning the increase of the danger of war as a result of the ending of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water can only make the people doubt the ability of the Chinese leaders to assess the meaning of their own words, they have advanced one more "argument", which, to all appearances, they believe would save their positions: the Treaty, they say, does not forbid the United States of America to

hold underground nuclear tests or to increase its stockpiles of nuclear weapons. But firstly, the hands of the United States were not bound in this respect before the signing of the Treaty either, so nothing new has happened in this sense. And secondly, the Treaty does not forbid the Soviet Union either, if need be, to hold underground nuclear tests, to increase its stockpiles of nuclear arms, and even to use these weapons against the imperialist aggressors if they should unleash a war in a fit of insanity. The situation is the same here, and the Chinese leaders know as well as the leading statesmen of the United States that we Soviet people are not simpletons, either, and that having concluded the nuclear test ban Treaty the Soviet Union does not intend to disarm unilaterally in the face of imperialism.

What gullible people are supposed to be convinced by the statement of the Chinese leaders about "capitulation" to American imperialism, about the alleged "fraud" of the Treaty on the banning of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water? There are no such gullible people in our time; the peoples have long ago learnt to distinguish truth from slander.

The leaders of the Government of the People's Republic of China are striving to prove that if the Soviet Government earlier held one stand on the question of banning nuclear weapon tests—and they are generously prepared to regard it as correct—and then adopted a different viewpoint, this is some kind of mortal sin and almost a treachery.

Yes, the Soviet Union's position on the question of ending nuclear weapon tests was not fossilised, it conformed to the changes in the balance of forces in the international arena, to the successes in the strengthening of the defence potential of the USSR and of all the countries of the socialist community, and took into account all that in its entirety is called the realities of the nuclear age.

In the first years after the appearance of nuclear weapons in the arsenal of the United States, when the United States had a nuclear monopoly, and the security of the socialist countries was endangered, the Soviet Government considered that the main task was to deprive the United States of that advantage. This aim could be achieved either by completely banning nuclear weapons, which would have meant taking these weapons away from the only nuclear power at that time, the United States, or by developing our own nuclear weapons to help ensure the security of all the socialist countries. It was then that the Soviet Government advanced its demand for the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons and, when this demand was rejected by the Western powers, it started to develop its own nuclear weapons, which were to become a good additional guarantee of the independence and security of all the countries of the socialist community and to make the imperialists lose their taste for aggression against the socialist states. Naturally the banning of nuclear weapon tests without the simultaneous destruction of the weapons in the possession of the United States would not have been in the interests of the socialist states at that time: it would have brought to a halt the work on the development of nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union, and perpetuated the American nuclear monopoly.

But the situation did not remain unchanged. As a result of the intensive efforts of the Soviet people and of Soviet scientists to develop our own nuclear weapons, the American nuclear monopoly was smashed, the world socialist system received its own nuclear shield and the imperialist powers lost the material basis for conducting a policy of nuclear blackmail, "positions-of-strength" policy vis-a-vis the socialist countries. This put also the question of a nuclear weapon test

ban in a new perspective. The continuation of nuclear testing could now only lead the spiral of the nuclear arms race higher and higher, in which the socialist countries and all other peaceloving states are not interested. At the same time, **with the new balance of forces a nuclear test ban would seal not the American nuclear monopoly but the fact of its liquidation, not the unilateral advantage of the imperialist camp but the new balance of strength in the sphere of nuclear weapons.**

Taking all these circumstances into consideration and continuing to wage a persistent struggle for disarmament and for the complete prohibition and liquidation of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Government at the same time advanced in 1956 a proposal for an agreement on the ending of nuclear tests without waiting for a settlement of the disarmament problem. In the changed conditions this stand was just as correct and met the interests of the socialist states and the interests of peace to the same extent as the previous stand at the previous stage.

It is also necessary to stress that the proposal then advanced by the Soviet Government on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests envisaged the settling of this question on exactly the same basis on which this question has now been settled. At that time nuclear tests were held only in the atmosphere and under water, there were no tests in other environments, and it was a question of banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere and under water. In the Treaty signed on August 5 the banning of nuclear weapon tests in a third environment, outer space, was added to this. The difference is thus that **in 1956 the United States refused to accept our proposal and in 1963 it accepted it in an even more extensive form, with the addition of outer space.**

As to underground nuclear tests, the question of these did not arise in 1956—at that time no such tests were held—but later, when the United States began carrying out underground nuclear weapon tests. Naturally the Soviet Government began from then on to press also for the prohibition of underground nuclear tests. However, it has not yet been proved possible to reach agreement on this because the Western powers linked the prohibition of underground nuclear tests with the setting up of so-called international control, actually international espionage, which could involve the security interests of the socialist states and to which the Soviet Government could not naturally agree.

In view of the prevailing situation the Soviet Union and the world as a whole had to choose between the banning of nuclear weapon tests in three environments and the continuation of an unbridled and unrestricted tests race. And if today it proved possible to reach agreement on the banning of tests in three media, thereby solving the most important part of the entire problem, this is a big success for the peoples, a victory for the peaceloving forces, a concrete achievement of the policy of peace.

These are the main landmarks of the principled and at the same time flexible and realistic policy of the Soviet Union on the question of banning nuclear weapon tests. In whatever way the international situation changed, this policy met not only the interests of the Soviet Union but also the interests of all the socialist and all the peaceloving states, just as the result achieved through this policy—the conclusion of the Treaty on the banning of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water—meets their most cherished interests.

Neither can those who oppose the ending of nuclear tests, and in whose company the Chinese leaders have now placed

themselves, make political capital by seeking some sort of contradiction in the fact that a year or two ago the Soviet Government did not deem it possible to accept a partial solution of the test ban question and that it has now agreed to the conclusion of a treaty banning tests in three environments. The Chinese leaders pretend to be especially surprised by the fact that **only a month or six weeks before the opening of the three-power talks in Moscow the Soviet Government continued to press for the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear weapon tests.** But every sober-minded politician or diplomat realises that each side wishes to achieve the maximum in negotiating with its partners. We strove for this maximum, that is for the ending of all nuclear weapon tests, including underground testing. **But at the present stage this proved impossible. And in these conditions the Soviet Union consented to an agreement on the banning of nuclear tests in three environments: in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. This was a step that met the expectations of world public opinion,** a step dictated by concern for the health of the Soviet people and for the health of all other peoples, including the Chinese people. It is precisely in these three media, after all, that nuclear weapon tests harm people's health and contaminate the world's animal and plant life with radioactive fall-out. Of course, the Soviet Government has not now given up its efforts in the struggle to ban underground nuclear weapon tests as well.

The Soviet Government has already called the attention of the PRC Government to the simple truth that **life does not stand still, that science and technology are developing tempestuously, and that something which was unacceptable yesterday may turn out to be useful, even very useful, today.** Underlying this are definite material factors of great significance, connected with the important and major steps taken by the Soviet Government to strengthen the defence capacity of the USSR and the security of all the socialist countries. These steps, which included tests of the latest types of nuclear weapons, among them the most powerful ones in the world, reliably ensured the security of the socialist community. We now possess all the necessary requisites for continuing to maintain our defence potential at the proper level required or liable to be required by the situation.

And when we speak about this we do so knowing the facts of the matter. **For fifteen years now the Soviet Government has had dealings with nuclear weapons, and we are familiar with all aspects of the question.** It is true that the Chinese leaders are trying to question this, claiming evidently to have opinions of their own on matters involving nuclear weapons. **But when those who have only a second-hand acquaintance with nuclear weapons begin to pass judgement on the matter, they naturally put themselves willy-nilly in an embarrassing position.** Incidentally this also applies to the flippant pronouncements of the Chinese leaders on strategic nuclear weapons, on tactical nuclear weapons, on whether the United States needs or does not need to continue atmospheric nuclear tests, and on other such questions. **To speak about this without being sufficiently well-informed is rather risky. And the point is not that someone wants to monopolise the right to speak about nuclear weapons and to deprive others of this right; the point is whose pronouncements on this question carry weight and whose sound like empty prattle.**

Of course we cannot now divulge such things as, for instance, the concrete results of the nuclear weapon tests we carried out in 1961-62, information on the calibres of the nuclear warheads in our arsenal, the purpose of specific nuclear combat devices of which the Soviet Union has an abundance, where these combat devices are deployed, and so forth. That would be against the security interests of the

Soviet Union and of all the socialist states, including the security interests of the People's Republic of China.

And if the Chinese leaders, in saying that in recent years the situation has not changed but the USSR policy on a test ban has, thus try in a way to provoke the Soviet Union to demonstrate clearly the changes in the balance of nuclear strength in recent years and for this purpose to divulge the defence secrets of the USSR, we can tell them one thing only: **while you are talking about your concern to strengthen the defence of the socialist countries, you are in actual fact playing the role of those who do not cherish the security interests of the socialist community but are ready to play into the hands of the forces of imperialist reaction.** The Chinese leaders cannot be unaware of the fact that obtaining really reliable information on Soviet nuclear and missile weapons is exactly what the military staffs of certain powers and aggressive military blocs dream of.

If for some reason the Chinese Government really has doubts about whether the Soviet Union has the powerful nuclear weapons necessary to defend all the socialist states, and is not satisfied with our explanations on this matter it could at least turn its attention to the statements made by high-ranking military leaders in the United States only several days ago in the US Congress, including the statement of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States. These statements unequivocally admit the nuclear might now possessed by the Soviet Union. They mean a lot, especially if one takes into consideration the fact that the imperialists only admit the achievements of socialist countries when they are compelled to do so by life itself.

Such is the Soviet Government's stand on the question of banning nuclear weapon tests. It is a frank and honest stand, and we note with great satisfaction that it meets with the full understanding and support of the other socialist states and of all peaceloving states and peoples. The strength of our position lies in its vitality, in its full accord with the cardinal interests of the peoples, in its realistic outlook, in the fact that it takes into account the changes that have taken place in recent years and are taking place now in the world arena.

It is regrettable that **in Peking they not only do not take into account the changes that are shaping the outlook of the modern world, but regard it as the ideal of statesmanship unflinchingly to follow frigid dogmas in politics and to counterpose the dead letter to the living reality.** Herein lies the main failure of the policy of the Chinese leaders, in particular on the question of banning nuclear weapon tests.

It follows from the August 15 statement of the PRC Government spokesman that **the Chinese leaders are greatly displeased with the Soviet Union because it did not give China samples of atomic weapons. It looks as if it is precisely this annoyance at the policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states not to spread nuclear weapons that is motivating the attacks of the PRC leaders on the Soviet foreign policy measures aimed at lessening international tension and consolidating peace, and especially their attacks on the nuclear test ban Treaty.**

The Soviet Government has already more than once taken steps to convince the PRC Government that preventing the spread of nuclear weapons is in the interests of peace, and the interests of all socialist countries, including the Chinese People's Republic. The course of history was such that the Soviet Union is the only socialist country manufacturing nuclear weapons. **By its entire foreign policy the Soviet Union has demonstrated that its nuclear might reliably protects the**

interests of the world socialist community, the interests of the peoples fighting for their social and national liberation. If there were one or several more socialist countries among the nuclear states this would, of course, make no substantial difference to the defence potential of the socialist camp if, of course, the socialist camp is to be considered as a single entity. But with each new capitalist state that gets possession of nuclear weapons, the danger of a nuclear war will increase. The possibility of the number of socialist nuclear powers increasing while the number of nuclear states in the imperialist camp remains the same is out of the question, and to build one's calculations on this would mean building them on sand.

It would be naive, to say the least, to think that it is possible to have one policy for the West and another for the East, to fight with one hand against the arming of West Germany with nuclear weapons, against the spreading of nuclear weapons throughout the world, and with the other to hand these weapons over to China.

No, that would be an unrealistic policy, a policy divorced from life. If the socialist countries had taken such a course towards which they are persistently pushed by the Chinese leaders, the Western nuclear powers would beyond all doubt have replied in kind, and it is a fact that a number of capitalist states have the economic, technical and other means to produce nuclear weapons. This entire nuclear arsenal would have gone into the common pool of the aggressive military blocs of NATO, CENTO, SEATO, and have opposed the nuclear arsenal of the socialist countries. Only people blinded by their craving to have nuclear weapons in their own hands can fail to see and realise this.

The efforts of the Soviet Union to secure an international agreement banning the spread of nuclear weapons meet the widest response and support the world over just because the Soviet Union holds a position of principle on this issue. Were it not for the consistent and resolute struggle of the Soviet Union against the spreading of nuclear weapons, a struggle backed by its nuclear might, the militaristic forces in the West, and above all the West German revenge-seekers who are making an all-out effort to get hold of nuclear weapons, would have been much closer to their goal than they actually are now.

We have criticised and still criticise the policy of the Government of the United States and other Western powers because it holds open the door for the nuclear arming of West Germany, at least in common with other NATO countries. The Soviet Government has come out firmly against the plans for "NATO multilateral nuclear force", having unconditionally denounced those plans and taken appropriate foreign policy actions to demonstrate to the peoples their danger if they were realised. This was done by the Government of the Soviet Union and not by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Soviet Government has exposed and will continue to expose the false conception upheld by the NATO powers that it is better if West Germany receives access to nuclear arms under NATO control, in the framework of the joint nuclear force of that military bloc, than if she develops her own nuclear weapons. The Soviet Government puts the matter differently: the nuclear arming of West Germany must not be allowed in any form, because providing these weapons to a state whose foreign policy is based on revanchism, on a revision of existing national frontiers in Europe, would greatly increase the danger of a new world war. This is why the Soviet Government will not relax its efforts to convince the Western powers as well that the policy of spreading nuclear arms, providing for their transfer in any form to West Germany, is deeply erroneous and fraught with great danger for peace.

One might think that the Chinese leaders, having shut themselves off from all the world by some sort of blinkers, know nothing of this and have not heard about it. For they claim in their statement, contrary to facts well known to everybody who reads newspapers and listens to the radio, that the Soviet Union does not really oppose the possession of nuclear arms by the West German militarists. This cannot be regarded as anything but slander.

The standpoint of the PRC Government set forth also in the statement of August 15 can only be understood to mean that the Chinese leaders do not care how nuclear weapons will spread among the capitalist countries as long as the PRC leaders have a chance to sample a nuclear bomb and see what it is like.

One must admit that being at a definite stage of its economic development, possessing a definite economic potential, the PRC is as yet unprepared to produce nuclear arms in quantities. Even if the PRC were to produce two or three bombs, this would still not solve the problem for it, but would result in a great strain on the PRC's economy. We know from our own experience what it costs a country, a people to produce nuclear arms on a large scale, on a level matching modern military techniques and modern defence requirements. But we were compelled to do this in order to be able to resist the imperialist camp which possessed such arms. And the People's Republic of China can now rely on the defence potential which has been developed by the efforts of the Soviet people and which reliably serves to defend the countries of the socialist community. This is why the most sensible policy for the PRC in the present conditions — if, of course, its aspirations and its possibilities are to match one another — would be to devote its efforts to the development of its national economy, science, technology and agriculture; to make them help to raise the Chinese people's living standards, to meet their vital needs. The Chinese people are suffering many privations, hence such a trend in the policy of the Chinese leaders would bring greater benefits to the Chinese people and would be more highly appreciated by them and better understood throughout the world.

Let us suppose that by overstraining its economy the PRC would nevertheless produce a few atom bombs. But how many of such bombs would in that case be pointed against the PRC by the imperialists? Would the Chinese leaders feel more secure, even if they sat on their own atom bomb? If the threat of a new war were to grow in the West, and this would inevitably occur in the event of the further spread of nuclear arms among the capitalist states, China would hardly feel more secure than today.

Only in one's mind's eye can one put up a wall of any height and any thickness between events in the West and developments in the East. In actual reality there is no such wall. This was already true before the First World War, it was confirmed by the experience of both world wars, and in our time, when distances on the Earth are shrinking more and more with the development of science and engineering, it has become even more obvious. If the leaders of any country, large or small, refuse to see the international situation as it is, and base their policy on the belief that only what takes place in their own house is important and that everything that occurs in other areas of the world is unimportant, this frame of mind smacks of narrow-minded provincialism and scholasticism. Such views are simply dangerous in life because of their adventurist nature.

The Chinese leaders abuse the Soviet Union in every possible way for having nuclear arms while the PRC has none. Can the PRC leaders honestly say that without the nuclear

might of the USSR, without the might which all these years has served the interests of all the socialist countries, without the policy of peace, the policy of fettering the forces of aggression, which the Soviet Union has pursued and still pursues, China could today work in peace on her domestic tasks of economic and state development? No, the leaders of the PRC would have to admit that even such a luxury as their statements against the nuclear test ban Treaty and their rude attacks against the Soviet Union and the CPSU they can only afford because the external security of China is guaranteed by the might of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community.

They really cannot be unaware of the true worth of their claims that "in the struggle against imperialist aggression, in defending its security, each socialist state relies above all on its own defence potential, and only secondarily on the support and help of the fraternal countries and the peoples of the whole world". It is true, of course, that every socialist country makes its contribution to the common cause of ensuring the security of the whole socialist community, and the fulfilment of this duty by each of them deserves every respect. But an attempt by any socialist state to rely only on its own forces to ensure its defence forces which, moreover, may not be adequate in all countries, could prove to be a fatal mistake in the age of nuclear arms. In organising their defences all the socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China, no matter how much its leaders try to prove the contrary, take into account the nuclear might of the Soviet Union, which restrains aggressive circles of the Western powers.

The Chinese leaders assert that the Soviet Union cares only for its own welfare, and in signing the Treaty on banning nuclear weapon tests "dooms the people to an age of suffering for the sake of a minute of tranquillity".

If the authors of the PRC Government's statement mean the absence of war when they say "tranquillity". [The expressions used in the August 15 statement of the Chinese government spokesman are, in our English translation, "momentary ease" and "a moment's ease," and, in the Russian translation of Hs'inhua News Agency, "временное спокойствие," and "минута покоя." Here, only the word "спокойствие" (tranquillity) is quoted. — P.R. Editor.] well, we have certainly always been and still are and will continue to be for such tranquillity. We have no need of war, just as the peoples of all the socialist countries and all peoples have no need of it. But if the Chinese leaders wish to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union's determination to go on upholding the cause of peace to the end, to safeguard the security of the countries of the socialist community — and to all appearances this is the intention of the authors of the above statement — they will not succeed in their attempt.

It cannot be effaced from the memory of the peoples that at the most critical moments, when aggressive circles brought the world to the brink of war, the Soviet Union has without hesitation applied all its international weight, its military might to stay the aggressor's hand raised over any country, whether small or big, geographically distant or close to us. This was the case at the time of the Suez crisis, this was the case during the events concerned with Syria and Iraq in 1958. This was the case during the tense period in the Taiwan Strait — and the Chinese leaders and the Chinese people certainly remember it. This was also the case during the crisis in the Caribbean Sea, when the Soviet Union protected revolutionary Cuba with its nuclear rocket might. Maybe the Chinese leaders regard all these as minutes of "tranquillity". But it can be said outright that nobody else will agree with them. These steps by the Soviet Government were also an expression of genuine proletarian internationalism, not the kind

which Peking likes to talk about and which is backed by nothing but noisy slogans and paper resolutions.

There is yet another circumstance which cannot be dismissed: the PRC Government, disregarding its duty of an ally and abusing the relations of trust existing between socialist countries, has embarked upon the course of making public confidential documents and information relating to the defences of the countries of the socialist community, presenting the facts tendentiously and in a distorted light. Of course the Soviet Government will not stoop so low as to take the same course of divulging information relating to the defences of the socialist states. The Soviet Government is compelled to state that after these actions of the PRC Government there is hardly anyone who will believe in the sincerity of its assurances or entrust important defence information to it. Naturally the Soviet Government will draw its own conclusions on this score.

The statements of the Chinese leaders reveal a growing tendency to speak on behalf of the peoples of virtually the entire world, including the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries, and also the young national states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But who gave the Chinese leaders the right, the Soviet people ask indignantly, to decide for us, for the Soviet Government, and for our Communist Party, what serves and what does not serve our interests? We have not given you this right and do not intend to do so.

Who gave the leaders of the PRC the right to speak for the peoples of the other socialist countries? Perhaps they have asked the opinion of the Poles, Germans, Czechoslovaks, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Yugoslavs and Mongolians on the stopping of nuclear weapon tests, and are drawing up their statements on the basis of this opinion? No, they have not asked the opinion of the peoples of these countries. They simply think that they can say anything that comes into their heads and claim that the voice of Peking is the voice of Warsaw, Berlin, Ulan-Bator, and the capitals of the other socialist countries.

The actual attitude of the PRC leaders to the real interests of the other socialist countries can be seen, if from nothing else, from their assertion that the conclusion of the test ban Treaty "sacrificed" the international status of the German Democratic Republic. Perhaps the leaders of the PRC do not know that the GDR was one of the first to put its signature to this Treaty, immediately after the signing of the Treaty by the original parties? But it appears that on the question of appraising the importance of the GDR's joining the nuclear test ban Treaty the PRC leaders measure other people's corn by their own bushel, believing that German affairs are understood better in China than in the GDR, than by the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

Though the PRC leaders do not state this openly, the content of both statements by the PRC Government on the nuclear test ban Treaty is that not the ending but the continuation of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water would be in the interests of the peoples, in the interests of peace. But one is allowed to ask where and when has any people announced its readiness to breathe radioactive air and eat radioactive food? We do not know of any such statements. We also have no knowledge of the Chinese people saying: yes, let nuclear weapon testing continue, we are ready to let radioactive substances poison our blood, settle in our bones, inflict incurable diseases on us and our children and by inheritance on our posterity. We have not heard the Chinese people say anything like this.

No Leninist-Communist could help experiencing a feeling of natural disgust at this attitude towards thermonuclear war:

that there is nothing wrong even if half of humanity, if 300 million Chinese perish, for on the other hand imperialism would be erased from the face of the Earth and those who survive would rapidly create on the ruins of imperialism a new, a thousand times greater civilisation. This very attitude to thermonuclear war has more than once been reflected in the pronouncements of high-ranking Chinese representatives. Even if the PRC Government makes not two but a hundred and two statements that it is longing for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, that its only concern is the interests of the peoples, it will not be able to wash away the shame of staking the lives of hundreds of millions of people, including Chinese people, in a thermonuclear war. Incidentally, with the content of its latest statement against the nuclear test ban Treaty the PRC leadership only confirms that it is still proceeding in its foreign policy from this anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, inhuman conception.

But who asked the Chinese that are being doomed in advance to death whether they are willing to be firewood in the furnace of nuclear missile war, whether they empowered the PRC leadership to issue their death notices in advance?

Another question also arises. If, as is forecast by the Chinese leaders, about half the population of such a big country as China would perish in a thermonuclear war, then how many people would perish in countries where the number of population is measured not in hundreds of millions but in tens of millions or just in millions of people? But it is obvious that the half of mankind whom the Chinese leaders are ready to cross out from humanity would include many whole countries and peoples. Who gave the Chinese leaders the right to settle the destinies of these peoples, to speak on their behalf?

Who gave the Chinese leaders the right to denigrate the ultimate goal of the international working class movement—the victory of labour over capital—by asserting that the way to it lies through world thermonuclear war and that it is worth sacrificing half the population of the world in order to build a higher civilisation on corpses and ruins. This conception has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist teaching. We are against this bestial conception. We have waged and are waging a tireless struggle for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for the liberation of the peoples from all exploitation and oppression, and for the victory of labour over capital by methods worthy of the great humanistic ideals of socialism and communism.

If some people in Peking are ready to sacrifice half the population of their country and half of mankind, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government treasure the lives not only of half the population of the Soviet Union but the life of every Soviet person, and they are not at all indifferent to the fate of the other peoples of the world. The Leninist Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government see it as their prime duty to the Soviet people to ensure conditions for a stable peace to implement the grandiose plans of full-scale communist construction in our country. The actions of the Soviet Union in the international arena are subjugated to the task of preventing the imperialists from starting a world thermonuclear war. We regard this also as our internationalist duty to the working people of the whole world.

Our people do not have to borrow courage from others. When the need arose to defend our just cause, the freedom and independence of our motherland and the great gains of the October Revolution, the Soviet people took up arms and routed the aggressors in a life-and-death struggle. No one

will succeed in belittling the great exploits of our people, who have more than once in the past brought aggressors to their knees in defending their Motherland, and no one will succeed in smearing the banners of the Soviet Army, the liberator, banners that are covered with undying glory and were carried by Soviet soldiers in the years of the Second World War into the heart of Europe and to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. And the Soviet people will not flinch in the future in any trials or tests; it has everything to administer a devastating rebuff to anyone trying to infringe on the security of the Soviet Union or its friends and allies. But no incantations from Peking will draw the Soviet Union on to the road of madness, of irresponsible playing with the lives of hundreds of millions of people.

The PRC leaders are trying to give the impression that their statements, which are aimed at undisguised interference in the domestic affairs of other socialist states, and in particular the Soviet Union, are motivated by a sense of "proletarian internationalist duty". It follows from their logic that the "internationalist duty" of a friendly state is to smear the Soviet Union and its peaceful foreign policy, and to arrogate the right to speak for the peoples of the other socialist countries.

It must be said that not a single imperialist government has yet reached the point of daring to assert that it and not the Soviet Government represents the Soviet Union in international affairs and speaks on behalf of the Soviet people. It is not hard to guess what would happen in the world if not only the PRC Government but other states as well, and especially the great powers, were to follow the example set by the PRC Government in its August 15 statement. Chaos and plunder would reign in international relations if any government at will started considering itself and not the government of this or that country as the exponent of the will of the people of that country. Should one be guided in inter-state relations by such a criterion as an arbitrary interpretation of "internationalist duty"—and bourgeois states could in their turn adopt a criterion based on their understanding of this duty—there would no longer be any place either for international treaties or respect for the sovereignty of states, or for non-interference into their domestic affairs.

In the statement of the PRC Government spokesman the claim to decide for the Soviet people what serves their interests and what does not, what ensures the security of the Soviet Union and what does not, really reaches phantastic proportions. Take, for example, the idea contained in the PRC Government statement that if the Soviet Union continues to pursue in international affairs the policy embodied in the conclusion of the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, that is, if it continues to follow its peaceful foreign policy, "then the Soviet Union itself, in the final count, will not be able to survive". We know that the PRC Government thinks a lot of its "warnings" to the United States Government. Quite a number of these "warnings" have been made up to date. Maybe the statement that the Soviet Union "will not be able to survive in the final count" is also a "warning" issued by the PRC, only to a new address?

The Chinese leaders are trying to give the impression that they are also speaking on behalf of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and are in some way their spokesman. But what kind of appeals come from this spokesman, what kind of banner do the leaders of China want to hoist over the peoples' national-liberation movement?

The appeals of the PRC leaders smack strongly of demagoguery and adventurism. They want to foist upon the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America the idea that the

nuclear test ban Treaty and other steps aimed at reducing international tension interfere with the development of their national-liberation struggle. Such rantings are a fraud. To link the fate of the national-liberation movement with an aggravation of international tension, with urging humanity to a world thermonuclear war, as the PRC leaders are doing, is like promising the peoples freedom after death.

No, the Chinese leaders will not entice anyone onto the road that ends in an abyss. It was not to have all their gains threatened with destruction that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America pressed for independence. They want to live, to strengthen their states, to develop their economy, to create the material foundations for achieving genuine independence.

The attempts of the Chinese leaders to give the impression that they own a patent to interpret the feelings and aspirations of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are unconvincing. The incompatibility of the position of the PRC leaders with the interests of these peoples is best attested by the fact that despite their attacks on the nuclear test ban Treaty, the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America are acceding to the Treaty one after another. And one certainly does not hear from these governments any approval of the line taken by the PRC Government. Is it that the post is not functioning efficiently enough, or that the telegraph has failed, and therefore no news is coming about the solidarity of states with the position of the PRC Government on the question of the nuclear test ban? This does not seem to be the case.

The only course left to the authors of the statements of the PRC Government is to use as their trump cards the pronouncements of a few renegades who have long since lost roots in their countries and their parties, and whom Peking is trying hard to woo. In addition to this, the PRC Government can also boast of a resolution passed by the so-called "Fourth International" uniting Trotskyite groups. "Worthy" partners in "proletarian internationalism"!

The hullabaloo against the nuclear test ban Treaty is being widely used in Peking for propaganda of a Peking-invented story of a "special" community of interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. **Playing on the nationalist sentiments of some leaders in certain countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Chinese leaders have ostentatiously stressed the community of interests of these three continents only, without saying a word about the need to strengthen their solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, with the world revolutionary movement of the working class. Such an interpretation of Afro-Asian solidarity becomes not so much an instrument of struggle against imperialism as a means of isolating the peoples of these continents from the socialist states and from many other peace-loving states. Who, except the imperialists, stands to profit from such a policy?**

As if foreseeing the present attempts of the Chinese leaders to create divisions within the international communist and national-liberation movement by dividing it up according to colour of skin, and their striving to separate the liberation struggle of the peoples from the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. V. I. Lenin wrote: "He who says A must say B; one who has adopted the standpoint of nationalism naturally arrives at the desire to erect a Chinese Wall around his nationality, his national working-class movement, he is unembarrassed even by the fact that it would mean building separate walls in each city, in each little town and village, unembarrassed even by the fact that by his tactics of division and dismemberment he is reducing to nil the great call for the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations,

all races and all languages." (Collected Works, V. 6., 4th edition, pp. 474-475.)

The Soviet Government is far from holding the view that every insulting attack of the PRC leadership on the Soviet Union and on its policy of peace, of defending the inalienable right of the peoples to free and independent development merits a reply from us. But nevertheless it is necessary to touch upon yet another assertion of the Chinese leaders. They state that it is their lot to raise still higher the banner of struggle for the complete banning of nuclear weapons, which they allege has been "discarded" by the Soviet Union. **Excellent standard-bearers they are, pursuing a policy of obstructing even the first step on the road to complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.**

We would be only too glad if the Government of People's China would march in the great struggle for disarmament in one rank with the Soviet Union and with all the socialist countries. Unfortunately this is not so today. The banner of the struggle for general and complete disarmament, for the destruction of nuclear weapons has been raised high and is being carefully carried in the hands by all those for whom the word "peace" contains a concrete programme of action to reduce international tension, to ensure conditions for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and to remove the danger of a thermonuclear war. Unfortunately the People's Republic of China is not among them today.

In present-day conditions when the danger that the most aggressive imperialist forces may unleash a world thermonuclear war still exists, but when at the same time there are mighty forces in the world capable of preventing war, of frustrating the schemes of the aggressive circles, it is particularly essential for the peoples to have their bearings right in the further struggle for peace. Just as troops on the battlefield should have a clear idea of the lines they have occupied, of the tasks immediately in hand, and of the direction in which they must make a new thrust in order to develop the success achieved, so in the present world-wide struggle to prevent thermonuclear war people must be armed with knowledge of the practical significance of the successes already achieved, of what they must do next, on what they must concentrate their efforts. And in this respect the PRC Government is doing just the opposite of what is expected of the government of a socialist country: it is trying to mislead the peoples, to deprive them of proper orientation in the struggle to strengthen peace, and hence to undermine the offensive forward surge of the peoples in that struggle.

The Soviet Government will continue to do its utmost to consolidate the unity of the countries of the world socialist system and, on the basis of the monolithic solidarity of the socialist states, on the basis of common struggle to avert the danger of a world thermonuclear war, to ensure peaceful coexistence, national independence, democracy and socialism, will continue to fight for the triumph of peace the world over.

The Soviet Government does not give up hope that the PRC leaders will once more weigh all the consequences of their present policy which is running counter to the interests of the solidarity of the socialist countries and to the interests of peace, and will switch their efforts so that the People's Republic of China may once again take her place in the ranks of states waging tireless struggle for the prevention of thermonuclear war, for peaceful coexistence, for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

(The English text of the statement as published in "Moscow News.")

Support the South Vietnamese People's Heroic Struggle

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE increased suppression of the people of south Viet Nam by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique has been strongly condemned by the Chinese people, who have pledged their solid support for President Ho Chi Minh's statement of August 28 on the situation in south Viet Nam and Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement of August 29 opposing aggression against south Viet Nam and the slaughter of its people by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

The large-scale struggle now being waged by the Buddhists and other sections of the people in south Viet Nam began with the former's battle against persecution and for freedom and democratic rights. This has rapidly turned into a broad mass struggle in which people at all levels of society are taking part. Students, intellectuals, and even some officers and men of the Diem army and civil servants in the Diem regime have joined this struggle.

To demonstrate the Chinese people's firm support for the struggle of the south Vietnamese people against the U.S.-Diem clique, a mass rally was held in Peking on August 30. This rally, attended by more than 10,000 people, was sponsored by the China Peace Committee and 12 other people's organizations. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier, and leading members of the people's organizations and political parties were present. Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to China, members of the Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front headed by Nguyen Thi Binh, and friends from Asian, African, Latin American countries and other areas also were present.

Addressing the rally, Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee, expressed the steadfast support of China's 650 million people for the just, patriotic struggle being waged by the Buddhists and other sections of the people in south Viet Nam.

Grave Situation in South Viet Nam Created By U.S. Imperialism

Liao Cheng-chih, in his speech, pointed out that a new development had taken place in the just struggle of the Buddhists and other sections of the people in south Viet Nam. In spite of the brutal measures taken by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, this struggle was speedily developing throughout south Viet Nam, Liao Cheng-chih said.

Liao Cheng-chih further pointed out that the source of the present suffering of the people of south Viet Nam was the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression. The grave situation in south Viet Nam, Liao Cheng-chih said, was created by U.S. imperialism. Since coming to power, the Kennedy Administration has sent large numbers of U.S. troops to south Viet Nam and launched its dirty "special warfare." At the same time, the U.S.-Diem clique has intensified its fascist rule in areas under its control. This has brought on one mass struggle after another against the Diem regime. The armed struggle in the liberated areas and the struggle against tyranny in the Diem-controlled areas, co-ordinating with and giving encouragement to each other, have dealt heavy blows to the U.S.-Diem clique, and seriously shaken the reactionary rule of the Diem regime to its very foundations. This has become a cause of alarm for U.S. imperialism.

Liao Cheng-chih also declared that the Kennedy Administration, in order to undermine the struggle of the south Vietnamese people and preserve American vested interests in south Viet Nam, professed "sympathy" for the Buddhists in their struggle against Diem. However, this was only an attempt to divert the attention of the people of south Viet Nam and evade responsibility for its own crimes. While it was possible for U.S. imperialism to choose another lackey to replace Diem as its agent, the south Vietnamese people knew that any such lackey, old or new, would always carry out the will of his master, Liao Cheng-chih said. "Only by resolutely driving the U.S. imperialists out of south Viet Nam can the people there achieve liberation and all the Vietnamese people attain victory in their cause of peaceful unification of their fatherland," he added.

Liao Cheng-chih went on to say that the struggle being waged by the people of south Viet Nam has made positive contributions to the cause of peaceful unification of their fatherland as well as to the defence of peace in Indo-China and the rest of Asia. It has greatly encouraged the struggle of the oppressed people and nations throughout the world. All over the world there has been growing sympathy and support for the south Vietnamese people's struggle.

Modern Revisionists' Betrayal of the Interests of South Vietnamese People

"However, the modern revisionists not only throw cold water on the just struggle of the south Vietnamese

people and try their utmost to belittle its world significance, but they are also attempting to make a disgraceful deal with the U.S. imperialists at the expense of the revolutionary interests of the south Vietnamese people. In order to push their general line of not making revolution themselves and not allowing others to do so, and to curry favour with U.S. imperialism, the modern revisionists are opposed to the people of south Viet Nam carrying out a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys," Liao Cheng-chih said.

In the eyes of the modern revisionists, the struggle of the south Vietnamese people was evil and something to fear and which would ruin their dream of collaborating with U.S. imperialism. According to the logic of the modern revisionists, the people of south Viet Nam should lay down their arms and submit to the United States and its lackeys, so that south Viet Nam would make a "peaceful transition" into a one hundred per cent colony of U.S. imperialism. "This extremely absurd position of the modern revisionists is a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and also of the people of south Viet Nam and all revolutionary people throughout the world," Liao Cheng-chih said.

China's Consistent Support

The Chinese people have consistently sympathized with and supported the south Vietnamese people's just struggle and opposed U.S. imperialism's aggression against south Viet Nam, Liao Cheng-chih stated. They firmly supported President Ho Chi Minh's statement, which, Liao Cheng-chih said, pointed out a clear path for the south Vietnamese people's struggle and would exert a far-reaching influence on their future struggle. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement not only represented the just stand of China's 650 million people but also expressed the just voice of the people of the whole world, Liao Cheng-chih said.

Although the south Vietnamese people's struggle would remain a hard one, the situation was increasingly unfavourable to the reactionary rule of the U.S.-Diem clique and favourable to the people of south Viet Nam who had the support of the people of the whole world, Liao Cheng-chih declared. He expressed confidence that rallying closely behind the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, and with the support of their compatriots in the northern part of Viet Nam, they would overcome all difficulties and win final victory.

Speaking at the rally, the venerable Chu Tsan, Vice-President of the Buddhist Association of China, protested against the brutal persecution of Buddhists in south Viet Nam. He said that the sufferings of the Buddhists in south Viet Nam once again enabled one to see clearly what the much vaunted "free world" looked like. For a handful of demons there was freedom: freedom to commit arson and murder, freedom to trample on human rights and freedom to engage in every kind of evil; whereas the broad masses of the people were deprived of the minimum right to live, let alone enjoy freedom of religious belief.

"Now, some people insist on painting a demon as a Buddha, hoping others will believe that he is 'concerned about peace,' that he has a 'kind heart,' and that the destiny of all mankind can be entrusted to his 'sen-

sibleness' and 'goodwill.' This is an unpardonable attempt to deceive honest people," Chu Tsan declared.

Speaking at the rally, Pan Li-hua, Vice-President of the All-China Students' Federation, said that the students of south Viet Nam had displayed an undaunted spirit and revolutionary heroism in daring to struggle and daring to win victory. They set a glorious example for students all over the world in their struggle against imperialism and for national liberation.

Chairman Mao's Statement — Unparalleled Encouragement to South Vietnamese People

The rally was also addressed by Nguyen Thi Binh, head of the Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front. Nguyen Thi Binh pointed out that the brutal suppression of the people, including the Buddhists in south Viet Nam, revealed the serious crisis facing the U.S.-Diem clique resulting from the mounting struggle of the south Vietnamese people.

Nguyen Thi Binh pointed out that in face of the disastrous defeat in their undeclared war of aggression against south Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists all the more revealed their vicious scheme. On the one hand, they were directing the Diem clique to suppress even more cruelly the patriotic struggle of the people including the Buddhists in south Viet Nam; on the other hand they pretended to be concerned about the fate of the Buddhists in south Viet Nam and their religious freedom. However, it was precisely the U.S. imperialists themselves who, together with the traitorous Diem regime, have been suppressing the struggle of the Buddhists in south Viet Nam for religious freedom. Only through unity and resolute struggle to drive U.S. imperialism out of south Viet Nam and establish a democratic coalition government as proposed by the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front could the people of south Viet Nam halt the war, secure the right to existence, democratic liberties and freedom of religious belief, Nguyen Thi Binh said.

In the name of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, Nguyen Thi Binh warmly welcomed Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement. This statement, she said, gave extremely valuable support and unparalleled encouragement to the people of south Viet Nam.

The rally unanimously adopted a message pledging firm support for the just struggle of the heroic people of south Viet Nam. The message expressed confidence that united under the banner of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, supported by their compatriots in the northern part of Viet Nam and the people throughout the world, the people of south Viet Nam would surely overthrow the rule of the reactionary U.S.-Diem clique, drive out the U.S. imperialists and win complete victory.

On August 31, twelve people's organizations of China also sent messages to the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front and their counterparts in south Viet Nam expressing determined support for the statements of President Ho Chi Minh and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. On September 1, the Buddhist Association of China issued an appeal to the Buddhists of the world to support the Buddhists and other sections of the people in south Viet Nam.

Further Exposure of Soviet Leaders' Acts of Betrayal

Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of August 30. Subheads ours. — Ed.

AFTER the West German militarists had gleefully joined the tripartite U.S.-British-Soviet treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests, the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan, a clique held in contempt by the people throughout the world, affixed its name to the same "sacred" treaty. There are, indeed, jugglers and jugglers and each has his different tricks. The creators of the Moscow treaty look like conjurers on the stage. With one turn of the hand, they transformed two Germanys into "one Germany" and, with another turn, produce "two Chinas" out of one.

Together with the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Chiang Kai-shek gang signed the Moscow treaty in the manner of a participant with full powers. This is another iron-clad proof that in order to meet the needs of the "two Chinas" scheme engineered by U.S. imperialism, the Soviet leaders do not hesitate to betray their ally and the interests of the socialist camp and of the world's people.

One can readily imagine: had the Chinese Government failed to see in time through the fraud of the Moscow treaty and to maintain the necessary vigilance against the Soviet leaders' betrayal; had the Chinese Government instead wrongly believed in the deceptive talk about the great advantages of the treaty for the destiny of mankind and signed it; then the Chinese Government would have fallen into the "two Chinas" trap, bringing untold humiliation to the great Chinese people.

Soviet-U.S. Collaboration in "Two Chinas" Scheme

It is well known that the U.S. imperialists are trying by every means to engineer a "two Chinas" scheme. This is not surprising. On this occasion, however, the "two Chinas" trap was set with the gleeful consent of the Soviet leaders, who boastfully call themselves the protectors of China. This was generally unexpected. However, Western press reports have long shed light on this foul political deal concluded in Moscow. Reporting from Washington on July 31, the West German news agency,

Deutsche Presse Agentur, revealed that "a procedure" had been "agreed upon" by the Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism: the Government of Democratic Germany would send its entry documents to the Soviet Union and the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan would send its instruments of ratification to the United States. Washington's open reference to this foul bargain has never been denied by the Soviet Government. Being fully aware of all this, the Soviet Government has the audacity to demand, or pretend to hope, that China sign the treaty. Had China complied, would she not have been placed in a similar position to that of the German Democratic Republic, with the Chiang Kai-shek clique as a participant with both obligations and rights, while she had to satisfy herself with being a participant with only the obligations but not the rights? The 650 million Chinese people cannot but feel shocked and angered that the Soviet Union, an ally of China, should have supposed that China should and could play such a humiliating role.

Ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China and U.S. imperialism's forcible occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan, the Soviet Government has on public occasions, including in the United Nations, expressed its support for the just demand of the Chinese people for the liberation of their own sacred territory of Taiwan and has repeatedly made clear its opposition to the "two Chinas" scheme engineered by U.S. imperialism. At various meetings and conferences of the United Nations, leaders of the Soviet Union and representatives of the Soviet Government have rightly maintained that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the Chinese territory and that only one China exists in the world and not two. N.S. Khrushchov himself once said that the Chiang Kai-shek gang was but "a political corpse" and that attempts to revive such a political corpse "merely poison the international atmosphere." However, the Soviet leaders have now betrayed this correct position upheld by the Soviet people, and have collaborated with U.S. imperialism in digging up the political corpse of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and in trying to summon back its spirit at the altar of the Moscow treaty. This is betrayal of the Chinese people and also of the Soviet people who are persisting in an internationalist position.

It must be pointed out too that the current "two Chinas" scheme, jointly planned in Moscow by the Soviet

leaders and U.S. imperialism, is also a deception and insult to all the participants to the treaty that are friendly to China and opposed to "two Chinas." The Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism are attempting to force these nations to accept "two Chinas" as an accomplished fact.

Now it is clear to all that the Soviet leaders are making use of the trap of the Moscow treaty to oppose socialist China. Whatever ostrich-like methods they may continue to resort to in their defence, the Soviet leaders cannot possibly cover up their betrayal of the interests of the Chinese people and the Soviet people.

Soviet Leaders Stand With Adenauer

The Soviet leaders have charged China with standing together with the West German militarists. The fact is now very clear that it is not we but the Soviet leaders who are standing at the side of the West German militarists, Adenauer and the like, and that again it is not we but the Soviet leaders who have betrayed the interests of the people of the German Democratic Republic.

While it has obviously recognized the West German regime in fact as the sole legal representative of Germany, the Soviet Government hypocritically sent a note to the Governments of the United States and Britain, complaining that the two imperialist governments had not accepted the signature of Democratic Germany. The complaint has, however, no actual value whatsoever. It can neither make the U.S. imperialists change their mind and recognize the German Democratic Republic as a "participant with full powers" in the tripartite treaty, nor can it alter the position of the West German regime as a "participant with full powers" in the tripartite treaty. By no means can the Soviet Government wash away the humiliation it has imposed on the German people.

Having sacrificed the interests of the German people in exchange for the signature of the Bonn authorities on the tripartite treaty, the Soviet leaders had the effrontery to say that under the pressure of world public opinion the West German regime was "beginning to reform their ranks" and forced to sign the tripartite treaty. It is known by all who respect facts that the Adenauer group has never expressed any objection to the essence of the tripartite treaty. The only reason why they once made reservations about the treaty was their attempt to gain further advantages from it. The Bonn regime signed the Moscow treaty immediately after Rusk, U.S. Secretary of State, and R.S. McNamara, U.S. Secretary of Defence, went to Bonn one after another and personally gave Adenauer assurances guaranteeing the interests of West Germany, including firm pledges that the United States would not recognize the German Democratic Republic, not betray West Germany in agreeing to sign any mutual non-aggression treaty, not give up the "multilateral nuclear force" plan which will help West Germany to get possession of nuclear weapons, and so on and so forth. From the

arrogant statement made by the West German regime after signing the tripartite treaty, one can see how satisfied and overjoyed the Adenauer group is at being able to raise their price through their participation in the Moscow treaty. But the Soviet leaders and their followers have gone so far as to allege, in an attempt to camouflage their act of betrayal, that this is a forced "retreat" on the part of the West German regime. They have indeed lost all sense of shame.

We pointed out long ago that the Moscow treaty cooked up by the Soviet leaders in partnership with the U.S. imperialists was utter betrayal by the Soviet leaders of the interests of the people of the world. All the things they have actually sold to U.S. imperialism are now coming to light one after another.

In order to set the trap of the Moscow treaty and in order to do a deal with U.S. imperialism to get a straw to clutch at in their attempt to show the success of their general line of foreign policy, the Soviet leaders have unscrupulously betrayed the interests of the people of the countries of the socialist camp and the world on a series of major issues. The betrayal of the interests of the Chinese people over the question of Taiwan, and the betrayal of those of the German people over the question of the international status of the G.D.R. are naked exposures of the line of capitulation to imperialism by the Soviet leaders.

From all this there is only one conclusion: in order to carry on their general line of capitulation, and to beg U.S. imperialism for peace, the Soviet leaders will stop at no deals of betrayal.

Chinese People Decide Their Own Destiny

Taiwan is a part of Chinese territory, and the Chinese people are determined to liberate it. The Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan is a political corpse supported by the bayonets of the U.S. imperialists, and any scheme to create "two Chinas" is doomed to humiliating bankruptcy. If anybody, or any political force, has degenerated to the extent of attempting to make use of a political corpse like the Chiang Kai-shek clique in order to oppose China and to demonstrate his "great victory," it is he, a pitiable creature trying to summon back the spirit of a political corpse, who will come to grief, and definitely not the Chinese people standing firm and unyielding in the world.

We would like to tell the nuclear overlords that the destiny of the world today can be manipulated at will neither by the U.S. imperialists nor by the Soviet leaders. That the Soviet leaders want to sell out the interests of the Chinese people is one thing, and whether or not the interests of the Chinese people can be sold out is another. China's destiny is securely held in the hands of the Chinese people. Six hundred and fifty million people who have risen to their feet will certainly be able to smash any attempt by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet leaders to force them to yield by a policy of nuclear blackmail.

Marxist-Leninists, Unite!

Resolution of the Brussels Federal Committee of the Belgian Communist Party

A Reply to the Open Letter Published in "Pravda" Attacking the Belgian Marxist-Leninists

THE "open letter" attacks the Belgian Marxist-Leninists in the following terms:

"The C.P.C. leadership organizes and supports various anti-Party groups of dissenters who oppose the Communist Parties in the United States, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia, and India. For instance, in Belgium the C.P.C. leadership is rendering support to the Grippa group which was expelled from the Party at the last congress. . . .

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

It is worth noting that *Drapeau Rouge*, temporarily in the hands of the Belgian revisionists, has distorted this passage by omitting the sentence specifically referring to Belgium:

"For instance, in Belgium the C.P.C. leadership is rendering support to the Grippa group which was expelled from the Party at the last congress."

Why? Because in Belgium to describe as anti-Party renegades Marxist-Leninists whose activities and devotion to service in the vanguard of the working class are well known, is an infamy which will perpetually disgrace its authors.

The "open letter" refers to Comrade Grippa by name. In Belgium there is no need to recall the fact that Comrade Grippa, a Party member since 1930, has always been an irreproachable and militant activist. This has always been so particularly in the most difficult circumstances — in the great prewar struggles; under the Hitlerite occupation, during which he was chief of staff of the Belgian Partisan Army and later a political prisoner at Breendonck and at Buchenwald; in 1950 during the activities against the return of Leopold III; during the great strike of December 1960-January 1961; and at the present time in the face of the joint attacks of the reformists of the Right

wing of the Belgian Socialist Party and of the revisionists who usurp the name of Communists.

I. The Attack on the Belgian Marxist-Leninists

The attack on the Belgian Marxist-Leninists by the Khrushchov group constitutes an unjustifiable interference in the affairs of our Party.

Birds of a feather flock together. Khrushchov has long supported the revisionist splittists of the type of Burnelle, Moulin, Terfve and others just as he supports the traitor Dange, the lackey of the Indian reactionary bourgeoisie.

Khrushchov now proclaims this support openly. He approves the anti-democratic and splittist measures decreed in violation of the constitution of our Party, refusing even to hear the militants in the case. He praises the so-called "expulsions" of the Marxist-Leninists who support the "Statement of the 81 Parties."

He stands together with the revisionists in the Party leadership who have openly attacked the "Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties," the guide of the world communist movement. He stands at the side of the revisionists who have betrayed proletarian internationalism, in particular during the counter-revolution in Hungary and with regard to socialist Albania, China and Cuba, and to the Congolese people struggling for their national liberation.

Khrushchov has been covered with praise by the representatives of U.S. imperialism, the principal force of aggression and war in the world. Spaak, that brilliant servant of the bourgeoisie, the man who stood for the recognition of Franco, the man of Munich, of the cold war and of NATO, also praises him.

The Belgian comrades who still have illusions about the true nature of the Khrushchov group will understand the true situation even if it is only by looking at the attacks on us in the "open letter."

What is the meaning of the phrase "the C.P.C. leadership organizes and supports various anti-Party groups of dissenters. . . ."?

The reactionary and Right-wing social democrat press has, of course, seized on these provocative remarks. They are the same as those which the bourgeoisie has always used against revolutionaries.

For how many years have we not heard slanders from the bourgeoisie and its lackeys about "the hand of Moscow," "under Moscow's eye" and "Moscow gold" intended to further repression of Communists?

It was, in particular, beginning with just such lying accusations as these that the police of the capital staged a fake "plot" and imprisoned the leadership of our Party, which included Comrades Joseph Jacquemotte and Henri Glineur among others. The revisionists are using the same methods today against the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninists. The revisionists even seek the help of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state. According to a press report which has not been denied, Polianov, an editor of *Izvestia* and an envoy of Khrushchov to Spaak, asked the latter to close the Brussels office of the New China News Agency.

In Belgium the revisionist leaders are marching in step with Khrushchov. They go in for blackmail, publishing in their press lying accusations against specifically named comrades, thus exposing them to repression by their employers and the government.

In *Drapeau Rouge* of July 16, 1963, Burnelle attacked the editors of the IRCE radio station for broadcasting communiques issued by the Brussels Federation of the Party: this was asking for government intervention to end such information.

The attitude of the revisionists is purely and simply tantamount to police provocation. These facts show the degree of degeneration which they have reached: the workers will judge them.

In order to discredit revolutionary action and the struggle of the working class the revisionists, like the bourgeoisie, pretend to see foreign influence in them.

Class struggle is the result of the existence of antagonistic classes. It makes the socialist revolution a historical necessity. Social life and class struggle create class consciousness. The most highly conscious workers organize themselves into a vanguard party directed, in our age, by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Such a party is essential for leading the working class to final victory.

Class struggle is developing all over the world. This has given birth to international solidarity, to that proletarian internationalism which unites all the oppressed against the oppressors. Class struggle is thus also international.

As for revisionism, it is a product of imperialism. "Bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism, and capitulation to imperialism is the external source." (*Moscow Declaration, 1957.*)

It is therefore not at all surprising that revisionism, the main danger to the international communist movement at the present time, should be an international phenomenon.

However, since revisionism is the result of bourgeois influence there is no true unity among the revisionists.

This phenomenon is well known. The corrupt parties of reformism of the Second International took the side of their own bourgeoisie on each occasion when the sharp contradictions among the imperialists set them against each other.

But one bond unites the reformists and the revisionists of every land: the hostility and hate they have for revolutionary movements, for Marxist-Leninists, and in the last analysis, for the struggles of the working class and the national-liberation movements.

In Belgium, the Communists have led several struggles against various deviations. Since 1945, for example, the chief dangers for our Party have been in turn: Right opportunism, "Left" opportunism, and finally revisionism.

In the last few years revisionism has threatened and is threatening the very existence of the Party. There have always been comrades who fought it on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

After the 13th Congress in 1960, the disruptive efforts of the revisionists were redoubled. They unmasked themselves more and more. It is well known that from that time onwards more and more comrades took their stand against revisionism. From then on the majority of the Brussels Federation was opposed to the Political Bureau. From then on there was no meeting of the Central Committee where the revisionist line of the Political Bureau was not opposed by the Marxist-Leninist position.

For a long time the Political Bureau has been taking its inspiration from the revisionist Yugoslavs.

The conference of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties at the end of 1960 once again categorically and unanimously condemned the treachery of the Yugoslav revisionists. The Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party approved this "Statement of the 81."

Some months later, a national secretary and a member of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party went to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Yugoslav authorities and with the agreement of the Political Bureau. These journeys were kept secret from the Party and the Central Committee.

It became clear later that Khrushchov was making less and less of a secret of his collusion with the Yugoslav revisionists. Thus the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party found itself getting more and more support from the Khrushchov group. What followed is well known.

The revisionists have gone so far in their arrogance as to "expel" or "exclude" hundreds of comrades from the ranks of the Party in flagrant violation of the Party constitution and the most elementary rules of democratic centralism.

The Brussels Federation of the Belgian Communist Party held an extraordinary congress at the end of June in accordance with the constitution of the Party and achieved a Marxist-Leninist unity. The principal decisions of the congress were as follows:

- 1) The arbitrary and unconstitutional measures, the four expulsions at the congress at Anvers, the suspensions, the dissolutions of organizations, and the decisions which excluded from the ranks of the Party comrades and organ-

izations who maintained Marxist-Leninist positions, were all declared null and void.

2) The Federal Committee which was formed at the Federal Congress in March was declared invalid because it failed in its duty and participated actively in the revisionist and splittist policies of the Political Bureau.

3) The present extraordinary Congress of the Brussels Federation of the Belgian Communist Party, which was being held in accordance with the Leninist rules on the running of the Party, elected a new Federal Committee, a new Federal Party Control Commission and Federal Financial Control Commission.

4) The Federal Congress demanded, and called on other federations to demand, a National Extraordinary Congress—a Congress of Marxist-Leninist Unity.

The activities of the Marxist-Leninists developed in other federations as well despite the threats of the Political Bureau, the bans put on information and the other sanctions which were heaped on them.

The truth of Marxism-Leninism will triumph over the lies of the revisionists. Such is the situation in Belgium.

Revisionism has also been pressing ahead with its schemings in other Communist Parties. At first it was through the actions of the Tito group which openly betrayed Marxism-Leninism that revisionism began its work of undermining. When the debate became public as a result of the unspeakable attacks of the revisionists, the Belgian Communists declared that the decisive forces of the international communist movement stood firm on Marxist-Leninist positions. We never had any doubts about this: the facts confirmed a Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Guided individually by the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of our own experiences of class struggle in our country and on the world scale we arrived at the same conclusions. Faced with the splitting activity of the revisionists, we act and will act according to the precept: "Marxist-Leninists, Unite!"

II. What the Revisionists of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party Are Doing

The "open letter" asks the following questions: "At first glance many theses contained in the letter (of the Chinese comrades) may give rise to astonishment: whom are the Chinese comrades really arguing with? Are there Communists who object, for instance, to socialist revolution, or who do not regard as their duty to fight against imperialism, and to support the national-liberation movement? Why does the C.P.C. leadership set forth such ideas so insistently?"

Yes, there are people who claim to be Communists and who are against the socialist revolution, who hinder the struggle against imperialism, who prettify it, and who betray solidarity with the national-liberation movement.

In Belgium we do not have to seek very far to find them: they are Khrushchov's revisionist spokesmen.

Their "theories" and their practice have amply demonstrated this. They declare to be anti-Party the conception of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the work-

ing class guided in its actions by Marxism-Leninism, and having as its final aim communism achieved through socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Their theses and amendments to the Constitution for the 14th Congress constituted a completely revisionist platform. Let us take this simple fact from the many we could choose: in these texts there was not a word of condemnation for American imperialism, the principal force of aggression and war in the world.

These revisionists claim that resolute organization of the actions of the working masses to claim their rights and to defend threatened democratic liberties against the Lefevre-Spaak government is adventurism.

Calling upon the working masses to oppose foreign bases in Belgium, the introduction of atomic weapons in our country and the presence of submarines equipped with Polaris missiles in the North Sea is, for them, mere "bluster."

They vent their spleen on those who denounce their betrayal of the national-liberation struggle of the Congolese people. The Political Bureau has the sorry distinction of having been the first body in the world to demand U.N. intervention in the Congo and it continued to support this warmly even when it had led to the liquidation of the legal government, to the assassination of Lumumba and to reinforced neo-colonialist penetration by U.S. imperialism.

At the height of the colonialist terror in the Congo on October 13, 1960, *Drapeau Rouge* which was in the hands of the revisionists, wrote:

"Belgium and the Congo, common interests."

". . . while discussion is going on elsewhere there is no fighting and this is in itself a worthwhile result. . . ."

Gaston Moulin, a revisionist deputy, flew to the aid of the worst colonialists in proposing to the Chamber, on December 12, 1961, a motion calling for the ceasefire demanded by the "extremists" of Katanga.

These neo-reformists call those comrades "provocateurs" who practise proletarian internationalism and who would not say like Jean Terfve, Member of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party, that:

"Kennedy plays a key role in the struggle for peace."

"Those who defend socialist Cuba and affirm solidarity with the People's Republic of China commit acts of typical diversion." (Burnelle at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium, *Drapeau Rouge*, April 16, 1963.)

They "expel" from the Party by administrative measures of schism the comrades who apply the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and who hold firmly to the revolutionary positions of the Statement of the 81.

This is the true nature of those whom Khrushchov supports. On the other hand, the "open letter" demonstrates that the Khrushchov group is anti-Marxist-Leninist.

The workers of our country understand best from events which are known to them the role of the revi-

sionist spokesmen of Khrushchov and of Khrushchov himself.

III. Marxism-Leninism or Revisionism

From its very first lines, the "open letter" perpetrates a real swindle. It isn't true that, as it says, it is a matter of ". . . the C.P.C. on one hand and the C.P.S.U. and the other fraternal Parties on the other."

There are Marxist-Leninists on one side and the revisionists on the other.

Among the former the Chinese Communist Party is outstanding, with its Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung as well as many other Communist Parties — among the revisionists, the Khrushchov group is outstanding.

The vigilance of Communists must be redoubled against the principal danger for the international communist movement: revisionism. This threatens to subvert several Communist Parties, and has managed to establish itself in the leadership of these Parties.

Communists are anxious about the liquidation by the revisionists of certain Communist Parties as revolutionary vanguards of the working class.

The Chinese Communist Party which holds high the banner of proletarian internationalism, of the socialist revolution and of Marxism-Leninism has the sympathy of revolutionaries all over the world.

Only petty-bourgeois conformists, opportunists and the timid can agree to selling out principles for the sake of winning the sympathy of temporary so-called cheap majorities.

The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism will triumph and so will the world socialist revolution, which is a historical necessity. The action of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class leads the unconquerable force made up of 90 per cent of humanity to victory. The lies and the manoeuvres of a handful of revisionists cannot hide the fact that Marxism-Leninism has been and remains the guide of Communists.

Moreover, the attacks, the bluffing and the manipulations of the revisionists cannot hide the fact that the majority of Communists in the world have clearly supported the positions that hold to Marxism-Leninism and condemn revisionism.

Even in the Parties where for the moment unworthy leaders pretend to speak in the name of the Party and subject Marxist-Leninists to persecution and inadmissible repression, it is these latter who represent the revolutionary will of the great majority of militants and the revolutionary will of the masses. This is why the revisionists have to resort to lying in their attempts to cut off news about the militants.

This is why the revisionists do not want an honest and serious debate as it would lead to their total defeat.

IV. Glory to the Great October Socialist Revolution

The authors of the "open letter" identify themselves with the Party of the great Lenin, with the first socialist country, with the Great October Socialist Revolution and with the Soviet people.

Our complaint against the Khrushchov group is precisely that they fight against the teachings of Lenin, deny the deep significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and want the C.P.S.U. to abandon its role as the vanguard of the international communist movement. We cannot agree that the Khrushchov group should put the first socialist country in such danger or that they should bring to ruin the achievements gained by the Soviet people at the cost of so much heroism and self-denial.

We accuse the Khrushchov group of practising collaboration with imperialism instead of socialist internationalism between the fraternal countries and proletarian internationalism with regard to the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement. We accuse it of dividing the international communist movement.

The Khrushchov group is betraying the Party of Lenin, the October Revolution and the Soviet people. It has no right at all to lay claim to that which it has betrayed.

The existence of the Soviet Union and the formation of the socialist camp are the principal achievements of the world's working class.

The victory of the October Revolution played an outstanding role at the time of the formation of our Belgian Communist Party, which was born in the flames of the struggle against imperialist war, against capitalism and against the opportunism and reformism of the leaders of the Belgian Workers' Party (P.O.B.).

The October Socialist Revolution showed the road to be followed. In return, the Belgian Communists have never spared their efforts in defending the Soviet Union against the attacks of the bourgeoisie of our country and of imperialism in general. The working class of our country has frequently shown such active solidarity despite the manoeuvres of the agents of the bourgeoisie.

In 1920 the dockers of Anvers opposed the dispatch of arms against the Soviet Union.

From Munich to the beginning of the great war against Hitlerism Communists made a stand against the anti-Soviet outburst in which the bourgeois politicians, from the Right-wing of the Belgian Workers' Party to the fascists, took part.

During the occupation the resistance fighters made the greatest sacrifices.

Proletarian internationalism, and especially solidarity with the Soviet Union, which was bearing the brunt of the struggle against Hitlerism, inspired most of them, the Communists at their head. It strengthened their fighting spirit with the knowledge of the greatness of the cause they were defending: that of everyone oppressed or menaced by the fascist dictatorship of finance capital.

Some Soviet prisoners, freed by our armed partisans, fought in our ranks.

The victory of the glorious fighters of Stalingrad, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with Comrade Stalin at its head, was greeted with enthusiasm by our resistance fighters as the beginning of the end of Hitlerism.

Many times after World War II, despite the opportunists of the Right and the "Left" in the Party's leadership

and then its unbridled revisionism, Belgian Communists defended the Soviet Union, a socialist country, against the intrigues and aggressive threats of American imperialism.

This contribution, however modest, of the Communists and of the working class to active solidarity with the Soviet Union, was great-hearted and selfless: it was an elementary duty.

If we recall this, we do so in order to illustrate what that proletarian internationalism so despised by the revisionists really is: it is mutual aid in which each gives according to his abilities.

The class struggle is international. Our brothers' successes are our successes and vice versa. We share their difficulties.

This is why no Communist can be indifferent when faced with an attempt to split the international communist movement and with liquidationist revisionism.

The C.P.S.U. is the Party of Lenin. The Soviet Union was the first socialist country. That explains how much the serious events of the last few years resulting from Khrushchov's policy, affect us.

"Every Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working-class and communist movement as a whole." (*Statement of the 81 Parties.*)

To give our opinion today on certain aspects of the policy of the Khrushchov group does not mean that we are meddling in the affairs of another Party.

The attitude of Khrushchov and of the other revisionists has already done considerable harm to the working class of all countries, and to the international communist movement. Their actions and their public attacks on Marxist-Leninists warrant a reply from us.

This is our duty to the workers of our country, to the international communist movement and also to the Soviet people, victims of the consequences of revisionist policy, and to the Marxist-Leninists of the U.S.S.R. who are exposed to the manoeuvres of the Khrushchov group, and its threats and persecutions.

Resolute defence of the whole socialist camp and of all the countries forming this camp and safeguarding the Marxist-Leninist unity of the socialist camp, are today the touch-stone of the proletarian internationalism of each Communist Party.

V. Relations Between Parties Equal in Rights or Relations Between Conductors and Performers

Instead of relations of equality between Parties, the Khrushchov group has set up relations of subordination.

Their about-turns, their disavowals, their fickle talk and their revisionism must, according to them, be the law for everyone. Those leaders who, through political affinity, weakness, threat of blackmail or other reasons bow down before their arbitrary decisions, are transformed into puppets, condemned to reject today what they supported yesterday.

These leaders lose all their prestige in following for good or ill the unpredictable fluctuations of a revisionist policy which is contrary to the very essence of Marxism-Leninism and which unceasingly leads from capitulations to disavowals, from about-turns to lies and ends up in class collaboration with capitalist imperialism.

VI. Mutual Aid or Subordinate Relations

This anti-Marxist-Leninist practice of the Khrushchov group has had particularly serious repercussions in relations between socialist countries.

In saying at the 22nd Congress that the general line of the Soviet Union's foreign policy was peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, Khrushchov consecrated, ideologically and terminologically his abandonment of a socialist foreign policy, which must necessarily comprise different aspects, namely:

—solidarity and mutual aid between socialist countries on the basis of equality, according to the principles of proletarian internationalism;

—struggle against the export of counter-revolution and against aggression;

—aid to the working people of all countries and to all oppressed nations;

—support of the working people of all countries in the class struggle on an international scale for the common aim;

—peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

In setting aside the first four aspects, which were reaffirmed in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960, Khrushchov confirmed that he does not intend to follow a socialist foreign policy. In so doing he gives the term peaceful coexistence a meaning quite different from the Leninist concept. In this respect he applies the revisionist precept of only proposing what is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Facts have demonstrated that this has been the case.

But let us look at the question of relations between the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp in more detail.

It is certainly not a socialist concept to sell things, principally industrial products, at a high price to fraternal countries, or to buy things cheaply, principally raw materials, from them, thus making profits out of trade transactions between socialist countries.

Relations between socialist countries which, on the pretext of co-ordination and international division of labour, deny some countries necessary industrial equipment and thus keep them on the level of agricultural producers and suppliers of raw materials, cannot be considered as normal.

Does this not also create the economic basis for ties of subjection?

This practice is, after all, against the interests of the whole socialist camp and consequently of the working class of the world. In the last analysis, it constitutes a negative factor in the development of the Soviet Union. It holds back the development of productive forces,

whose rapid development is precisely one of the characteristics of a socialist economy.

But the Khrushchov group went further; they took serious economic steps against the People's Republic of China and against socialist Albania: the unilateral recall without notice of experts, refusal to supply the spare parts required for machines of Soviet origin and breaking of trade contracts.

What is the aim of these measures?

Is this not giving pledges to imperialism?

Is this not trying to cause serious economic difficulties in these two socialist countries?

Is this not wanting to create objective conditions favourable to imperialist aggression against socialist Albania and China at a particularly difficult time when natural calamities had reduced agricultural production in 1960? Is this not to weaken the whole socialist camp?

The "open letter" not only shamelessly denies these facts which are now widely known, but accuses the victims!

Must one recall that, as long ago as the summer of 1960, Burnelle informed our Comrade Grippa in an exchange of views of the steps taken by the Soviet Government towards China, and approved them, cynically calculating the grave consequences of these steps for the Chinese economy? It goes without saying that with such an attitude we consider Burnelle as no longer being anything of a Communist.

But what should one say about the person who actually took these steps? Is it by such a procedure that the revisionists hope to bring to their knees the peoples and militants of a socialist country?

But the joint blockade of the revisionists and imperialists can no more bring down socialism in China or Albania than the imperialists' blockade in the past could break the young Russian revolution.

Thanks to their tenacity, heroism and steadfast work, the Chinese people, guided by the Chinese Communist Party, and the Albanian people, guided by the Albanian Party of Labour, have not only overcome all the difficulties but have gone forward, basing themselves on their own efforts.

When Khrushchov slanders and maltreats the brave Albanian people building socialism and the Albanian Party of Labour, is that showing concern for the unity of the socialist camp?

When he gives assistance to the reactionary national bourgeoisie of India in its aggression by supplying it with arms against socialist China, is that socialist internationalism?

When Khrushchov suddenly and unilaterally decided to break contracts for the supply of cereals to Albania, threatening the courageous Albanian people with a terrible famine, is that the humanism which he so highly praises?

In trying to steal from socialist Albania its military fleet, by causing destruction to be carried out on the ships of the base of Vlora, did he not spectacularly show im-

perialism his goodwill, and has he not thus weakened the whole socialist camp and jeopardized the safety of the Soviet Union herself?

These facts, among many others, throw a harsh light on the nature of Khrushchov's acts.

Faced with this situation, neither Communists nor the peoples of the world can remain indifferent.

VII. Liquidation of the Proletarian Dictatorship In the U.S.S.R.

The "open letter" defends, in an incoherent way, moreover, the notion of the state of the whole people adopted at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.

For a Marxist-Leninist, this concept is untenable. Marx, Engels, and Lenin made a profound analysis of what the state is: This concerns the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism.

In *The State and Revolution* Lenin recalled that Marx had already "ridiculed all the nonsense about 'the people's state.'" He quoted the judgment made by Marx in *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*: "Between capitalist society and communist society comes a period of revolutionary change from the first to the second. Corresponding with this is a period of political transition during which the state cannot but be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Now no one maintains that there is a communist society in the Soviet Union. To declare, as does the "open letter," "that there is no need for proletarian dictatorship" is false and anti-Marxist-Leninist.

In *The Question of Housing* Engels laid down the "necessity for political action and dictatorship by the proletariat as a transitional stage to the abolition of classes and, with them, of the state."

There is only one possible form of state in the period between the seizure of power by the working class and communist society, which implies the "extinction" of the state and the "withering away" of the state: the proletarian state. This is the proletariat organized as the ruling class and ensuring its political supremacy.

"The withering away refers to what is left of the proletarian state after the socialist revolution." (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*.)

In fact "the people's state" or "the state of the whole people" as Khrushchov's group call it is opposed to the conception of the proletarian state and proletarian dictatorship and is, to put it clearly, the liquidation of the power of "the proletariat organized as the ruling class." This means imperilling the achievements of the socialist revolution.

"Only those who have understood that the dictatorship of one class is necessary, not only in all class societies, not only for the proletariat when it will have overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'the classless society' of communism, have assimilated the essence of Marx's teaching on the state. . . . The transition from capitalism to communism will clearly and inevitably produce a great number and a great variety of political forms but they

are bound to be in essence the proletarian dictatorship." (Lenin: *The State and Revolution*.)

Let us also point out that in the Soviet Union all the means of production are not yet the property of all the people: it is therefore not a case of a full-blown socialist society.

The "open letter" itself acknowledges the existence of classes in the Soviet Union. About a third of the working population works on the basis of the kolkhoz type of ownership which is "group ownership." This is not yet the common ownership of the means of production or ownership by all the people of which Lenin spoke. The individual piece of land plays an important economic role just as the "kolkhoz market" forms a non-socialist means of exchange of goods between town and countryside.

Moreover, the means of production belonging to the "machine and tractor stations" have been entrusted to the kolkhozes, thus passing from the level of ownership by all the people to that of "group ownership." This is a case of a step backwards under the pressure of non-proletarian social forces.

The "open letter" is ironic about "idlers," "hooligans," "embezzlers" and "parasites." They are, it says, "survivals of capitalism." "Survivals" indeed which persist and actually develop 45 years after the victory of the October Revolution. Is not the existence of these "survivals" proof of the necessity of proletarian dictatorship?

The emergence of degenerate elements, as has occurred in considerable numbers in the Soviet Union in the past few years, can only be a reflection of a larger social process resulting from bourgeois influence, from a petty-bourgeois environment, and from the corruption practised by it, particularly among state officials.

Moreover, the existence of capitalism in the world, the threats, the plots and the attempts at penetration by the imperialists are not just myths.

Proletarian dictatorship is also necessary in order to be able to lead the whole people to a classless society and to guide the peasantry, including the peasantry in the kolkhozes, and non-proletarian strata in developing a socialist economy. To reject this concept is opportunism—capitulation before non-proletarian ideology and the threat of degeneration. Finally, the socialist revolution in each country is an integral part of the world revolution. Only proletarian dictatorship can entirely guarantee this. That is to say that each socialist country must establish and strictly maintain a socialist foreign policy consisting principally in mutual assistance with other socialist countries, support to the revolutionary movement of the working class throughout the world, and support to the national-liberation movements.

The wish expressed by the Khrushchov group to abolish proletarian dictatorship, and also its use of bourgeois democratic phraseology and terminology, are the results of the ideology and the actions of non-proletarian strata and the peasantry on the one hand, and capitulation under imperialist pressure on the other.

It is extremely important to show the similarity between the revisionist ideas of the Khrushchov group with regard to socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R., the role of

the Communist Party and proletarian dictatorship and the anti-Marxist-Leninist ideas which have been developed by Khrushchov's spokesmen in the capitalist countries.

In Belgium the revisionists of the Political Bureau deny, in effect, the class nature of the state, "celebrating the beauties of bourgeois democracy" and of bourgeois parliamentarianism.

The comrades who wanted the constitution of the Belgian Communist Party to proclaim the necessity of proletarian dictatorship for bringing about socialist revolution and wanted the idea of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class with communism as its final goal to be upheld in it, have been declared anti-Party.

The Khrushchov group does likewise in the "open letter." There can be no argument about the link between the revisionism of the Khrushchov group and the revisionism of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party.

VIII. On the "Cult of Personality"

Here also the "open letter" lies on the subject of the position of Marxist-Leninists. They use the same old routine. Those who denounce the aggressive nature of imperialism and collaboration with it are accused of being warmongers. Those who condemn revisionism are accused of wanting a so-called "personality cult" and of being "anti-Soviet."

When an evil-doer calls his actions virtuous and praises them as good this does not change facts. When a rogue accuses those who have exposed his evil deeds of being criminals he is slandering them in order to create a diversion.

It is necessary and useful to make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the lessons of the struggle of the working class, principally of the experience of proletarian dictatorship, its achievements and difficulties, and of the merits and the mistakes of Communist Parties and their leaders. By this means their activities improve, their ideological level is raised and their theories are perfected. To act in this way is also to increase the awareness of the working class and to educate the masses with a view to achieving socialist revolution.

This is a task that Marxist-Leninists must always carry out; and in the future too they will not be able to avoid this responsibility.

But there can be no question of Communists discussing the lessons to be learnt from their actions on the basis of bourgeois ideology and revisionist conceptions.

Marx made a profound analysis of the immense and positive historical experience of the Paris Commune, including its mistakes. He was completely and without any reservation on the side of the communards "mounting to attack the sky." But those who, under the pretext that they too are denouncing mistakes, treat the heroic communards as criminals behave as accomplices of the butchers of Versailles.

What does Khrushchov do?

He attacks the achievements of the Soviet people from 1924-53 when they were led by the C.P.S.U. with Com-

rade Stalin at the head. Listening to him, one would think that the Soviet Union had not practised a policy of peaceful coexistence before 1953. One would think that it was Stalin and not the Hitlerite fascists who was responsible for the death and destruction brought about by the war in the Soviet Union. The current difficulties in Soviet agriculture are made out to have resulted not from the mistakes and revisionism of Khrushchov but from Stalin.

On the other hand the current technical triumphs of the Soviet Union are said to be the result of the "wise" leadership since 1956, and to have nothing to do with the earlier period when there was apparently only chaos, confusion and bad leadership. One could go on like this.

This is what is really anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. What right has Khrushchov to lay claim to the motherland of socialism and to the first people in the world to make a socialist revolution, a people who have protected their great achievements in bloody combat with international imperialism and internal counter-revolution?

Khrushchov chimes in and adds to the worst anti-Soviet slanders by all the lackeys of the bourgeoisie. The Trotskyites are rejoicing. They highly value what they call "the positive contribution of Khrushchov." Thanks to the situation thus created they try to launch once again their pernicious ideology which is, however, quite correctly, totally discredited amongst the working class.

The bourgeois press quotes with enthusiasm the destructive slanders, the speeches and the declarations of Khrushchov. It has even received large sums of money for the publication of one of his speeches accompanied by a huge photo of the author.

It is with good reason that Khrushchov has not made any political analysis of the 1924-53 period. His attacks are gross and unfounded slanders. It is not Stalin's mistakes but his merits he finds fault with. In attacking Stalin, Leninism is Khrushchov's target.

But what about his contradictory remarks on this subject? Before 1953 Khrushchov praised Stalin in a way that Stalin himself condemned. What were his motives then and what are his motives now? When was he sincere? Is he ever sincere? Was he afraid of Stalin? Isn't he afraid of imperialism today? Why was he afraid of Stalin?

His current policies allow one to give an easy reply. Was he not still saying in 1957:

"When it was a question of revolution, of the defence of the interests of the proletarian class in the revolution or struggle against our class enemies, Stalin courageously and intransigently defended the cause of Marxism-Leninism. . . .

"For what is essential and fundamental — and what is essential and fundamental for Marxist-Leninists is the defence of the interests of the working class and of the cause of socialism and the struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism — may God grant, as the saying goes, that all Marxist-Leninists know how to fight for what is essential and fundamental as Stalin fought."

The noisy "struggle against the personality cult" is also a method of demagogic distraction when difficulties appear. It is an accusation levelled unceasingly and without proof in order to stifle all serious political discussion.

Who inside or outside the Soviet Union knows the political position of Molotov, Kaganovitch and so many others? Since Khrushchov has been First Secretary of the C.P.S.U. how many names have disappeared from the leadership for no known reason?

At the same time Khrushchov has concentrated excessive power in his own hands. His every move is glorified. While he glibly talks about democracy he increasingly goes in for using force and "palace revolutions."

His mythical "struggle against the cult of personality" also serves as an excuse for ruthless interference in the running of fraternal Parties and for slanderous attacks on Marxist-Leninist leaders in an attempt to discredit them in the eyes of the masses.

At the same time he covers the Pope with praise as well as the traitor Tito and the "great men" of imperialism, such as Eisenhower and Kennedy. The so-called "struggle against the personality cult" is only a screen to hide his revisionist policies.

The scheming of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party affords full proof that this is a general tactic used by the revisionists. Communists must enlighten the working class and the labouring masses on this deception by the Khrushchov group and its spokesmen.

IX. Capitulation to Imperialism Leads to Collaboration With It and Increases the Danger of War

War is one of the worst scourges which afflict the peoples. It is the working masses who pay for war preparations, who bear the consequences of war and who shed their blood.

With imperialism came world wars, which technical developments make more and more murderous.

To fight disease one must know its symptoms, its development, its nature and, above all, its causes, so as to decide upon means to fight it at any time and to get rid of it once and for all.

It is imperialism which is the cause of wars. As long as imperialism exists there remains the possibility of a war of one kind or another breaking out. It is impossible to abolish wars without abolishing classes and establishing socialism.

This indisputable fact constitutes one of the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and it has been thoroughly confirmed by experience. The great mass of the people in the world are convinced of it.

It is because we know the defects of the capitalist system and of imperialism, that, as supporters of socialist revolution and as Communists, we fight it.

The achievement of our final aim will mean that, together with the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and of all forms of oppression, humanity will be freed from wars once and for all.

In repeating, with Lenin, that war is not inevitable, we mean that the masses must not accept it passively as the result of a supernatural force and as the consequence of inescapable fate. We also mean by this that we are organizing our actions from now on with the aim of eliminating the very root of war, which is imperialism.

In the daily struggles between the oppressed and their oppressors, we decide our tactical aims with a view to defeating the plans of capital and safeguarding the interests of the working masses, so as to prepare the working class ideologically, organizationally and materially to carry out its historical mission—the socialist revolution.

On this basis, we make a distinction between just wars and unjust wars.

We support civil wars waged by the exploited against capital, and national-liberation wars of colonized peoples against colonialist imperialism. These wars are the counter-measure to the permanent aggression of the exploiters.

We fight against the aggressive wars of imperialism and against the export of counter-revolution.

The maintenance and consolidation of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems are aims which can be realized. Today it is possible to avert world war, thanks to the strength of the world socialist camp, the struggles of the revolutionary movements for national liberation, the actions of the working class and the great masses of the people, and the fight of all the peace forces opposing imperialism undermined by its contradictions.

The realization of this aim implies constant vigilance on the part of all peoples with respect to imperialism's aggressive intrigues, the strengthening of unity of action of all the peace forces, the unity of the world socialist camp, and the maintenance of its defensive strength at a level capable of discouraging aggression.

To prevent aggression, it is also necessary to be prepared to counter it.

We are convinced that the peace forces can impose the complete and total banning and destruction of nuclear weapons thus dealing a real blow at imperialism, at its aggressive potential and at its blackmail, as well as at the revisionists who use the same blackmail procedure against the socialist countries and all the peoples of the world.

For our country, the main objectives of the current struggle against the war danger and imperialism's aggressive plots are thus clearly determined as:

- denunciation of imperialism's aggressive plots;
- support for the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China, dated July 31, 1963 seeking the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons;
- adoption of real steps for international detente, notably:
 - the signing of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic;
 - recognition of the People's Republic of China and of the German Democratic Republic;
 - approval of the Rapacki plan for a denuclearized zone in Europe;
 - in the context of the fight for withdrawal from NATO, repudiation of allegiance to this pact's aggressive policy and rejection of its consequences;

— no foreign bases, arms or atomic air force wing in Belgium;

— no increase in the length of military service;

— a 10,000 million [Belgian francs] reduction in military expenses;

— no participation in NATO forces;

— solidarity with the peoples who are victims of aggression, support for anti-imperialist revolutionary movements.

What is the revisionists' attitude to the threat of an imperialist war of aggression?

In place of a Marxist-Leninist analysis and aims which they disown and disapprove of—they substitute views which are not conceived in terms of class struggle or of anti-imperialist struggle. They tend to lull the workers' vigilance and even condemn it. In place of a policy of the widest possible alliances of the peace forces to take action against the threats of aggressive war by the imperialists, they substitute the subordination of the people's forces to imperialism's manoeuvres and designs.

Thermonuclear blackmail is an essential element of their policy and "theories." Thermonuclear hell for the "bad ones" who do not want to kneel before imperialism, and the paradise of "a world without war and without arms"—at a time when imperialism still exists—for those who agree to submit to perpetual slavery: this is their catechism.

There is no "world without war and without arms" so long as imperialism exists. Arms and means of repression constitute an essential element of the state. This instrument of class domination is indispensable to capital both for maintaining its regime of the exploitation of man by man against the workers of each country and for ensuring colonialist and neo-colonialist super-exploitation against the oppressed peoples.

Instead of denouncing imperialism, and particularly U.S. imperialism, the main force of aggression and war in the world, the revisionists chatter about "extremists," and "madmen," so as to cause confusion.

But facts demonstrate that the "madmen" and the "extremists" are one of the forces which make up imperialism, which it does not neglect to make use of, when convenient, as bogies or as shock troops.

Events show that at the present time these "extremists" and these "madmen" support, in effect, the same policy as American imperialism and the revisionists as is shown by the adhesion of West Germany, of Franco, and of the Government of Thailand, etc. . . . to the Moscow treaty.

The revisionists claim that history is made by this or that "individual" and that the fate of humanity depends on the "wisdom" of these "great men" and principally on those of imperialism. They thus deny that the great masses of the people are the creators of history; and that class struggle is the motive force of historical development.

For them it is not the October Revolution which constitutes a turning-point in human history but the "Camp David" talks.

"Eisenhower is a herald of peace." "Kennedy plays a key role in the struggle for peace," so the modern revisionists claim.

According to them the world must bow down before the injunctions coming from the collaboration of the revisionist Khrushchov and of Kennedy, who represents the principal force of aggression and of war in the world.

The revolutionary action of the working class of the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples in weakening imperialism and in dealing it decisive blows makes, by this very fact, an inestimable contribution to the struggle against the danger of aggressive wars.

The revisionists, however, oppose revolutionary struggle more and more openly under the pretext of not irritating imperialism and not provoking it.

Their counter-revolutionary policy signifies class collaboration on an international scale and in each capitalist country. It demands the subordination of peoples oppressed by colonialism, both new and old, to this collaboration.

The peoples who want to liberate themselves are accused of "racism." And so, because the oppressors, the men of finance capital, are usually whites, they would forbid the oppressed blacks or yellows, and whites as well, to fight for their liberation.

It is a scandalous slander to charge the victim with the crimes of the aggressor and of the oppressor.

In the last analysis on what "ideology" do the revisionists base their policy of collaboration between the working class and the labouring masses on the one side, and trusts and monopolies on the other?

Their "solidarity" in the developed industrial countries is solidarity with capitalism; their "defence of the centres of modern civilization" is in reality participation in aggression and oppression by imperialist "civilization."

It is an attempt to associate the working class of the imperialist countries with the policy of colonial plunder.

What is this but "racial chauvinism" which is rapidly becoming racism, pure and simple.

But the evidence of the class struggle which breaks out again and again makes nonsense of these miserable attempts at diversion by the revisionists.

To this shameful degeneration we oppose proletarian internationalism, the fraternal solidarity of all the exploited, of all the oppressed, of every continent, of every land, and of every colour.

This fighting solidarity will defeat imperialism, that colossus with feet of clay, that paper tiger.

Instead of the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, they recommend peaceful coexistence between the exploiters and the exploited, between the oppressed and the oppressors, between capital and labour and between colonialism and colonized peoples.

They practise "peaceful collaboration" with imperialism, they betray the masses and demobilize them.

On October 13, 1960, Jean Blume, National Secretary of the Belgian Communist Party, expounded the revisionist ideology still more clearly.

"Peaceful coexistence is a modern conception of the life of the world and of human evolution.

"It is to the working class and to its thinkers that one must look to discover a truly civilized way to solve conflicts, a truly popular and democratic new method of struggle for the transformation of society and of the world: peaceful coexistence."

On November 3, 1960, when the colonialist terror was raging in the Congo, the revisionist Political Bureau published a resolution under the title "The Congo, Peace and Economic Expansion," which said: "If this situation is lost, one will be able to see in the Congo impatient reactions, desperate attempts to control by isolated acts of violence essentially political problems which can and must be settled through the normal functioning of institutions and level-headed negotiations between political groups."

This was to slander in advance the Congolese people's resistance to aggression and to demand that they submit to "the normal functioning of institutions," which were colonialist and neo-colonialist!

For the same reasons revisionism is also opposed to the development of the struggle of the working class for its immediate claims and in defence of democratic liberties.

Notable evidence of these anti-militant aims and the restraining action of the revisionist Political Bureau was given:

— during the great strike of December 1960 to January 1961;

— with regard to "the fiscal reform," the "social programme" and the anti-strike laws;

— in everything which concerns the wage struggle, holidays with pay, a shorter working day and federalism.

The revisionists reject the Marxist-Leninist concept of the class nature of the state: the Yugoslav theses, the thesis of the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party and that of the 14th Congress of the Belgian Communist Party are particularly significant in this respect.

This revisionism of Marxism in Belgium shows very concretely that the revisionists' so-called pacifism is an obstacle to effective struggle against the warlike intrigues of imperialism.

They have abandoned all the concrete objectives of the struggle against the war danger such as, for example:

— the total prohibition and the destruction of nuclear armaments;

— the evacuation of foreign bases in Belgium;

— the reduction of military expenditure by 10,000 million [Belgian francs];

— the struggle against the aggressive NATO pact.

They laud the Moscow agreement favouring underground nuclear tests.

Their one and only objective in the present circumstances is the signing of a "pact of non-aggression" between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, an empty objective, if it is not accompanied by concrete actions, and which is destined solely to create a diversion.

The demagogy of the revisionists' peace aligns itself with Kennedy's "strategy of peace," this "American peace" which has been very clearly exposed by the President of the United States in his speech of June 10, 1963, as:

— thermonuclear blackmail;

— the strengthening of colonialist and neo-colonialist bondage by increased intervention by American imperialism;

— the division and weakening of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The danger of war has been made greater, as the revisionists themselves ought to admit. This is in large measure the result of their policy of capitulation before imperialism and of collaboration with it.

This is why it is necessary to strengthen action against the aggressive intrigues of imperialism by denouncing the manoeuvres of the revisionists.

The revisionists, who have nothing but good words and praise for the representatives of imperialism, overflow with hatred for those who lead a consistent struggle against imperialism and against the danger of war.

They impudently accuse us of being "belligerent." According to them, one shouldn't fight the causes of disease but the doctor.

They now in no way fall short of Spaak who, in 1938 called those who were denouncing Hitler belligerent, and who, in 1947 demanded a sacred union against what he called the "aggressive plans" of the Soviet Union.

Today Spaak, whose role and policies have not changed, is, moreover, the confidant of Khrushchov from whom he transmits information to NATO of which he was the Secretary-General.

Revisionism means capitulation to imperialism and leads to collaboration with it. This was clearly shown by the events in the Caribbean last autumn, by the Sino-Indian border conflict and by the recent Moscow agreement favouring underground nuclear tests by the United States.

X. Defend Socialist Cuba

The "open letter" again glorifies the blameworthy acts of the Khrushchov group during U.S. imperialism's military blockade and acts of piracy against Cuba last autumn. However, the more the revisionists hold forth on this subject, the more they give themselves away.

They still do not explain the reasons why they installed missiles in Cuba and subsequently withdrew them. For it is no explanation to say, in the words of the "open letter":

"This resolute step on the part of the Soviet Union and Cuba was a shock to the American imperialists. . . .

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

That is certainly a case of adventurism. Why were the missiles withdrawn from Cuba? Here again, we quote the "open letter":

"Every sober-minded person fully understands that in case of aggression by American imperialists, we shall come to the assistance of the Cuban people from Soviet territory. . . ."

But did not such a possibility exist earlier? Was Khrushchov therefore not a "sober-minded person"?

Only one explanation is valid: Khrushchov and Kennedy reached agreement to strike a blow at the Cuban revolution, to humiliate it and dim its radiance.

Among the fine phrases concerning Cuba in the "open letter" let us point out this one:

". . . Revolutionary Cuba is living in peace and building socialism. . . ."

"Living in peace?"

Why give this "soothing" appraisal which in no way corresponds to reality since one knows that the economic and transport blockade continues and that Cuba remains the target of bombing raids and intrusions by counter-revolutionaries backed by U.S. imperialism or its satellites.

"Revolutionary Cuba is not beaten."

To be sure! But to attribute this victory of the peoples to the Kennedy-Khrushchov agreement is odious deceit. It is like pretending to have saved someone's life, after having given him a poisoned drink which he did not want to take.

The Kennedy-Khrushchov agreement was not a compromise: Kennedy dictated his conditions.

"I feel respect and confidence about the statement you made in your message of October 27, 1962, to the effect that there will be no attack against Cuba. . . ."

Did Khrushchov write that to Kennedy on October 28 or not? Why does the "open letter" say today:

"The Chinese comrades argue that the imperialists cannot be believed in anything, that they are bound to deceive you. But this is not a case of faith but of sober calculation."

Did not Khrushchov also write (October 28, 1962): "As I have already pointed out to you in my letter of October 27, we are ready to reach agreement with you for U.N. representatives to go to Cuba in order to be able to verify the dismantling of weapons which you call 'offensive.'" This was sacrificing Cuba's sovereignty, and creating the possibility of Cuba's becoming a new Congo.

An analysis of the facts demonstrates that the Kennedy-Khrushchov agreement sacrificing Cuba's sovereignty was rejected by the Cuban people and that, thanks to this firmness and action by the peoples of the world, U.S. imperialism drew back.

The joint attempt of Khrushchov and Kennedy was fortunately defeated. But the revisionists will for ever be branded with infamy for this shameful deed.

XI. Solidarity With Socialist China

Since 1959 in step with the sharpening of the class struggle in India, and the increasingly reactionary course followed by the ruling strata of the Indian national bourgeoisie, provocations and aggression against the People's Republic of China have been increasing along the Indian frontier. These acts are linked with the introduction of the "new strategy" of U.S. imperialism and the increased activity of the revisionists in the heart of the international communist movement.

Through all these events the peaceful policy of socialist China has been once again dramatically demonstrated to all unbiased observers. The Government of the People's Republic of China has never stopped proposing negotiations and has made a great number of unilateral peaceful gestures in order to bring about the opening of negotiations, despite the refusals of Nehru and his continuing aggression.

But what has been the attitude of the Khrushchov group?

Neutrality towards a socialist country under attack would have been an inadmissible position, contrary to proletarian internationalism.

But under the cloak of a self-styled "neutrality," and with hypocritical remarks about "their sister China" and "their friend India," Khrushchov has continually and more and more openly supported the reactionary Indian national bourgeoisie in its aggression which was instigated by the American imperialists.

Ever since 1959 Khrushchov has been saying on the subject of the "Sino-Indian frontier incidents" (in other words the resistance to Indian aggression by the People's Republic of China), that they were "deplorable and idiotic."

Since then Khrushchov has not only never condemned Indian aggression, but has actually implied that China was the aggressor.

While he refused all aid to the People's Republic of China he carried treachery to its very limit by competing with the imperialists in supplying arms to Nehru—helicopters, military aircraft and now missiles. This, then, is the "pacifism" of Khrushchov. This is his "peaceful competition" with imperialism.

Communists must denounce this unprecedented betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

XII. A Dangerous Deception: The Moscow Agreement Favours U.S. Underground Tests

Let us demand the total destruction of thermonuclear weapons!

We believe that:

"The conclusion of a separate treaty on discontinuing nuclear tests at a time when the Western powers were pursuing a reckless arms race could only create a general illusion that something was being done to prevent a nuclear war, whereas the Western powers were actually pushing matters precisely to such a war. . . . The conclu-

sion of a treaty on the ending of tests, in isolation from the general problem of disarmament and with a continual nuclear arms race in progress, besides failing to do any good to the cause of peace, might even lead to the contrary—it might camouflage preparations for a nuclear war."

This quotation is drawn from the terms of the Soviet government memorandum of September 28, 1961.

Let us also remember these remarks made by Khrushchov on September 9, 1961.

"Agreement on the cessation of one kind of tests only—in the atmosphere—would be a disservice to the cause of peace." He said that this would be "a dishonest deal. Of course, the Soviet Government cannot and will not strike such a bargain. A deal of this nature is wanted by those who build their policy on deceit of the peoples, on playing at negotiation."

This criticism applies perfectly to the Moscow agreement which in fact encourages underground tests by the powers which have already made hundreds of tests and accumulated enormous stocks of nuclear weapons.

This very same Khrushchov has taken his stand today with "those who build their policy on deceit of the peoples, on playing at negotiation." He does this without the slightest justification, surrendering the cause of the struggle against the menace of war, endangering the defence of the socialist camp and the Soviet Union itself and meeting the demands of American imperialism, the main force of aggression and war in the world.

The revisionists of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party, once again surrendering the positions taken by the Party and its congresses, have distinguished themselves in the deafening chorus of praise from all the pseudo-pacifists whose actions increase the danger of war.

The Moscow agreement represents not only a new blind capitulation before imperialism but actually leads to collaboration with the imperialists.

They are only worried about strengthening their aggressive military potential, principally through carrying on underground nuclear tests. They do this to the detriment of the defensive potential of the socialist camp and oppose other socialist countries, notably China, having at their disposal suitable means for discouraging the aggression with which they are constantly threatened. This aggression is, moreover, carried on daily by imperialism in, for example, Taiwan, Viet Nam, Korea and in general against the peoples oppressed by all forms of colonialism.

On the other hand three imperialist countries possess atomic weapons. Innumerable American bases throughout the world as well as the American navy and air force are equipped with missiles carrying nuclear weapons. This is the spread of nuclear arms organized by the imperialists.

There is, in addition, no further advantage to be derived by U.S. imperialism from continuing above-ground tests. Instead the Pentagon will now be able to devote its maximum effort in the conditions most favourable to itself to developing "tactical" nuclear weapons especially suitable for aggression against the peoples. It has cynically publicized this objective by announcing the immediate beginning of a new series of tests. In his message to the American Senate on August 8, 1963, on the morrow of

the signing of the Moscow treaty, President Kennedy stated clearly and cynically the aims of the imperialism he represents.

"The United States has more experience in underground testing than any other nation; and we intend to use this capacity to maintain the adequacy of our arsenal. Our atomic laboratories will maintain an active development programme, including underground testing, and we will be ready to resume testing in the atmosphere if necessary.

"On the other hand, unrestricted testing — by which other powers could develop all kinds of weapons through atmospheric tests more cheaply and quickly than they could underground — might well lead to a weakening of our security.

"This treaty is in our national interest."

In these conditions it is not surprising that the manufacturers of bombs, of Polaris, of the F-104G, and the servants of NATO should utter cries of admiration. The revisionists, and notably those of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party, go them one better in this chorus of acclaim. There is nothing surprising about that.

As Jaures said, "capitalism brings war just as a cloud brings a storm." In carrying out its policies, capitalist imperialism hopes to continue to be able to use thermonuclear weapons as a powerful means of aggression and blackmail. The revisionists, acting as servants of the bourgeoisie, develop their deceitful "ideology" of class collaboration on the same basis, using thermonuclear blackmail as their sole "argument."

This is why neither the imperialists nor the revisionists want the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons; and why only the action of the people can impose it upon them. As the August 7, 1963, resolution of the Hiroshima World Conference Against Nuclear Weapons declared, peace-loving people need nuclear disarmament and not a "more rationalized" arms race for "more perfect" nuclear weapons.

The Lefevre-Spaak government which has hastened to give its support to the Moscow agreement takes an active part in the policy of over-arming NATO: military expenditure increases; German bases have been established, the F-104G continues to be manufactured at great cost and they are just now forming an atomic wing of the air force.

Communists, consistent fighters for peace, will not relax their vigilance. They will not allow themselves to be duped by the compliments which the imperialists and their new "collaborators" heap on each other. They will expose the insane slanders of the imperialists and revisionists who dare to accuse of adventurism and bellicosity those who take courageous action against the danger of war, and its causes and those who profit from it: lies and fabrications have always accompanied the criminal actions of imperialism. They welcome the resolution of the Hiroshima World Conference which called for action for the conclusion of a treaty totally banning nuclear tests and nuclear weapons.

They support the statement of the Chinese Government dated July 31, 1963, to all the countries of the socialist camp and to all peace-loving countries and peoples

in the world, calling on them to unite and struggle firmly to the end for the banning and the complete, total, thorough and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and for the defence of world peace.

XIII. Let Us Unmask Revisionism

The lie is the usual weapon of revisionism. The "open letter" is nothing but a chaotic heap of lies. We have drawn attention to a few of them.

In Belgium the spokesmen of the Khrushchov group have got us used to these procedures. The revisionists cannot honestly explain their position to the working class and the workers. In the attempt to camouflage their activities they pour insults and slanders on the revolutionaries. They are moving more and more openly to collaboration with the imperialists in their persecution and repression of the Marxist-Leninists.

But they will act in vain. They cannot prevent the triumph of the truth, nor can they block the irresistible advance of the world's socialist revolution. It is precisely because the class struggle is sharpening that imperialism is growing increasingly unsteady and the revisionists are forced to unmask themselves. The fight against modern revisionism and classical reformism is an indispensable condition of the working class and the labouring masses being able to carry on effectively their struggle for their immediate claims, for the defence of democratic liberties, against the danger of war and against capitalism. For even stronger reasons it is indispensable for assuring final victory.

The current objective situation is excellent for the world's revolutionary forces. All the conditions are combined for the world socialist revolution to achieve new successes and decisive victories. This means that it is both possible and essential to defeat revisionism!

Let us hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary principles of the Declarations of 1957 and the Statement of 1960!

Marxist-Leninists will not fail in their task. Modern revisionism will be defeated despite the complicity of the bourgeoisie and the support of the Khrushchov group.

Communists of the Brussels Federation: Let us strengthen our mass political action on the basis of the resolutions of our extraordinary Federal Congress in June.

Communists of the other federations: we greet the results of your Marxist-Leninist actions. The moment has come to eliminate revisionism, the liquidator of our Party.

Militant revolutionary workers, reinforce our ranks!

Marxist-Leninists, unite!

Long live the Communist Party of Belgium from which we will drive out revisionism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!

Brussels, August 15, 1963

Resolution of the Brussels Federal Committee of the Belgian Communist Party

We Have Friends and Comrades All Over the World

Beginning from August 30, *Renmin Ribao* has been publishing letters received from people throughout the world. Here we reprint excerpts from some of the letters and the accompanying editor's note which *Renmin Ribao* also published. Excerpts from further letters will be carried in subsequent issues of *Peking Review*. — Ed.

"RENMIN RIBAO" EDITOR'S NOTE

SINCE the beginning of this year and particularly since the publication of the June 14 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese press and Radio Peking have received a large number of letters from all the continents of the world. Tens of thousands of friends and comrades hitherto unknown to us have expressed in these letters their sincere sympathy with and support for the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, and have given their views on some major issues of the current international communist movement. These heart-warming letters have strengthened our conviction that Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and revolutionary people all over the world will surely close their ranks still more tightly, that they will overcome all difficulties and obstacles and score still greater victories in their struggle to oppose imperialism, to defend world peace and to promote the revolutionary cause of the world's people and the cause of world communism. We now select a number of these letters and publish them in separate series. We are withholding the names of certain writers of these letters out of consideration for their security.

We wish to take this opportunity to express our deepest respect and heartfelt thanks to all friends and comrades who have struggled valiantly to uphold Marxism-Leninism and for our common cause.

* * *

Soviet People Are With You

We Soviet workers, Party members and non-Party, admire your completely correct actions and your struggle to safeguard the purity of the ideas of Lenin. You expose those who disguise themselves with the name of Lenin, while actually distorting everything grossly, in every aspect, both at home and abroad.

By this letter we wish to inform the Members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung that in the U.S.S.R., the working class, and not only they, but 90 per cent of the population, are with you in thought and will always watch your heroic struggle to safeguard the purity of the world communist movement. In our country things are going badly, things remain only on paper and in radio speeches. Everything is grossly distorted.

You may have faith in us as we have faith in your Government, and together with you we will attain complete victory.

Workers Who Are Yours Faithfully, SOVIET UNION

One Shouldn't Be Coward Afraid of Atom Bomb

I listen in to your radio broadcasts with great attention. We workers and all labouring people of Russia are especially glad to see that you expose the Tito group, renegades of the international communist movement. We workers call that man Tito a "brother of Priest Gapon" [provocateur and agent of the secret police in Tsarist Russia — editor]. Formerly forbidden to step on our sacred Russian soil and unanimously declared an outlaw, enemy and renegade of the international workers' movement, he is now invited to rest in our cities.

You have said rightly that the bourgeoisie will yield nothing to the proletariat without a struggle. Let us proclaim: should the bourgeoisie dare attack you, the Russian working class will rise in your defence. I am sure we can do away with the bourgeoisie and we must. One should not be a coward afraid of the atom bomb. Strength exists, not in the atom bomb, but in the people. The people are more powerful than the atom bomb. Capitalists and Tsars intimidated us and said that they were more powerful than the working class, but the Russian proletariat under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party succeeded in overthrowing the Tsar and seized power. As a Russian saying goes. "The devil is not as terrible as he is said to be." The same is true of the atom bomb. If the Communist Party follows strictly the path of Lenin and observes his teachings, then the proletariat will vanquish the bourgeoisie. One should embrace them less and give fewer banquets in their honour than is sometimes done in our country.

Thank you, Chinese Communists, for the struggle you have been waging valiantly and courageously against the cowards and renegades of the international workers' liberation movement. Thank you for singing the *Internationale*, the hymn of the proletariat. This great hymn calls on the proletariat throughout the world to overthrow capitalism. When listening in to your Radio Peking and your singing of the *Internationale*, it is as if Lenin were with you in Peking.

We are deeply grateful to you for your defence of the theories of our V.I. Lenin.

M.G., SOVIET UNION

Persecution Cannot Cow Loyal Communists

I have read with great delight and satisfaction your letter of reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated June 14, 1963.

All the viewpoints expounded in your letter on behalf of the members of the Chinese Communist Party completely

tally with the great Marxist-Leninist principles of our time. These are principles which not only your Party should defend but which all fraternal Communist Parties should adhere to.

The definitions of Marxist-Leninist theories hold true for all fraternal Communist Parties. To beg the Western imperialists and their lackeys by peaceful means to relinquish their state power can never succeed today. They will renounce state power only when the working class, applying Marxist ideas, overthrows the decadent system. There cannot be two opinions on this question, nor will there be in the future.

We should do everything possible to eliminate war but this does not mean that we should sell out the victories of the working class to imperialism by peaceful means. At no time will the imperialists agree to hand over state power to the working class peacefully. This is clear even to the blind. One must not try again to mislead the world, particularly the Communist Parties of all countries, by asserting that this can be achieved by peaceful means.

Today, millions of Communists in the socialist camp, including the Communists of our country, see clearly the correctness of your letter of reply. But they cannot openly express this feeling of theirs in a Marxist way because the leading comrades of the Central Committees of the Parties to which they belong will suppress and persecute them and deprive them of their rights.

I am not afraid for myself, though I am likely to be persecuted and purged. But, should anything untoward happen to my life, let the Chinese Communist Party know why such things happen to us. The reason, I think, is no other than our desire to see a beautiful truth flourish on the basis of Marxist science.

G., BULGARIA

Khrushchov Stigmatizes Leninism

As honest workers and Communists, we are writing this letter to express our innermost feelings and let you know that we are with the heroic struggle of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. We want to say to you, we are deeply pained by the unhealthy political developments in the Soviet Union and our Czechoslovakia.

Since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we have, with anxiety, uneasiness and fear, followed the activities of the revisionist group headed by Khrushchov. This group systematically destroys what was acquired by selfless and patient work in the Soviet Union and the development of the world communist movement. Exploiting the leading position of the Soviet Union in the past, it preaches the preposterous line of peaceful coexistence with the leaders of Western capitalism. This group headed by Khrushchov has betrayed the general line of the C.P.S.U., changed the revolutionary goal of the world communist movement, stigmatized the theories of Comrade Lenin, stifled the revolutionary fervour of the working people and crippled the class struggle.

They try to erase from our minds the exploits of Comrade Stalin—a great revolutionary, a true thinker and teacher and a well-tested builder of socialism. But Comrade Stalin will never pass out of our minds. Because of this, he has risen in our esteem, while our hatred for the revisionists has become ever greater.

We also suffer from the consequences of the revisionist, totalitarian policies of the Soviet Union. Since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., we have suffered ever greater economic reverses, have become politically benumbed and are marking

time. We are falling behind in our development. Many of the leaders of our Party and Government have lost their bearings as regards our political and economic development. We therefore followed with great interest and fully agreed to the statement of the Chinese Communist Party delegate at the 12th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Prague.

We hope that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—the true representative of the world communist movement—will persevere undaunted in the struggle and will expose and condemn dangerous revisionism uncompromisingly as it has struggled and is struggling uncompromisingly against imperialism.

A Group of People's Guards, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Soviet Leaders Betray the Cause of the Oppressed

You have done well; it is right for you to distribute your letter of reply. The fact that five of your comrades were expelled by the Soviet Union has opened the eyes of many.

An increasing number of people have now seen clearly that the Soviet leaders have exploited proletarian internationalism and peace to attain their own aim of getting rich, and made the Soviet Union chauvinist and overbearing in this turbulent world beset with suffering. They are so leisurely and happy that they forget that the Soviet Union came into being at the price of sacrifices made by the world proletariat and that, like the other socialist countries, it is a bulwark and an instrument of power of the world proletarian movement and that it, too, should plunge itself into this movement for the final and complete victory over the world people's enemy headed by U.S. imperialism.

The provocations over the past few months and the pretexts used during the Moscow talks were intended to facilitate the repudiation and arbitrary interpretation of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to continue to betray the Marxist-Leninist line and thus betray the cause of the oppressed peoples. In resolutely exposing and condemning these disgraceful actions, your purpose is to prevent a "nationalist communist society" from coming into being.

We should take resolute action to carry out more firmly the calls of Marx and Engels to the world proletariat. In doing so, we have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

Sgariglia, ITALY

Joining Kennedy to Attack China Intolerable

I used a recording machine to take down Radio Peking's broadcast of the June 14 letter on the proposal for the general line of the international communist movement so that my friends can also listen to it. This is very helpful for their understanding of the truth.

From our own experience as workers, I consider the arguments of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to be entirely correct. The C.P.S.U. published an open letter on July 14 attacking China for underestimating the dangers of nuclear war. It is my opinion that anyone who is not deliberately trying to stand truth on its head and who has normal judgment can readily see that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party not only has not underestimated the danger of nuclear war but has proposed the most correct way to avert nuclear war. The top leader of the Soviet Union has gone to the length of joining Kennedy in attacks on China. This is intolerable to us. We not only know what truth is but also will spread the truth with all our might.

We must liquidate revisionism! To be a so-called bystander is to tolerate the revisionist activities. In my opinion, the mission of mankind should not be placed on the shoulders of your country alone. The proletariat of the world must be told the truth of the matter and they must, until victory, struggle for the line which truly represents the interests of the proletariat.

The open letter of the C.P.S.U. makes one indignant. They have concocted stories out of the thin air at will. If such a practice is allowed to continue, to what degree will the cause of the revolution be damaged! The tenor of the assault on the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in the open letter of the C.P.S.U. is at one with that of the attacks on China by the reactionary Japanese propaganda machine and politicians of world imperialism.

We know in what arduous conditions New China and the Soviet Union were born. We know too how the proletariat of the world regard and treasure the hard-won fruits of the great revolutions—the historical experience of socialist China and of the socialist camp. The fruits of the revolution of the world proletariat will not be harmed by the so-called great name and ambitions of a single individual. "His body and name will perish, but the rivers will flow on."

Masanori Yoshida, JAPAN

Tampering With Marxism-Leninism Must Stop

The letter of the Chinese Communist Party to the Soviet Communist Party reveals to what extent modern revisionism has infiltrated into the world communist movement. For many years I looked upon the Soviet Union as being the bulwark of the progressive proletariat against capitalism. It was then and I would like to see the Soviet Union resume a policy based upon true Marxist-Leninist principles. Modern revisionism must be countered and I wholeheartedly support the stand of the Chinese Communist Party in defence of Marxist-Leninist purity.

The repudiation of the Chinese reply letter by the Soviet Communist Party clearly shows that: 1. the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party is discarding basic Marxist-Leninist truths and is therefore revisionist; 2. it is afraid of the effect that publication of the letter would have on the rank-and-file Soviet Communists and on the Soviet people; 3. it does not desire unity with the truly Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party.

Modern revisionism, headed by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia, must be combated and eradicated before irreparable damage is done to the socialist cause. The general line embodied in the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement must be returned to and adhered to by all fraternal Parties. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the heart and soul of socialism, must not be relinquished but intensified and strengthened throughout the entire transitional period of socialism. Tampering with the universal truths of Marx and Lenin must stop.

The modern revisionists are weakening the socialist camp and undermining all those countries and organizations struggling against imperialist oppression. The present situation in the international communist movement must be delighting the imperialists.

True followers of Marxism-Leninism will rise to rally around the Chinese Communist Party and will cast the revisionists into the dust-bin of history. It is indeed good to see the red banner of proletarian internationalism held so high and so proudly by China, Albania, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and other true Marxist-Leninist Parties.

John Peers, BRITAIN

We Follow New China With Hope

I am not sure that my letter will reach you because I live in a police state where every move is closely watched.

I agree to your stand and not the Soviet stand which should, to a certain degree, be held responsible for our suffering that has lasted for years. Will the fascists give up their rule over our lives and property? Will they respect the rights of the ruled and give up what is to their advantage? Why should the Soviet Union propose "peaceful transition"? If the rule of the fascists is not overthrown, they will not give up this rule. The reason why fascism exists in Spain is because it is backed by the United States, Britain and France and all the blocs of the "free world."

That is why we Spanish people are following New China with hope. Only she can give us real hopes and clear away all the dregs on the road of progress.

My letter embodies the sentiments of many Spaniards. We warmly embrace your people and your great leader, Mao Tse-tung.

F.V., SPAIN

Sweep Away This Opportunist Mist

This is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Yes, this is the era of American imperialist aggression through atomic blackmail and the era of international proletarian revolution. Opportunists, so-called Khrushchovists, are spreading a mist over the view of the proletariat to hide this very truth.

Our sacred duty is to sweep away this opportunist mist so that the proletariat can see and kill the blood-sucking monster of imperialism.

This worldwide opportunism has begun to develop since the Second World War as a consequence of bourgeois peace. The opportunist Khrushchov has emerged to power due to this climatic condition. Khrushchov has betrayed the cause of proletarian revolution. What is more, he is the best defender of American imperialism. By virtue of carrying out his mission he has dismantled the revolutionary spirit of the communist movement ideologically, politically and organizationally. He has pulled out the inner core of the revolution not only in India but also elsewhere in the world.

Being the tail of Khrushchovism, the leadership of the Communist Party of India has expelled all the revolutionaries from the Party, for the reason that real Marxist-Leninists could not agree with the peaceful growth into socialism and bourgeois democracy.

The leadership of the C.P.I., themselves being bourgeois, do not know what revolution is, what are the politics of class contradiction and what is the organizational principle of democratic centralism. All they know is how to lick the boots of the bourgeoisie.

Long live the international revolution! Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Nair, INDIA

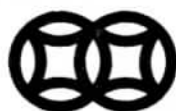
Not Prepared to Swallow Revisionism

I have read the correspondence between the C.P.S.U. and the Communist Party of China. Genuine Marxist-Leninists in Ceylon (the intellectuals and the working class) who have followed the recent events in the international communist movement, are strongly supporting the line of thought and views of the C.P.C. against modern revisionism practised by a certain section of the communist movement. Our people are not prepared to swallow the theory of peaceful coexistence as put forward by Khrushchov and his henchmen.

T.Kanesar, CEYLON

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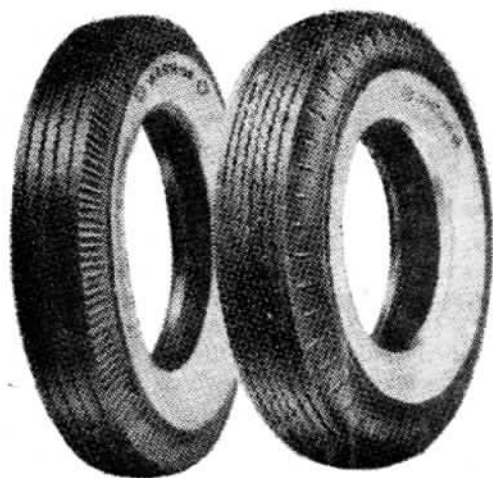
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