

PEKING REVIEW

38

September 18, 1964

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 18, 1964 Vol. VII No. 38

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his close comrades-in-arms Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen have been elected Deputies to the coming Third National People's Congress by the Fifth Peking Municipal People's Congress.

- Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, paid a visit to Peking. He met Chairman Mao Tse-tung and held talks with Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

- Hsinhua News Agency has been authorized to refute the rumours and slanders against China jointly spread by the revisionist Khrushchov clique and the Indian reactionaries.

- An Algerian government economic delegation is visiting China.

- The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation will soon send a permanent delegation to Peking.

- The Chinese theoretical fortnightly *Hongqi* (Red Flag) in its second supplement carried the article "Stalin's Struggle Against Trotskyism and Bukharinism" by Cheng Yen-shih. The article tells how Stalin defended and developed the theories and tactics of Marxism-Leninism concerning the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist construction and the revolution of the oppressed nations.

- The Chinese press published:

- the letter of reply (August 26) from the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party to the April 18, 1964, letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

- the joint statement signed on September 7 in Djakarta by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party, and D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party. It declared that an unremitting struggle must be carried out against the modern revisionists and that an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties should result in strengthening the unity, and not causing a split, in the international communist movement.

- an article by Observer in the Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon*, refuting *Pravda's* slanders on the Second Asian Economic Seminar.

Chairman Mao and His Comrades-in-Arms Elected to N.P.C.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all the nationalities of China, and his close comrades-in-arms Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen were unanimously elected Deputies to the coming Third National People's Congress by the Fifth Peking Municipal People's Congress at its first session (September 3-12).

Over 700 Deputies attended the plenary session of the Municipal

People's Congress. The announcement of the results of the election by secret ballot was greeted by applause lasting several minutes.

In accordance with the electoral law, the list of candidates was jointly proposed after consultations among the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Peking committees of the various democratic parties and people's or-



Comrade Mao Tse-tung with Comrade Kenji Miyamoto

ganizations. It was fully discussed by the Deputies at the session. They acclaimed the election of Chairman Mao and his comrades-in-arms as an honour and a source of happiness to the people of Peking and of the whole nation. Speakers recalled how, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people had advanced from victory to victory and scored great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction. They pledged that they would continue to forge ahead along the path pointed out by Chairman Mao, carry the socialist revolution through to the end and build China into a strong socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry, science and technology and national defence.

Altogether, 101 Deputies were elected, more than three times the number elected to the Second National People's Congress. Among the Deputies are workers, poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, model workers and peasants, scientists, professors, primary school teachers and stage artists. Many are women and members of various national minorities.

Chinese and Japanese C.P. Leaders Meet

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on September 13 met with Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, who arrived in Peking on September 9 for a visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Later, he gave a banquet in honour of Comrade Miyamoto.

On September 10, Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, held talks with Comrade Miyamoto on questions of common concern.

That same evening, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party gave a banquet in his honour. Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and other leaders of the C.P.C. were present. At the banquet both Liu Shao-chi and Kenji Miyamoto toasted the growing friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the great Marxist-Leninist unity between the Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties and the victory

of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world.

Kenji Miyamoto left Peking on September 13 for home.

Chairman Mao Receives French Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung received the leading officials of the French Technical Exhibition now being held in Peking and had a friendly talk with them. The French guests were Guillaume Georges-Picot, honorary president of the exhibition, and his wife; M.J. Duhamel, executive president of the exhibition, and his wife; and Bernard de Gaulle, Secretary-General of the French Applied Electronics Company. The French Ambassador to China, Lucien Paye, was also present.

Chairman Liu Receives Zanzibar Guests

Chairman Liu Shao-chi on September 13 received the members of the visiting delegation of the Zanzibar and Pemba Afro-Shirazi Youth League led by its President Seif Bakari Omar. Chairman Liu had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

Smash U.S. War Policy

"All the peace-loving countries and people must maintain sharp vigilance, resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and thoroughly smash all its sinister plots," said Vice-Premier Chen Yi at the reception given by Korean Charge d'Affaires ad interim Zung Bong Koo in Peking on September 9 to celebrate the 16th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The reception was attended by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Chinese leaders who warmly congratulated their Korean comrades-in-arms. Hosts and guests on this happy occasion toasted the growing fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples.

The Vice-Premier denounced U.S. imperialism for stepping up military activities in the Far East and Southeast Asia. He said that the Chinese people would definitely not sit idly by in the face of U.S. aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

He also pledged support for the Indonesian people in their just struggle in defence of their sovereignty and against Malaysia — a product of neo-colonialism. The Vice-Premier castigated U.S. imperialism and its partners for their activities hostile to the German Democratic Republic and designed to isolate it. He declared: "The German Democratic Republic is a member of the socialist camp. The Chinese people firmly stand on the side of the people of the German Democratic Republic and resolutely support them in their just struggle for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and for safeguarding their sovereignty."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi hailed the Korean people's achievements which, he said, "are great victories for the correct line laid down by the Korean Workers' Party and Government and have set a brilliant example for the revolutionary people of the world."

Indonesian Friends Welcomed

Indonesian Air Chief Marshal Suryadarma, Minister and Military Adviser to the President, and Mrs. Utami Suryadarma, Chairman of the Film Censorship Board, arrived in Peking on September 14 following a visit to Korea. Among the hundreds of P.L.A. officers and men and Peking residents welcoming the distinguished guests at Peking airport were Air Force General Liu Ya-lou, Vice-Minister of National Defence and Commander of the Air Force of the Chinese P.L.A., his wife, and Hsia Yen, Vice-Minister of Culture.

That evening General Liu Ya-lou gave a banquet in honour of the Indonesian friends. Both hosts and guests toasted the growing friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples forged in their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

General Liu Ya-lou in his speech pledged support for the Indonesian people's struggle against imperialism and "Malaysia" and for safeguarding their national independence.

Veteran Fighter From Congo (B)

Boukambou Julien, leading member of the Congolese (B) Trade Union

Confederation and First Deputy Speaker of the Congo (B), and his wife are now visiting China. On September 13, Peking held a meeting to welcome him. Lin Feng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, was among the 1,500 people present.

Addressing the meeting, Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, paid tribute to the remarkable achievements gained by the Congolese (B) people under the leadership of President Alphonse Massamba-Debat in consolidating their national independence and sovereignty and developing their national economy and culture.

Hailing the recent victory won by the Congolese (B) people in smashing U.S. subversive activities, Liao Cheng-chih expressed the conviction that "as long as they carry the anti-imperialist struggle through to the end and combine political independence with the building of an independent national economy, the Congolese (B) people will certainly be able, by relying on their own efforts, to build their country into a prosperous, strong new state."

He strongly condemned U.S. armed intervention in the Congo (L) and its provocations, through Tshombe, against the Congo (B), Burundi and other African countries which have refused to support U.S. policies of aggression. "The people of the world," said Liao Cheng-chih, "will never allow U.S. imperialism to succeed in its scheme of using 'Africans to fight Africans,' nor will they allow it to turn the Congo (L) into a second Viet Nam." He pledged that in the struggle against imperialism the 650 million Chinese people would always stand together with the Congolese (B) people and the people of Africa.

Boukambou Julien took the floor amid warm applause. He denounced the imperialists headed by the United States, the international gendarme of this century, for its bombing raids against Viet Nam, the Congo and Cuba, for establishing military bases everywhere, for supporting the government of South

Africa and for massacring people in Angola, Kivu and Cabinda.

He scorned U.S. imperialism for its "hypocrisy" and "lack of common sense" in turning a blind eye to a nation with a population of 650 million. "The Congolese people desire to learn from China's economic experience in spite of the fact that our common enemy doesn't like this," Boukambou Julien concluded.

On the previous day, the Congolese (B) guests were received by Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

Sino-Guinean Friendship

Guinean Charge d'Affaires ad interim Bangoura Momo gave a reception in Peking on September 13 to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Guinea-China Friendship Treaty — the first friendship treaty signed between China and an African country. Vice-Premier Chen Yi was among the guests.

Speaking at the reception, Bangoura Momo hailed the growth of friendly relations between the two countries since the signing of the treaty. He expressed warm thanks for China's aid to Guinea, which he referred to as "genuine and without any political strings." "The way the aid is given," Bangoura Momo declared, "is more important than the aid itself. This is Guinea's principle of receiving foreign aid."

Chi Peng-fei, Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, said that the treaty "not only conforms to the common interests of the peoples of China and Guinea but also plays an important role in promoting friendship between China and Africa and Asian-African solidarity."

Chi Peng-fei strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for stepping up its aggression and intervention in the Congo (L). He declared that the Chinese Government and people would always stand by the people of the Congo and other African countries and resolutely support their just struggle.

(Continued on p. 29.)

Regular Participation in Labour Keeps Cadres Close to Masses

Following is a slightly abridged translation of the August 30 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "Only by Regularly Taking Part in Labour Can Cadres Keep Close Contact With the Masses." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

PARTICIPATION of cadres in collective productive labour is a revolutionary measure for fundamentally improving the style of leadership and getting rid of bureaucracy. Regular participation in collective productive labour enables cadres, as they engage in labour and do various other kinds of work, to direct attention to relying on workers and the former poor and lower-middle peasants, listen carefully to the opinions of the masses, discuss everything with them, and do their work as actual conditions demand. In this way mutual relations between cadres at all levels and the masses become closer and class feeling between them becomes more firmly founded.

Keep Close to the Masses and Avoid Bureaucracy

Our Party is leading the people of the country in carrying on the socialist revolution and socialist construction—the greatest and most arduous undertaking in the history of mankind. Only by relying closely on the broadest masses, boldly mobilizing the masses and bringing their initiative and creativeness into full play, can we overcome all difficulties and obstacles and go on winning new victories in revolution and construction.

Cadres at all levels must maintain the keenest vigilance against the growth of bureaucracy, and corruption by it, and constantly pay attention to maintaining close ties with the broad masses. If our cadres become divorced from the masses, they will lose their sensitivity, clarity of judgment and insight into the complexities of the class struggle, and all those new and old bourgeois elements and the reactionary classes which have been overthrown will seize the opportunity to stir up trouble and engage in all sorts of underhand sabotage activities. We must never relax our vigilance against these dangers. Leading organs at all levels and all cadres must pay earnest and serious attention to solving the question of revolutionizing the style of leadership in conformity with the situation in the class struggle, take resolute, effective measures to prevent and overcome bureaucracy and strengthen the relations between the core of leadership at all levels and the broad masses.

What must be done to maintain close contact with the broad masses and prevent and overcome bureauc-

racy? One of the most important and effective measures is for cadres at all levels to participate regularly in collective productive labour.

A directive issued in 1957 by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning participation in physical labour by leading functionaries at all levels has already pointed out that when cadres took part in productive labour and became one with the masses, this helped to uncover and solve problems in timely concrete fashion, helped improve the style of leadership and consequently made it easier to avoid and overcome bureaucracy. The 1958 directive on cadres at all levels setting up "experimental plots" again pointed out that this is a method for thoroughly overcoming bureaucracy and subjectivism, doing away with bureaucratic airs and enabling cadres really to get out among the masses and lead them. In 1963, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in pointing out once again the great revolutionary significance of cadres taking part in labour said: This enables cadres at all levels to go really deep into the practice of the three great revolutionary movements—the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, helping them fundamentally to prevent revisionism and overcome bureaucracy, and maintain the broadest, closest and constant ties with the masses.

Working Together Helps Foster Class Feeling

Whether or not a cadre participates in productive labour has in fact become the touchstone of whether he follows the revolutionary style of work of the proletariat or not. Facts show that wherever in the villages cadres and masses have really and for a long time maintained close relations, there the cadres have always regularly taken part in productive labour. Wherever cadres have become divorced from the masses, it invariably began with their first becoming divorced from labour. Many cadres working at the grass-roots confirmed through their experience that whether relations between the cadres and the masses are intimate or not is primarily determined by whether or not cadres take part in productive labour together with the masses. When cadres regularly take part in collective productive labour, relations with the masses which had not previously been intimate will become intimate; and, on the contrary, even intimate relations will become less so if cadres do not take part in collective productive labour.

Why? Because working together is the easiest way to foster class feeling, the easiest way to exchange class feelings. If you take part in production regularly together with the masses, rain or shine, working closely by the side of the masses, exerting your energies on the same plot of land, letting your sweat soak into the same soil, the masses will know that you really can share weal and woe with them and truly regard yourself as an ordinary worker like them; this way, they will sincerely trust you, support and help you.

Some comrades have acquired the habit of floating on the surface, content to dash about catching a glimpse of things, giving orders, spouting opinions, floating hither and thither on the surface like floating weeds on water, believing that they have been far and wide, and understand a lot, when in actual fact they understand things only very superficially and in bits and pieces, and know mostly the deceptive appearance and not the essence of things. They have not put roots down in productive labour, not rooted themselves among the masses. Those who do not have roots among the masses only appear to be close to the masses. In actual fact, they understand nothing of the masses. When they are with the masses they generally have nothing more than a few words to say to them. They lack the basis for exchanging ideas with the masses — a common language.

A common language among people arises in most cases from taking part in labour together. If they put roots deep down among the masses by regularly working together with them, then in time cadres will naturally come to feel the pulse of the masses, know what they are thinking, what they are talking about, what they are happy about, what worries them, what difficult problems they face, and what are their most urgent demands. Naturally with this understanding they would always have a common language. A common language between cadres and the masses helps them to open their hearts to each other and exchange thoughts, and in this way cadres will, of course, constantly and on all occasions be able to make deeper studies and investigations among the masses and learn from them, and do ideological and political work among them and help them solve their various ideological and practical problems in an effective and lively way.

Essential for Good Ideological and Political Work

We talk every day about the importance of ideological and political work and of paying attention to living ideas, but we cannot possibly attend to living ideas effectively or do ideological and political work in a really satisfactory way if we do not take part in collective productive labour.

The frontline of production is an important position in the ideological struggle. If socialism does not occupy this position, then capitalism will, and ex-landlords and rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, undesirable elements and other freaks and monsters will raise the devil and stir up trouble; they will play such

tricks as spreading rumours and slanders and sowing discord among people. This, of course, is harmful to production and construction; it harms the collective economy as well as the dictatorship of the proletariat. Many cadres have had telling experience of this when taking part in productive labour. Some cadres working at the grass-roots have said: "We talk about socialism only at meetings, but other people are talking capitalism and feudalism in the field all day. We must go regularly to the frontline and take part in productive labour to seize that ideological position!" This also shows that the struggle for production is interlinked with the class struggle, and that the places where productive activities go on are also the frontline for ideological and political work and for the class struggle.

In order to direct their attention to living ideas, cadres must personally participate in collective productive labour, and in the course of this take timely note of the behaviour of the various classes and social strata and tendencies among them, gain an understanding of the changes in relationships between the various classes and social strata, and of the impact of the policies and measures of the Party and state on these classes and social strata and their reaction to them. Only under these conditions will we be able to implement the class line and policies of the Party and state correctly, rely on the former poor and lower-middle peasants and wage a successful class struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology. Only in this way will we be able really to unite with the broad masses of the working people, foster socialist uprightness, wage a resolute struggle against all noxious influences and evil tendencies, deal the class enemy blows, educate the labouring masses, develop production more effectively, and consolidate and strengthen the socialist collective economy.

Revolutionizing Style of Leadership

It can thus be seen that revolutionizing our style of leadership, preventing and overcoming bureaucracy, and strengthening the ties between the leadership and the masses by having cadres take part in productive labour is indeed a momentous matter of basic importance under socialism. This is certainly not a matter that concerns cadres at the grass-roots alone, but something that concerns leading organs and cadres at all levels. The style and method of the work of leadership at all levels need to be fundamentally reformed in many respects. Otherwise, the level of leadership of the leading organs at various levels cannot possibly suit a situation in which cadres take part in labour; it cannot possibly meet the requirements of the deepening of the socialist education movement.

Every leading organ must seriously check up on its own style of leadership in conjunction with its work of encouraging cadres to participate in labour; it must overcome bureaucracy, red-tape and routinism and embrace the idea of serving the basic units and the frontline in the class struggle and struggle for production. It should take resolute revolutionary measures to

reduce the number of meetings to what is essential and decisively simplify statistical and other reports that are overly complicated, so as to lighten the burden on cadres working at the grass-roots as well as on itself and so pave the way for cadres working at the grass-root level as well as leading cadres at all levels themselves to take a regular part in collective productive labour.

Leading cadres at various levels must pose the question of revolutionization to themselves, personally go deep to the grass-root level, regularly take part in collective productive labour together with the masses, and shoulder to shoulder with them participate in the three great revolutionary movements — the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Only

by going deep to the grass-root level in real earnest, staying there for a long period of time and taking part in labour, will leading cadres at various levels be able effectively to resist and overcome infection by the virus of bureaucracy; only in this way will they be able to make their ideology and work conform to the new situation in which the socialist revolution is deepening; only in this way will they be able to provide a guarantee by further revolutionization of their style of leadership that cadres at the grass-roots can take part regularly in collective productive labour and, by setting an example of the leading cadres themselves taking part in labour, encourage cadres at the grass-root level to persist in participating in labour.

Growing Arab Unity Against Imperialism

Following is a translation of the September 14 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "New Development of the Arab Cause of Unity Against Imperialism." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE week-long Second Arab Summit Conference which opened on September 5 in the U.A.R. Port of Alexandria has ended. The heads of state or their representatives from 13 Arab countries met to discuss a series of problems of common interest to their people. The joint communique issued after the conference solemnly announces the mobilizing of all Arab resources to face the challenge of imperialism and Zionism, and the determination to oppose imperialism on the Arabian Peninsula and to liquidate the imperialist bases threatening the peace and security of the Arab area. The communique welcomes the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization and endorses its decision to found a Palestine army. The conference reached agreement on plans for joint Arab action in the present and the next stages, stressed the need to strengthen economic co-operation among the Arab countries and to execute relevant agreements, and pledged devotion to Asian-African unity and support for the struggle of the African peoples still under colonial rule. The communique shows that the conference has enlarged the positive results of the First Arab Summit Conference and made new contributions to the further strengthening of the unity and co-operation of the Arab countries in their common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence.

Warning to Imperialist Forces

Today, in their vain attempt to control the newly emerging Arab countries and check the Arab national-liberation movement, imperialism and old and new colonialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, are ceaselessly plotting intervention and aggression against the Arab countries. They resort to a great variety of underhand and ruthless tactics — sowing discord in the fraternal

relations among the Arab countries, engaging in infiltration and subversion, threatening the use of force or unsheathing their butcher's knife for bloody suppression of the Arab people still under the yoke of colonialism. This has posed an increasingly grave threat to the independent development of the newly emerging Arab countries and to the peace and security of the Arab area. In such circumstances, the Arab people who have a glorious anti-imperialist tradition have no choice but to rise in struggle. Since the beginning of this year, the Arab countries and their people have launched an ever more extensive fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism. The Arab countries' struggle against U.S. imperialist support for Israel's aggression has been continuously strengthened while their resistance to British imperialist armed suppression of the liberation struggle in Aden and South Yemen is developing vigorously. The Arab people are calling ever more loudly for removal of the imperialist military bases. The Second Arab Summit Conference has now stressed: "Any aggression against any of the Arab countries would be considered as an aggression against all the Arab countries and all these countries are obliged to repulse it promptly." This solemn and just stand affirmed by the heads of state of the Arab countries is in full accord with the interests of the common struggle of the Arab people. This shows the heroic spirit of the people of the Arab countries in rallying their ranks against imperialism, their common foe. It is also a stern warning to the imperialist forces of aggression.

The demands of the Palestinian Arabs for the restoration of their legitimate rights and their return to their homeland were given close attention at the conference. This is because recently U.S. imperialism has further aggravated the problem of Palestine by brazenly championing Israel, its tool for aggression, in all possible ways. For many months past, U.A. Johnson, former U.S. Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, President Johnson and their ilk have tried to bolster up Israel by repeatedly announcing their

intention to ensure Israel's "security and integrity." Making no secret of their attempt to intimidate the Arab people, they have even threatened that "... this does not mean that we [the U.S. imperialists] will stand idly by if [Arab] aggression is committed." This year, along with big sums of U.S. dollars in "aid," U.S. imperialism has supplied Israel with Hawk missiles, large numbers of tanks, aircraft and other weapons and helped it with nuclear research for military purposes. In its public statement last month, the ruling Democratic Party in the United States even wanted to write off the problem of the refugees from Palestine so as to consolidate the existence of Israel. All this is the most vicious challenge against the Palestinian Arabs and all the Arab countries and their people, a challenge they will not tolerate. Since the meeting of the Palestinian National Congress last May, the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs has been advancing to new heights. The Second Arab Summit Conference has welcomed the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization, regarding it as "a vanguard in the joint Arab action for the liberation of Palestine." Moreover, it approved the creation of a Palestine army. It goes without saying that, having their own liberation organization, plus the support of the Arab countries, the struggle of the Arabs in Palestine will assuredly make further progress. The resolution adopted at the conference on the problem of Palestine will certainly be welcomed and supported by the Arab countries and their people.

The Second Arab Summit Conference condemned Britain's crimes of colonial enslavement, plunder and genocide and decided to combat imperialism on the Arabian Peninsula and to support the national-liberation struggles in the occupied south and Oman. This is absolutely just. As everyone knows, the brutal colonial rule of British imperialism in Aden, South Yemen and Oman is a poisonous ulcer implanted by Britain on the body of the Arab nation and one which over many years has brought great humiliation to the Arab people. Further, British imperialism also uses these places as strategic bases for intervention and aggression against

the Arab and African peoples. Recently, there have been signs that U.S. imperialism has stuck its nose in and is plotting with British imperialism to turn Aden into their common aggressive military base. This greatly increases the danger of the Arab countries suffering imperialist aggression and their people of course cannot sit idly by and watch. Without fail the Arab people will condemn and oppose aggressive actions, whether taken by British or U.S. imperialism.

Common Task

The Arab people and the Asian and African peoples have a common destiny, a common enemy and the common task of fighting imperialism and old and new colonialism. The Arab people know well that only through the mutual encouragement and support of the peoples of the various countries, and only by uniting against the enemy can the common struggle be victoriously pushed forward. The Second Arab Summit Conference supported the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, "Portuguese" Guinea and South Africa in their fight for freedom. It denounced foreign intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville). This clearly shows the firm resolve and determination of the people of the Arab countries to safeguard Asian-African solidarity and to struggle against imperialism.

The Chinese people have always sympathized with and supported the people of the Arab countries in their fight against imperialism. Every time the Arab people's united struggle against imperialism wins progress, the Chinese people are greatly gladdened and inspired. We solemnly condemn U.S. and British imperialist intervention and aggression against the people of the Arab countries, and support the Second Arab Summit Conference's stand and spirit of uniting to fight imperialism. We firmly support the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine to regain their legitimate rights and to return to their homeland, and the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of Aden, South Yemen and Oman and believe that final victory belongs to the fighting Arab people.

HANDS OFF CAMBODIA!

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

Following is a translation of a "Renmin Ribao" commentary "No Aggression Against Cambodia Allowed" published on September 15. — Ed.

OF late, statements and resolutions by the Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Royal Cambodian Government and the Cambodian Royal Council have successively exposed the military aggression launched by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in south Viet Nam against Cambodia and their threat of force. U.S. imperialism and the puppet group in south Viet Nam have been warned that they must be "held

fully responsible for the extremely grave consequences to the cause of peace resulting from their armed attack against Cambodia" and that Cambodia will resolutely fight back in the face of imperialism's deliberate aggression. This is the cry of a brave country, of an awakened nation; it represents the just stand taken by the Royal Cambodian Government and its people in preserving state sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

U.S. imperialist aggression and subversive activities against Cambodia are being intensified step by step. On September 5, the ground and air forces of the south

CHINA SUPPORTS CAMBODIA

China's "support for Cambodia's firm position and just demand enunciated in the 'Resolution of the Khmer Parliament,'" is expressed by Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in a recent cable to Prince Norodom Montana, Speaker of the Cambodian Royal Council, and Ung Hong Suth, President of the Cambodian National Assembly. The resolution strongly condemned the aggression deliberately committed by the U.S. imperialists and south Vietnamese puppet troops against Cambodia.

Expressing sympathy for the peaceful inhabitants of Cambodia who were the victims of U.S. aggression, Chairman Chu's cable said: "Such barbarous acts of aggression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys

constitute a gross violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements and a flagrant outrage against the principles of international law."

"The Chinese Government and people," the cable declared, "have always supported the just struggle of the Royal Government and people of Cambodia to safeguard their sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity; they strongly condemn U.S. imperialism and the south Vietnamese puppet troops for the monstrous crimes they have recently committed against the Cambodian people." The cable called upon all peace-loving countries and peoples to respond actively to the appeal of the Royal Council and National Assembly of Cambodia to check the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys against the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Viet Nam puppets attacked Cambodia's Koh Rokar area. This Washington-inspired crime has already been confirmed by an on-the-spot International Commission investigation. But U.S. imperialism counter-charged; while inventing the lie about Cambodia's "invasion" of south Viet Nam, it increased its military forces on the Cambodian-south Vietnamese border, thus creating serious tension there. This is obviously a premeditated aggressive move; as pointed out in a Cambodian government communique, U.S. imperialism is seeking an excuse for a large-scale attack on Cambodia.

For some time, U.S. imperialism, looking to strangle Cambodia's national independence and undermine its position as a peaceful and neutral state, has continually egged on the south Viet Nam puppet troops to invade Cambodia's border areas, even to the extent of spreading poisonous chemicals and slaughtering peace-loving Cambodian civilians. Such a barbarous act of aggression on the part of the United States and its lackeys is a crude violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements and in open contempt of the principles of international law, which cannot but provoke the people of Cambodia and elsewhere in Indo-China and peace-loving people throughout the world to great indignation and protest.

The Washington-inspired invasion and threat against Cambodia by the puppet group in south Viet Nam is another underhand move in Washington's deliberate attempt to extend the aggressive war in south Viet Nam. Since its ignominious defeat in the unwarranted attack on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam after the fabricated "Gulf of Tonkin Incident," its position in Indo-China has gone from bad to worse. In south Viet Nam, Washington is at the end of its tether, while in Laos it has suffered setbacks. To get out of such a hopeless position, Washington is now creating tension along the Cambodian-south Vietnamese border. This not only threatens Cambodia's indepen-

dence and sovereignty but also peace in all Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

The Cambodian people are by no means weak-kneed. In the face of the armed threat posed by U.S. imperialism and its south Vietnamese lackeys, Prince Norodom Sihanouk has firmly declared: We would rather fight to the last man than yield an inch of our territory to anyone. On September 12, the Cambodian people demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy in Phnom Penh, protesting against the U.S. Government's murder of their compatriots and its attempt to overthrow their government. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the U.S. imperialist plot of aggression will be completely smashed by a united Cambodian people who do not fear brute force.

The Chinese Government and the 650 million Chinese people have all along supported the Cambodian Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard their national sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity; they strongly condemn this fresh heinous crime against the Cambodian people by U.S. imperialism and the south Vietnamese puppet troops. In a recent message to the Speaker of the Cambodian Royal Council and the President of the Cambodian National Assembly, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress once again conveyed the Chinese people's determination to firmly support the Cambodian Government and people. In their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its followers in Southeast Asia to defend their independence and sovereignty, the Cambodian Government and people can always count on the all-out support of the Chinese Government and people. Should U.S. imperialism and its hangers-on dare launch new large-scale provocations and an invasion of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the teeth of worldwide opposition, they must be held responsible for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

Khrushchov Clique and Indian Reactionaries' Anti-China Rumours Refuted

Following is a translation of the September 11 Hsinhua News Agency's authorized statement. — Ed.

THE revisionist Khrushchov clique and the Indian reactionaries have, of late, entered into a partnership in rumour-mongering for the purpose of opposing China. According to Indian news agencies and press reports, an Indian Ministry of Defence spokesman, on September 3, alleged that a Chinese patrol had "intruded" into Sikkim. The Indian Ministry of External Affairs followed this fabrication up with a protest note to the Chinese Embassy in India on September 5. Meanwhile, on September 3 TASS released the Indian Defence Ministry spokesman's invention and played it up. At the same time, the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* and Indian news agencies sang a duet and spread slander about Chinese maps showing Nepalese territory as Chinese. Hsinhua is hereby authorized to issue the following statement:

1. The Indian Government's latest fabrication about Chinese "intrusion" into Sikkim is, as on previous occasions, full of loop-holes and self-contradictory. The spokesman of the Indian Defence Ministry stated that the "intrusion" took place "late on the evening" of August 27 whereas the Indian External Affairs Ministry note advanced the time to 6:30 p.m. on August 27. While the Indian Defence Ministry made a vague reference to a place "fourteen miles northeast of Gangtok" in naming the place of "intrusion," the Indian External Affairs Ministry chose "Nathula Pass" as the locale of the alleged intrusion. While the Indian Defence Ministry was unable to state the number of men in the Chinese patrol, the Indian External Affairs Ministry insisted that it comprised "three men." While the Indian Defence Ministry alleged that the Chinese patrol "disappeared into darkness on seeing the Indian troops," the Indian External Affairs Ministry made no reference at all to this. One can see at a glance that the two Ministries of the Indian Government have given each other the lie in their fabrications.

2. This clumsy fabrication was rashly released by the Soviet news agency TASS with a special title "Intrusion At the Border" the very day the Indian Defence Ministry spokesman made it. As the statement "disappeared into darkness" in reference to the alleged Chinese patrol was too fantastic, TASS simply stated that "the Chinese returned to their territory."

On September 3, *Pravda* published another anti-China falsehood manufactured by the Indian Press Agency, alleging that in the latest maps published in Peking, Mount "Everest and a considerable part of eastern Nepal" were shown as Chinese territory. The *Pravda* story was reproduced by the Press Trust of

India the following day. Such was the duet sung in earnest.

3. China has always respected its boundary with Sikkim and treasured the good neighbourly relations between the two countries. Chinese military personnel have never set foot in Sikkim. The allegation that a Chinese patrol had intruded into Sikkim through Nathula Pass sounds all the more absurd in view of the generally known fact that Indian troops, by order of their government, had crossed the Nathula Pass in September 1962 and built fortifications on Chinese territory and entrenched themselves there illegally. Ignoring repeated Chinese government protests and rejecting its persistent proposals for joint investigation by the two sides, the Indian Government to this day has stationed a heavy force of troops on the Chinese side of Nathula Pass, maintaining scores of fortifications for aggression and keeping the way to the pass under its control. This being the case, one can ask, how could Chinese military personnel have crossed the pass and intruded into Sikkim, and how could they have "disappeared into darkness" or "returned to their territory"? Does all this not sound like tales from *The Arabian Nights*?

It is scarcely worth refuting the Indian Press Agency and *Pravda* rumour that some Nepalese territory was marked out as Chinese domain in Chinese maps. The Chinese and Nepalese Governments have long delimited the Sino-Nepalese boundary through friendly negotiations and have satisfactorily solved the question of the Jolmo Lungma (Sagar Matha) Peak. The revisionist Khrushchov clique and the Indian reactionaries will certainly fail in their rumour-mongering attempt to smear the good name of China, vilify her and undermine friendly Sino-Nepalese relations. According to press reports, a high ranking Nepalese government official stated plainly on September 4 that the *Pravda* fiction had aroused surprise in Kathmandu.

4. The Indian reactionaries have always existed on rumour-mongering. The revisionist Khrushchov clique has stopped at nothing to oppose China. It has been some time since the two have closely colluded, but now the revisionist Khrushchov clique propaganda machine has not refrained from scrounging around in the garbage heap of Indian rumours to pick up rubbish for its anti-China campaign. This shows to what depths this clique has degenerated!

The revisionist Khrushchov clique has all along been supplying India with money and arms to oppose China and now it is colluding with India in spreading rumours. This can only result in its giving off a greater stench as it sinks ever deeper in the anti-China quagmire.

Japanese C.P. Central Committee Replies To the C.P.S.U. Central Committee

On September 2, "Akahata," organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, published in full the C.P.J. Central Committee's 120,000-word letter dated August 26 in reply to the April 18 letter of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. A Chinese translation of the letter was reprinted in full in "Renmin Ribao" on September 13. Extracts from the letter follow. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE Japanese Communist Party is determined to crush all unjustifiable interference and disrupting intrigues by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against it, and will carry forward the debate with the C.P.S.U. on a series of political and theoretical questions of principle in relation to the international communist movement, thereby defending Marxism-Leninism, and fight for real unity and development in the international communist movement, says the letter of C.P.J. Central Committee.

The letter of reply cites a host of facts to expose the hypocrisy of the claim of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that it wants to strengthen the solidarity of the international communist movement. It points out that the chief cause of disunity in the international communist movement and in the socialist camp today lies in the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's gross intervention with and attacks on fraternal Parties in violation of Marxism-Leninism.

The reply says that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. "has no right to talk about the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement" so long as it does not stop its disruptive activities against fraternal Parties and does not criticize itself seriously.

It also points out that the actions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to trample Marxism-Leninism underfoot and attack fraternal Parties are bound to fail.

This letter is divided into seven parts: (1) the cause of the worsening of relations between the C.P.J. and C.P.S.U.; (2) what happened before the Moscow talks between the C.P.J. and C.P.S.U. and the content of the talks; (3) on the historical tasks of the world socialist system; (4) an appraisal of the partial nuclear test ban treaty; (5) the questions of peace, war and revolution centring around peaceful coexistence; (6) the tactics of the Communist Parties in the international democratic movements; (7) the future relations between the C.P.J. and the C.P.S.U.

The C.P.J.'s letter points out that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has not abided by the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties laid down in the Moscow Statement and has repeatedly levelled

public attacks on the C.P.J. since last year. Therefore, the C.P.J. Central Committee cannot but publish its letter of reply to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. as an answer to its attacks. The reply says: "You will naturally be held fully responsible for the state of affairs today."

"If your aim is to tell the members of the C.P.S.U. the truth about the relations between our two Parties, then, we hope you will be courageous enough to publish our Party's reply to your letter of April 18," says the letter.

The letter in its first part declares: "The cause for the worsened relations between the C.P.J. and C.P.S.U. lies in that: **1, You have unilaterally started the public polemics within the international communist movement and wanted our Party to follow your line uncritically in the polemics; 2, You have become so impatient of our rejection of your unjustifiable demand and our upholding of independent views that you have repeatedly attacked our Party by name, interfered in our internal affairs and made trouble with us.**"

The letter refutes the unjustifiable accusation made by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. about the way the C.P.J. presented the documents of the public polemics in the international communist movement. The letter says: "In the final analysis, your accusation about the presentation of the documents of the polemics within the international communist movement amounts to asking our Party to publish only the documents issued by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and by the leadership of other fraternal Parties supporting the views of the former and not to publish any documents issued by the leadership of those fraternal Parties who rebuffed your attacks. You yourself took the lead in violating the Moscow Statement, attacked a number of fraternal Parties and started the public polemics, and at the same time you asked other fraternal Parties to publish only the documents issued by one side in the polemics. In doing so you are asking other fraternal Parties to follow uncritically your road of violation of the Moscow Statement. This is the approach of big-nation chauvinism which is incompatible with the principle of solidarity in the international communist movement. To 'justify' this unreasonable demand, you asserted that 'there is not a single grain of truth' in the documents of the fraternal Parties which refuted the views of the leadership of the C.P.S.U., and that 'moreover they cannot be regarded as documents related to the polemics within the framework of Marxism-Leninism.' You even said that the reprinting by the C.P.J. press of these documents—which you

called 'slandrous anti-Soviet articles'—'is a direct violation of the principles guiding relations among Marxist-Leninist Parties.'

"What conclusion can be drawn from such assertions and claims? The conclusion is that all the words and deeds of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. conform to Marxism-Leninism while anyone who holds different views runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, that the public accusations and attacks by the C.P.S.U. leaders on other fraternal Parties should not be regarded as violations of the Moscow Statement while other fraternal Parties in refuting these accusations and attacks are trampling the Moscow Statement underfoot, and that even the reprinting by our Party press of the documents of other fraternal Parties answering the C.P.S.U. leaders' accusations 'is a direct violation of the principles guiding relations among Marxist-Leninist parties.' This is to say, any document which does not agree with the stand and views of the C.P.S.U. leaders does not contain 'a single grain of truth' and runs counter to the Moscow Statement.

"What kind of idea is this? This is out-and-out subjectivism and self-righteousness. The chief cause for the disunity in the international communist movement and the socialist camp today is precisely your self-righteousness and the flagrant intervention with and attacks on the fraternal Parties you have brazenly unleashed on the basis of this very idea."

The letter says: **"While asking our Party to 'stop' reprinting the documents of the fraternal Parties refuting the views of the C.P.S.U. leaders, you brazenly and unscrupulously hurled slanderous accusations at our Party. Your action is in total disregard of the independence and equality of Marxist-Leninist political parties in the international communist movement and represents a demand for a special privileged position."**

It points out: "As everyone knows, with the exception of the letter of June 14, 1963 of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and a very few other documents, you have publicized in the Soviet Union only your own views and those of the fraternal Parties supporting these views. What is more, when you quoted the views of your opponents in the polemics, you nearly always distorted them. The press of the C.P.S.U. had ceased to print the resolutions and statements of the C.P.J. long before the talks between the two Parties. In fact, our Party's articles on the international communist movement have always been ignored by you. Furthermore, is it not true that you even prevented members of the C.P.J. residing in the Soviet Union from reading *Akahata*, our Party organ, and sometimes held up certain issues of the papers which carried reports that upset you? Have you not recently banned the import of *Akahata* for ordinary readers through the bookstores? You have taken these actions not against imperialist journals but against papers of fraternal Parties."

The letter reveals that the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's unjustified attack on the Central Committee

of the C.P.J. and interference in its affairs became particularly violent after the signing of the U.S.-U.K.-U.S.S.R. partial nuclear test ban treaty in July last year.

It says, **"On the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs and other matters, you have joined hands with the Right-wing social-democrats and anti-Party revisionists who are engaged in attacking our Party and splitting and sabotaging the mass movement, and took a series of actions to disrupt the unity of the peace and democratic movements of our country. . . .**

"In addition, you have directly interfered with and harassed our Party.

"When the delegation of the Japanese-Soviet Association visited the Soviet Union in 1963, comrades on the Soviet side tried their utmost to wring from the members of the C.P.J. in the delegation 'personal opinion' contrary to the Party line—opinion in support of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, in spite of the fact that the Soviet comrades knew very well that it was the duty of the members of the C.P.J. to act in accordance with their Party line. When your demand was rejected, you even threatened them by saying, 'If you take such an attitude, there will be a split in the Japanese-Soviet Association and also in the C.P.J.'"

"Furthermore, Ivan Nikolayevich Chekhonin, the *Izvestia* correspondent to Japan, incited our Party members to 'struggle against the Central Committee of the C.P.J. from the position of support for the partial nuclear test ban treaty.' What else could Chekhonin's incitement and the threat to the members of the C.P.J. in the Japanese-Soviet Association delegation be if not open sabotage of the leadership of our Party? Members of the C.P.J. who were thus incited and threatened, naturally rejected categorically this intervention and cajolment. This does not, however, absolve those who incited or threatened as well as those who pulled the wire behind the scenes from the responsibility that is theirs, just because your designs have come to grief.

"Moreover, since you have intensified the polemics within the international communist movement, the Soviet Embassy [in Japan] has begun sending indiscriminately to the local organizations of our Party, trade unions, democratic organizations, and even individual Party members and activists large amounts of documents accusing other fraternal Parties. This is an unprincipled act in utter disregard of our Party's line, to disturb the unity of our Party, interfere illegally in its internal affairs, and even attempt to introduce the polemics within the international communist movement into the trade union and democratic movements of our country. Besides, staff members of the Soviet Embassy have, from October last year to this year, attended and spoke at meetings in some universities and other places organized by the anti-Party elements rallying around Trotskyites and revisionists who have betrayed our Party, soliciting support for the partial nuclear test ban treaty and dealing with questions concerning the international communist movement. In addressing the meetings organized by anti-Party elements and aimed at attacking the C.P.J. and estranging

it from the masses, the comrades of the Soviet Embassy were in fact helping these elements in their disruptive activities against our Party.

"Worse still, you even began organizing a small anti-Party faction opposing the Party line within our Party's leadership. While having talks with our Party in Moscow last March, you maintained closer ties with Yoshio Shiga and others through the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo to promote the activities of the anti-Party faction. This has long become a fact clear to all.

"There is no doubt that the action of your Party in this respect constitutes an unjustified attack on our Party in gross violation of the principles guiding the relations among the fraternal Parties laid down in the Moscow Statement and is an impermissible interference in the internal affairs of our Party."

The second part of the letter refutes the unjustified attack on the C.P.J. by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in its letter in connection with the talks between the two Parties last March. Having rebuffed the distortions of facts in the letter point by point, the reply says: "The questions raised by our Party delegation about the public attack on our Party by Comrade Zhukov, the disruptive activities against our Party by the staff of the Soviet Embassy and the *Izvestia* correspondent, and other acts of interference in the internal affairs of our Party are all matters of principle involving the violation of the principles guiding relations among the fraternal Parties as laid down in the Moscow Statement. We may further point out your subsequent conspicuous and unpardonable activities in blatantly supporting Yoshio Shiga and Ichizo Suzuki who openly conduct anti-Party activities in violation of the Leninist organizational principle. Can it be said that this is not a matter of principle involving the crude violation of the principles guiding relations among the fraternal Parties? When our Party delegation was holding talks with you in Moscow, you secretly entered into closer contact with Yoshio Shiga and others with whom you had formed contacts sometime ago, and actively backed their anti-Party activities. This proves that it was altogether necessary and appropriate for our Party delegation to call special attention to the question of your interference in our Party affairs.

"From the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint, we criticized the partial nuclear test ban treaty. This is a concrete matter which involves major questions of principle.

"Our Party delegation raised a series of major questions concerning the international democratic movements. Evidently this is also a matter of principle."

The letter goes on to say: **"You adopted a dishonest attitude towards the improvement of the relations between our two Parties. This found emphatic expression in your attitude to the series of important questions which our Party delegation brought up in our talks in March, and particularly to the stated facts of your continuing interference in the internal affairs of our Party in violation of the principle of solidarity of the fraternal Parties. If you had had a sincere desire**

to improve the relations of our two Parties, you would have never thought of evading these pressing questions of principle. But as we have said above, you spoke evasively at the talks between our two Parties, and avoided a settlement of these specific questions in a frank and principled manner. . . . Your delegation stated peremptorily that the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Japan had the freedom to conduct diplomatic activities. You also declared in the haughty tone of big-nation chauvinism that all fraternal Parties had the obligation constantly to help the Soviet organizations distribute Soviet documents extensively. Your delegation even said that to send a message of greetings to the divisive 'peace conference' was in line with Lenin's teachings on the necessity to take part in the activities of various mass organizations, even the reactionary ones. Particularly astonishing was your lame excuse that it was in accordance with the Moscow Statement which stresses the need for the Communist Parties to unite with the Socialist parties. And in the end, you even said offensively that the reference to the stand of 'some members of the Japanese Communist Party' in the article of Comrade Zhukov was rather too polite. Thus, your delegation showed no intention of admitting your errors, and instead accused us of making issues out of these incidents and thus merely giving vent to our 'grievances' by presenting a collection of trifling and insignificant 'episodes.'

"But the incidents of your interference with and mischief against our Party, as the delegation of our Party has enumerated, were neither negligible 'episodes' nor accidental occurrences, because we can cite many more of such incidents. For instance, when our Party delegation to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. was in Moscow, a functionary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. asked the *Akahata* correspondent in Moscow what were the differences of opinion among the leading comrades of the delegation. He asked the correspondent definitely not to report this to the leaders of our Party. It is indeed absurd to imagine that there might exist serious differences among the leading comrades of our Party delegation. But the important point is that you were trying to induce the correspondent of *Akahata* to act treacherously as a spy and collect information which might help you to sow discord among our Party leaders.

"Naturally, the *Akahata* correspondent of our Party did not accede to this preposterous demand, and reported the case to our Party leaders. Later, our Party leaders lodged a serious protest with you against this blatant disruptive act against our Party which must not be ignored. But that functionary of your Central Committee, instead of criticizing himself for his misdeed, spoke angrily to the *Akahata* correspondent, saying, 'Have I not told you to keep it a secret?' The whole matter shows that this was definitely not a personal whim of that functionary, but a deliberate move stemming from the desire to undermine our Party which you already cherished at that time."

The letter says, "Just as you have in your letter looked on our Party as a follower of the Chinese Com-

munist Party practically on all questions and accused us for it, when you want to accuse or attack a fraternal Party which does not agree with your views, you do so almost invariably with the allegation that it follows blindly the line of the Chinese Communist Party. This invariable allegation and approach are utterly wrong. . . . **In the last analysis, they are quite the same as the slanders spread by anti-communist hacks against the international communist movement.**

"Our Party does not follow any other Party indiscriminately or obey it blindly, but determines our approach to all matters including the polemics within the international communist movement independently and in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles. However, this independent stand has nothing in common with the ambiguous stand of the so-called doctrine of compromise, neutralism or eclecticism. We are loyal to the principles and truth of Marxism-Leninism, and we will certainly criticize those who violate them and we will distinguish right from wrong. This is the stand which all Communists should adopt. Parties which abide by the same principles of Marxism-Leninism and uphold truth will of course have identical views towards the questions of principle concerning the international communist movement. As a matter of fact, all Marxist-Leninist parties should have an identity of views. Needless to say, this has nothing in common with the erroneous line of completely approving a particular Party or opposing a particular Party, all blindly. You have described our Party which has always upheld this stand as a Party following the Chinese Communist Party. This is a monstrous insult to our Party. It shows at the same time that proceeding from your degenerated position you can no longer analyse the situation objectively."

The letter in the following four parts repudiates the attacks by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on four theoretical questions.

The third part deals with the historical task of the world socialist system and refutes the allegation of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that in analysing the international situation, the C.P.J. has underestimated "the role of the socialist system as the increasingly decisive factor in the development of human society."

The letter quotes the correct analysis made in the Programme of the C.P.J. and in the resolution of the Party's 7th Plenum concerning the role of the world socialist system and the present international situation. It points out, "If you are saying that in analysing this or that aspect in the international situation it is necessary constantly to include figures of the industrial output of the socialist countries and all analyses which have not given such figures must be denounced and that they have departed basically from the line of the Moscow Statement, then it must be said that this is a narrow-minded approach. **This reflects the viewpoint of economism that the historical role played by the socialist camp, the buttress of world revolution and one of the chief revolutionary forces of the world, in the**

process of world revolution consists purely or mainly in the high degree of productivity of material wealth attained by the socialist camp."

It says, "The so-called 'attraction of the example of socialism' does not lie only in the per capita productive force of the population or in the high level of material living standards. The so-called strength of the actual example of socialism is first of all a combination of the following factors: the great revolutionary experience in building a new society free from exploitation through the socialist revolution, the overthrow of the exploiting classes, and the reliance on the strength of the people; the great revolutionary spirit of the people in crushing the intervention, aggression and counter-revolutionary activities carried out by the imperialists and reactionaries and in persistently defending the revolutionary cause; proletarian internationalism of the working class which has seized power in giving consistent support and assistance to the revolutionary peoples in the world; the world role of the bastion of world peace which stands at the forefront in the struggle against the imperialist forces of aggression; a correct political line guided by Marxism-Leninism; successes in the political, military, economic and cultural fields achieved through proletarian dictatorship which has the support of the people; economic superiority of the socialist system as manifested in the rapid growth of the national economy, etc. . . . Herein lies the reason why the socialist countries have already produced a revolutionary influence among the working people throughout the world despite the fact that there is a considerable gap today in the economic development between a whole array of socialist countries and the United States and West European countries. **If one fails to grasp this fundamental point and falls into the view of economism in summing up the socialist "strength of actual example" as purely or mainly consisting of productive force for material wealth brought about by socialism and holds that the attractiveness of socialist countries for the working people in the capitalist world is weak so long as the level of their economic development is not high and that the major premise of the victory of world revolution lies in the victory in economic competition when capitalist countries are outstripped in both gross and per capita output, then the significance and role of the socialist camp in the course of world revolution will in fact be reduced, lopsidedly assessed or underestimated."**

In its reply letter, the Japanese Communist Party refutes as a wilful distortion of the basic line of the C.P.J. the assertion of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that the C.P.J. has not only underestimated the socialist system but also pit the system against the national-liberation movements.

It says, "We have been waging struggles and will continue to wage struggles in the future against the tendency to underestimate the revolutionary role of the world socialist system, one of the main revolutionary forces in the world. But, what we call a correct appraisal of the role of the socialist camp does not mean

that we should refrain from criticizing the erroneous policy pursued by a certain country in the socialist camp, of underrating the national-liberation struggles in order to compromise with imperialism, or its attempt to impose this policy on the socialist camp and on all peaceful and democratic forces. To leave uncriticized this erroneous policy which has appeared in a number of countries in the socialist camp is in actual practice tantamount to slighting the role of the socialist camp in world revolution."

It says, "You have made this unwarranted attack in disregard of facts and logic because you have underestimated the importance of the present-day national-liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and tried to assail those Marxist-Leninists who have attached importance to the significance and role of the national-liberation struggles in these areas by alleging that they have pitted the socialist system against the national-liberation struggles."

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has repeatedly accused those who hold that Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the main battlefield where the imperialist and the anti-imperialist forces are locked in a fiercest fight. This accusation only shows that "you have landed yourselves in irremediable 'Europe-centrism'. . . . This accusation is untenable. The Moscow Statement says, 'The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system.' Do you mean to say that this thesis of the Moscow Statement implies that only the working class in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Europe and in the developed capitalist countries in Europe and other places are 'leaders in the struggle against imperialism' and 'leaders in world revolution'? **The history of the world revolutionary movements in the past few decades shows that even the workers in the developed capitalist countries cannot be the 'leader' of world revolution or the 'leader' of the revolution in their own countries if they are under the sway of a revisionist and opportunist policy. On the other hand, if the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party is established in a certain country among the working people led by the working class, it not only can make democratic and socialist revolutions in its own country but contribute greatly to the whole world revolution as a most revolutionary unit in the international working class, even if that country is economically backward and its working class only accounts for not so large a proportion of its total population.** If you forget this historical lesson and experience and formally and abstractly assert that only the countries which are economically advanced and where the 'basic masses of the working class are concentrated' should assume 'leadership' of world revolution, then it should be pointed out that this idea is one of Europe-centrism which is alien to the Marxist-Leninist view."

The fourth part of the reply deals with the question of the partial nuclear test ban treaty. It says: "Two assertions of different nature have been confounded with each other in the numerous arguments you have put

forward to justify the partial nuclear test ban treaty." "The first assertion assumes that the treaty is the natural first step leading to the complete prohibition of nuclear tests and banning of nuclear weapons. This represents an attempt to justify the treaty unconditionally. The second assertion assumes that even though partial banning of nuclear tests was not the correct method to solve the question of nuclear tests in the past, it has gained new significance with the recent changes in the international situation and has turned into something deserving support. This represents an attempt to justify the treaty on the ground of the changes in the situation and in the correlation of forces. The two assertions are entirely different in nature and in their viewpoints and even contradict each other. . . . The fact that you have thoughtlessly trotted out these contradictory arguments shows your unscrupulousness in trying to justify and acclaim the partial nuclear test ban treaty which you have signed and the casual way in which you have concocted the arguments."

The letter cites a wealth of historical facts to prove the Soviet Government's about-face on the question of the banning of nuclear tests. It says that the **Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. thinks that it can heap any dirty abuse on the efforts made by the socialist countries other than the Soviet Union to develop and possess defensive nuclear weapons in view of the threats of the U.S. imperialist policies of nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail. In the final analysis, this can only boil down to the argument that the only reliable guarantee to prevent a nuclear war is to preserve the system of nuclear monopoly with the U.S. and the Soviet Union as the axis and maintain the present U.S.-Soviet compromise on this basis, and thus your assertions serve only to prevent socialist countries other than the Soviet Union from strengthening their defences and help enhance the wild ambition of U.S. imperialism to keep nuclear weapons for ever, and facilitate its nuclear blackmail.**

The letter stresses that "the central task of the struggle around the question of nuclear weapons has always been to prevent a nuclear war and to eliminate the danger of such a war. This question is put before us in the form of a tussle and struggle between two sharply opposing roads: either to advance along the road of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and nuclear tests and to advance in the direction of completely eliminating radioactive contamination and the danger of nuclear war, or to be led on to the deceptive road of partial banning of nuclear tests and to go backward in the direction of increasing the danger of nuclear war under the pretext of preventing radioactive contamination." The C.P.J. has unhesitatingly chosen the first road.

The letter says that the C.P.S.U. Central Committee has committed the error of believing that nuclear arms are omnipotent. "You believe that the imperialists have now lost the basis for pursuing the policy of the 'position of strength' or the policies of aggression and war and naturally, so far as their material basis is concerned, have to adopt the policy of peaceful coexistence. [Your

assertions] indicate that in your opinion the warlike, aggressive, oppressive and reactionary nature of imperialism has in fact changed. We cannot but say that these viewpoints show clearly that you have very gravely departed from Marxism-Leninism."

The letter states that the C.P.S.U. Central Committee simplifies the question of imperialist aggressive war into one of nuclear war and seriously underestimates the underground nuclear tests by U.S. imperialism. The letter says the C.P.S.U. Central Committee alleges that the partial nuclear test ban treaty "binds the hands of all the imperialist world." This is a groundless apology for imperialism.

The letter says in its fifth part that proceeding from the viewpoints which violate Marxism-Leninism, run counter to the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement and ignore the realities of the world, the C.P.S.U. Central Committee launched unbridled attacks on the attitude of the C.P.J. towards peaceful coexistence. Such attacks are entirely wrong and groundless.

The letter says: "Our Party has never criticized or attacked the correct policy of peaceful coexistence of any socialist country, but has always actively supported it. . . . **Just as the Moscow Statement has said 'peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim,' it is, therefore, the unshirkable duty of Marxist-Leninist parties to struggle against the revisionist distortion of peaceful coexistence.** So long as the above-mentioned viewpoint of the Moscow Statement is not denied, nobody can blame us for fighting in defence of the correct policy of peaceful coexistence and against its distortion by the revisionists or, on the ground of this, vilify us as rejecting the policy of peaceful coexistence. Such slander can only prove the grave fundamental error of your claim about U.S. imperialism having lost the material basis for its aggressive policy and of your policy of peaceful coexistence which presupposes U.S. imperialism's acceptance of peaceful coexistence."

The letter cites a number of facts to repudiate the tendency of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee to subordinate the struggle of the masses of people, particularly the peace movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation struggles of the oppressed nations, to the foreign policy of a certain socialist country. The letter points out that a typical instance of this is the pressure exercised on others to support the partial nuclear test ban treaty.

The letter points out: "The allegation that as negotiations are being held with the imperialists, it is necessary, in order to facilitate the negotiations, to relax the national-liberation struggles or ask others to refrain from exposing U.S. imperialism, and the claim that since the foreign policy has changed, the policy of the peace movement must adapt itself to the changed foreign policy — all this will only confound the situation. It is tantamount to giving a free hand to U.S. imperialism for its pursuance of the policies of war, aggression, oppression and other reactionary policies throughout the world and striving only for U.S.-Soviet reconciliation. The attempt to subordinate the struggle

for peaceful coexistence to diplomatic negotiations aimed at 'U.S.-Soviet reconciliation' or to substitute these negotiations for the struggle has nothing in common with the policy of peaceful coexistence set forth in the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement."

The letter points out, "In the final analysis, your policy of 'peaceful coexistence' is to describe the status quo of the policies of war and aggression pursued by imperialism as 'peaceful coexistence' and recognize it as such. This only shows that you do not want to wage essential, energetic struggles against imperialism, but embellish the imperialist policies of war and aggression and attempt to do your best to preserve the status quo which you skilfully call 'peaceful coexistence' by following imperialism and coming to a compromise with it. Such a policy of 'peaceful coexistence' is wrong. Obviously it will rapidly go bankrupt in face of the realities of the international situation and the seething struggle of the people of the world.

"Recent developments centred in Southeast Asia very concretely prove that your conception that U.S. imperialism has accepted 'peaceful coexistence' is wrong; they also prove the bankruptcy of your policy of 'peaceful coexistence.'"

The letter says, "In the face of the dangerous situation caused by the open armed aggression by U.S. imperialism against a socialist country, you not only failed to give a prompt rebuff to U.S. imperialism as you should but lent it a helping hand by trying to use the U.N. Security Council to legalize its crimes of aggression. By doing so, you in fact played the role of an accomplice. This is by no means fortuitous. It is the inevitable result of your 'belief' in the 'peace' policy of U.S. imperialism and your policy of 'peaceful coexistence' which assumes that peace can be preserved through the strengthening of the 'sense of trust' between the United States and the Soviet Union. The facts eloquently prove that your policy of 'peaceful coexistence' only plays the role of further encouraging the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and facilitating their implementation."

The letter also severely denounces the scurrilous charge of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that in the leadership of the C.P.J., there are people who "come out for war, for another world war, hence, for a thermonuclear war between states with differing social systems." It says: "**Thus you malign the fraternal Party of Japan — a country which is the biggest base of U.S. imperialism for pursuit of its nuclear war policy in the Far East — the Party which stands in the van of the Japanese people and fights for peace in Asia and the world, as one which wants to provoke a thermonuclear war.**"

"**Since its founding in 1922, our Party, braving the savage repression under the autocratic *tenno* [emperor] system, has all along waged struggles against the wars of aggression let loose by Japanese imperialism, and many of its leaders and members laid down their lives in this struggle. In spite of this our Party has always held high the banner against war and for peace. . . . Even the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary forces**

in Japan have not taken it into their heads to accuse the militant ranks of our Party of being thermonuclear warmongers. . . . It is poles apart from the communist style of debate to make such charges. This is all the more deplorable in view of the glorious past tradition of the C.P.S.U."

In its sixth part the letter demolishes the slander of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that the C.P.J. is engaged in "divisive" and "factional" activities within the international democratic movement.

It says: "There are Communists who, having written in their Party programme the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism and the significance of combating these activities, have nevertheless turned their backs on the task of exposing the policies of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism and persevering in the struggle against these policies in the world peace movement and in the democratic movements both at home and internationally. What is more, they try frantically to prevent Communists and non-Communists of other countries from holding aloft the banner of struggle against U.S. imperialism. And finally, they talk everywhere about U.S. imperialism having switched to a policy of 'peaceful coexistence,' and so on and so forth. Obviously, these Communists have slid down to a position diametrically opposed to the Moscow Statement and have cast aside 'the line unanimously agreed upon by the international communist movement.' Furthermore, another important reason for the recent disunity and chaos in the international democratic movements lies in the fact that this line of avoiding struggle against U.S. imperialism was not advanced by neutralists and pacifists, but was smuggled into the international democratic movements by Communists of a number of countries. They did so to make the numerous international democratic organizations change and retreat from their position against the policies of aggression and war of the imperialist camp headed by the United States, a position in which they had hitherto persevered. This is a fact clear to all. Your charge that our Party is engaged in 'factional' and 'divisive' activities can only be regarded as a device to conceal the essence of the above-mentioned approach for which you are largely to blame.

"In fact, what you did in the international democratic movements, especially after the conclusion of the U.S.-U.K.-U.S.S.R. partial nuclear test ban treaty in July last year, almost completely departed from the normal course of action. You manoeuvred in a sinister manner to coerce nearly all international democratic organizations such as the World Council of Peace, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the World Federation of Scientific Workers, to adopt the political stand of favouring the partial nuclear test ban treaty and other things—an erroneous political stand we have dealt with in this letter. All this has made it increasingly difficult to maintain the unity and solidarity of these organizations.

The letter enumerates the actions taken by the C.P.S.U. leaders to split the Japanese movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs.

The seventh part of the reply refers to the future relations between the C.P.J. and the C.P.S.U.

The reply quotes the concluding part of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's letter of April 18: "The C.P.S.U., on its part, is willing to continue resting its relations with the Communist Party of Japan on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism, on the principles of equality and proletarian internationalism, proceeding from the common interests of the revolutionary movement."

The reply of the C.P.J. says, "From your whole line of action, it is very clear that your words are extremely hypocritical. What you have done in the four months since you uttered these words have made it clear that you have not given any serious consideration at all to strengthening unity and co-operation with the C.P.J., and have abandoned like waste paper 'the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism,' 'the principles of equality and proletarian internationalism,' and 'the common interests of the revolutionary movement,' blatantly trampled underfoot the principle of unity of the international communist movement, done your utmost to back up a handful of despicable and shameless renegades who had been expelled from our Party, and openly embarked on intolerable sabotages against our Party. **Now we have ample reason to affirm that by taking such an abnormal act of publishing unilaterally the letters of April 18 and July 11, you had the intention of co-ordinating with Yoshio Shiga and others' sabotages against our Party, of helping them internationally so as to throw our Party into confusion, to shake the confidence of our Party members and people in our Party leadership, to isolate our Party among the masses of the people, and damage the prestige of our Party leadership. You have now become unscrupulous in your attacks on our Party.**

"Your actions are quite incompatible with your professed desire to strengthen the solidarity of the two Parties and that of the international communist movement. We consider your actions utterly indefensible. **So long as you refuse to put an immediate end to the disruptive activities against our Party and to make a stern self-criticism as befits Communists, you are in no position to talk about unity and solidarity of the international communist movement.**"

The letter says: "Your sordid plan to attack and undermine the C.P.J. by making use of the Socialist Party and other forces and by 'co-operating' with anti-communist splitters was criticized at the talks between our two Parties last March. After that, you went so far as to cite the passage in the Moscow Statement calling on the Communists to take joint action with social-democrats to 'justify' your plan. But whatever sophistry you may resort to, you cannot justify your contemptible splitting activities. In the history of the international communist movement, there is hardly any parallel to your activities of entering into an 'alliance'

with the anti-communist Right-wing social-democrats and anti-Party revisionists of a certain country for the purpose of attacking the fraternal Party of that country."

It goes on to say: "We must consider this fact unusually serious, that a proletarian party which has seized power through revolution should publicly vilify, attack and interfere in the affairs of those Parties in the capitalist countries which carry on a constant and bitter struggle under complex and trying conditions against the violent dictatorship of the imperialists and reactionaries, and this is exactly what you have been doing. What is worse, you take advantage of the very fact that state power in our country is still in the hands of the reactionaries to attack our Party. For instance, you know very well that most of the propaganda media in Japan are under the control of Japanese monopoly capital which maintains an alliance with U.S. imperialism as a junior partner, but in spite of that, you did not scruple to publish unilaterally your letters blaming and attacking our Party, grant press interviews and issue statements, thus providing these newsmen with fresh ammunition for anti-communist propaganda. This, too, has no parallel in the history of the international communist movement. Our Party is, of course, not afraid of such attacks. We are convinced that your unjustifiable actions which run counter to Marxism-Leninism are bound to fail. The greater the zest with which you engage in these sordid activities,

the harsher will be the criticism of your erroneous approach by the revolutionary masses in Japan.

"Proceeding from the standpoint of striving for genuine solidarity of the international communist movement, we call upon you to embark on the following road: stop imposing your erroneous views on our Party and other fraternal Parties, immediately stop your unjustifiable attacks on and interference with our Party and make joint effort with us to restore and strengthen the firm solidarity between our two Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement."

In conclusion the letter says: "We unswervingly defend Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, faithfully abide by the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and strive for genuine solidarity and development of international communism. At the same time, we will resolutely crush all unjustified interference and disruptive intrigues against our Party and, on the basis of independence and equality, will continue to work unremittingly for realizing genuine solidarity between our Party and the C.P.S.U. and develop friendship and solidarity between the Japanese and Soviet peoples in their struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism."

Joint Statement of the Communist Parties of Japan and Indonesia

On September 7, a joint statement was signed in Djakarta, Indonesia, by General Secretary of the Japanese Communist Party K. Miyamoto and Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party D.N. Aidit. It was published on September 10 in "Akahata," organ of the C.P.J. Following is a translation of the full text of the statement. — Ed.

ON September 1, 1964, a delegation of the Communist Party of Japan consisting of Comrade K. Miyamoto, General Secretary, and Comrade T. Nishizawa, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, arrived in Indonesia for a visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia [P.K.I.].

The delegation of the Communist Party of Japan attended and delivered speeches at the National Conference on Revolutionary Literature and Art (K.S.S.R.) held in Djakarta at the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia. The delegation also paid a visit to the Aliarcham Academy of Social Science and gave a talk to the faculty members and students of the academy. The delegation also spoke before the P.K.I. cadres engaged in the peasant movement. On September 2, 1964, the delegation was

introduced to and had an informal talk with President Sukarno. The delegation also visited Bandung and were made acquainted with some aspects of the life and struggle of the Indonesian people. The delegation of the Communist Party of Japan was warmly welcomed everywhere they went. The delegation of the Communist Party of Japan was deeply moved by the fact that the fighting Indonesian people are firmly determined to carry the Indonesian revolution through to the end.

During their visit formal talks were held on September 3-4 with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia. Present at the talks were, on the side of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Comrade D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the C.C. of P.K.I., Comrade M.H. Lukman, First Deputy Chairman of the C.C. of P.K.I., Comrade Njoto, Second Deputy Chairman of the C.C. of P.K.I., Comrade Sudisman, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the C.C. of P.K.I., and Comrade K. Supit, Member of the Central Committee and the head of the Foreign Department of the C.C. of P.K.I. During the talks which were held in a most friendly and cordial atmosphere, various questions concerning the struggle of the Indonesian and Japanese peoples and the international

communist movement were discussed as well as other international questions. The two Parties reached complete unanimity of opinion on all questions that had been discussed.

The Communist Party and the people of Indonesia unreservedly support the struggle of the Japanese people for independence, peace, democracy and a better life, against the employment of Japanese harbours as bases for U.S. nuclear submarines, against nuclearization of Japan, against the revival of militarist-imperialist trends in Japan and against the total occupation of the Okinawa and Ogasawara Islands by U.S. troops and to demand the return of those islands to the motherland. The Indonesian Communist Party is fully aware of the fact that their support for the struggle of the Japanese people against the U.S. imperialists, who continue to maintain their military bases in Japan, including Okinawa, as their bases for aggression against Indo-China and other regions in Asia, means support for the struggle against U.S. imperialism — the common enemy of the people throughout the world — which constitutes a great danger to the peace and security in Asia and the world.

The Communist Party of Indonesia is of the opinion that the U.S. armed forces in Japan are a gun pointing at Indonesia, because this U.S. military force can be transferred to Indonesia at any time as has happened in the case of Viet Nam. Therefore, the Communist Party and people of Indonesia consider the struggle of the Japanese people against the rule of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital — for carrying out this rule the latter has formed an alliance with the former and subordinated itself to it — their own struggle and are thus giving it their wholehearted support. The Indonesian Communist Party and people highly evaluate the initiative taken by the progressive organizations of Japan in organizing the Tenth World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs in August 1964, and fully support the decisions made at the conference.

Together with the working people of Japan, the Communist Party of Japan will further strengthen the solidarity with the Indonesian Communist Party and people, who are persistently carrying on the struggle to crush "Malaysia" and to support the liberation movement in North Kalimantan. The struggle to crush "Malaysia" and support the liberation movement in North Kalimantan is a pressing, important common task not only of the peoples of Indonesia, North Kalimantan, Malaya and Singapore, but also of all peoples who want national independence and genuine peace, for that struggle will frustrate the wild ambition of British imperialism to maintain and expand its colonial rule in a new form and it will deal a blow to the intrigue of U.S. imperialism which is intensifying its aggressive activities by taking advantage of the schemes of British imperialism. The Rahman-Johnson joint statement is another proof that U.S. imperialism is behind the British neo-colonialist scheme in Southeast Asia.

Together with the Japanese working people, the Communist Party of Japan ardently supports the heroic

struggle of the Indonesian Communist Party and people to liquidate imperialism, comprador-capitalism and bureaucrat-capitalism as well as feudalism in the countryside, to implement the laws favourable to the peasants and to develop an independent national economy.

The further development and victories gained by the Indonesian Communist Party and people in these struggles are closely connected with the struggle of the Japanese people against the rule of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital and for independence, democracy, peace and a better life, so the development of the struggles of both peoples has tremendous importance for the advance of the cause of independence, democracy, peace and revolution in Asia.

With great pleasure, the Communist Party of Japan appreciates the contribution made by the Indonesian delegation, jointly with the representatives of other peace-loving peoples, to the success of the Tenth World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs; it displayed the spirit of international solidarity manifested by the Indonesian people in various forms to defend the gains of the conference.

The two Parties affirm that the "Appeal for International Joint Action to Prevent Nuclear Warfare, to Prohibit Nuclear Weapons Completely and to Strengthen Unity" and the document entitled "Let Us Strongly Support the Struggles of All the Peoples," both of which were adopted at the Tenth World Conference against A- and H-Bombs, are of important significance for opposing the policies of war and aggression pursued by the world imperialist camp headed by U.S. imperialism, defending world peace, developing the struggle for national liberation and consolidating the solidarity among the peoples.

The Communist Party of Japan and the Communist Party of Indonesia express their ardent solidarity greetings to the Communist Party of Malaya, which is leading the revolutionary people's movement in Malaya and Singapore, and also salute all parties, groups and individuals in Malaya and Singapore who at this moment are waging a courageous struggle against the Rahman regime.

Both sides most vehemently and resolutely condemn the impudent acts of aggression and intervention pursued by U.S. imperialism against the people of south Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and highly appreciate the important role played by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who are delivering telling blows to the U.S. aggressors, in the struggle for national liberation and world peace. Both sides express the strong conviction that, in spite of the villainous manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism, the Vietnamese people will surely win final victory.

Both sides stress that the solution of the Laotian question must be left to the Laotian people themselves and, moreover, must be settled by strict implementation of such measures as stipulated in the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos.

Both sides also affirm strong support for the consistent struggle of the peoples in south Korea, Cambodia, Cuba, Venezuela, the Congo and in other countries who are heroically fighting against the insolent and detestable aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism.

The source of international tension and disturbance is the aggression, intervention and oppression by world imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. The latest acts of aggression by the U.S. Government against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and other policies of aggression and war in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are actually being carried out by the United States, have clearly testified that the aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialists has by no means changed but is being displayed more openly. It is clear that imperialism can be forced to retreat and be defeated only by the pressure of the peoples and, if one should entertain any illusion about the nature of U.S. imperialism, it would bring the most serious disaster to the people throughout the world. The experiences of the struggle of the Indonesian people and the Japanese people, as well as the experiences of the people's struggle in Southeast Asia and the struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, have proved the utter falseness of the assertion that U.S. imperialism represented by Kennedy and Johnson is "sensible" and "peace-loving." Facts clearly show to the people of the whole world that the U.S. imperialist ruling bloc does not have the slightest genuine desire for peace. That is why maximum vigilance is demanded of all progressive peoples the world over in order to be able, at any moment, to carry out a struggle right from the beginning against every aggressive plot and act of U.S. imperialism; at present U.S. imperialism is being more and more exposed and getting more and more cornered everywhere in the world. The least negligence and slackening of the fighting spirit in the revolutionary ranks is enough to make the U.S. imperialists more insolent. Only by continuously exposing and fighting them can the U.S. imperialists be forced back and defeated.

The Communist Party of Indonesia once again expresses its full support for the Communist Party of Japan for its expulsion of the revisionist Shiga-Suzuki clique. The Communist Party of Japan gives its high appraisal of the attitude of the Communist Party of Indonesia in countering dauntlessly all attempts of subversion from the modern revisionist trend; at present modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist movement.

Modern revisionism undermines the fighting spirit of the people: it is splitting the struggle of the peoples for achieving unity to oppose U.S. imperialism, for realizing and defending world peace and their national independence and has brought serious difficulties to this struggle. By taking advantage of the internal difficulties that the modern revisionists have brought to the international communist movement and international democratic movement and by pursuing the double-faced

policy of war and "peace," the imperialists have now resorted to the policy of defeating one by one towards the socialist camp and the peoples of the world. Therefore, we must carry out a persistent struggle against modern revisionism and for unity in the struggle of the peoples of the world, while fighting against all attacks and policies of division pursued by the forces of aggression and reaction headed by U.S. imperialism.

Both sides are of the same opinion that the unity in the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism should continuously be strengthened. On the question of the international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, both sides have been consistently stressing the importance of such an international conference which should be conducive to such unity. Both sides stress their agreed view that such a conference, if convened, should result in strengthening the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and that it should not further widen the differences, nor cause a split.

Both sides point out the necessity to pay attention once again, at present, to the following unmistakable passage in the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960, which reads:

"The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals."

And this will only be possible if the international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties really has, as its aim, the unity of the international communist movement, and if it is to be prepared and realized on the basis of consultations conducted for arriving at consensus of opinion to promote and guarantee unity. Both sides are of the opinion that consultations and efforts should be made continuously and actively by all available means.

Long live the militant friendship between the Communist Party of Indonesia and the Communist Party of Japan!

Long live the common struggle of the Japanese people and the Indonesian people in fighting imperialism, colonialism, old and new!

Long live the struggle of the peoples the world over for national independence, democracy, socialism and peace!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

K. Miyamoto, on behalf of the Japanese Communist Party (signed)

D.N. Aidit, on behalf of the Indonesian Communist Party (signed)

Djakarta, September 7, 1964.

"Rodong Shinmoon" Refutes "Pravda's" Slanders on Second Asian Economic Seminar

"Rodong Shinmoon," organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, on September 7 published an article by Observer under the title "Why Do They Disparage the Success of the Pyongyang Economic Seminar?" It exposed and refuted "Pravda's" malicious slanders on the Second Asian Economic Seminar held in Pyongyang in June this year. Extracts from the article follow. **Boldface emphases are ours.** — Ed.

THE *Pravda* article "For Whose Interests?" is full of groundless charges and fabrications from beginning to end. *Rodong Shinmoon* said.

"Why does *Pravda* disparage so maliciously the success of the Pyongyang seminar? To tell the truth, because it is looking askance at the staunch anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle of the Asian and African peoples, their mounting revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and the daily strengthening militant solidarity among the peoples in these regions.

"But truth cannot be concealed, and vilification will remain a vilification for thousands upon thousands of years," the article said.

"The Second Asian Economic Seminar discussed problems concerning self-reliance and the building of an independent national economy, the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and economic co-operation among the Asian and African countries. The seminar set before itself the task of contributing to the victory of the national-liberation revolution, the progress of mankind and the solidarity of the revolutionary peoples of the world," the article added.

In the seminar, democratic principles were thoroughly observed and all the participants exchanged views and experiences sincerely and adopted the "Pyongyang Declaration" and the resolution unanimously.

The seminar made contributions to the struggle of the Asian and African peoples to eliminate all manner of oppression and dependence and to attain prosperity and progress.

"No amount of falsification and fabrication by *Pravda* can succeed in smearing the Pyongyang seminar and impairing its enormous achievements.

"Referring to the Pyongyang seminar, *Pravda* alleged that it was 'guided by an interest far removed from the economic problems of the Asian countries,' that it sought to 'split the Asian and African movements' and 'vilified the socialist countries.' This is a preposterous slander," the article declared.

"How can it be seeking a split when the delegates from the Asian and African countries got together, swapped their experiences and sought reasonable methods of struggle with the aim of expediting the common cause?

"*Pravda* described the situation as if the Pyongyang Session of the Asian Economic Seminar were rigged up in 'opposition' to the Asian and African solidarity movement. This is a despicable aspersion," the article stated.

The Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization positively supported the organization of the seminar. The First Asian Economic Seminar unanimously decided that "with a view to developing further economic co-operation among the Asian nations, it should set up a committee to implement the proposals and decisions of this seminar." The Soviet delegation also subscribed to this decision at that time.

The Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference held in February 1963 gave a positive appraisal of the organization of the Asian Economic Seminar.

"However, distorting the facts, *Pravda* wrote as though the Asian Economic Seminar Committee 'ran counter to' the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization. This is a plot deliberately to oppose the seminar to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization.

"*Pravda* complained that the Asian Economic Seminar Committee was formed without the 'approval' of any other organizations. This does not stand to reason at all.

"The Asian Economic Seminar Committee is an independent body set up by the representatives of the countries of this area of their own free will. It has brotherly relationship with other organizations; between them there is no such thing as 'approval' or 'subordination,'" the article said.

"The Asian Economic Seminar Committee 'ran counter to' no anti-imperialist, anti-colonial organization; if there are people whom it 'ran counter to,' it is only those who are opposed to the just work of the committee.

"*Pravda's* describing the Asian Economic Seminar as though it were some sort of unlawful organization revealed the big-power chauvinists' viewpoint that nothing should go against them and that everything requires their 'approval'; otherwise 'No,'" the article added.

"*Pravda's* describing the situation as if the organizers of the Asian Economic Seminar had opposed

the convening of the Afro-Asian Economic Seminar is just one more ridiculous lie," the article continued.

"So far no one opposed the convocation of this seminar at meetings of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization."

"Why, and for what reason is *Pravda* crudely distorting the facts and trying so hard deliberately to pit the Pyongyang seminar and the Afro-Asian Economic Seminar against each other, disregarding the burning desire and sincere efforts of the participants of the Pyongyang seminar for solidarity?"

"Doesn't all this betray their real intention to calumniate those who truly prize unity, to undermine the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and to subordinate the coming Afro-Asian Economic Seminar to their ulterior purpose in advance under the cloak of the vociferous talk 'we oppose a split?'" the *Rodong Shinmoon* article asked.

Refuting the *Pravda* assertion that the delegates from Asia and Africa to the Pyongyang seminar "represented no one and were ignorant of economics" and were "groups of yes-men" "toeing" others' line, the *Rodong Shinmoon* article said: "We recall the slander of the notorious 'Voice of America' that 'the Pyongyang Economic Seminar was attended by many would-be progressive figures from Asia, Africa and Oceania but not a single economic expert, master or doctor of economics.'

"What a remarkable coincidence between the voice of *Pravda* and the 'Voice of America'!

"To our surprise, *Pravda* went the 'Voice of America' one better.

"What a slighting, contemptuous and arrogant attitude this is!

"What overbearing, insolent and shameless nonsense it is!

"These are words that can be used only by the big-power chauvinists who are in the habit of thinking that they are entitled to decide and order everything, that others are all ignorant and they alone are learned," the article said.

"We should like to ask: Does it seem to them that the responsible state and economic figures and leading cadres of political parties of the independent Asian and African countries and the anti-imperialist revolutionary fighters who are shedding blood in the struggle for the liberation and national independence of their countries are all 'yes-men'? And does it seem to *Pravda* that all those personages who are fighting to win the economic independence of their countries against the imperialists' policy of economic subordination and to deliver their countries and peoples from the centuries-old backwardness and poverty, the delegates from Asia and Africa who have gained experience in this hard work and have come to possess advanced ideas and progressive theories on the building of an independent national economy through their experience in life, are all simply 'ignorant?'" the article asked.

"This is the way of thinking of a man who recognizes no one else but himself and claims that he is everything in the world and his words are in themselves a theory and law.

"Such a shameful attitude of contempt towards the participants of the Pyongyang Economic Seminar is an insult not only to the delegates but also to the peoples of the newborn independent countries in Asia and Africa.

"This is an act of desecrating the heroic struggle of the peoples of these countries against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the freedom and national independence of their countries," the article said.

"Utterly hostile to the Pyongyang seminar, *Pravda* vilified as a mere 'smokescreen' the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle which the seminar held high and alleged that its 'contribution' was nothing but a malicious slander against the peace movement, the socialist countries and the Soviet Union. This is a barefaced distortion and shameless aspersion.

"Is this allegation of *Pravda* based on any study of the work of the Pyongyang seminar?" the article asked.

"Not much effort would be needed for a sober-minded person to grasp the basic idea of the Asian Economic Seminar if only he read once the 'Pyongyang Declaration' and its resolution.

"Why, then, is *Pravda* angry about the just stand of the Pyongyang Economic Seminar on further strengthening the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle?"

"Isn't it because they have renounced the anti-imperialist struggle, look with fear at others fighting, are unwilling to support the people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism and dislike the banner of anti-imperialist struggle?"

"Is *Pravda* raising a hue and cry out of its senses in great 'anger' because we did not follow the line of the modern revisionists who have given up revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle and even try to obstruct others from making revolution and dislike it?"

"If *Pravda* expected even a little of that line from the Pyongyang Economic Seminar, sorry!

"You made a big miscalculation," the article declared.

"Hostile to the just stand of the Pyongyang Economic Seminar on self-reliance and on the construction of an independent national economy, *Pravda* concentrated its fire upon it. **Thus, *Pravda* opposed the solely correct revolutionary line of fighting against imperialism and colonialism and achieving the independent development and national prosperity of the country.**

"Every nation and every country, without exception, must carry out revolution by itself and carve out its destiny by its own strength.

"How can one attain freedom, independence and liberation and expect national regeneration and prosperity by sitting idle with folded arms and asking for others' aid alone, while ignoring the subjective forces of one's nation?"

"No country, no nation can fulfil revolution and build an independent economy or deliver its people from poverty and backwardness with foreign aid alone."

"We find no such precedent in history, nor can there be one."

"If we are not guided by the principle of self-reliance and the construction of an independent national economy, we cannot carry out economic construction successfully even if genuine internationalist aid should be rendered by foreign countries," the article said.

"In the early postwar period the Korean people were given valuable internationalist aid by the brotherly countries which helped us in the rehabilitation and construction of our national economy," the article continued.

"As for the aid of the Soviet people to us, the Korean people will never forget it and will be for ever grateful for it."

"In the most difficult period after the war, too, the Korean Workers' Party upheld the line of accelerating the construction of an independent national economy through the maximum mobilization of our people, our own resources and wisdom, raising high the banner of self-reliance."

"It is true that the Soviet people helped in the rehabilitation and construction of some workshops of the Pyongyang Textile Combine and Hungnam Fertilizer Factory, which *Pravda* boastfully mentioned as 'models' of the aid rendered to Korea."

"And it is equally well-known to the world how the Korean working class built these factories after the war with its creative labour and wisdom, getting rid of the debris and overcoming all obstacles and difficulties."

"In rendering aid in the rehabilitation and construction of these two factories and other factories, you furnished us with equipment, stainless steel plate and other materials at prices much higher than the world market prices and took away from us scores of tons of gold, quantities of valuable non-ferrous metal and raw materials at prices much lower than the world market prices."

"Would it not be a reasonable attitude when you talk about your aid to us, to mention also that you took valuable materials produced by our people through arduous labour in the most difficult days in our life?" the article asked.

"The achievements made in the construction of an independent national economy in our country are, above all, the fruition of the correct policy of our Party which has adhered to the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, and of the heroic struggle of our people."

"All the people who are familiar with the course of the struggle of the Korean people for the construction of a self-supporting national economy and today's reality and who look at things free from prejudice, including the participants of the Pyongyang seminar, find an example of the victory of the line of self-reliance and construction of an independent national economy in our country," the article said.

Refuting the *Pravda* allegation that "the most reliable way for getting rid of poverty and backwardness" lies only in relying upon economic co-operation with and aid from the "most advanced individual socialist countries," the article declared: "This, in the final analysis, amounts to telling others to rely upon others and live on others' charity and entrust the destiny of their nation to a 'most advanced individual socialist country.'"

"It goes without saying that genuine, selfless aid helps develop the national economy of newly independent countries. No one has ever denied this. But, the thing is that *Pravda* tries to 'persuade' people into believing that they can live only by clinging to others' 'aid.'"

"What country can shake off or has ever shaken off poverty and backwardness only with the aid of a 'most advanced individual socialist country?'"

"Is there any instance of a 'most advanced socialist country,' as *Pravda* put it, ever feeding a backward country gratuitously with 'aid' and building an independent national economy for that country?"

"Today the imperialists, holding out their 'aid' as a bait, are trying viciously to interfere in the internal affairs of liberated countries and impose colonial slavery again upon them."

"To achieve their aggressive aim by deceiving the people, they prate that the 'underdeveloped countries' cannot develop the national economy without their 'aid' and their export of capital."

"Now *Pravda* sings in chorus with them; its assertion strikingly tallies with theirs."

"*Pravda* tries to give the impression that self-reliance and the construction of an independent national economy elucidated at the Pyongyang seminar are in conflict with the task of expanding economic co-operation between the liberated countries and the socialist countries."

"This is a crass distortion of truth and a brazen challenge to reality."

"Those who say self-reliance implies rejecting aid are actually flouting the people who are fighting and overcoming tremendous difficulties for self-dependence and self-maintenance, not even so much as giving them any aid worth mentioning."

"*Pravda* claimed that the seminar 'failed to cite even one' concrete instance of violation of the principles of economic co-operation among independent countries by the 'most advanced individual socialist

countries' and that 'such instance simply does not exist.'

"Is there really no such instance?"

"A delegate said at the seminar that after receiving aid from a 'most advanced individual socialist country,' his country was plundered, its internal affairs interfered in and was even confronted with subversion.

"Some people of a 'most advanced socialist country' have disgraced the socialist countries by violating the internationalist principles in economic co-operation and aid. Not a few unseemly stories are known to the world on this score.

"But the Pyongyang Economic Seminar focused all its attention on exposing and denouncing the scheme of the imperialist powers to put once again the noose

of colonialism around the necks of the newly independent countries with 'aid' as a bait.

"Then why is *Pravda* so disgruntled?"

"You would do well not to blow a hollow trumpet.

"*Pravda* asks: 'In whose interests' was the Pyongyang seminar held?"

"We answer point-blank:

"The Second Asian Economic Seminar in Pyongyang was held in the interest of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle and the national-liberation revolution, in the interest of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the revolutionary peoples the world over, and it contributed to the cause of peace, national liberation and social progress."

To Boost Farm Yields

Chemical Fertilizer Industry Flourishes

by KAO KUANG-CHIEN

THE use of chemical fertilizer is beginning to play an important role in speeding up the growth of China's farm output. Preparations for this development began soon after liberation, and work in research and capital construction has advanced steadily. Today output is growing fast and the varieties of fertilizer produced are increasing.

Production Grows

The road charted by the Communist Party and People's Government for China's agricultural development is: first to bring about farm collectivization and then, on that basis, to modernize agriculture, namely, to introduce extensive irrigation, widespread use of farm chemicals, electrification, and mechanization. The use of chemical fertilizer is prescribed as one of the important means of realizing the rapid increase of farm output.

The pre-liberation foundation of the chemical fertilizer industry was very weak. Up to 1949 there were only two small nitrogenous fertilizer plants in China. One was in Nanking and the other in Talien. Their peak pre-liberation output was 220,000 tons in 1941, but production had dropped to a mere 27,000 tons in 1949, the year of liberation.

Rehabilitation was the immediate task after liberation. This was swiftly accomplished. By 1952, the output of chemical fertilizer had climbed back almost to the pre-liberation peak level. Then new prospects opened out before the industry.

By the end of the First Five-Year Plan (1957) output had reached 700,000 tons. Guided by the Party's

general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry the leading factor, the industry's growth in the last few years has been swift and sustained. Output has soared to several times the 1957 figure. In 1963, it was 40 per cent bigger than in 1962, while in the first half of this year it was 53 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of last year.

The greatly increased capacity of the industry over the last 15 years is the fruit of planned and systematic construction. Old plants have been enlarged and re-equipped; big new plants have been built. In accordance with the policy of simultaneous development of big, small and medium-sized enterprises, a number of small and medium-sized chemical fertilizer plants have also been built.

Reconstructing Old Plants

The work of enlarging and re-equipping the old plants left by the Kuomintang reactionaries went ahead during the period of the First Five-Year Plan. These old plants were poorly equipped and their technology was backward. Socialist and technical transformation quickly raised their output. The Nanking Chemical Industry Co. offers a typical example of this. Formerly known as the Yungli Co., this plant was started by national capitalists in 1934, but Japanese occupation and a take-over by plundering Kuomintang bureaucrat-capitalists led to its ruin. By the time of liberation it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Now it has been transformed into one of China's biggest modern chemical enterprises. It operates several plants. These include the original Yungli works now greatly expanded; plants making phosphate fertilizer and organic synthetic prod-

ucts; an engineering works making equipment for the chemical industry; a design and research centre; and a technical school which helps to train personnel for the industry. By 1963, the company was producing 30 times as much chemical fertilizer as in 1949. It has also diversified production.

Building Big New Plants

New China has made steady and successful efforts to build big chemical fertilizer plants and has developed a competent engineering industry to build more. The big Kirin Chemical Fertilizer Works was commissioned at the end of the First Five-Year Plan. Later the rate of growth of the industry quickened. Nitrogenous and phosphate and other chemical fertilizer plants were built during and after the Second Five-Year Plan in Lanchow, Taiyuan, Nanking, Shanghai and Canton, and in Honan and Kweichow. These are now making a big contribution to output. New plants are also under construction in Hopei and Anhwei.

Quite a number of the big new plants were designed and built by Chinese personnel and equipped with Chinese-made machinery. Their commissioning indicates that China's chemical fertilizer industry has entered a new stage along the road of self-reliance. The first-stage project of the Wuching Chemical Plant in Shanghai illustrates this. It has an annual capacity of 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia. Its big machines have to stand up to rugged use: high pressures, high temperatures and corrosion. The Shanghai engineering industry shouldered the task of making all its equipment while the metallurgical industry supplied the high grade and alloy rolled steels needed and various research institutes gave enthusiastic help in solving other special problems. Workers and staff worked hard to overcome many difficulties in making and installing its equipment.

More than 100 factories are today co-ordinating their efforts in making whole sets of equipment for the chemical fertilizer industry.

Role of Small Plants

Since 1958 scores of small chemical fertilizer plants have been built. These have special advantages: they take less time and capital to build; the equipment they use is easier to make, and so on. All of them have gone on to improve their technology in recent years and have greatly increased both capacity and productivity. The ammonium bicarbonate they produce is a cheap and effective fertilizer and the peasants like it. Fourteen such small nitrogenous fertilizer plants scattered in the main cotton and grain-producing areas in Kiangsu, Chekiang, Shantung, Shensi, Shanghai and six other provinces and cities produced 15,000 tons of synthetic ammonia in the first six months of 1964. From this, over 60,000 tons of ammonium bicarbonate were made.

It has been demonstrated that in addition to the big and medium-sized nitrogenous fertilizer plants, it

is most useful to establish such small plants which can be easily adapted to local conditions. In view of China's vast area such plants make big savings in transportation costs; they can make good use of locally available raw materials and can cater most efficiently to local crop needs. All this is well adapted to the demands of the general line of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

Increased Variety

Considerable results have been achieved in extending the range of chemical fertilizers produced in China.

Before liberation, little more than ammonium sulphate was made. Since liberation, the policy has been to produce a greater variety of fertilizers suited to the various crops, soils and climatic conditions of the country.

As regards nitrogenous fertilizers the industry during the First and Second Five-Year Plans steadily increased its capacity to make ammonium sulphate and also began to produce more ammonium nitrate with a higher nitrogen content. The proportion of this latter to total output is steadily increasing. As a result of several years of research China has mastered the technology of producing a high-quality nitrogenous fertilizer—urea. Ammonium bicarbonate and ammonia are being produced in the small nitrogenous fertilizer plants described above. A new kind of fertilizer for China, ammonium chloride, is now also available.

Phosphate fertilizers are already being used widely on China's farms. China has rich phosphate resources but no use was made of them in old China. The work of surveying and mining phosphorous ores was started after liberation and many phosphate fertilizer plants have been built. The Tsamkong Chemical Works in south China made a big contribution to the industry when it began to produce calcium superphosphate in 1962. The main fertilizers produced by the small and medium-sized works established after 1958 are calcium superphosphate and calcium magnesium phosphate. Now the country has nearly a hundred phosphate fertilizer plants of all sizes with a total capacity of over 2 million tons.

Other new kinds of fertilizer are being produced. Ammonium phosphate, a kind of highly concentrated compound fertilizer which contains both nitrogen and phosphorus, was successfully trial-produced this year. A new factory is being built to produce it on an industrial scale.

Fifteen years ago China's impoverished peasant masses would as soon have thought of watering their fields with gold as of ploughing in chemical fertilizer. Today, state industry is supplying them with a considerable range of chemical fertilizers in increasing quantities and the peasants' prospering, go-ahead communes are clamouring for more.

ROUND THE WORLD

Pakistan

Washington's Pressure Scorned

In a recent issue of the Pakistan *Sunday Post* there is an article that discusses the withdrawal by the American Government of a subsidy from a milk plant project in Karachi. It is another case of the open blackmail practised by the United States in its relations with countries that receive American "aid" but choose to follow an independent foreign policy. For some time Washington had been putting pressure on the Pakistan Government to change its line of action in the international sphere. A concrete example of this was the withdrawal of American "aid" to build a new airport in Dacca earlier in the year. The people of Pakistan scorned this pressure by deciding to carry on the project with their own funds. They propose to do the same with the milk plant. Like President Sukarno who rebuffed similar American pressure on Indonesia, they may well say, "To hell with American aid!"

"If the U.S. Government feels that pressures like the withdrawal of the assistance for the milk plant can change the considered policies of the Pakistan Government," the *Sunday Post* said, "they are sadly mistaken. Pakistan's foreign policy cannot be influenced by such paltry considerations." The journal pointed out that the United States always used dirty tactics to bludgeon other countries into following the American line. "Though the U.S. claims that her economic assistance to various nations has no strings attached, Pakistan has already had a bitter taste of it; there are enough indications that the U.S. uses aid for clandestine purposes and she does not hesitate to use it as pressure to further her global policies," it added.

Anjam, the Urdu daily, also criticized Washington for trying to throw its weight about. "Let the Americans know," it said, "that the principles of truth and justice and our freedom

are more precious for us, and we do not want to sell them at any price." The paper reflected the sentiments of the people of Pakistan who stand four-square behind their government in pursuing an independent foreign policy against American encroachments on their sovereign rights.

This independent course in foreign affairs has time and again received attention in the statements made by Pakistan government spokesmen. Foreign Minister Bhutto declared on September 4 that a subservient foreign policy as a result of which a country was taken for granted would never return to Pakistan. He said, "We will not abandon the present policy that has enabled Pakistan to raise its head with honour in the comity of nations." Aid or no aid, said Abdul Sabur Khan, the Minister of Communications, Pakistan will adhere to a foreign policy which enables it to enjoy self-respect in international affairs.

Cambodia

Better Off Without U.S. "Aid"

Like Pakistan, Cambodia is a country which the United States has tried in vain to intimidate through the withdrawal of "aid." When the pressure which always accompanies U.S. money became intolerable, Cambodia threw their "aid" back into the teeth of the imperialists. This happened last November. Washington and its bootlickers predicted at the time that denied of American largesse Cambodia would not last three months.

Nine months have passed. To the consternation of its ill-wishers, Cambodia is still on the map of Asia. It is even better off without the American handouts. The Government put through a series of economic reforms which enable the country to stand on its own feet and steadily develop the national economy.

In the first seven months of this year, exports of Cambodian rice and by-products exceeded planned figures

to reach 350,000 tons compared with 248,000 tons in the corresponding period of 1963. Exports of rubber and latex, major overseas income earners, were well over 20,000 tons. State factories are doing well also, reaping a handsome profit of 16 million riels in the first half of the year. So, too, are the National Bank of Cambodia and the newly founded Khmer Bank for Trade and National Bank of Credit, all of which report higher deposits.

There were of course difficulties, internal as well as external. The former were concerned mainly with readjustments, but the latter, of a more serious nature, were caused by the United States and its hirelings in south Viet Nam. The Johnson Administration could not allow Cambodia to spurn its "aid" and resist U.S. control of the country with impunity. The incidents created by the United States on the borders between Cambodia and south Viet Nam, including bombing raids on Cambodian territory, are proof of the real aims which U.S. imperialism pursues and which it prefers to cloak under the disguise of "aid." But Cambodia has stood firm.

"The United States," said Prince Sihanouk, the Cambodian Head of State, on September 8, "is enraged for not being able to make us succumb, and especially for being rejected by the Cambodian people who have courageously refused its poisonous aid—all in all, for having suffered a humiliating defeat from a small but proud and dignified people when the American dollar has its way nearly everywhere in the world."

Cambodia has been true to itself in standing up to the bluff and bluster of giant imperialist America. It has won the admiration of the new emerging countries which believe that economic development through self-reliance is the surest guarantee for political independence.

Bases in the Indian Ocean

New Moves of Aggression

While many Afro-Asian nations are demanding the dismantling of foreign military bases on their soil, the United States and Britain are

planning to set up new ones on British-administered islands in the Indian Ocean. Diego Garcia, 1,000 miles southwest of Ceylon, and Aldabra Is., 100 miles north of Malgache, have been surveyed and selected for the projected joint naval bases.

The move was kept a secret. But when the talks between Washington and London on the plan became known, the U.S. State Department press officer issued a statement on August 29, saying: "The United States has been holding discussions with the United Kingdom concerning the possibility of establishment of a U.S. radio-communications relay station in the Indian Ocean area." It is with statements such as this that U.S. imperialism always tries to cover its military tracks.

The press in Burma and Pakistan has been quick to prick the bubble. The *Rangoon Daily* declared in an article on September 2 that the U.S. and British attempt to build military bases in the Indian Ocean is nothing but a war preparation which threatens peace in Asia and the rest of the world. *Anjam* of Pakistan, writing editorially on the same day, said the Anglo-American plan poses "a danger not only to Pakistan but to all newly liberated Asian and African nations." *Jang*, another Pakistan paper, maintained that such bases would enable U.S. naval forces to encircle all independent countries from the Mediterranean to the China Sea and that the scheme was directed against the eastern countries.

It is precisely to facilitate the operations of the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean and the 7th Fleet in the Pacific and Indian Oceans that Washington plans these new bases. The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization in a statement on September 4 correctly identified it as another move of aggression directed against the new emerging nations.

Decision at Addis Ababa

White Mercenaries Must Go

After a five-day meeting the third extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of

African Unity (O.A.U.) which was convened to discuss the deteriorating situation in the Congo (Leopoldville) ended in Addis Ababa on September 10. It adopted a resolution expressing concern over the ominous developments in that country because foreign intervention and the use of mercenaries, recruited mainly from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, had an unfavourable effect on neighbouring independent countries and on the national-liberation struggle in Angola, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique and other areas still under colonial rule. Foreign intervention and mercenaries in the Congo also posed a serious threat to peace on the continent.

Before the Council of Ministers met at its new permanent headquarters, public opinion in Africa had already been sharply critical of the infamous role U.S. imperialism was playing in the Congo. Throughout the meeting the U.S. Ambassador to Ethiopia kept close contact with Tshombe, and was seen loitering every day in the corridors of the conference hall. The puppet-master held the strings tight. Many delegates denounced the open and direct armed intervention by the United States in the Congo and U.S. puppet Tshombe's crime in recruiting white mercenaries to slaughter the Congolese people. The resolution called on the Tshombe regime to stop hiring mercenaries and expel those already in the country.

Among other things the meeting called for a cessation of "hostilities"

and "reconciliation" and decided to set up an *ad hoc* commission consisting of Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea, Cameroon, Somalia, Upper Volta, Tunisia and the U.A.R. which will go to Leopoldville Congo, Brazzaville Congo and Burundi to bring about normalization of Leopoldville Congo's relations with its neighbours. It appealed to all big powers to stop interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo (L) and asked all members of the O.A.U. to refrain from taking any action which might aggravate the situation in Leopoldville Congo and worsen its relations with its neighbours.

It is clear from the resolution adopted at the meeting that U.S. manoeuvres to get other African countries to send troops to the Congo to help Tshombe suppress the patriotic armed struggle, that is, "to use Africans to fight Africans," were defeated.

Southern Rhodesia

Ban on African Parties

Two leading African nationalist organizations in Southern Rhodesia have been proscribed. They are the People's Caretaker Council led by Joshua Nkomo and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) led by Ndabaningi Sithole. Nkomo and Sithole had already been deprived of their freedom, the former being confined in a remote area of the country and the latter being placed on remand. This crackdown on the two

THE PASSING SHOW

The Hungry American

G.I.'s on Okinawa have taken a leaf out of the book of the underworld gangsters at home. During an anti-guerrilla war exercise at Higash Village they went on the rampage, stealing grain and grabbing fowls from the villagers. Some even broke into homes to seize food. The G.I.'s, being toughened up for war against the "Vietcong" in south Viet Nam, drew only a day's rations and were told it must last a week.



largest African political parties means that the racist government headed by Ian Smith, who has been to London to discuss with Prime Minister Home ways and means to perpetuate white minority rule, is tightening its control prior to carrying out its threat to declare Southern Rhodesia independent. Unilateral declaration of independence is nothing but a plot to consolidate white domination. It is opposed by both the P.C.C. and ZANU.

Smith's move has caused widespread protests in Africa. The Council of Ministers of the Organiza-

tion of African Unity, at its extraordinary session in Addis Ababa, passed a resolution opposing a unilateral declaration of "independence." It also demanded the immediate release of Nkomo, Sithole and other political prisoners. The All-African Trade Union Federation representing millions of African workers issued a statement condemning the ban on the P.C.C. and ZANU as a violation of the rights of the African people to political independence. Oscar S. Kambona, Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, said no

force could alter or reverse the determination of the African people of Southern Rhodesia to win freedom and independence. He assured the Southern Rhodesian nationalists of the support of the O.A.U. African Liberation Committee of which he is chairman.

The banning of the P.C.C. and ZANU, coupled with other repressive measures against the African people, is an indication that the white racists are desperate. Their ban has been defied by the two organizations which have declared that they will fight on till freedom is won.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

Joint Communique by Chinese Delegation and Dahomey Government

A Chinese government goodwill delegation led by Lu Hsu-chang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, at the invitation of the Government of the Dahomey Republic, paid a friendly visit to Dahomey from September 8 to 13.

During its visit, the delegation was received by President Sourou Migan Apithy and other government leaders and visited places of interest. The Chinese and Dahomey government delegations exchanged views on strengthening friendly relations and the development of economic, technical and cultural co-operation between the two countries.

A joint communique issued by the Chinese delegation and the Dahomey Government reads in part:

"Both parties are of the opinion that the development of their relations of friendship and co-operation not only corresponds to the common interests of the two peoples but will also contribute to the strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity and the maintenance of world peace.

"In the name of its Government, the goodwill delegation of the People's Republic of China invited the Dahomey Government to send a gov-

ernment goodwill delegation to visit the People's Republic of China. The Dahomey Government has accepted this invitation.

"The delegation of the People's Republic of China expressed sincere thanks to the Dahomey Government and people for the warm and hospitable reception it received."

Refuting Banda's Slanders

At a time when the U.S. and British imperialists were stepping up efforts at slandering and vilifying China as a means of disrupting friendly relations between the Chinese and African peoples, Prime Minister Hastings Banda of Malawi viciously attacked the Chinese Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam. Refuting his slanders, the Embassy on September 15 issued the following statement:

"The Prime Minister of Malawi Mr. Hastings Banda, speaking in the Malawian Parliament on September 8, slanderously charged the Chinese Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam with directing some Malawian Ministers to instigate the Malawian people against him and alleged that the Chinese Embassy had offered aid amounting to 18 million pounds sterling in exchange for Malawian recognition of China. These are groundless fabrications and lies.

"It is well known that, in establishing and developing friendly relations and co-operation with the African peoples, the Chinese Government

and people have always followed the Five Principles guiding China's relations with African countries and the eight principles guiding China's economic aid to other countries as put forward by Premier Chou En-lai. And it is in accordance with these principles that friendship between the Chinese and African peoples is daily developing. This is causing great alarm and uneasiness among the U.S. and British imperialists and their followers. With a view to disrupting friendly relations between the Chinese and African peoples, they are stepping up their efforts by engaging in all kinds of shameless slander and vilification against China. It is surprising and regrettable that in these circumstances Prime Minister Banda should also viciously slander this Embassy. This cannot but be considered a most unfriendly act towards the Chinese people.

"We hereby reiterate that the Chinese people are ready to develop friendly relations and co-operation with the Malawian people in the cause of opposing imperialism, safeguarding national independence and developing national economy. We would also like to repeat our advice to Prime Minister Banda that he should treasure the friendship between the Chinese and Malawian peoples, guard against imperialist plots to sow discord and change his unfriendly attitude towards China so as to avoid becoming more and more isolated."

CULTURAL FRONT

Market Town Transformations

China's market towns are busier than ever. Peasants from surrounding villages stream in early in the morning on commune business or to do a spot of shopping. At the mid-day break or late afternoon, crowds fill the theatres and cinemas, tea-houses, story-tellers' booths, cultural "palaces" and centres, "youth houses," libraries and reading rooms, before starting the journey home.

Market towns are not only economic and political centres of their areas, but also cultural centres. News of the latest shows in town, the latest ballads or stories, new exhibitions and demonstrations, copies of novels, new books and magazines—travel thence to the villages where they become topics of much interest. These places of popular entertainment and recreation are centres and channels for the spread of art and culture in the villages—that supplement the lively cultural activities organized by the village commune clubs and their amateur theatrical, literary and other artistic groups. The number of such entertainment spots in market towns throughout the countryside is legion. In the ten rural counties of Shanghai alone, there are 560 of them, large and small. Each is visited daily by hundreds, sometimes thousands, of people.

What type of culture they diffuse is thus a question of vital importance. Before liberation, they mostly spread the feudal, bourgeois and imperialist culture serving the exploiting, ruling classes. Ancient emperors and prime ministers, beauties and scholars, ghosts and gods held the centre of the stage. After liberation, their content has gradually taken on a contemporary, socialist nature, but quite a deal of the old has perniciously remained, contending with the new for supremacy.

The revolutionary mass cultural movement, coming with the socialist revolution and construction, is surging over these rural battlegrounds

of ideological struggle. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and People's Government, the citizens of the market towns—activists of government departments, cultural associations, women's and youth organizations, schools and factories—are pressing the advance of revolutionary culture against reactionary culture. A visit to the market towns today makes one realize what a thorough transformation has taken place.

Changed Face of Town

Szuching, a town south of the Yangtse, is typical in this respect. The clean and virile atmosphere is the first striking thing one notices. Before liberation, the four trades of rice-buying and selling, rice-threshing, lumber and wine distilling dominated Szuching. The owners of these enterprises, the merchants and the local landlords owned the town and all its entertainment spots, and the latter was tailored to their needs.

Today, Szuching culture suits the interests of people building socialism. Over the radio come songs of the revolution. Multi-coloured *pai lous*, triumphal arches, spanning the streets and crimson streamers carry the slogans of the day. Bulletin boards display the daily newspapers and photo exhibitions on current anniversaries and topics of interest. There is a constant stream of people through the cultural centre or the workers' club to see popular scientific and technical demonstrations, amateur art displays or exhibitions. One recent exhibition described the history of Szuching and the bitter struggles and victories of its people against oppression. Bookshop windows carry the latest in revolutionary literature, science and technology. Theatres show contemporary revolutionary operas and

plays. The cinema, showing modern films, is always full.

Teahouse Tales, Old and New

These are the more visible changes. A visit to a teahouse, a popular rural centre of rest, refreshment and entertainment, will show the depth of the transformation. In Shanyang town in the Shanghai municipality, the main teahouse seats 200. Any noonhour finds it filled to capacity. Its physical appearance has changed from the old days—gone are the too-assorted aromas, blaring music, vulgar exchanges and tobacco company "beauties" which once "adorned" the walls. Today it is clean, white-washed, sanitation-conscious. The pictures and posters on the walls reflect the life, tastes and campaigns of its patrons at its neat tables: sun-browned commune peasants. There is the buzz of talk, jokes and laughter between old friends and new acquaintances. In an inner room seating another hundred people, a storyteller with a hand-clapper tells a new story of how a farm brigade changed the face of their land from poor to prosperous.

Tea-drinkers enjoy new types of shows. One group listens intently



Telling new stories at the teahouse

to a young girl explaining current international events. Two young men do a "back-chat" propaganda skit. Programmes change daily—ballads, local operas, and other theatrical forms are put on. Professional artists and performers have weeded through their old repertoires to sort out the gold from the dross and have built up a new repertoire on contemporary themes. Amateur cultural troupes organized by the local Party and government authorities reinforce their efforts. These latter are all volunteers, commune cadres, teachers, office workers, doctors, sales clerks of state enterprises and members of various mass organizations. In their spare time they come by turns to perform and "do their stuff" at the teahouses and other cultural centres, as part of their service to the peasants. After their acts are over, the propaganda troupe members often slip in a bit of shop talk. The head of the local supply and marketing co-op, for instance, explains something of the government's rural market policy. A clerk of the local pharmacy gets in a point or two about seasonal diseases to beware of. Teahouses in the old days were often called unofficial "information bureaux"—they were prime sources of gossip and rumour. Peasant habitués of teahouses today get information from reliable, knowledgeable sources. Back home, when the younger generation helpfully "explains" some new policy or other, as like as not the old man with a smile will say: "Why, son, I heard all about that long ago—at the teahouse!"

Temple Fairs

Temple fairs, a unique feature of many market towns, give another good illustration of socialist cultural transformation in the rural areas. There were new three-day temple fairs this year in the Peitien, Chengkuan and Hsikoutung areas of Hsinhsien County, Shansi Province.

Such fairs were always popular events with crowds coming from the whole surrounding countryside. As in the old days, people come to buy and sell; there are booths and sideshows, opera troupes, acrobats, jugglers and story-tellers, shops and

stalls selling sweetmeats and drinks. But it is all with a difference. Pre-liberation, much of the activities that went on were commercialized or strongly coloured with superstition: soothsayers told their lies, hucksters did a trade in amulets and charms against sickness and for fertility, the bulk of the cultural fare subtly propagandized feudal and bourgeois ideas.

Since liberation, and especially in the last year, the Communist Party and Government has made a determined effort to transform the cultural content of these fairs. Opera troupes, modern drama companies and other entertainers put on new operas and plays, songs, dances, ballads and stories on contemporary revolutionary themes. Two of the operas put on this year, *The "Monster" Vanquished* and *Willow Tree Plain*, showed how the enemies of the people use superstition as a cover for sabotage. They had once-superstitious opera-goers vowing never again to believe in the supernatural.

Peasant audiences crowded into lectures and talks on such subjects as *What are ghosts and gods?*, *What is bad about the feudal marriage system?*, and *Where do diseases come from?* Some who formerly burnt joss sticks to "cure" infertility or a sick child took advice instead at the clinics.

Documentary and feature films, scientific photo exhibitions and lantern slide talks gave up-to-date knowledge on a wide variety of subjects. Sports—wrestling and *wu shu* ("shadow-boxing"), basketball and table tennis—were another star attraction.

The Hsinhsien temple fairs, like temple fairs all over China, have never been more gay and colourful, and as truly popular as they were this year. Such is the power of socialist transformation.

SPORTS

GANEFU Records Bettered

The rapid progress made by swimmers of the new emerging countries was amply demonstrated at the

August 28-31 international swimming and diving contests in Djakarta, Indonesia. During the four-day competition in which 120 swimmers from China, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, Cambodia, Venezuela, Mexico, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic and the Netherlands took part, there were 12 events in which results were better than those of last autumn's First GANEFU while in one other event the GANEFU record was equalled.

Among the excellent performances in the men's events by Chinese swimmers were: 100 m. breaststroke, 1 min. 11.5 sec. by Mo Kuo-hsiung; 100 m. backstroke, 1 min. 5.8 sec., and 200 m. backstroke, 2 min. 27.5 sec. by Yang San-sheng; 200 m. freestyle, 2 min. 6.2 sec. by Fu Taching; 200 m. butterfly, 2 min. 20.6 sec. by Tseng Chi-wei; 400 m. medley relay, 4 min. 15.3 sec.; high-board diving, 158.83 pts. by Tu Tu, and springboard diving, 152.91 pts. by Liang Pai-hsi. Good results in the women's events included: 100 m. freestyle, 1 min. 7.2 sec. by Guda Heyke of the Netherlands; 100 m. butterfly, 1 min. 13.3 sec. by Yeh Huan-jung of China; 100 m. backstroke, 1 min. 20.5 sec. by Kang Linfen of China; 400 m. medley relay, 5 min. 12.2 sec. by the Chinese team, and the springboard diving, 96.1 pts. by China's Chang Hsiu-wei.

At the closing ceremony, Indonesian Sports Minister Maladi, President of the GANEFU Federation, said that the contests were marked by the spirit of opposing discrimination and monopoly by imperialism in international sports and that the swimmers of the new emerging forces had reinforced their unity in their meeting.

On the evening of September 2, the participants to the contest strongly protested against and condemned the International Amateur Athletic Federation and the International Amateur Swimming Federation for unwarrantably banning the participants to the First GANEFU from taking part in international competitions. They demanded that the I.A.A.F. and the I.A.S.F. cancel their unjust "sanctions" immediately and unconditionally.

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