

PEKING REVIEW

39

September 27, 1963

Chairman Liu Shao-chi in Korea

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Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?

Third article by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* commenting on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (p. 14).

China's Minority Nationalities Advance

(p. 27)

*National Day Entertainments and
Other Features*

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報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership Of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves

—Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

On July 14, 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published an open letter to Party organizations at all levels and to all Communists in the Soviet Union.

On September 6, 1963, the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* published an article under the title of "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves" as the first of a series of articles commenting on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. All these articles will be translated by the Peking Foreign Languages Press into English, French, Spanish, German, Russian, Vietnamese, Japanese, Indonesian, Hindi, Urdu, Burmese, Thai, Arabic, Italian, Serbian, Portuguese, and Esperanto, and they will be published in pamphlet form.

"The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves" contains:

- The Differences Began With the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.
- The Serious Consequences of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.
- The 1957 Moscow Meeting of Fraternal Parties
- The Growth of the Revisionism of the C.P.S.U. Leadership
- The Surprise Assault on the C.P.C. by the Leadership of the C.P.S.U.
- The Struggle Between the Two Lines at the 1960 Meeting of Fraternal Parties
- The Revisionism of the C.P.S.U. Leadership Becomes Systematized
- An Adverse Current That Is Opposed to Marxism-Leninism and Is Splitting the International Communist Movement
- What Have the Facts of the Past Seven Years Demonstrated?

There are also three appendices to this pamphlet:

1. Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition
(November 10, 1957)
2. Statement of the Delegation of the C.P.C. at the Bucharest Meeting of Fraternal Parties
(June 26, 1960)
3. The Five Proposals for Settlement of the Differences and Attainment of Unity Contained in the Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. in Reply to the Letter of Information of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.
(September 10, 1960)

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 27, 1963 Vol. VI No. 39

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September 27, 1963

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi continued his visit in the Korean Democratic People's Republic.

- The editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* published an article entitled "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?" It is the third article of a series commenting on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

- Peking citizens held a rally to welcome Chinese citizens who were recently forced to come home by the Soviet and Czechoslovak Governments.

- The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Cambodian Embassy in China supporting Cambodia's just stand in defending her sovereignty and territorial integrity and in breaking off political relations with the Ngo Dinh Diem government.

- Pakistan Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto wrote to Premier Chou En-lai expressing support for the Chinese government proposal for a conference of government heads of all countries to discuss total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

- More than 1,500 people from all walks of life in Peking held a meeting to celebrate the victory of the Japanese people in the "Matsukawa Case."

- The Indonesian Communist Party delegation headed by Chairman D.N. Aidit left Peking for Canton in south China.

- *Renmin Ribao* last week published in full an article in the September issue of *Hoc Tap*, theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, criticizing the partial nuclear test ban treaty.

It also published in part an article entitled "Tito's Socialism in the Service of Imperialism" which appeared in the September 1-15 issue of *A Classe Operaria*, journal of the Communist Party of Brazil.

- A spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry refuted New Delhi's fabrications about Chinese violation of Indian air space.

Welcome for Expelled Chinese

Peking held a mass rally to welcome home the 112 Chinese unreasonably expelled by the Soviet and Czechoslovak Governments. Among the 10,000 people attending the rally were Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Lu Ting-yi and Po I-po, Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premiers.

The 112 Chinese were the passengers and crew aboard the Chinese train on the Peking-Ulan Bator-Moscow run, who were persecuted by the Soviet

frontier authorities and deported under armed escort; officers taking military courses in the Soviet Union who were detained and later deported from the Soviet Union under armed escort; staff members of the Prague office of the Hsinhua News Agency who were forced to return because of the arbitrary closing down of the office by the Czechoslovak Government; a staff member of the commercial counsellor's office of the Chinese Embassy and a student studying in Czechoslovakia, who were recalled at the unreasonable demand of the Czechoslovak Government. There was a burst of applause as they mounted the rostrum and were presented with bouquets by a company of young people.

Lu Cheng-tso, Acting Minister of Railways; Wu Leng-hsi, Director of the Hsinhua News Agency and President of the All-China Journalists' Association; and four representatives of the returned Chinese spoke at the rally. They expressed the general indignation at the outrageous acts of the Soviet and Czechoslovak authorities and protested in the strongest terms against them.

Peng Chen addressed the meeting. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, he welcomed and commended all the comrades who had been unreasonably deported or expelled. "You have upheld Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism," he said, "and waged a heroic, unyielding struggle against provocation by the modern revisionists. You have acquitted yourselves well. The fact that you were deported by the modern revisionists shows that you deserve the warmest of welcomes. The modern revisionists persecuted and deported you because they have departed from Marxism-Leninism and from proletarian internationalism. They are afraid of the truth and the masses, and of our articles which set forth the facts and reason things out. Otherwise, why have they not dared to publish in their press our relevant documents and articles as we have done theirs? Why are they frightened to death by a few copies of Hsinhua information bulletins, with a Chinese government spokesman's statement, carried by Chinese students and personnel? By these actions, the modern revisionists have also tried to undermine the great friendship and unity between the Chinese people and the people of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia."

Peng Chen declared that the great friendship and unity between the people of China and the Soviet Union and among the people of all the countries in the socialist camp was in the vital interests of the people of all the socialist countries and of the whole world. "The harder the modern revisionists try to wreck this unity," he declared, "the firmer we shall be in defending it. Our opposition to modern revisionism is precisely to consolidate and strengthen this unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We shall continue to uphold the spirit of proletarian internationalism, safeguard and develop the great traditional

friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people and between the people of all countries in the socialist camp, and consolidate and strengthen the unity between China and the Soviet Union and among all the countries of the socialist camp. We are convinced that this friendship and unity, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and cemented by their common aims and common interests, can never be destroyed by a handful of revisionists."

Chairman Mao Meets Japanese C.P. Delegation

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on September 22 met and had a cordial talk with Tsunesaburo Takenaka, Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, and the delegation of the Japanese Communist Party which he led.

Earlier, on September 20, Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., gave a banquet in honour of the Japanese comrades.

The Japanese C.P. delegation had come at the invitation of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. Before coming to Peking, they visited Shanghai and Hangchow. They left Peking on September 23 for Wuhan and Canton.

Resolute Support for Cambodia

The Embassy of the Kingdom of Cambodia in Peking recently handed two notes to the Chinese Foreign Ministry. The first note dated August 27 concerned military provocations against Cambodia by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique of south Viet Nam; that of August 28 transmitted the August 27 statement of the Royal Government of Cambodia condemning the crimes of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. The Chinese Foreign Ministry's note of reply on September 12 was made public on September 23.

The Chinese note strongly condemned the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique for its provocations and aggression against Cambodia, and expressed the Chinese Government's resolute support for the Royal Government of Cambodia in its just stand and in taking the necessary measure of breaking off political relations with

the Ngo Dinh Diem government in order to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Paying tribute to Cambodia's consistent policy of peace and neutrality, China's note said: "The struggle of the Royal Government and people of Cambodia against foreign aggression and for the defence of national independence and state sovereignty is a just struggle and is not conducted in isolation. The Chinese Government hereby declares once again that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, resolutely support the Royal Government and people of Cambodia in their just struggle."

Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement

Talks between a Japanese trade delegation and its Chinese counterpart on the coming year's trade ended successfully with an agreement signed on September 23. A communique said that both sides would take appropriate measures to fulfil plans for the coming year's trade. It declared that the continued expansion of Sino-Japanese trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit not only conformed to the wishes of the people of China and Japan but would play a positive role in enhancing their friendly relations. The talks were held in accordance with the memorandum signed by Liao Cheng-chih and Tatsunosuke Takasaki in November 1962.

Speaking at a farewell banquet given by the Japanese delegation, Kaheita Okazaki, head of the delegation, expressed his satisfaction with the agreement reached. He and his colleagues, he declared, would do their best to promote trade and friendly relations between Japan and China. Referring to those who were trying to obstruct Sino-Japanese trade, he suggested that they take a look at the 2,000 years of friendship that had existed between the two countries. No one, he declared, could obliterate the fact that the peoples of Japan and China felt their proximity, and no one could obstruct the expansion of trade between the two countries, the interflow of commodities and exchange of contact between their peoples.

Toasting the success of the talks, Liao Cheng-chih hailed the agreement as being in the interests of the two sides concerned. He expressed confidence that, on the basis of what was already achieved, Sino-Japanese trade

and friendship would continue to develop.

The 25-member Japanese trade delegation arrived in Peking on September 16. During its stay in the capital, it was received on separate occasions by Premier Chou En-lai and Minister of Foreign Trade Yeh Chi-chuang.

Aidit Leaves Peking for South China

D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, left Peking for Canton on September 21 by special plane with the delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party he led. They were accompanied by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Lo Jui-ching, Member of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee and Member of its Secretariat. Among those present at the Peking airport to see the Indonesian comrades off were Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee; and Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee.

National Congress on Surgery

The 8th national congress on surgery of the Chinese Medical Association opened in Peking on September 21 and will continue till September 29.

This is the largest congress of its kind ever held in China, with 350 delegates from all parts of the country, including many well-known specialists, participating. Medical delegations and surgeons from Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Viet Nam Democratic Republic and Belgium have also come to attend the congress.

The task of the present congress is to review the major achievements in surgical work since the 7th national congress in 1960 and to exchange experience gained in the field of surgery.

In his opening speech, President of the Chinese Medical Association Dr.

Fu Lien-chang extended a warm welcome to all the foreign friends present. He recalled that since liberation in 1949 and particularly since 1958 Chinese surgical workers had made tremendous progress under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "Large numbers of qualified medical workers have been trained," he said. "They form a big contingent in surgery, gradually establishing and strengthening the latest specialities in this field. Scientific research has been developing; many surgeons have now mastered operations in the various specialities of surgery that were either not performed previously or were beyond their competence or could be undertaken only by a few experts."

Dr. Fu recalled that the principles of China's medical work were to serve the masses of the people, to place the main emphasis on prevention and to combine Western medicine with traditional Chinese medicine. He also spoke of the importance of carrying forward the national medical heritage, of thoroughly carrying out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in scientific activities, and of integrating the efforts of the leading functionaries, experts and the masses. He called on China's surgical workers to study Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung to raise their proletarian ideological level, study the advanced medical techniques of China and the other countries to raise the level of their professional knowledge and skill, and strengthen unity and cultural exchange with medical workers of the whole world to develop China's medical science with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The heads of the foreign medical delegations and individual specialists also spoke. They wished the congress every success and expressed the hope that it would help strengthen the friendship and co-operation among the medical workers of various countries.

Huang Chia-szu, President of the Chinese Academy of Medical Science, gave a report on the progress and development of surgery in China in the past three years. He reviewed China's achievements in abdominal, traumatic, cardiovascular and urologic

surgery — the main topics of discussion at the present congress.

Four hundred and thirty-two papers are to be presented at the congress. Abstracts of these papers have been printed in Chinese and foreign languages. Surgical specialists from many countries will also read papers at the general sessions. A number of films showing operations have been brought by visiting surgeons. These will be shown during the congress.

Mali Republic Anniversary

Birama Traore, Malian Ambassador to China, gave a National Day reception in Peking on September 21. Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Premier Po I-po were among the Chinese leaders present.

In his reception speech, the Malian Ambassador spoke of his people's achievements in the fields of the national economy, culture and education using their own resources and relying first of all on their own efforts. He said that the people of Mali attached great importance to their friendship with the Chinese people who were among the first to establish relations of friendship and co-operation with them.

Vice-Premier Po I-po, in his speech, paid tribute to the people of Mali for their remarkable achievements in fighting imperialism and old and new colonialism, in safeguarding their national independence and developing their national economy and culture under the leadership of President Modibo Keita. "The Ambassador has mentioned," said the Vice-Premier, "that the people of Mali came to realize that in building up their country they must base themselves on their own resources and rely first of all on their own efforts. I think this is a most important policy which is applicable in all Asian and African countries."

The Vice-Premier expressed China's resolute support for the important measures taken by the Government of Mali to assist the national-liberation struggles of those African peoples striving to win independence and its demands for the complete withdrawal of foreign military bases from Africa and the stopping of all nuclear tests.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi in Korea

by WAI SHUI

A TUMULTUOUS welcome was given Chairman Liu Shao-chi in Pyongyang on September 18 by more than 100,000 people at a rally in Moranbong Stadium. Honouring the visit of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the overflow crowd testified to the time-tested friendship and unity of the Parties of China and Korea and the peoples of the two countries.

Colourful bunting and floating balloons inscribed with "Warm welcome to Comrade Liu Shao-chi!" greeted the Chinese leader when he entered the packed stadium on the fourth day of his Korean visit. Flanked by Premier Kim Il Sung and President Choi Yong Kun, Chairman Liu mounted the rostrum as the throng burst into thunderous applause and prolonged cheers.

Kang Heui Wun's Speech

In his welcoming speech Kang Heui Wun, Chairman of the Pyongyang People's Committee, emphasized that Chairman Liu Shao-chi's visit was a powerful demonstration of Korean-Chinese friendship and a great encouragement to the people of Korea in their struggle for socialist construction and the peaceful reunification of their nation.

He warmly praised Korean-Chinese friendship. He said:

Ties of flesh-and-blood friendship formed between the peoples of our two countries are today becoming further consolidated and are developing through close co-operation in socialist construction, through the struggle against U.S. imperialism and through the struggle against modern revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

The Korean and Chinese peoples' friendship is between communist, revolutionary comrades firmly united by the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, between genuine allies consistently supporting and closely co-operating with each other on the basis of the principles of complete equality and mutual assistance and is a lasting and unbreakable one between genuinely revolutionary peoples who are waging a sweeping struggle against imperialism and are determined to carry the revolution through to the end.

The speaker paid warm tribute to the great achievements gained in socialist construction by the Chinese people who under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung were holding high the three red banners of the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune.

The Chairman of the People's Committee of Pyongyang stressed that in order to promote the people's anti-imperialist struggle and the world revolutionary movement it was necessary to oppose modern revisionism which was seeking to undermine the unity of the revolutionary ranks. He said:

The struggle against modern revisionism is a struggle to safeguard the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism; to preserve the solidarity of our camp and further unite all the anti-imperialist forces and peace-loving forces; and to promote more effectively than ever the people's cause of peace and revolution. We, the Communists, must resolutely oppose modern revisionism and hold still higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The people are demanding revolution; they courageously continue to rise and oppose imperialist oppression and plunder.

The revisionists who have left the revolutionary path and betrayed the fundamental interests of the people will surely be forsaken by the latter and end in disaster. As the all-conquering revolutionary banner which leads the masses to victory, Marxism-Leninism will continue to display great vitality.

The Korean and Chinese peoples all love peace and struggle resolutely for its preservation. Firmly standing on the position of opposing imperialism and revisionism and of carrying the revolution through to the end, the Parties and peoples of our two countries are waging a struggle for world peace and to advance the people's revolutionary movement. Our cause is just and invincible. Marxism-Leninism encourages our peoples in their con-



Chairman Liu Shao-chi (second from left) visits the Whanghai Iron and Steel Plant with President Choi Yong Kun (first from left)

stant, heroic struggle and illuminates their path to victory. The peoples of our two countries, who are closely rallying together under the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and marching forward bravely for the common cause of peace and socialism, will be ever victorious.

After his speech which drew frequent applause and cheers, Kang Heui Wun presented Chairman Liu Shao-chi with a banner with the inscription: "The unbreakable friendship and solidarity of the Korean and Chinese peoples, cemented in their common struggle for the victory of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, will be eternal."

Following this, Chairman Liu Shao-chi began his speech. (For full text of the speech, see page 8.)

Full Schedule

The night before the mass rally at Moranbong Stadium Chairman Liu Shao-chi was the guest of Premier Kim Il Sung and President Choi Yong Kun at a Korean opera where an adaptation of the Chinese classic *The Dream of the Red Chamber* was performed. On September 18, Chairman Liu had talks with the Korean Premier and President.

On September 19, accompanied by President Choi Yong Kun, Chairman Liu Shao-chi visited the Whanghai Iron and Steel Plant, the biggest steel works in Korea. On behalf of the workers, Pak Seung Heup, director of the plant, presented the Chinese leader with a silk banner embroidered in gold with the words: "Long live the militant friendship and unity of the working class of Korea and China!" Chairman Liu presented gifts to the workers of the plant.

The next day the Chinese leader and the Korean President went to Hamheung, capital of South Hamgyung Province and the second largest city in north Korea. Driving through the city, they were loudly cheered by a throng of more than 200,000 which lined the streets. Approaching the central square of the city, Chairman Liu was presented with flowers by an old woman, Kang Byung Nyuh, known as "Mother of the Chinese People's Volunteers," who had come from Changjin Lake 80 kilometres away. Kim Bai Yoon, head of a Changjin co-operative farm brigade, offered the Chinese leader some silver utensils and specially prepared wine as a token of the friendship of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers, who together had struck heavy blows at the U.S. aggressors in the Changjin area.

That afternoon in the city's central square — gaily decorated with flags, banners, flowers and balloons — more than 100,000 people were out to welcome the Chinese leader. Kim Heui Joon, Chairman of the People's Committee of South Hamgyung Province, after his welcoming speech, presented a silk banner to Chairman Liu Shao-chi on behalf of the people of South Hamgyung Province. Chairman Liu Shao-chi then delivered a speech which was



Chairman Liu Shao-chi receives a silk banner at the Pyongyang welcome rally

interrupted by thunderous applause. Chairman Liu Shao-chi recalled the heroic struggle of the people of South Hamgyung Province against Japanese and U.S. aggression and their solicitous care for the Chinese People's Volunteers in Korea. "The Chinese people greatly admire the Korean people for their fearless revolutionary spirit and their lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism," declared Chairman Liu.

On September 21, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, in the company of President Choi Yong Kun, was enthusiastically received on a visit to the Vinalon Factory and the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory in Hamheung. There was an exchange of gifts between the factories and their honoured visitor.

That evening Chairman Liu Shao-chi, in the company of President Choi Yong Kun, enjoyed performances of Korean and Chinese dances and songs by workers, students and other amateur artists in Hamheung.

On the morning of September 22, Chairman Liu Shao-chi visited the Choyang Co-operative Farm in Hamjoo County, South Hamgyung Province, and received a rousing ovation from thousands of peasants waving bouquets and Korean and Chinese flags and beating gongs and drums. Gifts were exchanged. That evening, the South Hamgyung Provincial Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and the Provincial People's Committee gave a large banquet in honour of their guest. After the banquet Chairman Liu left the hall for the Hamheung railway station and the journey back to Pyongyang. He was greeted by cheering crowds along the several kilometres long route to the station.

At the invitation of hundreds of Korean girls in bright costumes, Lin Feng, Yeh Chien-ying, Wu Hsiu-chuan and other Chinese guests danced Korean and Chinese dances with them in the square in front of the station. The morning of September 23, on his way to Pyongyang, Chairman Liu Shao-chi went boating with President Choi Yong Kun on the Yonpung Reservoir, the largest irrigation project in Korea, returning to Pyongyang that afternoon.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Speech At Pyongyang

Following is a translation of the full text of the speech delivered by Chairman Liu Shao-chi at the Pyongyang mass rally on September 18. Boldface emphases are the same as those printed in "Renmin Ribao." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

EVER since we stepped on the soil of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we have been enthusiastically welcomed everywhere by the Korean people and surrounded by an atmosphere of great friendship born of proletarian internationalism. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*) Now we are meeting at this great rally with the fraternal Korean people. This fills our hearts with immense affection and joy. In the name of the 650 million Chinese people, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Government of the People's Republic of China, I extend the warmest greetings and highest respect to the heroic residents of Pyongyang and all the Korean people, to the glorious Korean Workers' Party, to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to Comrade Kim Il Sung, the beloved leader of the Korean people and bosom friend of the Chinese people. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Although only four days have elapsed since we set foot on the soil of heroic Korea, we have seen for ourselves the great achievements in socialist construction made by the Korean people who are confronted directly by U.S. imperialism, the heroism of the Korean people who are galloping full speed ahead on *chullima* [winged-steed], and the revolutionary spirit of the Korean people who are defending and building their fatherland with weapon in one hand and hammer and sickle in the other. All these have immeasurably inspired us.

It is no exaggeration to say that north Korea is indeed an impregnable bulwark towering on the eastern outpost of the socialist camp. (*Warm applause.*)

Great People and Great Party

The Korean people are a great people with lofty aspirations and ideals, industrious, courageous and engaging in arduous struggles; the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a great country which has grown up in the flames of revolutionary struggles against imperialism, both tested in war and tempered in construction; the Korean Workers' Party is a great Party which has always held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and adhered to the principles of proletarian internationalism. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*) Such a people, such a Party and such a country are indomitable and invincible. (*Warm applause.*)

The revolutionary struggles of the Korean people under the leadership of the Korean Communists led by Comrade Kim Il Sung have an important place in the history of revolutions of the oppressed nations in the East.

Without a strong rear and the support of regular armed forces, the anti-Japanese guerrillas led by Comrade Kim Il Sung fought heroically against ferocious Japanese imperialism for 15 years and, with the support of the Soviet Red Army, gained final victory.

The establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the first state in the annals of Korea in which the people have become masters, has opened up a new era in Korean history.

Soon after the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, U.S. imperialism brazenly unleashed a war of aggression against Korea.

At that time, confronted by the most powerful and vicious enemy in the world, the Korean people faced a serious choice: resistance or non-resistance. They resisted heroically and won. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

This magnificent victory of the Korean people set a shining example of daring to struggle and daring to win victory for the oppressed nations throughout the world.

On the battlefields of Korea, U.S. imperialism suffered its first disastrous defeat since the founding of the United States of America. Despite its possession of atom bombs, it failed to intimidate the heroic Korean people and save itself from defeat at their hands.

The great victory of the Korean people in their war of national liberation demonstrates that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that the atom bomb, too, is a paper tiger. What is truly powerful is the people, not imperialism and reaction. The decisive factor in war is man, not one or two weapons of a new type.

The great victory of the Korean people in their war of national liberation proves that today when U.S. imperialism possesses nuclear weapons, the peoples of various countries can wage armed struggles against aggression and attain victory so long as they are confident of their own strength, stand together, and are not afraid of nuclear blackmail by U.S. imperialism. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*) Ours is an era of emancipation and liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations, an era in which imperialism and colonialism are heading towards their doom; it certainly is not an era in which nuclear weapons can decide everything.

At present, the heroic Korean people, standing firm on the eastern outpost of the socialist camp, are carrying on a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The Korean people, relying on the powerful People's Army, the well-trained worker-peasant Red Guards and a nationwide defence system, are safeguarding the security of their republic, and at the same time defending the socialist camp and peace in Asia and the world. (*Warm applause.*)

Holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, the Korean people have made outstanding contributions in support of the oppressed peoples and nations, and

in opposition to imperialism and old and new colonialism. (Warm applause.)

In order to realize the aspirations of the whole Korean nation and strive for the peaceful reunification of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made tremendous efforts and advanced a number of reasonable proposals in the past ten years, which have won the enthusiastic approval of all the Korean people and extensive support from people all over the globe.

U.S. imperialism, however, continues its occupation of south Korea and obstinately obstructs the peaceful reunification of Korea. In contravention of the Korean armistice agreement, it is constantly introducing into south Korea various kinds of new-type weapons including atomic weapons and constantly committing armed provocations along the military demarcation line. It has also instigated the Pak Jung Heui clique to hold the so-called "ROK-Japan talks" with the Japanese Government in an attempt to re-introduce Japanese imperialist forces into south Korea. South Korea has been turned into a source of tension in the Far East as a result of these aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism.

South Korea under the occupation of U.S. imperialism is a hell on earth. The south Korean people living under intolerable conditions have time and again courageously launched a just struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. The U.S. puppet Syngman Rhee has been overthrown by the south Korean people. Another U.S. puppet Pak Jung Heui will be overthrown too by the south Korean people sooner or later. The scheme of U.S. imperialism to perpetuate the division of Korea is doomed to failure. The day will surely come when the U.S. aggressors will have to get off the sacred soil of Korea. (Warm applause.)

At this grand rally, I once again solemnly declare in the name of the Chinese people that, at whatever time and under whatever circumstances, the Chinese people will stand alongside the Korean people. (Thunderous applause and cheers.) The Chinese people resolutely and unhesitatingly support all the Korean people in their just struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and the south Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. (Thunderous applause and cheers.)

We are convinced that the three-thousand-li expanse of Korean territory will definitely be reunified and the 30 million Korean people reunited, no matter how many obstacles they may encounter on their onward march. (Warm applause.)

Able Builders of Socialism

Comrades and Friends!

The Korean people are not only staunch revolutionary fighters against imperialism, but also able builders of socialism. (Warm applause.)

During the war, brutal U.S. imperialism reduced the whole of the northern part of Korea to a vast expanse of ruins. The Korean people, however, under the brilliant leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and Comrade Kim Il Sung and relying mainly on their own efforts, in less than 10 years wiped out all traces of the ravages of

war and built a socialist country which is gaining increasing prosperity.

In the 15 years since the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Korean industrial production has risen 15.5 times.

Korean agriculture has been changed from an individual economy into a large-scale, collective socialist economy, with production increasing from year to year. The northern part of Korea, where grain supplies were always short in pre-liberation years, is now self-sufficient in grain.

The whole world sees that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has emerged in East Asia as an industrial-agricultural socialist country (warm applause) with the solid foundation of an independent national economy. (Warm applause.) In this prosperous socialist country, the problems of people's clothing, food and housing have, in the main, been solved. This is a phenomenal success. The Chinese people heartily congratulate the fraternal Korean people on their great success. (Thunderous applause and cheers.)

The Korean people are now striving for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan. The Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party held not long ago called on all the Party members and the entire population to spur their flying horse to full speed to bring about new, gigantic upsurges in socialist construction. And now the Korean people are working valiantly in response to the call of the Korean Workers' Party. We are convinced that the magnificent Seven-Year Plan will be steadily realized, and that before long, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will become a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture. (Warm applause.)

The brilliant successes achieved by the Korean people in building socialism are the victory of the general line adopted by the Korean Workers' Party for socialist construction—the *chullima* movement, the victory of the *chungsan-ri* spirit and the *chungsan-ri* working method evolved and advocated by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the victory of the improved systems of industrial management and agricultural guidance worked out by the Korean Workers' Party, and the victory of the revolutionary mass line consistently followed by the Korean Workers' Party. (Thunderous applause and cheers.)

Revolutionary Spirit of Self-Reliance

In the protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialism, and in the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Korean Workers' Party has always educated the cadres and people in the revolutionary spirit of relying on themselves. **This spirit is completely in line with Marxism-Leninism. The masses of the people are the makers of history, and the history of every country is created by its own people. The revolution and construction of each and every country need the sympathy and support of other peoples of the world, but depend mainly on the strength of the people of the country concerned. Who else can take their place if the people of the country do not themselves carry out their revolution and engage in national construction?**

The revolutionary spirit of self-reliance represents both patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Com-

rade Kim Il Sung has put it aptly: "It is the duty of those born in Korea to carry out the revolution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The Korean revolution is an internationalist obligation assigned to the Koreans. Therefore, the Korean people can be regarded as having fulfilled their internationalist obligation only when they, first of all, have made a success of the Korean revolution." (*Warm applause.*) The victory of a revolution in any country not only emancipates its own people, but also supports and encourages the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. Success in national construction in every socialist country increases the might of the entire socialist camp and reinforces the strength which stands behind the oppressed peoples and nations in their struggle.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have, throughout their protracted revolution, followed the policy of relying mainly on their own efforts, supplemented by foreign aid. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*) It has been proved in practice that this line is correct both in revolutionary struggle and in the course of construction.

Now, some people actually oppose this line of relying mainly on one's own efforts in construction being followed by some fraternal countries. They say that since the socialist camp, formed by a number of socialist countries, exists one should make use of these highly favourable circumstances to carry out international division of labour in national construction and practise co-operation in production in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism, and should not lay stress on the principle of self-reliance. If anyone stresses it, they say, he is advocating "nationalism" and "going it alone."

This is distortion with ulterior motives. Everyone understands that self-reliance definitely does not mean a closed-door policy and rejection of external aid. But **every country, in its revolution and construction, must rely mainly on its own efforts and seek external assistance only as a supplement.** Every socialist country must firmly follow the line of relying mainly on its own efforts in national construction, and rapidly develop its own economy by depending on the labour and wisdom of its own people and fully utilizing its own resources. Only then is it possible to talk about supplying each other's needs and helping and co-operating closely with each other in accordance with the principles of complete equality, respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs and on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism. **On the one hand, a socialist country has no reason not to produce what it needs and is capable of producing. On the other, it is only natural for the socialist countries to assist and co-operate with each other in certain fields of production according to each other's needs and capabilities and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. In any case, the international division of labour and co-operation in production must not be used as a pretext for opposing the principle of self-reliance.** When a socialist country follows the line of relying mainly on its own efforts and builds socialism successfully, it will only bring good to all socialist countries. Why then should one go out of one's way to oppose it?

The essence of the controversy is not to be found here. Those who are opposing us do not actually adhere to proletarian internationalism. Nor do they sincerely want to increase the might of the entire socialist camp through the international division of labour and co-operation in production which cater to each other's needs and benefit each other. They are only wrapping themselves in an attractive cloak in order to profit at the expense of others, a practice characteristic of relations among capitalist countries, so as to prevent the economically underdeveloped socialist countries from developing an independent national economy and to make these countries economically dependent on them and come under their political control. In their opinion, the other fraternal countries only have the duty to make sacrifices to serve their interests, and no right to develop an independent national economy. This practice disregards even the principle of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty which must be followed in international relations in general. How can they talk about proletarian internationalism? Their position is one of both great-power chauvinism and national egoism.

Strengthening Ideological Education

In the periods of revolution and construction, the Korean Workers' Party has consistently adhered to the policy of giving precedence to politics; it has worked unremittingly to educate its members and the masses in class consciousness, in revolutionary traditions and in communism with the aim of turning all the working people into conscious socialist builders and revolutionaries.

The Korean Workers' Party holds that, as the Korean people are undertaking socialist construction in the midst of bitter class struggle, the more the construction advances and the higher the people's living standards rise, the greater is the necessity to further strengthen ideological education. It points out that when remnants of old ideologies still survive in the minds of the working people and when the influence of bourgeois ideology exists inside and outside the country, any weakening of ideological education will give rise to love of comfort and feeling of weariness among the masses, numbing their class consciousness and hampering socialist construction. This shows that the Korean Workers' Party is a Party guided by high principles and revolutionary foresight. (*Warm applause.*)

Our experience shows that class struggle will continue for a very long time after the proletariat gains power. This is because the overthrown exploiters will always strive to stage a comeback; new bourgeois elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere; political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class as a result of corrupting bourgeois influence, while the existence of imperialism constitutes an external factor for continued class struggle in the socialist countries. Therefore, **after attaining power, the proletariat must uphold and consolidate its dictatorship and carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts.** (*Warm applause.*)

Obviously, any denial of the existence of class differences and class struggle in a socialist country, any weakening or renunciation of the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, will inevitably lead to the abandoning of the socialist revolution half way and to a serious historical retrogression. This is extremely incorrect and dangerous.

The tremendous victories and brilliant successes won by the Korean people in revolutionary struggle and construction are the result of the creative application by the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the revolution and construction of Korea. They are the result of the correct lines, guiding principles and policies worked out by the Korean Workers' Party for each phase of the Korean revolution and construction. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The Korean Workers' Party has not only led the Korean people in overcoming one difficulty after another, from one victory to a still bigger one, but it has also enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism through these laborious and complex struggles. (*Warm applause.*)

It has devoted its unrelenting efforts to defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, combating modern revisionism, safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and opposing splittism. (*Warm applause.*)

It is the Korean people's good fortune to have such staunch leadership as that of the Korean Workers' Party and such a brilliant leader as Comrade Kim Il Sung. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

It is glorious for the international communist movement to have in its ranks such a heroic detachment as the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The Chinese Communist Party is proud of having such a staunch comrade-in-arms as the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The Korean Communists and people, in their protracted revolution and national construction, have accumulated rich experiences which are not only precious for the Korean people but also the common treasure for all Communists and revolutionary people. (*Warm applause.*) The Chinese Communists and people will continue to learn from your advanced experience.

World Situation for Revolution – Excellent

Comrades and friends!

The situation in the world today is excellent for revolution. This situation is favourable to the revolutionary people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism and reaction.

The strength of the countries in the socialist camp is growing with each passing day. Despite the fact that some difficulties for certain reasons have arisen in the unity among the socialist countries, the consciousness of the people of these countries is heightening and their unity cannot be undermined. At any rate, **in the face of imperialism, their common enemy, they must unite and persevere in struggle.** (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

In the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe and North America, the working class and other working people have been constantly waging various

kinds of mass struggles; they are in the process of a new awakening. Especially noteworthy is the mighty unprecedented Freedom March on Washington in the heart of U.S. imperialism, in which 200,000 Negroes and white people opposing racial discrimination took part. (*Warm applause.*)

The revolutionary situation which is directly pounding imperialism headed by the United States continues to develop in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

U.S. imperialism has failed to prevent the people of south Viet Nam from piling up victory after victory in their armed struggle despite the fact that it has employed large numbers of troops, various kinds of new weapons and all sorts of barbarous fascist methods. (*Warm applause.*)

The provocations unleashed in Laos by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in violation of the Geneva agreements can never hamper the successful struggle of the Laotian people, but will only end in ignominious failure. (*Warm applause.*)

In Japan, under the armed occupation of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese people are rising in their anti-U.S., patriotic and just struggle against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and to demand the dismantling of the U.S. military bases and oppose the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines into the country. (*Warm applause.*)

In the vast areas of Africa, the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, both old and new, is rising.

At the very doorstep of U.S. imperialism, the Cuban people have repeatedly smashed its schemes of aggression and thus defended the independence and sovereignty of their country and the revolution. (*Warm applause.*) In other Latin American countries, popular struggles and revolutionary armed struggles are being waged against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Numerous facts have shown that wherever U.S. imperialism has stretched its tentacles, there are anti-U.S. struggles and convulsions. U.S. imperialism is finding the going tougher and tougher with each passing day.

However, no reactionary class would, of its own accord, quit the stage of history. In its deathbed struggles, U.S. imperialism goes all out to use its counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics to save itself from defeat. While frantically engaged in an arms drive to prepare for both nuclear war and conventional war, it is cunningly peddling the "strategy of peace" backed by armed force, in an attempt to break up the socialist camp and undermine the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of all countries.

Struggle Against Imperialism Calls for Combating Modern Revisionism

What warrants our serious attention here is the fact that the modern revisionists, fully meeting the needs of U.S. imperialism, have launched within the international communist movement a campaign against Marxism-Leninism and against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin said: "All oppressing classes need two social functions to safeguard their rule: the function of the hangman and the function of the priest." The modern

revisionists are performing the latter in helping U.S. imperialism deceive and benumb the people of the world.

The present world situation has developed to such a point that in order to combat imperialism, it is often necessary to combat at the same time modern revisionism which serves imperialism. The problem is thus sharply presented before the Communists and revolutionary people of the whole world.

Like the old-line revisionists, the modern revisionists betray Marxism-Leninism, oppose revolution and capitulate to imperialism. If there is any marked distinction between them, it is that the modern revisionists base their reactionary theories and reactionary policies on their blind faith in nuclear weapons and on the practice of nuclear blackmail.

The modern revisionists hold that atom bombs do not follow the class principle, that nuclear war would destroy all mankind, that the imperialists seem to have the freedom to drop atom bombs anywhere and that in present-day circumstances sparks of war caused by the national-liberation movement or the revolutionary struggle of the peoples may develop into a nuclear world war in which everyone in the world would perish.

The modern revisionists hold that if a nuclear war should break out, the question of socialism would be eliminated altogether in the case of many peoples, because they would have disappeared bodily from our planet. Therefore, the modern revisionists smear the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the people round the world as a "movement for piling up corpses" and as "promising the peoples freedom after death."

The modern revisionists, dismissing the great significance of the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries, blindly worship the omnipotence of nuclear weapons. They recklessly brandish their nuclear weapons to blackmail other countries. When they know for sure they would meet no opponent, they resort to gambling and then ascribe the achievements of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples to the credit of their policy of nuclear blackmail. But once confronted by an opponent, they capitulate, at the expense of the interests of the revolutionary people, to the nuclear blackmail of the opponent, sliding from adventurism to capitulationism. When they engage in gambling, they boast about their nuclear weapons in extravagant terms; when they capitulate, they allege that nuclear war is imminent and that their capitulation is "in obedience to the imperative call of the times" and has "saved world peace." If anyone criticizes them he will be accused of "longing to launch a thermonuclear world war."

We maintain that nuclear weapons in the hands of a socialist country would always be for defensive purposes. It is impermissible for any socialist country to be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances. The most reliable force of the socialist countries and all other peace-loving countries in opposing imperialist aggression lies in their own defence capacity and the strength of the people, not in the nuclear weapons of other countries. In threatening that they would use rocket-nuclear weapons to prevent imperialist aggression against this or that country, the modern revisionists are indulging in boastful talk and are entirely wrong politically. (*Thunderous ap-*

plause and cheers.) If they should go to such lengths as initiating the use of nuclear weapons to provoke a nuclear world war, they would surely be most severely condemned by the people of the world. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Modern Revisionism Contravenes Fundamental Thesis of Marxism

While capitulating to the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail, the modern revisionists continue to practise nuclear blackmail against the people of the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of the whole world. Nuclear blackmail needs a monopoly of nuclear weapons. The modern revisionists ally themselves with the imperialist nuclear powers in an attempt to achieve a joint monopoly of nuclear weapons, for the very purpose of practising nuclear blackmail in collaboration with imperialism.

The modern revisionists try to scare the oppressed peoples and nations of the world with nuclear horror, demanding that they endure for ever domination and oppression by imperialism and reaction and that they must behave themselves or else they will go into the inferno of nuclear war.

The modern revisionists propagate the idea that complete and general disarmament can be realized even when imperialism still exists and that if the world's oppressed peoples and nations obey their command and behave themselves they would, before long, enter a heaven "without weapons, without armed forces, without wars."

In the eyes of the modern revisionists, the main contradiction of our time is between mankind and nuclear weapons, between life and death. All class and national contradictions must now be subordinated to this contradiction. To survive is everything. The philosophy of survival has replaced the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism.

In their opinion, as a result of the emergence of nuclear weapons, the nature of our age has changed, and so have the nature of war, the law of class struggle, and the nature of imperialism. The possibility and necessity for social revolution and national revolution have ceased to exist. Marxism-Leninism has become an outmoded dogma.

Proceeding precisely from these viewpoints, they attempt to do away with class struggle, national revolution, proletarian revolution, and proletarian dictatorship, by means of what they call a line of peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, and peaceful transition.

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* says: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*) The starting point of all the theories of the modern revisionists contravenes this fundamental thesis of Marxism.

We, Marxist-Leninists, firmly oppose the reactionary theories of the modern revisionists, which cater to the needs of the imperialists' policy of nuclear blackmail, forbid and oppose revolution, and substitute class collaboration for class struggle. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

We believe that nuclear weapons possess unprecedented destructive power. However, the imperialists have not dared and do not dare use nuclear weapons wherever they please. This is because it would be most unpopular to use them; because it is difficult for the imperialists to use such weapons to deal with wars of national liberation or civil wars; and because, if the imperialists use nuclear weapons to start a world war, they will court their own destruction. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

We believe that nuclear arms can be prohibited and nuclear war prevented. If the imperialists actually provoke a world nuclear war, it will not be the whole of mankind that will be destroyed, but the heinous imperialist system which subjects mankind to such a great calamity. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

We believe that the emergence of nuclear arms has not changed and cannot possibly change the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*) Even with the emergence of nuclear weapons, class struggle remains the moving force which carries history forward, and war remains the continuation of politics. The imperialists resort as before to counter-revolutionary wars to carry out their policy of oppressing and enslaving the people of all countries, while the nations and people subjected to aggression and oppression continue to resort, when conditions are ripe, to revolutionary wars to oppose imperialist aggression and oppression and to win their independence and liberation. (*Warm applause.*) The history of the 18 years since the end of World War II proves that the victories steadily won by the peoples in their wars against aggression and revolutionary wars have not led to a world war. Instead, they have greatly reduced the imperialists' capabilities of unleashing a world war and have played a vital part in safeguarding world peace.

The modern revisionists try to gloss over the essence of their differences with the Marxist-Leninists by means of various lies and slanders. They cannot succeed. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The essence of the differences between Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists is whether or not, since the emergence of nuclear weapons, to recognize the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, the fact that the two-thirds of the world's population still living under the imperialist and capitalist system needs to make revolution, and the fact that the remaining one-third already on the socialist road still needs to carry the revolution through to the finish.

What Should Marxist-Leninists Do?

What should we Marxist-Leninists do in the face of such serious differences?

Are we to abandon our correct position and submit to the baton of the modern revisionists? No, absolutely not. For if we do so, we should ourselves become revisionists and traitors to Marxism-Leninism. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Can we be indifferent and keep silent? No, absolutely not. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*) For if we do, it

would mean abandoning the responsibility incumbent upon Communists and renouncing the historic mission of the international proletariat.

With the fraternal Korean Workers' Party and all other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the Communist Party of China has always stood for perseverance in principle, the elimination of differences, and strengthening the unity in joint opposition to the enemy. Even today we entertain hopes that those who have gone astray would realize that the path they have taken is an extremely dangerous one and consequently would correct their mistakes and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

But under no circumstances will we barter principles. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the modern revisionists and wage a resolute struggle against them.

Marxism-Leninism has invariably developed in the struggle against opportunism of all types. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*) At any rate, the people of all countries will oppose imperialism and all reactionaries, and will embark upon revolution. Although imperialism, reaction in various countries, and modern revisionism have formed an anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-revolutionary alliance, becoming arrogant and clamorous for a time, Marxism-Leninism can never be defeated, the revolutions of the peoples can never be checked, and the doom of imperialism can never be avoided. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Sino-Korean Friendship Cemented by Blood

Comrades and friends!

China and Korea are allies as close to each other as lips are to teeth. The people of the two countries are sworn brothers who share their fate through thick and thin. The Communist Party of China and the Korean Workers' Party are comrades-in-arms who cherish the same ideals and follow the same path, fighting side by side. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

In their common struggle against imperialism and in their common cause of building socialism, the people of our two countries have always supported and encouraged each other.

The Chinese people will never forget that in the years of our bitter struggle for freedom and liberation, a countless number of Korean revolutionaries courageously joined our struggle, shed their blood and laid down their lives with Chinese revolutionaries, demonstrating the most lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The Chinese people will never forget that in the dark years of Japanese imperialist aggression against our two countries, the Korean Communists headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung fought shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese Communists and wrote a grand and militant epic. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The Chinese people will never forget that in the grim years of the U.S. imperialists' aggression against Korea and their threat to China, the Korean people fought at the foremost front and made heavy sacrifices, thereby not only defending the independence of Korea but also

protecting the security of China. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The Chinese people will never forget that in the last 10 years the Korean people have been defending the eastern outpost of the socialist camp, and safeguarding the peaceful environment in which the Chinese people have been carrying on their socialist construction. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The great friendship and militant unity between our two countries, two Parties, and two peoples have been cemented by blood; they have long stood the test of revolutionary storms and are firmly based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. No force on earth can destroy them. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

The Chinese people will for ever unite closely with the fraternal Korean people and struggle to the end against imperialism and modern revisionism and to build socialism; to create a new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without any system of exploitation; and for the victory of socialism and communism throughout the world. (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Long live the great friendship and militant unity, cemented by blood, between the Chinese and Korean peoples! (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Long live the heroic Korean people! (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Long live the Korean Democratic People's Republic! (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Long live the glorious Korean Workers' Party! (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Long live Comrade Kim Il Sung, the beloved leader of the Korean people and a close friend of the Chinese people! (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Long live the unity of the peoples of the socialist camp! (*Thunderous applause and cheers.*)

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries and the oppressed peoples and nations, unite!

Long live all-conquering Marxism-Leninism! (*Prolonged applause and cheers.*)

IS YUGOSLAVIA A SOCIALIST COUNTRY?

Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (3)

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

Is Yugoslavia a socialist country?

This is not only a question of ascertaining the nature of the Yugoslav state, but it also involves the question of which road the socialist countries should follow: whether they should follow the road of the October Revolution and carry the socialist revolution through to the end or follow the road of Yugoslavia and restore capitalism. In addition, it involves the question of how to appraise the Tito clique: whether it is a fraternal Party and a force against imperialism or a renegade from the international communist movement and a lackey of imperialism.

On this question there are fundamental differences of opinion between the leaders of the C.P.S.U., on the one hand, and ourselves and all other Marxist-Leninists, on the other.

All Marxist-Leninists hold that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country. The leading clique of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the Yugoslav people and consists of renegades from the international communist movement and lackeys of imperialism.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U., on the other hand, hold that Yugoslavia is a socialist country and that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia bases itself on Marxism-Leninism and is a fraternal Party and a force against imperialism.

In its open letter of July 14 the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. declares that Yugoslavia is a "socialist country" and that the Tito clique is a "fraternal Party" that "stands at the helm of state."

Recently Comrade Khrushchov paid a visit to Yugoslavia and in a number of speeches he revealed the real standpoint of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. still more clearly, and completely discarded the fig-leaf with which they had been covering themselves on this question.

In Khrushchov's opinion, Yugoslavia is not only a socialist country but an "advanced" socialist country. There, one finds not "idle talk about revolution" but "actual construction of socialism," and the development of Yugoslavia is "a concrete contribution to the general world revolutionary workers' movement," which Khrushchov rather envies and wishes to emulate.

In Khrushchov's opinion, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Titoites are "not only class brothers" but "brothers tied together . . . by the singleness of aims confronting us." The leadership of the C.P.S.U. is a "reliable and faithful ally" of the Tito clique.

Khrushchov believes he has discovered genuine Marxism-Leninism in the Tito clique. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was merely pretending when it asserted in its open letter that "differences on a number of ideological questions of principle continue to remain between the C.P.S.U. and the Yugoslav Communist League." Now Khrushchov has told the Tito clique that "we belong to one and the same idea and are guided by the same theory," and that both stand on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchov has cast the Statement of 1960 to the winds.

The Statement says:

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

It says:

After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole. . . .

It says:

[The leaders of the L.C.Y. were] dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle.

It further says:

The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. . . . They engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

The Statement is absolutely clear, and yet the leaders of the C.P.S.U. dare to say: "In accordance with the 1960 Statement, we consider Yugoslavia a socialist country." How can they say such a thing!

One would like to ask:

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it is guided by a variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist theories?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and sets itself against the international communist movement as a whole?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it carries on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it engages in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries?

Can a country be socialist when the imperialist countries headed by the United States have nurtured it with several billions of U.S. dollars?

This is indeed out of the ordinary and unheard of!

Apparently, Comrade Togliatti speaks more plainly than Comrade Khrushchov. Togliatti did not mince his words; he said the position taken by the Statement of 1960 on the Tito clique was "wrong." Since Khrushchov is bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique, he should be more explicit; there is no need to pretend to uphold the Statement.

Is the Statement's verdict on Yugoslavia wrong and should it be reversed? Togliatti says it is wrong and should be reversed. Khrushchov in effect also says it is wrong and should be reversed. We say it is not wrong and must not be reversed. All fraternal Parties adhering to Marxism-Leninism and upholding the Statement of 1960 likewise say it is not wrong and must not be reversed.

In doing so, in the opinion of the leaders of the C.P.S.U., we are clinging to a "stereotyped formula" and to the "jungle laws" of the capitalist world and are "excommunicating" Yugoslavia from socialism." Furthermore, whoever does not regard Yugoslavia as a socialist country is said to be going contrary to facts and making the mistake of subjectivism, whereas in shutting their eyes to the facts and asserting that Yugoslavia is a socialist country they are "proceeding from objective laws, from the teaching of Marxism-Leninism" and have drawn a conclusion based on "a profound analysis of reality."

What are the realities in Yugoslavia? What sort of conclusion ought one to draw if one proceeds from objective laws, from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and makes a profound analysis of the realities in Yugoslavia?

Let us now look into this question.

The Development of Private Capital in Yugoslav Cities

One of Khrushchov's arguments to affirm that Yugoslavia is a socialist country is that private capital, private enterprise and capitalists do not exist in Yugoslavia.

Is that true? No, it is not.

The fact is private capital and private enterprise exist on a very big scale in Yugoslavia and are developing apace.

Judging by the record in all socialist countries, it is not strange to find different sectors, including a private capitalist sector, existing in the national economy of a socialist country for a considerable period after the proletariat has taken political power. What matters is the kind of policy adopted by the government towards private capitalism—the policy of utilizing, restricting, transforming and eliminating it, or the policy of laissez-faire and fostering and encouraging it. This is an important criterion for determining whether a country is developing towards socialism or towards capitalism.

On this question the Tito clique is going in the opposite direction from socialism. The social changes Yugoslavia introduced in the early postwar period were in the first place not thoroughgoing. The policy the Tito clique has adopted since its open betrayal is not one of transforming and eliminating private capital and private enterprise but of fostering and expanding them.

Regulations issued by the Tito clique in 1953 stipulate that "citizens' groups" have the right to "found enter-

prises" and "hire labour." In the same year, it issued a decree stipulating that private individuals have the right to purchase fixed assets from state economic establishments.

In 1956 the Tito clique encouraged local administrations to foster private capital by its taxation and other policies.

In 1961 the Tito clique decreed that private individuals have the right to purchase foreign exchange.

In 1963 the Tito clique embodied the policy of developing private capitalism in its constitution. According to provisions of the constitution, private individuals in Yugoslavia may found enterprises and hire labour.

With the Tito clique's help and encouragement, private enterprise and private capital have mushroomed in the cities in Yugoslavia.

According to the official *Statistical Pocket-Book of Yugoslavia, 1963*, published in Belgrade, there are over 115,000 privately owned craft establishments in Yugoslavia. But in fact the owners of many of these private enterprises are not "craftsmen" but typical private capitalists.

The Tito clique admits that although the law allows private owners to employ a maximum of five workers each, there are some who employ ten or twenty times as many and even some who employ "five to six hundred workers."¹ And the annual turnover of some private enterprises is over 100 million dinars.²

Politika disclosed on December 7, 1961, that in many cases these private entrepreneurs are actually "big entrepreneurs." It says: "It is difficult to ascertain how wide the net of these private entrepreneurs spreads and how many workers they have. According to the law, they are entitled to keep five workers who are supposed to help them in their work. But to those who know the ins and outs of the matter, these five persons are actually contractors who in turn have their own 'sub-contractors.'" "As a rule, these contractors no longer engage in labour but only give orders, make plans and conclude contracts, travelling by car from one enterprise to another."

From the profits made by these entrepreneurs, one can see that they are 100 per cent capitalists. *Svet* reported on December 8, 1961, that "the net income of some private handicraftsmen reaches one million dinars per month," and the Belgrade *Vecernje novosti* said on December 20, 1961, that in Belgrade "last year 116 owners of private enterprises each received an income of more than 10 million dinars." Some entrepreneurs "received an income of about 70 million dinars" in one year, which is nearly U.S.\$100,000 according to the official rate of exchange.

In Yugoslav cities not only are there private industrial enterprises, private service establishments, private commerce, private housing estates and private transport business, there are also usurers, who are known as "private bankers." These usurers operate openly and even advertise their business in the newspapers; one such advertisement runs as follows: "A loan of 300,000 dinars for three months offered. 400,000 dinars to be returned. Security necessary."³

All these are indisputable facts.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you assert that Yugoslavia has no private capital, no private enterprise and no capitalists?

Yugoslav Countryside Swamped by Capitalism

Let us now consider the situation in the Yugoslav countryside.

Does it no longer have capitalists, as Khrushchov asserts?

No, the facts are quite the reverse.

The fact that Yugoslavia has been swamped by capitalism is even more striking in the countryside.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that individual economy, petty-producer economy generates capitalism daily and hourly, and that only collectivization can lead agriculture on to the path of socialism.

Stalin pointed out:

Lenin says that so long as individual peasant economy, which engenders capitalists and capitalism, predominates in the country, the danger of a restoration of capitalism will exist. Clearly, so long as this danger exists there can be no serious talk of the victory of socialist construction in our country. (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. XI, p.8.)

On this question the Tito clique pursues a line running counter to socialism.

In the initial postwar period a land reform took place in Yugoslavia and a number of peasants' working co-operatives were organized. But in the main the rich-peasant economy was left untouched.

In 1951 the Tito clique openly declared its abandonment of the road of agricultural collectivization and began to disband the peasants' working co-operatives. This was a serious step taken by the Tito clique in betraying the socialist cause. Such co-operatives decreased from over 6,900 in 1950 to a little more than 1,200 at the end of 1953, and to 147 in 1960. The Yugoslav countryside is submerged in a sea of individual economy.

The Tito clique declares that collectivization has not proved of value in Yugoslavia. It makes the vicious slander that "collectivization is the same as expropriation"⁴ and is a path which "preserves serfdom and poverty in the countryside for the longest possible time."⁵ It advocates the ridiculous idea that the development of agriculture should be "based on the free competition of economic forces."⁶

While dissolving many of the peasants' working co-operatives, the Tito clique has promulgated one law and decree after another since 1953 to encourage the development of capitalism in the rural areas, granting freedom to buy, sell and rent land and to hire farm hands, abolishing the planned purchase of agricultural produce and replacing it with free trading in this sphere.

Under this policy, the forces of capitalism spread rapidly in the rural areas and the process of polarization quickened. This has been an important aspect of the Tito clique's work of restoring capitalism.

Polarization in the countryside is firstly revealed in the changes occurring in land ownership. Slavko Komar, formerly Yugoslav Secretary for Agriculture and Forestry, admitted that in 1959 poor peasant households with less than five hectares of land each, which constitute 70 per cent of all peasant households, owned only 43 per cent of all privately owned land, whereas rich peasant households with more than eight hectares of land each, which form only 13 per cent of all peasant households, owned 33 per cent of all privately owned land. Komar also admitted that about 10 per cent of the peasant households bought or sold land every year.⁷ Most of the sellers were poverty-stricken families.

The concentration of land is actually much more serious than is apparent from the above data. As revealed in the July 19, 1963, issue of *Borba*, the organ of the Tito clique, in one district alone there were "thousands of peasant households with far more than the legal maximum of ten hectares of land." In Bijeljina Commune, "it was found that 500 peasant households owned estates of ten to thirty hectares." These are not isolated cases.

Polarization in the rural areas also manifests itself in the great inequalities in the ownership of draught animals and farm implements. Of the 308,000 peasant households in the province of Vojvodina, which is a leading grain-producing area, 55 per cent have no draught animals. Peasant households with less than two hectares of land each, which constitute 40.7 per cent of all peasant households, have only 4.4 per cent of all the ploughs in this region, or an average of one plough to 20 households. On the other hand, the rich peasants own more than 1,300 tractors and a great deal of other farm machinery as well as large numbers of ploughs and animal-drawn carts.⁸

Polarization likewise manifests itself in the growth of such forms of capitalist exploitation as the hiring of labour.

The February 7, 1958, issue of *Komunist* revealed that 52 per cent of the peasant households in Serbia owning more than eight hectares of land hired labourers in 1956.

In 1962 Slavko Komar said that the heads of some peasant households had in recent years "become powerful. Their income is derived not from their own labour but from unlawful trade, from the processing of both their own products and those of others, from illicit distilling of spirits, from the possession of more than the prescribed maximum of ten hectares of farmland, which is obtained by purchasing, or more often by leasing land, fictitious partition of land among family members, seizure or concealment of public land, from the acquisition of tractors through speculation and from the exploitation of poor neighbours by cultivating their land for them."⁹

Borba stated on August 30, 1962, that "the so-called kind-hearted producer . . . is a leaseholder of land, a hirer of labour and an experienced merchant. . . . Such people are not producers, but entrepreneurs. Some never touch a hoe all the year round. They hire labour and only supervise the work in the field and they engage in trading."

Usurers, too, are very active in the Yugoslav countryside. Interest rates often run to more than 100 per cent per annum. In addition, there are people who, taking

advantage of the plight of the unemployed, monopolize the labour market and practise exploitation in the process.

Deprived of land and other means of production, large numbers of poverty-stricken peasants can live only by selling their labour power. According to figures given in *Politika* of August 20, 1962, about 70 per cent of the 1961 cash income of Yugoslav peasant households with less than two hectares of land came from selling their labour power. These peasants are fleeced right and left and lead a miserable life.

As facts show, the Yugoslav countryside is dominated by the exploiting class.

In arguing that Yugoslavia is a socialist country, the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. states that the "socialist sector" in the rural areas of Yugoslavia has increased from 6 to 15 per cent.

Unfortunately, even this pitiable percentage is not socialist.

By the socialist sector of 15 per cent the leaders of the C.P.S.U. can only mean such organizations as the "agricultural farms" and "general agricultural co-operatives" promoted by the Tito clique. But in fact the "agricultural farms" are capitalist farms and the "general agricultural co-operatives" are capitalist economic organizations engaging mainly in commerce. They do not affect the private ownership of land; what is more, their main function is to foster the development of the rich-peasant economy.

Problems of Agriculture in Yugoslavia, a work published in Belgrade, states that "judging by how they are organized today and how they function," the co-operatives "do not in the least signify socialist reconstruction of agriculture and of the countryside. They are working not so much for the creation of socialist strongholds as for the development and promotion of capitalist elements. There are cases in which these co-operatives are kulak associations."

The Tito clique has given the general agricultural co-operatives the monopoly right to purchase agricultural products from the peasants. Taking advantage of this special privilege and of uncontrolled fluctuations in prices of farm produce, the so-called co-operatives speculate and through such commercial activities exploit the peasants in a big way. In 1958 Yugoslavia had a poor harvest. The co-operatives and other commercial organs took the opportunity to raise the selling prices of farm produce. The year 1959 brought a better harvest and the co-operatives broke their contracts with the peasants and reduced their purchases, not even hesitating to let the crops rot in the fields.

The general agricultural co-operatives and the "agricultural farms" hire and exploit a large number of long-term and temporary workers. According to data in *The Statistical Year-Book of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia of 1962*, long-term workers hired by the co-operatives alone totalled more than 100,000 in 1961. A large number of temporary workers were also employed. As disclosed by *Rad* on December 1, 1962, hired labourers "are very often subject to the crudest exploitation (the working day may be as long as 15 hours), and usually their personal income is extremely low."

It is thus clear that these agricultural organizations of the so-called socialist sector are nothing but capitalist agricultural organizations.

Expropriation of poor peasants and promotion of capitalist farms form the Tito clique's basic policy in the sphere of agriculture. Back in 1955, Tito said that "we do not abandon the idea that the day will come in Yugoslavia when small farms will be combined in one way or another. . . . In America they have already done so. We must find a solution to this problem."

In order to take the capitalist path, in 1959 the Tito clique promulgated the "Law on the Utilization of Cultivated Land," stipulating that the land of peasants working on their own, who cannot farm it according to requirements, is subject to the "compulsory management" of the general agricultural co-operatives and "agricultural farms." In effect, this means the expropriation of poor peasants and the forcible annexation of their land to develop capitalist farms. This is the path of capitalist agriculture, pure and simple.

In speaking of the transition from small peasant economy to an economy of large-scale farming, Stalin said, "There you have two paths, the capitalist path and the socialist path: the path forward—to socialism, and the path backward—to capitalism."

Is there a third path? Stalin said, "The so-called third path is actually the second path, the path leading back to capitalism." "For what does it mean to return to individual farming and to restore the kulaks? It means restoring kulak bondage, restoring the exploitation of the peasantry by the kulaks and giving the kulaks power. But is it possible to restore the kulaks and at the same time to preserve the Soviet power? No, it is not possible. The restoration of the kulaks is bound to lead to the creation of a kulak power and to the liquidation of the Soviet power—hence, it is bound to lead to the formation of a bourgeois government. And the formation of a bourgeois government is bound to lead in its turn to the restoration of the landlords and capitalists, to the restoration of capitalism." (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. XIII, p.248.)

The path taken by Yugoslavia in agriculture during the past ten years and more is precisely the path of restoring capitalism.

All these are indisputable facts.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you assert that there are no capitalists in Yugoslavia?

The Degeneration of Socialist Economy Owned by the Whole People Into Capitalist Economy

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia manifests itself not only in the fact that private capitalism is spreading freely both in the cities and in the countryside. Still more important, the "public" enterprises, which play a decisive role in the Yugoslav economy, have degenerated.

The Tito clique's economy of "workers' self-government" is state capitalism of a peculiar kind. It is not state capitalism under conditions of the dictatorship of

the proletariat but state capitalism under conditions in which the Tito clique has turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie. The means of production of the enterprises under "workers' self-government" do not belong to one or more private capitalists but to the new type of bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie of Yugoslavia, which includes the bureaucrats and managers and which the Tito clique represents. Usurping the name of the state, depending on U.S. imperialism and disguising itself under the cloak of socialism, this bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie has robbed the working people of the property originally belonging to them. In reality, "workers' self-government" is a system of ruthless exploitation under the domination of bureaucrat-comprador capital.

Since 1950, the Tito clique has issued a series of decrees instituting "workers' self-government" in all state-owned factories, mines and other enterprises in communications, transport, trade, agriculture, forestry and public utilities. The essence of "workers' self-government" consists of handing over the enterprises to "working collectives," with each enterprise operating independently, purchasing its own raw materials, deciding on the variety, output and prices of its products and marketing them, and determining its own wage scale and the division of part of its profits. Yugoslav decrees further stipulate that economic enterprises have the right to buy, sell or lease fixed assets.

In the enterprises under "workers' self-government," ownership is described by the Tito clique as "a higher form of socialist ownership." They assert that only with "workers' self-government" can one "really build socialism."

This is sheer deception.

Theoretically speaking, as anyone with a slight knowledge of Marxism knows, slogans like "workers' self-government" and "factories to the workers" have never been Marxist slogans but slogans advanced by anarchist syndicalists, bourgeois socialists and old-line opportunists and revisionists.

The theory of "workers' self-government" and "factories to the workers" runs counter to the fundamental Marxist theory of socialism. It was completely refuted by the classical Marxist writers long ago.

As Marx and Engels pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*, "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State. . . ."

Engels wrote in *Anti-Duhring*, "The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property."

Having seized political power, the proletariat must concentrate the means of production in the hands of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a fundamental principle of socialism.

In the early period of Soviet power following the October Revolution when some people advocated handing the factories over to the producers so that they could "organize production" directly, Lenin sternly criticized

this view, saying that in reality it meant opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He acutely pointed out,

... Any direct or indirect legalization of the possession of their own production by the workers of individual factories or individual professions or of their right to weaken or impede the decrees of the state power is the greatest distortion of the basic principles of Soviet power and the complete renunciation of socialism. (Lenin, *On the Democracy and Socialist Character of the Soviet Power.*)

It is thus clear that "workers' self-government" has nothing to do with socialism.

In fact, the "workers' self-government" of the Tito clique does not provide self-government on the part of the workers; it is a hoax.

The enterprises under "workers' self-government" are actually in the clutches of the new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie represented by the Tito clique. It controls the enterprises' property and personnel and takes away much the greater part of their income.

Through the banks the Tito clique controls the credit of the entire country and the investment funds and liquid capital of all enterprises and supervises their financial affairs.

The Tito clique plunders the income of these enterprises by various means, such as the collection of taxes and interest. According to the statistics of the "Report on the Work in 1961 by the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia," it took away about three-quarters of the enterprises' net income in this way.

The Tito clique seizes the fruits of the people's labour which it appropriates chiefly for meeting the extravagant expenses of this clique of bureaucrats, for maintaining its reactionary rule, for strengthening the apparatus which suppresses the working people, and for paying tribute to the imperialists in the form of the servicing of foreign debts.

Moreover, the Tito clique controls these enterprises through their managers. The managers are nominally chosen by competition by the enterprises but are in fact appointed by the Tito clique. They are agents of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in these enterprises.

In the enterprises under "workers' self-government," the relations between managers and workers are actually relations between employers and employees, between the exploiters and the exploited.

As matters stand, the managers can determine the production plans and the direction of development of these enterprises, dispose of the means of production, take the decisions on the distribution of the enterprises' income, hire or fire workers and overrule the resolutions of the workers' councils or management boards.

Abundant information published in the Yugoslav press proves that the workers' council is merely formal, a kind of voting machine, and that all power in the enterprise is in the hands of the manager.

The fact that the manager of an enterprise controls its means of production and the distribution of its income enables him to appropriate the fruits of the workers' labour by means of various privileges.

The Tito clique itself admits that in these enterprises there is a wide gap between managers and workers not only in wages but also in bonuses. In some enterprises, the bonuses of the managers and higher staff are forty times those of the workers. "In certain enterprises, the total amount of the bonus which a group of leaders received is equal to the wage fund of the entire collective."¹⁰

Moreover, the managers of the enterprises use their privileges to make a lot of money by various subterfuges. Bribery, embezzlement and theft are still bigger sources of income for the managers.

The broad masses of the workers live in poverty. There is no guarantee of employment. Large numbers of workers lose their jobs with the closing down of enterprises. According to official statistics, in February 1963 the number of the unemployed reached 339,000, or about 10 per cent of the number of the employed. In addition, every year many workers go abroad seeking work.

Politika admitted on September 25, 1961, that "there exists a great gap between some workers and office employees; the former look upon the latter as 'bureaucrats' who 'swallow up' their wages."

These facts show that in the Yugoslav enterprises under "workers' self-government," a new social group has come into being consisting of the few who appropriate the fruits of labour of the many. It is an important component of the new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia.

By promoting "workers' self-government," the Tito clique has completely pushed the enterprises originally owned by the whole people off the path of socialist economy.

The main manifestations of this are the following:

First, the abandonment of unified economic planning by the state.

Second, the use of profits as the primary incentive in the operation of the enterprises. They may adopt a variety of methods to increase their income and profits. In other words, in the enterprises under "workers' self-government" the aim of production is not to meet the needs of society but to seek profits, just as in any capitalist enterprise.

Third, following the policy of encouraging capitalist free competition. Tito has said to the managers of the enterprises, "Competition at home will be beneficial to our ordinary people, the consumers." The Tito clique also openly declares that it allows "competition, the seeking of profits, speculation and the like" because "they play a positive role in promoting the initiative of the producers, their collective, the communes, etc."¹¹

Fourth, the use of credit and the banks as important levers to promote capitalist free competition. In grant-

ing loans, the Tito regime's credit and banking system invites tenders for investment. Whoever is capable of repaying the loan in the shortest period and paying the highest rate of interest will obtain the loan. In their words, this is "to use competition as the usual method of allocating investment credits."¹²

Fifth, relations among the enterprises are not socialist relations of mutual support and co-ordination under a unified government plan but capitalist relations of competition and rivalry in a free market.

All this has undermined the very foundation of socialist planned economy.

Lenin said, "Socialism . . . is inconceivable without planned state organization which subjects tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a single standard in production and distribution." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p.365.)

He also said, ". . . without all-sided state accounting and control of production and distribution of goods, the power of the toilers, the freedom of the toilers, cannot be maintained, and a return to the yoke of capitalism is inevitable." (*ibid.*, p.327.)

Under the signboard of "workers' self-government," all the economic departments and enterprises in Yugoslavia are locked in fierce capitalist competition. It is quite common for the enterprises under "workers' self-government" to engage in embezzlement, speculation and hoarding, to inflate prices, bribe, hide technical secrets, grab technical personnel and even to attack one another in the press or over the radio in rivalry for markets and profits.

The fierce competition among Yugoslav enterprises goes on not only in the home market but also in foreign trade. The Yugoslav press says that it is not unusual for 20 or 30 agents of Yugoslav foreign trade establishments to visit the same market abroad, compete among themselves for business, and take away the others' customers or suppliers. "From selfish motives," these enterprises engaged in foreign trade seek to "make profits at any cost" and "is not choosy about their means."

The result of this fierce competition is chaos in the Yugoslav market. Prices vary considerably not only in different cities or regions but also in different shops in the same place, and even for the same kind of goods from the same producer. In order to maintain high prices, some enterprises do not hesitate to destroy large quantities of farm produce.

Another result of this fierce competition is the closing down of large numbers of enterprises in Yugoslavia. According to information provided by the *Official Bulletin of the F.P.R.Y.*, 500 to 600 enterprises closed down annually in recent years.

All this shows that the "public" economy of Yugoslavia is governed not by the laws of socialist planned economy but by those of capitalist competition and anarchy of production. The Tito clique's enterprises under "workers' self-government" are not socialist but capitalist in nature.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you describe the state capitalist econ-

omy controlled by the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie as a socialist economy?

A Dependency of U.S. Imperialism

The process of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia is interwoven with the process in which the Tito clique has become subservient towards U.S. imperialism and Yugoslavia has degenerated into a U.S. imperialist dependency.

With its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the Tito clique embarked on the shameful course of selling out the sovereignty of the state and living off the alms of U.S. imperialism.

According to incomplete statistics, from the conclusion of World War II to January 1963 the United States and other imperialist powers extended to the Tito clique "aid" totalling some U.S.\$5,460 million, of which more than 60 per cent, or about \$3,500 million, was U.S. "aid." The greatest part of this U.S. aid was granted after 1950.

U.S. aid has been the mainstay of Yugoslavia's finances and economy. Official statistics show that in 1961 the loans the Tito clique obtained from the United States and U.S.-controlled international financial organizations totalled U.S.\$346 million, or 47.4 per cent of the federal budgetary income of Yugoslavia in that year. With the inclusion of aid from other Western countries, the money received by the Tito clique from Western countries in 1961 totalled U.S.\$493 million, or 67.6 per cent of the federal budgetary income in that year.

In order to obtain U.S. aid, the Tito clique has concluded a series of traitorous treaties with the United States.

The notes exchanged between Yugoslavia and the United States in 1951 concerning the "Agreement Relating to Mutual Defence Assistance" stipulated that U.S. government officials have the "freedom . . . without restriction," to observe and supervise the receipt and distribution in Yugoslavia of U.S. military aid material and has "full access to communication and information facilities." The agreement also required Yugoslavia to provide the United States with strategic raw materials.

The "Agreement Regarding Military Assistance" signed between Yugoslavia and the United States in 1951 stipulated that Yugoslavia should "make the full contribution . . . to the development and maintenance of the defensive strength of the free world" and should be ready to provide troops for the United Nations. Under this agreement the military mission sent by the United States was to directly supervise the training of Yugoslav troops.

The Yugoslav-U.S. "Economic Co-operation Agreement" of 1952 stipulated that Yugoslavia must use U.S. aid for "furthering fundamental individual human rights, freedoms and democratic institutions," that is, for furthering capitalism.

In 1954 Yugoslavia concluded a "Treaty of Alliance, Political Co-operation and Mutual Assistance" with Greece and Turkey, both members of NATO. The treaty provided for military and diplomatic co-ordination among the three countries, thus making Yugoslavia a virtual member of the U.S.-controlled military bloc.

Since 1954 Yugoslavia has concluded a series of agreements with the United States, selling out its sovereignty. More than 50 such agreements were signed in the period between 1957 and 1962.

Because of the conclusion of these treaties and agreements and because the Tito clique has made Yugoslavia dependent on U.S. imperialism, the United States enjoys the following rights in Yugoslavia:

- (1) to control its military affairs;
- (2) to control its foreign affairs;
- (3) to interfere in its internal affairs;
- (4) to manipulate and supervise its finance;
- (5) to control its foreign trade;
- (6) to plunder its strategic resources; and
- (7) to collect military and economic intelligence.

The independence and sovereignty of Yugoslavia have thus been auctioned off by the Tito clique.

In addition to selling out Yugoslavia's sovereign rights in a series of unequal treaties with the United States, the Tito clique, in order to secure U.S. aid, has taken one step after another in domestic and foreign policy to comply with Western monopoly capital's demand to penetrate Yugoslavia.

Starting from 1950 the Tito clique abolished the monopoly of foreign trade by the state.

The "Act on Foreign Trade Activities" promulgated in 1953 permitted enterprises to conduct foreign trade independently and to have direct transactions with Western monopoly capitalist enterprises.

In 1961 the Tito regime introduced reforms in the systems of foreign exchange and foreign trade. Their main content was the further relaxation of restrictions on import and export trade. Complete liberalization was effected in the import of major semi-processed materials and certain consumer goods, and restrictions on the import of other commodities were relaxed in varying degrees. Restrictions were removed on the supply of foreign exchange needed for so-called unrestricted imports.

Everybody knows that state monopoly of foreign trade is a basic principle of socialism.

Lenin said that the industrial proletariat "is absolutely not in a position to recover our industry and to make Russia an industrial country without the protection of industry, which in no way refers to its protection by customs policy, but solely and exclusively refers to its protection by monopoly of foreign trade." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXXIII, p.420.)

Stalin said that "the monopoly of foreign trade is one of the unshakable foundations of the platform of the Soviet Government" and that the abolition of the monopoly of foreign trade would mean "abandoning the industrialization of the country," "flooding the U.S.S.R. with goods from capitalist countries," and "transforming our country from an independent country into a semi-colonial one." (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. X, pp.115 and 116.)

To abolish the state monopoly of foreign trade, as the Tito regime has done, is to throw the door wide open to imperialist monopoly capital.

What are the economic consequences of the fact that the Tito clique receives large amounts of U.S. aid and keeps Yugoslavia's door wide open to imperialism?

First, Yugoslavia has become a market for imperialist dumping.

Huge quantities of industrial goods and farm produce from the imperialist countries have flooded the Yugoslav market. In pursuit of profits the Yugoslav comprador capitalists, who make piles of money by serving foreign monopoly capital, keep on importing commodities even though they can be produced at home and even when stocks are huge. *Politika* admitted on July 25, 1961, that it "was everywhere evident" that Yugoslav industry "was suffering blows from the continuous and very complicated competition of foreign industry."

Secondly, Yugoslavia has become an outlet for imperialist investment.

Many Yugoslav industrial enterprises have been built with "aid" from the United States and other imperialist countries. A great deal of foreign private monopoly capital has penetrated into Yugoslavia. According to Augustin Papic, the general manager of the Yugoslav Investment Bank, in the period between 1952 and 1956 "the participation of foreign funds reached 32.5 per cent of the total value of economic investments." U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said on February 5, 1962, that Yugoslavia's source of capital was "largely in the West."

Thirdly, Yugoslavia has become a base from which imperialism extracts raw materials.

In accordance with the "Agreement Regarding Military Assistance," the Tito clique has since 1951 continually supplied the United States with large quantities of strategic raw materials. According to the *Statistical Year-Book of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia* of 1961, about half of Yugoslavia's exports of important metals, such as magnesium, lead, zinc and antimony, have gone to the United States since 1957.

Fourthly, the industrial enterprises of Yugoslavia have become assembly shops for Western monopoly capitalist companies.

Many major Yugoslav industries produce under licence from Western countries and are dependent on imports of semi-processed materials, parts, spare parts and semi-manufactured products. The production of these industries is under the control of Western monopoly capital.

In fact, many of the industrial products sold as home products in Yugoslavia are assembled from imported ready-made parts and have Yugoslav trade marks attached. *Vesnik u sredu* of April 25, 1962, said that "some of our industrial enterprises are becoming a special type of commercial organization, which does not produce but assembles, only sticking its own trade mark on the products of others."

In these circumstances, Yugoslavia has become an integral part of the world market of Western monopoly capital. In the financial and economic spheres it is tightly bound to the capitalist world market and has degenerated into a dependency of imperialism, and particularly of U.S. imperialism.

When a socialist country sells out its independence and sovereign rights and becomes an imperialist appendage, the restoration of the capitalist system is the inevitable result.

The special road of building "socialism" by relying on U.S. aid advertised by the Tito clique is nothing but a road for turning a socialist system into a capitalist system to meet the needs of imperialism, a road of degeneration from an independent country into a semi-colony.

Khrushchov insists that this dependency of U.S. imperialism is "building socialism." This is fantastic. A self-styled socialism having U.S. aid as its trade mark is a new variety to be added to the bogus brands of socialism, which were criticized by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and this is presumably a great contribution on the part of Tito and Khrushchov in "creatively developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism."

A Counter-Revolutionary Special Detachment of U.S. Imperialism

Judging by the counter-revolutionary role played by the Tito clique in international relations and by its reactionary foreign policy, Yugoslavia is still farther from being a socialist country.

In the international arena the Tito clique is a special detachment of U.S. imperialism for sabotaging the world revolution.

By setting the example of restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia, the Tito clique is helping U.S. imperialism to push its policy of "peaceful evolution" inside the socialist countries.

Under the signboard of a socialist country, the Tito clique is frantically opposing and disrupting the socialist camp and serving as an active agent in the anti-China campaign.

Under the cover of non-alignment and active coexistence, the Tito clique is trying to wreck the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and is serving U.S. neo-colonialism.

The Tito clique spares no effort to prettify U.S. imperialism and benumb the people of the world in their struggle against the imperialist policies of war and aggression.

Under the pretext of opposing "Stalinism," the Tito clique is peddling revisionist poison everywhere and opposing revolution by the people in all countries.

The Tito clique has invariably played the role of a lackey of U.S. imperialism in the major international events of the past ten years and more.

1. The revolution in Greece. On July 10, 1949, Tito closed the border between Yugoslavia and Greece against the Greek people's guerrillas. At the same time, he allowed the Greek fascist royalist troops to pass through Yugoslav territory in order to attack the guerrillas from the rear. In this way the Tito clique helped the U.S.-British imperialists to strangle the Greek people's revolution.

2. The Korean War. In a statement issued on September 6, 1950, Edvard Kardelj, who was then foreign

minister, brazenly slandered the Korean people's just war of resistance to aggression and defended U.S. imperialism. On December 1, speaking at the U.N. Security Council, the representative of the Tito clique attacked China for its "active interference in the Korean War." The Tito clique also voted in the United Nations for the embargo on China and Korea.

3. The Vietnamese people's war of liberation. On the eve of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in April 1954, the Tito clique violently slandered the just struggle of the Vietnamese people, asserting that they were being used by Moscow and Peking "as a card in their postwar policy of cold war." They said of the Vietnamese people's great battle to liberate Dienbienphu that it was "not a gesture of goodwill."

4. Subversion against Albania. The Tito clique has been carrying on subversive activities and armed provocations against socialist Albania for a long time. It has engineered four major cases of treason, in 1944, 1948, 1956 and 1960. Its armed provocations on the Yugoslav-Albanian border numbered more than 470 from 1948 to 1958. In 1960 the Tito clique and the Greek reactionaries planned an armed attack on Albania in co-ordination with the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

5. The counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. The Tito clique played a shameful role of an interventionist provocateur in the Hungarian counter-revolutionary rebellion in October 1956. After the outbreak of the rebellion, Tito published a letter supporting the counter-revolutionary measures of the traitor Nagy. On November 3 the Tito clique bade Nagy to seek asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy in Hungary. In a speech on November 11, Tito characterized the counter-revolutionary rebellion as resistance by "progressives" and impudently questioned whether the "course of Yugoslavia" or the "course of Stalinism" would win.

6. The Middle Eastern events. In 1958 troops were sent by U.S. imperialism to occupy Lebanon and by British imperialism to occupy Jordan. There arose a worldwide wave of protest demanding the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. and British troops. At the emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly on the Middle Eastern situation, Koča Popović, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, said that "it is not a question of whether we insist on condemning or approving the actions taken by the United States and Great Britain." He advocated intervention by the United Nations, an organization which is under the control of U.S. imperialism.

7. The event in the Taiwan Straits. In the autumn of 1958, the Chinese People's Liberation Army shelled Quemoy in order to counter the U.S. imperialist provocations in the Taiwan Straits and to punish the Chiang Kai-shek gang, which is a U.S. imperialist lackey. The Tito clique maligned China's just struggle as "a danger to the whole world" and "harmful to peace."

8. The U-2 incident. In 1960 the United States sent a U-2 spy plane to intrude into the Soviet Union and sabotaged the four-power summit conference scheduled to be held in Paris. On May 17 Tito issued a statement attacking the correct stand then taken by the Soviet Government as creating "such large-scale disputes."

9. The Japanese people's patriotic struggle against the United States. In June 1960 the Japanese people waged a just and patriotic struggle against the United States, which was unprecedented in its scale. But the Tito clique defended U.S. imperialism, saying that the U.S. occupation of Japan "promoted the democratization of political life in Japan." Subsequently, it attacked the statement of Inejiro Asanuma, the late President of the Japanese Socialist Party, that "U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Japanese and Chinese peoples," accusing him of "standing for an extremist line."

10. The struggle of the Indonesian people. The Tito clique tried to sabotage the Indonesian people's struggle against imperialism. It engaged in base activities in an effort to prevent the establishment of a "Nasakom" cabinet in Indonesia, that is, a government of national unity comprising the nationalists, religious circles and the Communists.

11. The Congo event. In the summer of 1960, when U.S. imperialism carried out armed aggression in the Congo under the flag of the United Nations, the Tito clique not only voted for U.S. imperialism in the United Nations but, in accordance with the desire of U.S. imperialism, sent air force personnel to the Congo to take a direct part in the bloody suppression of the Congolese people.

12. The Laotian question. When U.S. imperialism stepped up its intervention in Laos in January 1961, the Tito clique spread the view that the United States "is really concerned for the peace and neutralization of Laos." When U.S. imperialism engineered political assassinations and armed conflicts in Laos in May 1963, the Tito clique attacked the Laotian patriotic forces for "putting all the blame on the United States."

13. The U.S. Alliance for Progress programme. In August 1961 the United States forced various Latin American countries to sign the Alliance for Progress programme, which was a new U.S. imperialist instrument for the enslavement of the Latin American people. This aggressive programme was strongly opposed by the Latin American people but was praised by the Tito clique as "meeting in a large measure the requirements of the Latin American countries."

14. The Sino-Indian border conflict. Ever since the Indian reactionaries created tension on the Sino-Indian border in 1959, the Tito clique has consistently supported the expansionism, aggression and provocations of the Indian reactionaries against China. It openly spread the lie that "the demarcation of the boundary was already completed at the beginning of the present century and put into the shape of the well-known McMahon Line," and did its best to confuse right and wrong, making the slander that China "permits itself to revise its border with India wilfully and by force" and "committed aggression" against India.

15. The Cuban revolution and the Caribbean crisis. The Tito clique has made numerous comments attacking Cuba, saying that Cuba "believes only in revolution" and that the Cuban revolution is "not so much a model as an exception to the road of revolution." During the Caribbean crisis in the autumn of 1962, the Tito clique defended

U.S. imperialist aggression, saying that "the difficulties started when the Cuban revolution trod on the pet corn of the U.S. companies," and that "if it is said that the United States was irritated by the establishment of rocket bases in Cuba, in its close neighbourhood, that would be understandable."

From all this people cannot fail to see that for the past ten years and more the Tito clique has desperately opposed the socialist countries, tried to sabotage the national-liberation movement, maligned the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in all countries and actively served imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism.

Khrushchov has said repeatedly that there is "unanimity" and "accord" between the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the Tito clique in their positions on international problems. Well, then, we would like to ask whether or not there is unanimity or accord between your activities and the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Tito clique. Please answer, if you have the courage.

The Degeneration of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Into the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie

In the final analysis, the fact that capitalism has swamped Yugoslavia in both town and country, the degeneration of an economy owned by the whole people into a state capitalist economy and the decline of Yugoslavia into a dependency of U.S. imperialism are all due to the degeneration of the Party and state power in Yugoslavia.

Fighting heroically against the German and Italian fascist aggressors during World War II, the Communist Party and people of Yugoslavia overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackey in Yugoslavia and established the people's democratic state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Not long afterwards, the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist Party betrayed Marxism-Leninism and embarked on the path of revisionism, bringing about the gradual degeneration of the Party and state power in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Communist Party had a glorious tradition of revolutionary struggles. The betrayal of the Tito clique met first of all with strong resistance inside the Party. To suppress this resistance, the Tito clique used its power to expel and purge from the Party a great number of Communists loyal to Marxism-Leninism. In the period from 1948 to 1952 alone, more than 200,000 Party members, or half the original membership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, were expelled. Taking action against the so-called Cominform elements, it arrested and slaughtered large numbers of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary cadres and people, the number of Communists and active revolutionaries arrested and imprisoned alone exceeding thirty thousand. At the same time, the Tito clique opened the door wide to counter-revolutionaries, bourgeois elements, all kinds of anti-socialist elements and careerists seeking position and wealth through their membership cards. In November 1952 the Tito clique declared that "the appellation Party no longer fits" and changed the name, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, into the

League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In violation of the will of all honest Communists in Yugoslavia, it changed the character of the Yugoslav Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat and made the L.C.Y. the virtual instrument for maintaining its dictatorial rule.

In the socialist countries, state power is under the leadership of communist political parties. With the degeneration of a communist into a bourgeois political party, state power inevitably degenerates from the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Yugoslavia was the fruit of the protracted and heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people. But as the Tito clique turned renegade, this state power changed its nature.

The Tito clique has declared, "The means of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., of the socialist state system, become increasingly unnecessary."

But is there no dictatorship in Yugoslavia any longer? Yes, there is. While the dictatorship of the proletariat is indeed no more, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie not only exists, but is a brutal fascist dictatorship at that.

The Tito regime has set up many fascist prisons and concentration camps, where tens of thousands of revolutionaries have been tortured to death by every kind of inhuman punishment. At the same time, the Tito regime has pardoned large numbers of counter-revolutionaries and traitors in the anti-fascist war. Replying to a United Press correspondent on January 7, 1951, Tito admitted that 11,000 political prisoners had been pardoned in Yugoslavia. On March 13, 1962, another 150,000 counter-revolutionaries living in exile abroad were pardoned. The dictatorship over these enemies of the people was indeed abolished and they have obtained "democracy." Whatever fine-sounding phrases the Tito clique may use, its "democracy" is only a democracy for the small number of old and new bourgeois elements; for the working people it is out-and-out dictatorship. The Tito clique has transformed the revolutionary state machinery, which was built up to suppress the small minority of exploiters, into a state machinery for suppressing the proletariat and the broad masses.

The degeneration of the state power in Yugoslavia occurred not through the overthrow of the original state power by violence and the establishment of a new state power, but through "peaceful evolution." In appearance, the same people remain in power, but in essence these people no longer represent the interests of the workers, peasants and the working people but those of imperialism and the old and new bourgeoisie of Yugoslavia.

Utilizing state power and controlling the economic lifeline of the country, the Tito clique exploited the Yugoslav working people to the utmost extent and brought into being a bureaucrat capitalist class. Being dependent on U.S. imperialism, this class is strongly comprador in character and is also a comprador capitalist class. The state power controlled by the Tito clique is that of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie.

The above facts show from various aspects that the policy pursued by the Tito regime is one of restoring and

developing capitalism, namely, of reducing Yugoslavia to a semi-colony or a dependency.

The degeneration of the state power in Yugoslavia has led to the destruction of the socialist economic system and the restoration of a capitalist economic system. When a new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie has gradually come into being with the re-establishment of the capitalist economic system in a new form, it demands the intensification of the bourgeois dictatorship and the development of a political system suited to the capitalist economic system so as to consolidate its ruling position.

This is how the process from the degeneration of the Party and state power to the restoration of capitalism in the entire social and economic system has been realized step by step in Yugoslavia. The process of degeneration has gone on for fifteen years. This is the record of how a socialist state "peacefully evolves" into a capitalist state.

The Tito clique maintains its rule in Yugoslavia by relying on U.S. imperialist support, the state machine of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, the labour aristocracy bought by it, and the rich peasants in the countryside. At the same time, it uses various cunning means to disguise its reactionary features and hoodwink the people. But its reactionary policies are extremely unpopular. The degeneration of the socialist state into a capitalist state, the degeneration of an independent country into a semi-colony or a dependency of imperialism, runs counter to the basic interests of the Yugoslav people, and cannot but be opposed by all the honest Communists and the overwhelming majority of the people of Yugoslavia.

We are in deep sympathy with the people and Communists of Yugoslavia in their present predicament. Although the Tito clique can ride roughshod over the people for a time, we are confident that whatever high-handed measures and whatever tricks of deception it may resort to, no ruling group will come to a good end once it is against the people. The Tito clique is of course no exception. The deceived people will gradually wake up in the end. The people and Communists of Yugoslavia who have a glorious history will not submit to the renegade Tito clique for ever. The future of the Yugoslav people is bright.

The Principled Stand of the C.P.C. on the Question of Yugoslavia

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. asserts that for a time "the C.P.C. leaders had no doubts as to the nature of the socialist system in Yugoslavia," and that now the Chinese leaders "have drastically changed their position on the Yugoslavian question."

True, Yugoslavia was once a socialist state. For a time the country advanced along the path of socialism.

But soon after, owing to the Tito clique's betrayal, the Yugoslav social system began to degenerate step by step.

In 1954, when Khrushchov proposed to improve relations with Yugoslavia, we agreed to treat it as a fraternal socialist country for the purpose of winning it back to

the path of socialism and watching how the Tito clique would develop.

We did not entertain very much hope for the Tito clique even then. In its letter of June 10, 1954, to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Central Committee of the C.P.C. pointed out that the fact should be taken into account that as the leaders of Yugoslavia had already gone quite far in their dealings with imperialism, they might reject our effort to win it over and refuse to return to the path of socialism; "but even though this should occur, it would not involve any political loss to the camp of peace, democracy and socialism—on the contrary, it would further expose the hypocrisy of the Yugoslav leaders before the people of Yugoslavia and of the world."

Unfortunately, our words have proved all too true! Indeed the Tito clique has flatly rejected our effort to win it over and gone farther and farther along the path of revisionism.

After it refused to sign the 1957 Declaration, the Tito clique put forward its out-and-out revisionist programme in 1958 and set this banner of modern revisionism against the 1957 Declaration which is the common programme acknowledged by all Communist and Workers' Parties. The process of restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia has been realized step by step. And internationally, the Tito clique is serving more and more energetically as a counter-revolutionary special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

In these circumstances, the attitude every Marxist-Leninist party should take towards the Tito clique is no longer the one it should take towards a fraternal Party or a fraternal country, nor should it be that of winning the Tito clique over, but it should be one of thoroughly exposing and firmly combating this gang of renegades. The 1960 Statement has given its clear conclusion on this point.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has deliberately evaded the series of important events which occurred after the meeting of the fraternal Parties in November 1957 and also the conclusions unanimously reached at the meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1960, and tries to defend the erroneous stand of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. by quoting a sentence from the editorial on Yugoslavia in the *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) of September 12, 1957. This is futile.

The facts prove that our position with regard to the Tito clique conforms with reality, is a principled position, and is in accord with the common agreement of the meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1960. On the other hand, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have tried in a thousand and one ways to reverse the verdict on the Tito clique, which testifies to their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, their abandonment of the 1960 Statement, and their rendering of assistance to the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in deceiving the people of Yugoslavia and of the whole world.

Has Tito "Removed His Errors"? Or Does Khrushchov Regard Tito as His Teacher?

Khrushchov says that the Yugoslav leaders have removed very much of what was considered erroneous. But

the Titoites do not admit that they have committed any errors, much less removed them. The Titoites say that they have "no need" to correct any error and that "it would just be a waste of time" and "simply superfluous and ridiculous" to expect them to do so.

Let us look at the facts. Have the Titoites changed their revisionist programme? No, they have not. Have they accepted the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement? No, they have not. Have they changed their revisionist domestic and foreign policies? Again, no.

The new constitution adopted by the Yugoslav Federal People's Assembly in April 1963 most clearly shows that the Tito clique has not in the least changed its revisionist stand. The constitution is the legal embodiment of the out-and-out revisionist programme of the Tito clique. Edvard Kardelj said in his report on the draft of the new constitution that it is the "legal-political and organizational embodiment" of the concepts of the programme of the L.C.Y.

Khrushchov is warmly fraternizing with the Tito clique not because it has corrected any of its errors but because he is following in Tito's footsteps.

Consider the following facts:

1. Tito denounces Stalin in order to oppose Marxism-Leninism in its very fundamentals. Khrushchov completely negates Stalin for the same purpose.

2. Both Tito and Khrushchov repudiate the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, both malign as dogmatists the Chinese and other Communists who firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism, and both describe their own revision of Marxism-Leninism as a "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism.

3. Both Tito and Khrushchov laud the chieftains of U.S. imperialism. Tito says that Eisenhower "is a man who persistently defends peace," and that Kennedy's effort "will be helpful to the improvement of international relations and to the peaceful settlement of pressing world problems." Khrushchov says that Eisenhower "has a sincere desire for peace," and that Kennedy "shows solicitude for the preservation of peace."

4. Both Tito and Khrushchov play up the horrors of nuclear war in order to intimidate the people of the world into abandoning revolutionary struggle. Tito says that once a nuclear war breaks out, it will be the "annihilation of mankind." Likewise, Khrushchov says that once a nuclear war breaks out, "we will destroy our Noah's Ark—the globe."

5. Both Tito and Khrushchov preach that a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars can be brought into being while imperialism still exists.

6. Tito proclaims that "active peaceful coexistence" is the cornerstone of Yugoslavia's foreign policy, while Khrushchov declares that peaceful coexistence is the "general line of the foreign policy" of the Soviet Union.

7. Both Tito and Khrushchov proclaim that the possibility of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism has increased. The Tito clique says that "mankind is irresistibly entering a long way into the era of socialism through different ways." Khrushchov says that the road

of the October Revolution can be replaced by the "parliamentary road."

8. Tito advocates the introduction of "political and economic integration" of the world through "peaceful competition." Khrushchov also advocates "all-round cooperation" with imperialism through "peaceful economic competition."

9. The Tito clique sabotages the national-liberation movement and national-liberation wars in every way. Khrushchov opposes the national-liberation movement and national-liberation wars on the pretext that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war."

10. The Tito clique has renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the slogan of "the state of the whole people," Khrushchov also renounces the dictatorship of the proletariat.

11. The Tito clique denies that the Communist Party should be the vanguard of the working class. Likewise, Khrushchov says that the C.P.S.U. "has become the party of the entire people."

12. The Tito clique, flaunting the "non-bloc" label, is opposing the socialist camp. Khrushchov also says that "expressions like blocs, etc., are temporary phenomena." They both want to liquidate the socialist camp.

From these facts one must conclude that, both in domestic and foreign policy, Khrushchov really regards Tito as his teacher and is sliding down the path of revisionism hard on Tito's heels.

Khrushchov has abandoned Marxism-Leninism, scrapped the 1960 Statement and wallowed in the mire with the renegade Tito clique, in complete violation of the interests of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and the people of the whole world. This will not be tolerated by the great Soviet people, the overwhelming majority of the members of the C.P.S.U. and cadres at various levels, all of whom have a glorious revolutionary tradition.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the C.P.S.U. will never agree with Khrushchov's collusion with the Tito clique in opposition to the fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the C.P.S.U. will never agree with Khrushchov's collusion with the Tito clique and collaboration with imperialism in opposing socialist China, Albania and other fraternal countries and in disrupting the socialist camp.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the C.P.S.U. will never agree with Khrushchov's collusion with the Tito clique and collaboration with the reactionaries of all countries in opposition to the people of the world and to revolution.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the C.P.S.U. will never agree with Khrushchov's efforts to follow the example of the Yugoslav revisionists, change the nature of the Party and the state and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Khrushchov has caused dark clouds to overcast the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world. But

this can only be an interlude in the history of the C.P.S.U. and of the Soviet Union. People who are deceived and hoodwinked for a time will gradually wake up in the end. History has confirmed, and will continue to confirm, that whoever wants to turn back the Soviet people in their advance is like the grasshopper in the fable which wanted to stop the chariot. He will never succeed in his aim.

Brief Conclusion

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia provides a new historical lesson to the international communist movement.

This lesson shows us that when the working class has seized power, struggle continues between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, struggle for victory continues between the two roads of capitalism and socialism, and there is a danger that capitalism may be restored. Yugoslavia presents a typical example of the restoration of capitalism.

It shows us that not only is it possible for a working-class party to fall under the control of a labour aristocracy, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunkey of imperialism before it seizes power, but even after it seizes power it is possible for a working-class party to fall under the control of new bourgeois elements, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunkey of imperialism. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia typifies such degeneration.

It shows us that the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country can be achieved not necessarily through a counter-revolutionary coup d'état or armed imperialist invasion and that it can also be achieved through the degradation of the leading group in that country. The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. Yugoslavia provides a typical case in point.

It shows us that revisionism is the product of imperialist policy. Old-line revisionism arose as a result of the imperialist policy of buying over and fostering a labour aristocracy. Modern revisionism has arisen in the same way. Sparing no cost, imperialism has now extended the scope of its operations and is buying over leading groups in socialist countries and pursues through them its desired policy of "peaceful evolution." U.S. imperialism regards Yugoslavia as the "bellwether" because it has set an example in this respect.

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia will make all Marxist-Leninists see better and enable people to realize more keenly the necessity and urgency of combating modern revisionism.

So long as imperialism exists, there is apparently no ground for saying that the danger of the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries has been eliminated.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. proclaim that they have already eliminated the danger of the restoration of capitalism and are building communism. If this were true, it would of course be heartening. But we see that in fact they are imitating Yugoslavia in every way and have taken a most dangerous road. This deeply worries and pains us.

Out of our warm love for the great Soviet Union and the great C.P.S.U., we would like sincerely to appeal to the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: Comrades and friends! Do not follow the Yugoslav road. Turn back at once. Or it will be too late!

NOTES

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2. *Vesnik u sredu*, December 8, 1961. 750 dinars=U.S.\$ 1; 303 dinars = 1 yuan.
3. *Vesnik u sredu*, December 6, 1961.
4. Edvard Kardelj, Opening Address at the Ninth Plenum of the Fourth Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, May 5, 1959.

5. Vladimir Bakarić, Speech at the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.
6. Edvard Kardelj, "On Some Problems of Our Policy in the Villages," *Komunist*, No. 4, 1954.
7. Slavko Komar, "Some Problems Concerning the Countryside and the Peasant Households," *Socializam*, No. 5, 1962. The Secretary for Agriculture and Forestry of Yugoslavia corresponds to the Minister for Agriculture and Forestry.
8. The Yugoslav journal *Index*, No. 2, 1962.
9. Slavko Komar, op. cit.
10. Letter of the Central Committee of the L.C.Y. to Its Organizations and Leaderships at All Levels, February 17, 1958.
11. Vladimir Bakarić, Report to the Fourth Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia, April 7, 1959.
12. Augustin Papić, "Investment Financing in Yugoslavia," *Annals of Collective Economy*, April-November 1959, Belgrade.

Progress Report

China's Minority Nationalities Advance

ON every October First the march past of China's minority nationalities on Peking's Tien An Men Square is one of the highlights of the National Day festival. Drums beat. Gongs sound. Singing and dancing, columns advance in spectacular processions, a blaze of colourful national costumes. It is always a moving, thrilling sight to those who know how they were once considered by their arrogant oppressors to have been the lowest of the low on the social scale, and how, since liberation, they have been creating their new socialist life with the unstinting help of their Han brothers. National Day this year brings good tidings from all sides of the successes of the national minorities in many fields.

On the Inner Mongolian Grasslands

Industry the Herdsmen Long Dreamt Of. "When are we going to have our own tanneries, woollen textile mills and plants to process our meat and milk products?" This was a yearning, unanswered question of the herdsmen in this biggest stockbreeding centre of China in pre-liberation days. In those days for a single pair of riding boots they had to pay over hides enough to make a score of pairs; for all the wool they produced it was a major operation to get just a few yards of woollen cloth to make a warm coat; they poured a lake of soured milk out on to the earth. When they turned for help to towns like Paotow, Huhohot and Hailar, they found their way blocked by grasping merchants and venal bureaucrats interested only in robbing them in collusion with the imperialists.

With such a background, it is not surprising that news dispatches announcing the creation in Inner Mongolia of a more or less comprehensive industrial set-up for the processing of animal products, describe it as an "unpre-

cedented" event and, "something the Inner Mongolian stockbreeders never dared to imagine in the past."

This is how this industrial complex stands at present: 4 giant tanneries, 2 up-to-date woollen textile mills, 4 fully mechanized milk product factories, 2 large-sized integrated meat processing plants, plus a host of similar medium- and small-sized factories. These plants turn out hundreds of kinds of goods from high-quality gaberdine and leather to canned beef and mutton, all enjoying brisk sales both at home and abroad. These plants turn out enough woollen fabrics each year to make a new coat each for over half a million people and enough woollen yarn for 800,000 sweaters. The daily output of milk powder is enough for the day's feed of 300,000 infants.

The big Inner Mongolian Woollen Mill was built with the first set of woollen textile machinery ever produced in



It's fun listening to Maoyihan, Inner Mongolia's famous ballad singer

China. Workers and specialists from Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin and Tsingtao had come to help them right at the start of their industrial advance and this help from these and other older industrial centres was continuing.

In the past decade and more new industrial centres have grown up on the grasslands and changed the aspect of ancient trading settlements. Smoke rises to the skies from the great iron and steel works at Paotow, one of China's three greatest metallurgical works, from paper mills, from flour mills, and scores of other workshops.

Biggest Nadam Fairs. The traditional *Nadam* fairs held every autumn in Inner Mongolia were held with special brilliance this year. Celebrating the rapid development of livestock breeding in the region, the various nationalities made these the biggest *Nadams* in years, with more people, a bigger variety of recreations and sports, and more goods sold and money spent than ever before.

Thousands of peasants, herdsmen, women, children and lamas swept in to Pailingmiao on the Darhan grasslands to see horse-racing, wrestling and archery, as well as sports which have become popular favourites only in recent years — light athletic contests, basketball and table tennis matches.

There was a big choice of theatrical entertainments and films, singing and dancing recitals were equally attractive. Many of the films were doubly appreciated as they were dubbed in the Mongolian language. Two special attractions were the full-length play *Golden Eagle* and the full-length opera *Danapala* in Mongolian. Their premieres earlier this year were regarded as epoch-making cultural events in the region.

With the flourishing growth of their livestock farms in the past five years the herdsmen had more money to spend than ever before. Scores of radio sets were bought, sewing machines, Mongolian-style gowns, silks, leather top boots, sweetmeats for old folks and toys for the children. Young people crowded the bookstalls where they could buy Mao Tse-tung's *Selected Works* and other Marxist-Leninist literature as well as Chinese and foreign classical and modern literary works either in Han versions or in Mongolian translations. Reading is still quite a new habit in Inner Mongolia. Since liberation in 1947, some 2,800 titles have appeared in print in Mongolian with a circulation of 20 million copies. This is a small indication of the rapid progress in culture in a region where before liberation 90 out of 100 people were illiterate.

Similar *Nadam* fairs were held in more than ten banners of the pastoral areas this autumn. All were bigger and busier than in previous years. Like the Pailingmiao fair, they spelt out in a thousand and one ways the oft-repeated words of the local people: Our livestock has trebled in five years, thanks to the people's communes!

Sinkiang

A Trip to Ili. You have to have an extremely good appetite for fruit, if you don't want to be a rude guest in the Ili countryside, this was one of the impressions your reporter got after a recent trip to Ili, in mid-September. He made a tour of the villages in this Kazakh *chou* the size of England and travelled along the 140-kilometre Ili River. In every home, Kazakh, Uighur

or Uzbek, he received the same glad hospitality offered with grapes freshly picked from the vines, and then apples in a huge platter to be followed by bowls of tasty tea made with milk. Then of course he was anxious to look around the farm, and then, how could he refuse to taste the luscious honeydew melons offered him with such pride by commune members? Even knowing that the Ili valley has long been famed as "Sinkiang's granary" and recalling the old saying: "Sinkiang is a fine place and Ili is the richest," your reporter was still struck by this abundance of good things.

His hosts were eager to talk of the big changes that have taken place in their lives: they had 35 per cent more livestock last year than in 1957; nine years of regional autonomy have brought a settled life for all the former Kazakh nomads; the irrigated farmland has been extended to a million hectares, seven times the pre-liberation figures. This last feat was achieved by building 100 big irrigation canals and reservoirs in the past nine years. The 29 people's communes in the Ili valley have 150 tractors and over 10,000 double-shared ploughs, horse-drawn sowers and harvesters. For ages past only hoes and simple ploughs had been used here. A great many new houses have been built in recent years. In one production brigade of Ining's Red Star People's Commune alone, 100 out of 500 households have moved into new dwellings since 1961. Many more houses are being built. More than 1,000 kilometres of highways are now open to traffic, linking Ili, the capital of the *chou*, with all its county towns. There are 178 medical service centres in the countryside, 8.5 times the 1949 figure, mostly staffed by Kazakh and Uighur medical personnel. . . . A book would be needed to tell this story in full to include the countless moving personal stories of the local inhabitants: family re-unions, old bachelors getting married and sons returning home after graduation from colleges in Peking.

Historic Changes on the Altai. Altai, tucked way up in China's northwesternmost corner, is one of the three districts of the *chou*. Here your reporter found even greater changes.

In this area of some 200,000 square kilometres, or the size of six and a half Belguims put together, there was only one hospital before liberation, with practically no equipment to speak of and a staff of less than 20 very inadequately trained medical personnel. A penicillin injection at that time used to cost a herdsman-patient as much as a horse. Steady impoverishment, emigration and a heavy death rate due to the atrocious misrule of the reactionaries reduced the population from 100,000 to 50,000 before liberation.

With liberation and people's rule, the population has grown from the 50,000 in 1949 to the present 110,000. They now have eight well-equipped, modern hospitals in the county towns and large numbers of clinics and maternity centres in the people's communes. Many diseases such as typhus or trachoma which used to plague the people have now been brought under control; 220 doctors and nurses of the Kazakh nationality alone have been trained.

The small tents the nomads used to call "home" are now replaced by commodious felt yurts. In the past the people wore sheepskins all the year round; now they wear clothes of all kinds, even made of woollen and silk fabrics. Who ever saw nomad households in the past containing

sewing machines, clocks, radios, flashlights, and pots and pans made of aluminium? Now there are plenty of them.

Back of these changes are big economic gains. The total stock of animals in the Altai has increased six times since 1949 to 2.6 million. There was practically no agriculture there before liberation but now there are more than enough locally grown grains. The whole district did not have a single middle school; now it has 12 middle schools and 96 primary schools. Many local youngsters have studied and more are now studying at colleges in Urumchi, capital of Sinkiang, Peking and other cities.

Moslems and Their Festivals. Asked about their religious life, the people of Sinkiang love to show the enquirer their beautifully kept mosques and tell how they celebrated their annual Corban festival earlier this May and still earlier, the annual Bairam festival which fell on February 26 this year.

In Ining, a major city of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou, Islamic believers marked the Corban festival at religious services from early in the morning. Wearing white turbans and chanting the Koran, they went in procession through the streets to the 16 mosques in this frontier city.

Throughout Sinkiang, religious services were held in all mosques. Moslems of the Uighur, Kazakh, Hui, Khalkhas, Tadjik, Uzbek and Tartar nationalities thronged the streets, exchanging festival greetings. In Urumchi, to mark the occasion, a Uighur dance-drama was staged in the beautiful opera and modern drama theatre; extra shows were arranged by all cinemas. In southern Sinkiang, in the beautiful city of Kashgar where the inhabitants are pre-

dominantly Moslem, 50,000 Moslems attended the religious services held at the city's two most famous mosques.

In Sinkiang, the Corban and Bairam are not celebrated exclusively by the Moslems. Government officials, workers and employees of Han and other non-Islamic nationalities invariably pay courtesy calls on such occasions on their Moslem colleagues who prepare doughnuts, sweetmeats and other traditional delicacies for their guests.

Way Up in the Northeast

Olunchun Hunters — 10 Years of Settled Life. Ten years of a settled life have brought a 40 per cent increase in the number of the Olunchun people, a small national group which has lived for generations by hunting in the thick forests on both sides of the Great and Little Khingan Mountains. Before liberation the Olunchuns were in danger of extinction. In 1953, with the help of the People's Government the last 1,000 of them settled down in the Heiho area in Heilungkiang and in an autonomous banner in Inner Mongolia. That year in addition to hunting, they reclaimed 70 hectares of land with farm tools supplied free of charge by the People's Government, this gave them their own agriculture for the first time in history. This year they have extended their farmland to 500 hectares. In their new homes, with a secure economic base, their standards of living have risen steadily. In Heiho alone there are now six primary schools, enough for all their school-age children. This summer their first college graduate returned from the Central Institute of Nationalities in Peking.

Pen Probes

Kavelin Logic

IN 19th century Russia, there was a man (?) called Kavelin who used to lick the boots of the tsar. When the tsar lost his temper and thundered: Gaol all the revolutionaries! Kavelin commented with an air of great wisdom: Yes, yes, that is the least the government can do in self-defence! When Cherneshevsky, a leading Russian intellectual and revolutionary democrat, was arrested, Kavelin dipped his pen in gall and declared that this arrest "didn't seem shocking" to him, because ". . . a revolutionary party regards all means good to overthrow the government and the government defends itself by its own means."

Kavelin's logic, which justifies the brutalities of the tsarist regime, has become the logic of all reactionaries. It is used today in many countries to justify red-baiting. In the United States it is used by extension to justify Washington's foreign policy of provocation, aggression and war against the socialist countries and the national-liberation movements.

As Washington sees it, the new socialist nations are victims of "communist aggression," direct or indirect. Therefore, as the main bulwark of the "free world," the United States is justified in using whatever means are

necessary: political, economic or even war, to restore capitalism to these so-called "captive nations"—the nations which, after the last war, threw off the yoke of capitalism and took the road of socialism.

As for the peoples who are rising against their imperialist, colonialist or neo-colonialist oppressors and exploiters, Washington, as the self-appointed "policeman of the world," regards all means justified to put them back in their place.

Then, last summer, this logic of the reactionaries was picked up by Khrushchov in his speech at a Moscow meeting of Soviet-Hungarian friendship (July 19, 1963). Said he: "From the reasoning of certain people one gets the impression that a certain socialist country and the Communist Party of that country has the right to launch a war against this or that capitalist country. . . ." "According to this logic," said he, "the imperialist countries would also have the 'right' to unleash wars against the socialist countries in order to re-establish the capitalist system in these countries."

Here, Khrushchov's logic is the same as Washington's logic and they both start from fictitious premises that are contrary to the facts.

Kennedy proclaims subversive activities against the socialist countries as perfectly well-justified activity by his premise that it is to "liberate the captive nations!" He justifies U.S. imperialist attempts to suppress the revolu-

tion or liberation struggles in various countries by proclaiming its intervention a rightful act in the holy crusade against communism.

In mentioning his "impression" gained "from the reasoning of certain people" Khrushchov did not cite any hard fact to support this "impression"—because there is none. He can produce no evidence that that "certain country" has ever proposed to advance the socialist revolution by launching a war against the capitalist countries. He can point to no Chinese Communist or any Chinese People's Liberation Armyman launching a war against this or that capitalist country.

The logic of Marxist-Leninists is this: Since the imperialists and the reactionaries in various countries are brutally exploiting and using armed force to oppress the people, the people have every right to overthrow their reactionary rule.

The logic of the modern Kavelins and revisionists, which is the same as the logic of the Kennedys, is this: If anyone dares to make revolution, to overthrow the rule of imperialism and reaction, the reactionaries have every "right" to destroy him by their own means including war, and no one should consider this shocking. Khrushchov, by tortuous innuendo, suggests to them suitable arguments to justify their stand. Is this one reason why today Harriman hails him as being like an "able" "American statesman?"

Curfew Shall Not Ring Tonight!

"Lodge me a protest," Kennedy cried

In most extreme vexation.

"A million dollars a day I pay

To keep south Viet Nam beneath my sway;

To hold the hated Reds at bay —
And what do I get?

The worst deal yet!
Curfew shall not ring tonight!"

So Lodge arises; flies away.

Arrives in Saigon — says his say:

"We love your country, Diem," he vows,

"Its tall pagodas, its children's faces;

We love it for its beauty and its military bases.

Free of Reds and Communism,

With U.S. gas and Kennedy,

How happy all the Vietnamese will be!

"But this war is dragging on and on;

Despite the fact our might is right,

For all our millions down the drain

We face an endless fight!

Things are bad; why make them worse?

As a Christian gent,

What's your intent?

This Diem curfew is just

pure spite!

For us —

We'll save your country
even if we wipe out
every Vietnamese in
sight!

Only, don't destroy our
image!

Don't let curfew ring
tonight!"

*But the curfew rings dully,
with an empty sound:*

Dgo-Diem-Nhu.



NEWS IN BRIEF

On August 14, between 16:58 hours and 18:27 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters east of the Chiangchunao area of Fukien Province.

On August 22, between 08:00 hours and 09:37 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters east of the Pai-chuan Islands of Fukien Province. Between 09:04 hours and 12:27 hours on the same day, another U.S. warship intruded into the waters south of Tahsingshan of Kwangtung Province.

On August 30, between 13:03 hours and 13:11 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Chaoshu Island, Pei Island and Yunghsing Island in the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province. Between 13:20 hours and 13:24 hours on the same day, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's

territorial air space over the area of Tung Island in the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

On September 5, between 10:52 hours and 11:02 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Yunghsing Island in the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province. Between 11:14 hours and 11:24 hours on the same day, another U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Tung Island in the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

On September 16, between 06:05 hours and 14:36 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the area of the Yunghsing and Tung Islands in the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

On September 22, between 14:33 hours and 15:03 hours, a U.S. warship intruded into China's territorial waters in the area east of Nanjih Island of Fukien Province.

On September 23, between 21:18 hours and 21:27 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area east of Yencheng in Kiangsu Province.

A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been authorized to issue the 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th, 259th, 260th warnings against these provocations.

An eight-member *delegation* of the Japanese Socialist Party, led by Koichi Yamamoto, arrived in Peking on September 19. The Japanese had come for a visit at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

On September 23, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China Tung Pi-wu received and had a friendly talk with the Japanese guests.

The 117th meeting *of the Sino-American* Ambassadorial talks was held in Warsaw on September 11.

ROUND THE WORLD

Malaysia

An Unwanted Child

Malaysia, sired by Whitehall with Washington's blessings, is an unwanted child in Southeast Asia. It has come into the world amidst strong opposition from the people within the area it embraces—and beyond. Even on the day of its birth the voice of disapproval sounded. Penang, a major city in Malaya, refused to celebrate the event, and several Malayan and Singapore political parties articulated the unmistakably hostile sentiments of the people by going on record that they would continue to oppose this hastily contrived federation of Malaya, North Borneo, Singapore and Sarawak.

Neighbouring Indonesia has withheld recognition of the federation. While the Indonesian people protested and demonstrated in force in Djakarta and other cities, President Sukarno announced a policy of economic confrontation with Malaysia and severed all economic ties with Malaya and Singapore.

Opposition to the "Malaysia" scheme was so widespread that the United Nations was brought in to conduct what it called a survey to "ascertain" the wishes of the people of Sarawak and Sabah. Under the direction of L. Michelmore, an American official of the U.N. Secretariat, a U.N. team came, went, and wrote. They saw thousands braving police repression to demonstrate against Malaysia, and yet released a report claiming that the people supported the idea. Naturally its publication was hailed in London and also in Washington. When this is linked with the fact that Kennedy sent a special envoy to the federation's inauguration ceremony in Kuala Lumpur and that Wall Street is talking of the opportunities now opened for U.S. businessmen, it is clear that Washington already has

its neo-colonialist finger in this curiously concocted pie.

Malaysia is a new form of colonialism, introduced to buttress the shaky rule of British imperialism in the region. "Divide and rule" has failed, and now it is "combine and rule." By this new tactic of tying several colonies together in a fake federation, Britain hopes to stave off the mounting national-liberation movement in the area and so preserve all that it can of its ill-gotten interests.

Malaysia has come into existence but it faces continued opposition from its own people who want real freedom and the opposition of the Indonesian and other peoples who want British and U.S. imperialism out of Asia.

Cambodia

Judging by Facts

Cambodia's Head of State Prince Sihanouk has explained on several recent occasions why his country refused to sign the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty and has also refuted Western imperialist slanders against China.

Speaking at a public gathering on September 20, Prince Sihanouk declared that Cambodia has not signed the Moscow treaty because it did not want to "sign on an illusory promise to peace." "We are happy," he said, "that our views and those of the great friendly republic—the People's Republic of China—are the same. We honour China's effective friendship. We prefer to be with China alone than with a multitude of countries, which, in times of danger, would leave us in the lurch."

Earlier, in a signed editorial published in the Cambodian weekly *Nationalist* of September 3, Prince Sihanouk elaborated the reasons for Cambodia's support of China's proposal for a conference of the heads of governments of all countries to discuss the complete and thorough prohibition of nuclear weapons. He described the rabid attacks on the Chinese proposal as "the desire of certain big powers to keep the rest of the world outside of what they regard as their exclusive province, to dominate other countries and to decide their fate arbitrarily." The Prince also noted that "in making an all-out effort to collect a maximum of signatures, the initiators of the [Moscow] treaty show that while opposed to the participation of all countries on an equal footing in the conference, they insist on their approving the treaty. This in short is an application of the policy of satellization in conferences and treaties."

In a later article published in the same magazine (September 17), Prince Sihanouk refuted point by point several major Western imperialist slanders against China. He stressed that the image created by "free world" psychological warfare laboratories of China being a dragon spitting fire and extending its claws to this or that Asian country has no effect whatsoever on the minds of Asians. It is impossible, he wrote, to present the fighting which took place between Indian and Chinese troops as "a campaign of conquest launched by China against India." "For us, People's China cannot be characterized as imperialistic; but many other nations, white and Asiatic, big and medium, are openly imperialistic in their behaviour. It is impossible for us to follow the Westerner's judgment of China. They have conjured up their image by auto-suggestion, whereas



Look! Everyone here's for Malaysia.
Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

we judge by facts," the Prince concluded.

Pakistan

U.S. Pressure Tactics

Pakistan offers a good example of the way Washington treats, or rather ill-treats, its "allies." The Kennedy Administration has no compunction in pouring arms and munitions into India even though this means endangering Pakistan's security. Yet when Pakistan signed a border agreement and more recently a civil air transport agreement with China, the same U.S. Government tried to browbeat it by crude political and economic pressure.

The day after the air agreement was signed, the U.S. State Department announced that it had "postponed indefinitely" a \$4.3 million loan to Pakistan to help improve the Dacca airport. A few days later, U.S. Under-Secretary of State Ball flew into Rawalpindi for talks with President Ayub Khan and other Pakistan leaders.

According to U.S. papers, Ball returned empty-handed from his mission though he had tried "both firmness and sweetness on [President] Ayub." As reported by the Karachi daily *Dawn*, the U.S. diplomat was told that Pakistan would (1) continue to develop friendly relations with as many of her neighbours as possible, (2) under no circumstances agree to the continued arms aid to India which posed a threat to her and (3) refuse to beg for aid at the price of changing the fundamentals of her foreign policy.

Pakistan is justifiably angered by Washington's selfishness and high-handedness. As an independent nation, she is standing up for her sovereign rights, and this is what Washington cannot stomach.

Meeting in Nicosia

Accent on Anti-Imperialism

Nicosia, the Mediterranean venue for the recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, struck a new blow in the struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism. Before the session achieved the success it deserved, delegates had to engage in many a passage of arms

with the Soviet delegation which tried their utmost to get the meeting to abandon the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The General Declaration, the General Political Resolution and the series of specific resolutions adopted at the Cypriot capital give clear expression to the common desire in Asia and Africa — to unite still more closely in their fight against imperialism. They strongly condemn the policies of war and aggression pursued by imperialism with the United States at its head, hit hard at old and new colonialism, and censure the racial discrimination practised by the United States and other colonial powers.

These results have been achieved in face of fierce obstruction and opposition put up by those who want to come to terms with U.S. ruling circles. Throughout the meeting there was a sharp confrontation, a struggle between two lines of action. One line was advocated by China and like-minded delegations which represented the majority at the conference. The other aimed at dividing the people and vitiating their revolutionary struggle, was put forward by the Soviet delegation.

A head-on collision ensued over many important issues, particularly on support for the Cuban people's struggle, on support for the American Negro struggle, on the question of an Afro-Asian trade union conference, on the Sino-Indian border conflict and on the partial test ban treaty. But Soviet soft-peddling and abject surrender to U.S. imperialism on the question of Cuba met with no success; nor did they do any better in their attempts to head off the anti-imperialist struggle by embroiling the meeting in the Sino-Indian border issue. The resolution on the Afro-Asian Trade Union Conference, railroaded through the meeting by the Soviet delegation, was strongly opposed by Indonesia, China, Japan and Korea, which declared that such a resolution, running counter to the Moshi resolution, could have no binding effect on their trade union organizations.

It was the struggle over the question of the test ban treaty which held the centre of the stage at Nicosia. Of the 25 delegates who spoke on the subject, most denounced or exposed the treaty as a great hoax, or said that the at-

tention of the meeting should not be diverted from the main objective. Only a foursome, the Soviet Union, India, Mongolia and the Lebanon, praised and puffed about it. Many delegates were outraged by the Soviet manoeuvres. Algeria spoke strongly against the Soviet behaviour while Kenya pointed out the negative effects of the treaty. The Soviet delegation was completely isolated, and the drafting committee finally produced a General Declaration in line with the policy of Afro-Asian solidarity and with the spirit of the Moshi conference.

Defeated on the General Declaration, the Soviet delegation turned to the committee for drafting the General Political Resolution to force their opinion on the meeting. With the help of the Indian and Lebanese delegations and using tactics which did not make them any more popular, the Soviet delegation imposed on the meeting the views of delegations totalling less than half the number of the participants at the Nicosia meeting. In their desperate efforts to sell the test ban treaty the Soviet delegation only incurred the indignation of all those who want to fight against and not fawn on U.S. imperialism.

Although on a much smaller scale than the Moshi conference, the Nicosia meeting serves to illustrate a truth to the peoples of Asia and Africa. An uncompromising struggle must be waged against that discredited line of abandoning the anti-imperialist struggle and splitting Afro-Asian solidarity, and vigilance against disruptive moves must be sharpened at all times.

THE PASSING SHOW

He Learnt the Hard Way

General de Castries ("Le Cavalier") was commander of the crack French troops whose surrender at Dienbienphu in 1954 ended French colonialist rule in Viet Nam. Now retired, he said in a recent interview: "I do not believe the war in Viet Nam can be won by arms. Time is on Ho Chi Minh's side." And he suggested the solution: "A democratic government chosen by the people — not imposed by the West."

Getting Ready for National Day



Peking's entertainment world is going all out to make China's coming 14th National Day a memorable one. With the two-day October first and second holiday a week off, final touches are being made for the annual mammoth celebration in the nation's capital.

Throughout the city theatrical troupes are using off-hours for special rehearsals. In Peking's picturesque parks, extra efforts are being devoted to making their decorations outshine the scarlet silk lanterns and coloured lights which all communes, offices and shops will be displaying. At the Palace Museum a collection of priceless traditional Chinese paintings from past centuries is being readied for a special showing. Outside the city, in the nearby Western Hills, preparations are under way at scenic spots and temples for the annual influx of city and out-of-town visitors.

A rich and varied programme of theatrical fare is ready for the National Day celebrations. The five-day September 30 to October 4 period will see more than 150 performances of operas, dramas, concerts, ballets, acrobatics, films and puppet shows.

Peking residents will be hard put to make a decision on what to see.

Four New Plays

Peking opera has long been the top favourite in this traditionally opera-loving city. In recent months, however, the modern drama has been giving it some strong competition. Since early in the year a number of plays have taken the theatrical spotlight. The opening of four new dramas—*The Younger Generation*, *Welcome Spring Flower*, *Three Professors* and *Li Kuo-ju*—will add lustre to National Day, 1963. According to preview reports, these plays are destined to have successful runs.

All four deal with contemporary events. This indicates the strong current which has been running through the capital's theatrical efforts of late. Dramas, traditional operas, modern operas, balladry and other media are increasingly featuring stories of the recent revolutionary past or of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Theatre-goers have warmly received plays such as *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights* and *The Seal*, a drama about a production brigade in a people's commune. Both have been staged by as many as eight different companies, the latter in different operatic forms. Even traditional opera—which usually deals with historical and traditional themes—has been attempting to widen its scope to include modern themes. A recent performance of *The "August 1" Storm*, a dramatization of the events leading to the founding of the Chinese Red Army, has been acclaimed as one of the more successful attempts of this kind.

In addition to plays, operas and films with modern themes will be showing over the holidays. *Red Propagandist*, a Korean drama, will be presented in a popular local opera form, *pingju* opera, as well as *The Hsiangyang Department Store*, a down-to-earth, chatty and human story of salesmen in a city. A modern comedy written for *quyi* (another style of local opera), *Smiles and Cheers*, will also be performed.

"Pingtan" Balladry From Soochow

Peking's many southerners are looking forward to seeing a renowned group from the south—the Soochow Pingtan Troupe (*pingtan* is storytelling to musical accompaniment). The ensemble will feature modern works as well as traditional ones.

New features from studios in Shanghai, Canton and Changchun will highlight holiday film showings. *Red Sun* vividly brings to the screen two decisive battles in the War of Liberation. Chiang Kai-shek's Reorganized 74th Division—his "crack unit" completely armed with U.S. equipment and his final trump card—is sent reeling on the Shantung front. Adapted from a best-selling novel by Wu Chiang, the film dramatically answers one question that must have tortured the 74th Divisional Commander—What makes the P.L.A. men an undefeatable force? *On the Trail of the Enemy* and *Strangers on the Icy Mountain* are set wide apart, one on the banks of the Pearl River in south China and the other on the borders of Sinkiang in the northwest. Both are counter-espionage suspense films that will keep audiences on edge.

Any report on stage entertainment of contemporary topics must include at least one other feature.

Many cultural teams from Peking recently returned from three- or four-month visits to the countryside. "Report-back performances" during the holidays of some of their most popular shows in the rural areas will include many new additions composed by team members on the spot. One of them is *By the Chienkan River*, a



Peking Opera actress Kuan Shu-shuang in the title role of "The Hani Heroine"
Sketches by Li Ke-yu

three-act play over which previewers in the capital are enthusiastic. The author conceived it as he listened to anecdotes told by the commune cadres. After drafting his play, he was able to enrich the content as a result of talking it over with peasants in the area.

New Traditional Operas

Contemporary themes, though many, certainly do not make up the whole show. Variety in form and subject, from both traditional and foreign sources, round out the holiday programme. Peking opera troupes are coming out with a number of new traditional productions. One of them is *Liang Hung-yu*, a tale of a historical heroine in the Sung Dynasty, remembered for her role in beating back the Kin invaders. *Yu Chien* is another. A historical figure of the Ming Dynasty in the mid-15th century, Yu Chien's memory is honoured for his staunch resistance against invaders in the face of loud cries at court to compromise. This is the first attempt to fully characterize Yu Chien in an artistic work, and it does him justice. The performance should be particularly welcomed here because the story takes place in ancient Peking. Time-tested favourites will be on in great numbers: an incident from the classic *Pilgrimage to the West—Uproar in Heaven*—with plenty of fun and art, too, for the just-initiated into Peking opera, the myths *Magic Lotus Lantern* and *The Tale of the White Snake*, the famous *Prime Minister and General Make Peace* of the Warring States, the Han Dynasty beauty *Wang Chao-chun*, the great Yuan Dynasty playwright Kuan Han-ching's *Riverside Pavilion*, *Meeting of Heroes* and *Borrowing the East Wind* from the classical novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, and *The Wild Boar Forest* from another classic, *Water Margin*.

A visiting Peking opera troupe from the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region will present a charming Sinkiang legend *Sharan and Parhat*. Another group, from multi-national Yunnan Province, will perform *The Hani Heroine*, an opera describing a young Hani national minority girl who led an uprising against local despots on the

eve of liberation. Well-known Manchu nationality actress Kuan Shu-shuang will be in the title role.

The North Kunqu Opera Theatre of Peking has come out with *Ching Wen*, a new production. A maid in Chia Pao-yu's household from the novel *Dream of the Red Chamber*, Ching Wen is considered one of the most outstanding characterizations of the author. Beautiful, vivacious, candid and straightforward, she dares to love, to hate, to laugh and to speak out in a feudal household where she is deprived of all these rights by birth. Inevitably her end comes tragically, but she is unbowed. The new opera is a joint work by well-known scholar Wang Kun-lun, also Vice-Mayor of Peking, and his daughter.

Concert and Ballet

Ballet and concert troupes have not been idle. The Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing will present a five-day run of a new production *Esmeralda*, from Victor Hugo's *Hunchback of Notre Dame*. The Central Philharmonic Society with its lyric soprano Liu Shu-fang, baritone Wei Chi-hsien and many other well-known names will be out in full force to give a recital of vocal music in support of the struggle of the Negro people. The programme will include revolutionary songs from Somalia, Zanzibar, Cameroon, Guinea and Ghana, and many American Negro folk songs and spirituals.

The Symphony Orchestra of the Central Philharmonic Society will give two concerts featuring Beethoven, Mozart, Tchaikovsky, and Lo Chung-jung's *First Symphony*, a work by one of the society's composers. Yin Cheng-tsung, an outstanding pianist and second-prize winner at the Sec-

ond International Tchaikovsky Competition, will join forces with the orchestra in a performance of the Liszt Second Piano Concerto. Both concerts will be under the baton of Li Teh-lun, the orchestra's chief conductor.

There will be many opportunities to hear and see the songs and dances of China's many nationalities as well as those of other Asian, African and Latin American countries in the programmes of the Central Opera and Dance-Drama Theatre, the visiting Liaoning Modern Opera Theatre, the Central Nationalities Song and Dance Ensemble and the Dong Fang (Oriental) Art Ensemble.

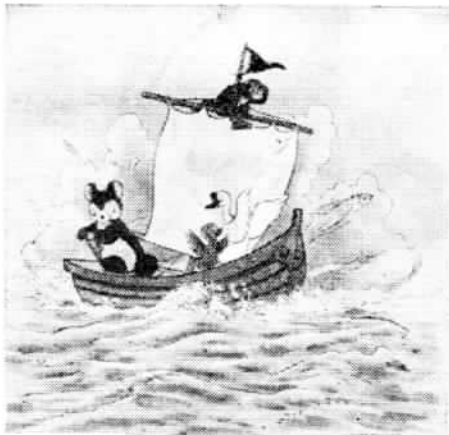
"Dream of the Red Chamber" Exhibition

Cultural and art exhibitions will be a feature of the October holidays. In addition to the special exhibition of famous traditional Chinese paintings at the Palace Museum, there will be a number of other showings. One of the most popular will undoubtedly be the present comprehensive exhibition in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the death of Tsao Hsueh-chin, the author of the classic *Dream of the Red Chamber*. Another is of traditional Chinese paintings by the renowned artist of the Nahsi national minority, Chou Lin. An exhibition of modern decorative art will be particularly interesting for the manner in which traditional forms and materials are used for modern purposes. Both the latter are at the Museum of Chinese Art.

In addition to many National Day visitors from abroad, two song and dance ensembles from Japan and Indonesia will join in celebrating the occasion.



From "Esmeralda" by the Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing



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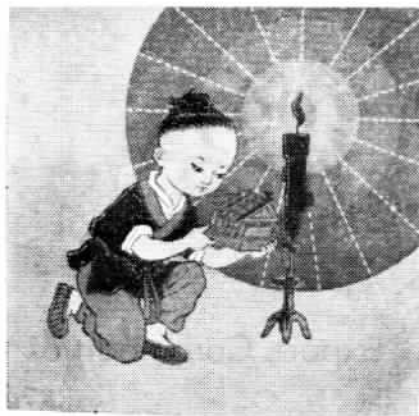
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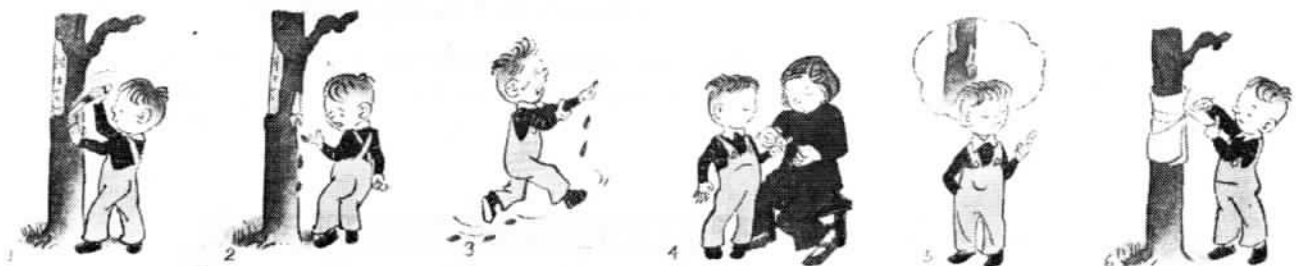
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