

PEKING REVIEW

5

January 29, 1965

United Nations Must Be Thoroughly Reorganized

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Essence of Khrushchov's Line of "Peaceful Coexistence"

A critical analysis by Akahata, Japanese C.P. organ (p. 19).

*A System of Modern Basic
Industries Develops*

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報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Selected Works of MAO TSE-TUNG

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Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China
Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre)

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the
Mail-Order Department, GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 29, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 5

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Poi Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Cable Address: Peking 2910

Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Speaking at the banquet welcoming the Indonesian delegation led by First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Subandrio, Premier Chou En-lai declared that the United Nations now under the control of U.S. imperialism must be thoroughly reorganized or another United Nations, a revolutionary one, be set up.

Peking held a mass rally, pledging firm support for the Indonesian people's struggle against British and U.S. imperialism.

• Foreign Minister Chen Yi wrote to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, drawing attention to the wanton U.S. bombing of Laotian liberated areas and calling on them to take action to stop the U.S. scheme to expand its war of aggression in Indo-China.

• *Renmin Ribao* and other leading newspapers published a TASS report on the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty and the full text of a communique on the meeting released by the Polish news agency PAP.

• The Chinese press published excerpts from:

—“In the Europe Which Breeds Revisionism, Revolutionary Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph,” an article published on January 6 by the editorial department of the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*.

—“Proletarian Internationalism — October's Living Behest” by Jam Szimek, which appeared in issue No. 11 (1964) of the Czechoslovak journal *Nova Mysl*.

— a speech by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, on December 7, 1964.

— the December 6, 1964 editorial of *Rabotnichesko Delo*, organ of the C.C. of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

—“Several Pressing Issues in Our Ideological Work” by Molnar Endre, published in the November 1964 issue of the Hungarian journal *Partelet*.

—“An Eventful Year” and “How Dogmatism Has Distorted Marxist-Leninist Views on Social Laws,” both from the December 1964 issue of the Hungarian journal *Tarsadalmi Szemle*.

— the summing-up speech by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, at the 7th plenary session of the Party's Central Committee which closed on December 5, 1964.

— a commentary from the Italian journal *Rinascita* of December 19, 1964.

—“New Attack by Chinese Leaders on the General Line of the World Communist Movement,” a news report published by the French paper *l'Humanite* on November 21 and “New Attack from Peking” by Yves Moreau, published in *l'Humanite Dimanche* on November 22, 1964.

— the editorial comment “Two Major Events: A First Look” and “Proletarian Internationalism and Bourgeois Nationalism” by Hyman Lumer, both from the November 1964 issue of *Political Affairs*, journal of the C.P.U.S.A.

Check U.S. Aggression in Laos

The recent wanton bombing of the Xieng Khouang liberated areas in Laos by U.S. fighter-bombers was another grave U.S. move to expand its war of aggression in Indo-China.

On January 20 Foreign Minister Chen Yi wrote to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, drawing attention to the U.S. Government's encroachment on Laotian sovereignty and independence and gross violation of the Geneva agreements.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi said in his letter that if no efforts were made to check U.S. actions, the situation in Indo-China would develop to a dangerous point. He urged the Soviet and British Governments, as Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, to face up to the grave situation prevailing in Laos and Indo-China, earnestly assume their responsibilities and take action to check direct U.S. armed aggression in Laos and its adventurist scheme for expanding the war in Indo-China.

Reply to Prince Souphanouvong. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi on January 24 sent a telegram to Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Government of National Union of Laos and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, in reply to his urgent message of January 16 on the further expansion of direct armed aggression against Laos by U.S. imperialism.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi expressed firm support for Prince Souphanouvong's stand condemning the U.S. imperialists and his reasonable demand for the immediate convocation of the 14-nation conference.

"As a signatory to the Geneva agreements and a close neighbour of Laos," the message said, "the People's Republic of China has all along closely followed the development of the situation in Laos. The Chinese Government consistently calls for the reconconvocation of the conference of the 14 signatories to the 1962 Geneva agreements to seek a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. We consider that, in the present circumstances in which U.S. imperialism is making intensive efforts to expand its direct armed aggression in Laos and in which the Geneva agreements are being completely torn up, it is all the more important to convene the 14-nation conference speedily."

International Lawyers in Peking

Three members of the international group of lawyers working to effect the release of the nine Chinese now illegally detained by the Brazilian authorities recently arrived in Peking for a visit at the invitation of the China Political Science and Law Association. They are Kunisuke

Nagano, senior member of the group and Chairman of the Japanese Liaison Council of International Jurists, the Indonesian lawyer Suprpto and the Pakistan lawyer Fakhruddin G. Ebrahim.

In Peking, they met members of the families of the nine Chinese who gave first-hand accounts of how the nine had gone to work in Brazil in full conformity with legal procedures to promote friendship between the people of China and Brazil, and trade and cultural exchange between the two countries. They thanked the international lawyers' group for upholding justice and hoped for success in their efforts to secure freedom for the nine.

Following their interviews on January 22 and 23, Kunisuke Nagano and Suprpto issued a joint statement which described the sentence passed by the Brazilian authorities on the nine as out-and-out political persecution. It has become ever clearer, the statement said, that the trial of the nine Chinese by the Brazilian military tribunal and the sentence of ten years' imprisonment imposed on them are not only an intolerable violation of the basic principles of international law but illegal in terms of Brazilian law. They pledged their utmost efforts to have the nine declared innocent.

Fakhruddin G. Ebrahim, in a statement following his meeting with the families on January 24, analysed the case, and on several points showed the absurdity of the pretexts on which the Brazilian authorities had convicted the Chinese of "subversive activities." He called on world opinion to condemn the illegality of the sentences.

Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, and Miao Hailing, Deputy Director of the Hsinhua News Agency, met the three lawyers on separate occasions and had cordial talks with them.

Protest Against Indian Intrusions

Despite protests by the Chinese Government, Indian troops and aircraft repeatedly intruded into Chinese territory and air space during the second half of 1964. The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a note to the

Indian Embassy in Peking on January 18, lodged another strong protest with the Indian Government against these intrusions.

The note pointed out that, during the second half of 1964, Indian troops made 24 intrusions into Chinese territory across the line of actual control on the Sino-Indian border or across the China-Sikkim border. It listed the following instances as particularly serious. (1) In the middle sector of the Sino-Indian border, Indian military and administrative personnel again intruded into the Wuje area and entrenched themselves there. This is an area which China vacated on its own initiative as one of the places concerning which there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangements. (2) At the Hsialinkung Terrace in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, the Indian troops have to date not dismantled the aggressive military structures which they have built beyond the line of actual control on the Chinese side. Moreover, they have frequently carried out reconnaissance and harassing activities across that line. (3) Along the China-Sikkim border, Indian troops have built about 50 aggressive military structures either beyond or on the boundary line at Tungchula, Jelep La and Cho La, and posted guards there.

The note also pointed out that during the last six months of 1964 Indian aircraft flew 21 sorties across the line of actual control on the Sino-Indian border as well as across the China-Sikkim and China-Bhutan borders, intruding into Chinese air space over Sinkiang and Tibet. These Indian aircraft brazenly carried out prolonged reconnaissance and harassing activities over China's territory, penetrating as far as such important cities and towns of Tibet or Sinkiang as Lhasa, Shigatse, Damshune, Pishan and Hotien. One aircraft even penetrated as far as Szechuan Province.

"The Chinese Government," the note declared, "hereby lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against the above-mentioned grave intrusions into China's territory and air space, and urges the Indian side to put an immediate end to such unlawful intrusions."

U.N. Must Be Thoroughly Reorganized

- **The United Nations has committed too many mistakes. It must correct them and it must be thoroughly reorganized.**
- **Or a revolutionary United Nations may well be set up.**
- **If the British and U.S. imperialists dare to impose a war on the Indonesian people, the Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by.**

Following is a translation of Premier Chou En-lai's speech on January 24 at the banquet in honour of the Indonesian delegation led by Dr. Subandrio, Indonesian First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

WE are very happy to welcome in Peking now the Indonesian Mission of President Sukarno led by First Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Subandrio. Dr. Subandrio is an old friend of ours. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to express our warmest welcome to Dr. Subandrio and the other distinguished guests on the mission, and to pay high tribute to President Sukarno and the Indonesian people.

Indonesia is a heroic nation. The Indonesian people are a revolutionary people. The Republic of Indonesia, under the leadership of President Sukarno, has made tremendous contributions to the Asian and African peoples' common cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, safeguarding national independence, upholding Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace. In order to oppose "Malaysia," which is a product of neo-colonialism, and to oppose the imperialists' protection of "Malaysia" through the instrumentality of the United Nations, Indonesia has withdrawn from the United Nations and the Indonesian people are rising in a new nationwide upsurge of patriotic anti-imperialist struggle. The visit of the distinguished Indonesian guests to China at this important moment is a forceful expression of the trust the 104 million Indonesian people place in the 650 million Chinese people. The imperialists have been bullying both you and us. Our two peoples have always supported each other in the common struggle against imperialism. Our Indonesian friends may rest assured that we will not fail this trust.

"Malaysia" is an artificial creation of Britain in collusion with the United States. It is well known that there exists a Malaya on this globe, but not such a thing

as "Malaysia." The so-called "Malaysia" is something which Britain imposes on the people of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah in order to perpetuate its colonial rule. Britain is an old hand at "divide and rule." When the tactics of "divide and rule" no longer work, it switches to the tactics of "merge and rule." It has been doing this both in Asia and in Africa. A most striking example was offered by the case of the Central African Federation, or the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Britain insisted on merging Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe in that federation so as to perpetuate its colonial rule. Zambia and Malawi have now attained independence. The African peoples were all aware that the so-called Central African Federation was utterly detestable. "Malaysia" is of the same stuff. Independent nations may merge on a voluntary basis. However, the peoples of the states and regions forcibly incorporated within "Malaysia" are still fighting for independence or complete independence, and hence a voluntary merger is entirely out of the question. In fact, it is the same British colonialists and their armed forces that wield control over "Malaysia" today. **Without Britain and the United States, the ruling clique of "Malaysia" could not possibly live for a single day.** By including Sarawak and Sabah in "Malaysia," Britain is in effect planting a bayonet in the chest of the Republic of Indonesia. It is only natural that the Indonesian people cannot tolerate the British menace to their security through its tool "Malaysia," just as the Arab peoples cannot tolerate the menace of Israel. **Indonesia's struggle against "Malaysia" is entirely just. "Malaysia" represents a menace to the Indonesian people as well as to the peoples of other Southeast Asian countries. The Chinese people resolutely support the people of North Kalimantan in their struggle for national independence and the Indonesian and Southeast Asian peoples in their struggle to confront "Malaysia."**

The illegal seating of "Malaysia" in the United Nations and its Security Council adds one more item to the many evil things done by the U.S. and British imperialists through the instrumentality of the United

Nations. Under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism, the United Nations created an Israel and has adopted an inimical attitude towards the Arab countries; it committed aggression in Korea while slandering China as the "aggressor"; it shields Chiang Kai-shek while ostracizing the People's Republic of China; it sent troops to the Congo and brought about the murder of Patrice Lumumba and the imprisonment of Antoine Gizenga; it levelled false charges against Cambodia and is making attempts to intervene in south Viet Nam and Laos; and so on and so forth. It practises various discriminations against the new emerging Asian and African countries, so much so that these countries are still prevented from attaining the positions they are entitled to in the United Nations. All this constitutes a total violation of the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter. **The United Nations has committed too many mistakes. It has utterly disappointed the Asian and African countries. It must correct its mistakes. It must be thoroughly reorganized.**

In order to reorganize the United Nations and make it conform to the aspirations of the Asian and African countries, it is necessary to expose the crimes committed by U.S. imperialism and its followers in manipulating the United Nations and to shatter the blind faith in the United Nations. As far back as in 1960, President Sukarno already proposed the reorganization of the United Nations. In deciding on Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations, President Sukarno opened the eyes of the people. They have come to realize that **the U.S. imperialist-manipulated United Nations is by no means something sacrosanct, that one can oppose the United Nations and withdraw from it and that one can do without entering it.** Countries embracing over one quarter of the population of the globe, such as China, Korea, Viet Nam, are not in the United Nations, nevertheless, they are getting along fine, and faring even better. On the other hand, of those countries which have joined the United Nations, some are controlled by its master, viz., the United States, or have U.S. military bases on their soil. They have very little independence and freedom to speak of, and there are quite a few countries in this category. Others have fallen victim to its aggression, and the Congo (Leopoldville) is a case in point. In these circumstances, another United Nations, a revolutionary one, may well be set up so that rival dramas may be staged in competition with that body which calls itself the United Nations but which is under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism and therefore can only make mischief and do nothing good. How can it be that only the United States is allowed to stage its own dramas, while we are not? In a word, U.S. imperialism must not be given a free hand to do whatever it pleases through the United Nations. **Indonesia's revolutionary move of withdrawing from the United Nations has given a powerful impetus to the just struggle of the Asian and**

African peoples for the reorganization of the United Nations. No matter what slanders U.S. imperialism and its followers may make and no matter how many people may still fail to understand it now, this meritorious feat of President Sukarno and the Indonesian people will be recorded in the annals of history.

The United Nations can cow no one. Britain is aware of that and so is the United States. Britain is now trying to rig up a military force. Pinching and scraping, it has managed to do no more than to concentrate several tens of thousands of troops and a few dozen warships in "Malaysia" and, with this force, attempts to invade or harass Indonesia and to overawe the great Indonesian people. In so doing, Britain has been applauded by the United States. The United States, on its own part, has sent out a small number of ground, air and naval forces to occupy south Viet Nam, bomb the Laotian liberated areas and raid the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. It has staged the farce of fighting shadows on several occasions in Bac Bo Gulf. It has, moreover, instigated Thailand and south Viet Nam to make provocations against Cambodia. **Relying on those miserably meagre and feeble forces, the United States is crying out for the enlargement of the war in Southeast Asia and is trying to drag Britain down into the mire with it. Baring its fangs and showing its claws, this paper tiger, U.S. imperialism, fancies itself to be formidable. But the Chinese people are not afraid of this trick, and only hold it to be quite miserable and ludicrous. We are convinced that it is the revolutionary people in action who are genuinely powerful, and that in front of the revolutionary people the imperialists are doomed to defeat in the end no matter how rampant they may be at present.**

The Chinese people sternly condemn the U.S. and British imperialists for their playing with fire. The U.S. and British imperialists must dismantle all their military bases and withdraw their armed forces from Asia.

The Chinese people staunchly support the people of Southeast Asian countries in their patriotic, just struggle to resist imperialism. If the British and U.S. imperialists should dare to impose a war on the Indonesian people, the Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by.

Distinguished Indonesian guests! Our two peoples are close comrades-in-arms in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. I am convinced that your present visit will greatly enhance the solidarity and co-operation and the militant friendship between our two countries. Our two peoples will for ever march forward hand in hand and fight together for the cause of opposing imperialism, safeguarding world peace and building our respective countries.

China Backs Indonesia

Indonesia's withdrawal from the U.N. has defended its national interest and the interests of all the world's revolutionary peoples.

ON January 26, at a rally in Peking to welcome the Indonesian delegation led by Dr. Subandrio, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi reaffirmed the Chinese people's unshakable support for the Indonesian people's just struggle of confronting "Malaysia" and for their revolutionary move to withdraw from the United Nations. The Chinese people would definitely not sit idly by should the British and U.S. imperialists dare to impose a war on the Indonesian people, Chen Yi declared.

The present United Nations, he said, is an organization which divides the world and is controlled by the United States and a few big powers.

"The U.S. imperialist-manipulated United Nations has been increasingly reduced to a tool of the world's decadent forces. The United Nations has committed too many evils. It must correct its mistakes and be thoroughly reorganized, or it will have no future," Chen Yi stressed. "Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations is the first step in promoting such a reorganization. Consideration may also be given to the setting up of another United Nations, a revolutionary one, so that rival dramas may be staged in competition with the existing, U.S.-manipulated United Nations for people to make the comparison."

In short, the existing organization known as the United Nations is by no means sacrosanct. Blind worship of this idol must be ended. U.S. imperialism's use of the United Nations to do whatever it pleases must not be allowed, the Vice-Premier declared.

Chen Yi noted: "Some people say that by withdrawing from the United Nations, Indonesia has pulled the rug from under the feet of the United Nations and thereby set a dangerous precedent. No! It is the United States, not Indonesia, that has set this dangerous precedent. The United States has excluded the People's Republic of China with one-quarter of the world's population from the United Nations. Is this not pulling the rug from under the feet of the United Nations? Why is it that only the United States is allowed to pull the rug while others are not?"

"Some people say that the only positive approach is to remain in the United Nations and carry on the struggle there, while withdrawal from the United Nations is negative in all circumstances. In our view, the contrary is true. In the specific circumstances confronting Indonesia, only resolute and determined withdrawal from the United Nations can give the imperialists a bitter lesson. Continued stay in the United Nations will only inflate the arrogance and peremptoriness of the imperialists. With Indonesia's withdrawal from the

United Nations, U.S. imperialism has to be a little more careful in the future in approaching questions concerning Asian and African countries. This greatly helps the struggle of the Asian and African countries for the reorganization of the United Nations."

Chen Yi also declared: "Some people say that withdrawal from the United Nations will result in one's isolation. We hold a diametrically opposite view. China is not in the United Nations, but we do not feel isolated. Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations in opposition to the imperialists' manipulation has made its voice more resonant in international affairs. The criterion of whether a country is isolated or not is not whether it is a member of the United Nations, but whether or not it pursues policies in the interests of its own people and the people of the world. Superficially, the United States should be the least isolated since it has put the United Nations under its manipulation. In our view, however, the United States is most isolated. According to U.S. news reports, in the recent period dozens of U.S. embassies and information centres abroad have been attacked or set on fire. Is this not proof of its isolation?"

Vice-Premier Chen Yi warmly praised the Indonesian people who are fearless and are imbued with a revolutionary spirit. He paid tribute to President Sukarno who played a most outstanding leading role in developing this revolutionary spirit. "The Indonesian people, raising high the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, of Asian-African solidarity and of the new emerging forces, have made tremendous contributions to the common cause of the Asian-African people for unity against imperialism. . . ."

"The Indonesian people's struggle," Chen Yi continued, "to support the North Kalimantan people's fight for national independence, confront 'Malaysia,' and safeguard the security of their own country is an important component of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle of the people of Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole. The Chinese people, together with the people of the Southeast Asian countries, staunchly support this just struggle of the Indonesian people."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi also touched briefly on the talks which took place between Dr. Subandrio and Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese government leaders. He said: "Our talks have been long, extensive, thoroughgoing and excellent. It can be said with certainty that these talks will definitely usher in a new, still higher phase in the comrade-in-arms relations of friendship, solidarity and mutual help between our two countries."

Peking Welcomes Indonesian First Vice-Premier Subandrio

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE 42-member Indonesian special delegation, sent by President Sukarno and led by First Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Subandrio, arrived in Peking last Saturday afternoon, January 23, at the invitation of the Chinese Government. The delegation received a rousing welcome at the beflagged airport from Chinese government leaders and thousands of Peking citizens. Among those greeting the distinguished guests at the plane-side were Premier Chou En-lai; Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister; Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The delegation, the largest ever to visit this country from Indonesia, has brought with it the comradeship-in-arms of the Indonesian people now fighting in the forefront against imperialism and colonialism. Occurring at a time when the Indonesian people's anti-imperialist struggle has reached a new height and when the people of our two countries are faced with new, common tasks in this struggle, the visit is of great significance. Welcoming the envoys of friendship, *Renmin Ribao* in its January 23 editorial said: "Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations and its unflinching confrontation with 'Malaysia' have enraged the U.S.

and British imperialists. Regarding Indonesia as a thorn in their side, these imperialists are blatantly threatening it with the use of force and war, bringing economic pressure to bear, and resorting to subversion and sabotage and other vile means against it. . . . But the Indonesians are a great people whom no threat can cow, no pressure can bend and no force can crush."

Indonesian People Are Not Alone

In their struggle to uphold their sovereignty and national dignity, the Indonesians are not alone. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and peace-loving people throughout the world are on their side. China's 650 million have pledged unequivocal support. At the banquet he and Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave on January 24 for First Vice-Premier Subandrio and the other Indonesian guests, Premier Chou En-lai served a warning on U.S. and British imperialism. Said the Premier: "If the British and U.S. imperialists should dare to impose a war on the Indonesian people, the Chinese people will absolutely not sit idly by." (For text of Premier Chou's speech, see p.5.)

First Vice-Premier Subandrio, in his speech, said that the purpose of Indonesia's withdrawal from the U.N. "is to strengthen the progressive and revolutionary forces in the fight against colonialism and imperialism." "Indonesia's withdrawal," he said, "has inspired the fighting spirit of the people of various countries fighting against colonialism and imperialism, increased their self-confidence and freed them from fear of imperialism." Stressing that the Indonesian people's struggle was a just one and that the struggle of countries for national independence must include the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, he called on all the new emerging forces and the world's progressive and revolutionary forces to



Indonesian First Vice-Premier Subandrio and his delegation receive a warm welcome at Peking Airport

unite and eliminate imperialism and colonialism resolutely and completely.

Mass Rally Pledges Support

More than 10,000 people gathered in the Great Hall of the People on January 26 to welcome the visitors. When First Vice-Premier Subandrio and members of his delegation appeared on the rostrum with Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Mayor Peng Chen of Peking, the huge hall gave them a standing ovation as an expression of solidarity with the Indonesian people. In his opening address, Mayor Peng Chen extended his warm welcome to the Indonesian guests and paid tribute to President Sukarno for his wise decision in withdrawing Indonesia from the U.N. This, Peng Chen said, was an action arousing the world's people to oppose U.S. imperialist manipulation of the United Nations. He declared: "The Chinese people will for ever support your revolutionary and just struggle. We are firmly convinced that all the U.S. and British imperialists' policies of aggression and war are doomed to failure and that the revolutionary Indonesian people will triumph."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi also addressed the rally. He described the United Nations as an organization dividing the world and controlled by the United States and a few other big powers. He reaffirmed China's full support for Indonesia in its anti-imperialist struggle. (See excerpts of speech on p.7.)

When First Vice-Premier Subandrio took the floor, the gathering burst into thunderous applause. In his speech, he stressed that President Sukarno's decision on withdrawing Indonesia from the U.N. had been made in the interests of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. "It is obvious," he said, "that the United Nations is increasingly becoming a body which is manipulated by the U.S. and British imperialists and their

lackeys." Referring to the view held by some people that, as a result of its withdrawal, Indonesia would become increasingly encircled and menaced by imperialism, he declared: "The situation in this century shows that countries encircled and menaced by imperialism have forged ahead faster than those backed and fed by imperialism." As to the view held by some countries that Indonesia's withdrawal would lower the prestige of the United Nations and create a crisis for it, he pointed to the fact that the prestige of that world organization had begun to fall as early as 1950 when it refused to restore to the People's Republic of China its legitimate seat. The denial to China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations and the progress China had made outside the organization "clearly expose the bankruptcy of the U.N.," he said.

First Vice-Premier Subandrio also spoke of the close friendship between the Indonesian and Chinese peoples, noting that they had always united closely in dealing with U.S.-led imperialism and colonialism. Declaring that the will to bury imperialism was the basis of Sino-Indonesian friendship, Subandrio expressed confidence that, fighting shoulder to shoulder, the Chinese and Indonesian peoples would surely triumph.

Since their arrival, the Indonesian guests have had a busy schedule. Generals from the Indonesian armed forces who are among the members of the delegation were entertained to a luncheon by Senior General Lo Jui-ching, while journalists attended a reception given in their honour by the All-China Journalists' Association. First Vice-Premier Subandrio has held talks with Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi. These talks, as Vice-Premier Chen put it, have been extensive and exhaustive. Fruitful results leading to a new phase in the comradeship-in-arms between the two countries can be expected.

Sato Aids U.S. Imperialism

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of the January 20 "Renmin Ribao" article entitled "Eisaku Sato Renders Big Services to U.S. Imperialism." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

SOME days ago, Japan's Prime Minister Eisaku Sato visited Washington and issued a joint communique with the U.S. President. That communique makes it clear that **on many important issues Sato, in disregard of Japan's national interests, is following the U.S. policy of aggression. This has been strongly condemned in all circles in Japan.**

Masayoshi Oka, Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, pointed out that the joint communique showed that the U.S. and Japanese ruling groups sought to co-ordinate their aims and extend their collaboration in order to enforce the U.S. policy of "containing China," aggression in Asia

and unleashing a nuclear war, and the Japanese policy of getting nuclear armaments and reviving militarism.

Tomomi Narita, General Secretary of the Japanese Socialist Party, said that, in the Washington talks, Sato had failed to uphold an "independent stand" for Japan. On the question of China Sato had adopted a policy of "looking backwards," and in the matter of south Viet Nam, Japan had been committed to bear a very heavy burden under imprecise terms.

Yoshitaro Hirano, Chairman of the Japanese National Peace Committee, pointed out that Sato had tied Japan closer than ever to U.S. policies of war and aggression in Asia.

The Japanese paper *Mainichi Shimbun* said that Sato, by agreeing to prior consultations with the United States on Japan's policy to China, "has bound itself to the limits set by the United States."

Sato has repeatedly declared his intention of following in the footsteps of Hayato Ikeda, but it appears that he has gone further than his predecessor in toeing the U.S. line.

Compared to his earlier professions, what Eisaku Sato did in the United States is a big step backwards. Here are the facts:

On May 14 last year, Sato declared that: On the question of China, politics and economics "actually cannot be separated." Yet, today, in the Japan-U.S. communique he makes an about-face and talks about "separation of political matters from economic matters."

Soon after assuming office on November 10 last year, Sato said: "Foreign countries should not assert that there are 'two Chinas,' not one. To do so would amount to interference in China's internal affairs." But less than a month later he himself asserts that China is "actually separated into two," and adds that the U.S. theories of "self-determination" and "trusteeship" for Taiwan are "very good."

In the latter part of November last year Sato declared that, on the question of China, Japan had to "make decisions itself from the standpoint of its national interests." Now he says: "close consultations" with the United States must be conducted before acting.

After assuming office, Sato declared time and again that, on the question of China, Japan must take a "forward-looking" attitude. During his visit to the United States he said, however, that on this question Japan had taken neither a "backward-looking" nor a "forward-looking" attitude. He even went so far as to make out that Japan is even "more concerned" by China's "aggressive tendencies" than Washington and made it clear that together with the United States it would use the method of the so-called "two-thirds majority vote" to obstruct the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

Sato repeatedly asserted before that Japan would pursue an "independent" policy. But today, even on the question of recovering the U.S.-occupied Japanese territories of Okinawa and Ogasawara, he has agreed to the United States putting off action in this matter indefinitely.

Sato has often declared that Japan is "a member of Asia," and must conduct an "Asian diplomacy." But in the Japan-U.S. communique, he says that he completely "agrees" with Johnson that the United States must "persevere" in its war, a war of aggression, in south Viet Nam.

All these facts show that Sato is contradicting himself and going back on his word. In view of this, how can people believe him in the future?

The present world situation is most unfavourable for U.S. imperialism. It is suffering a time of acute stresses. Its aggressive war in south Viet Nam is on the brink of utter defeat. Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations has dealt a severe blow to U.S. imperialism as the manipulator of that international organization. The tendency to oppose U.S. control and to

take the path of independent development is growing stronger and stronger among Washington's allies. Recently a severe crisis has hit the U.S. dollar. The Johnson Administration is in desperate straits. **Just when the United States was feeling most isolated and in need of help, Sato hurried to Washington to present tribute. Willing to be buried along with U.S. imperialism, he tied Japan still tighter to the U.S. war chariot.** Is there any semblance of an "independent" policy about this? It is reported that Sato's prestige at home is sinking lower and lower. This is the inevitable result of his activities going against the current, in disregard of the trend of international events.

On the question of Sino-Japanese relations we have always exercised the utmost patience and done everything we could. Although the state of war between China and Japan has not yet been formally terminated, we have, nevertheless, made continuous efforts to promote economic and cultural exchanges and promote reciprocal visits between the peoples of the two countries. We have actively, and on our own initiative, advised Japan to take part in the Asian-African Conference hoping that it will, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, contribute to the efforts of the Asian and African countries to achieve prosperity through self-reliance. But this wish of ours has not met with a response in a like spirit. On the contrary, **the Japan-U.S. talks show that Sato is going out of his way to toe the U.S. line to "contain" China.** Leading Japanese papers have revealed that the Japanese authorities are even ready to take an active part in the so-called U.S. crescent of encirclement around China. What is more, Japanese government officials have even openly advanced the absurd argument that "the status of Taiwan is undetermined." All these facts cannot but alert the vigilance of the Chinese people.

U.S. imperialism is at the end of its tether; what good will it do Japan for Sato to render big services to it? It will only damage the interests of Japan but not harm a single hair of China. It will only increase dissatisfaction among broad sections of the Japanese people. Even in the Liberal Democratic Party the far-sighted will not endorse Sato's actions. These activities will enable the peoples of the Asian countries to see even more clearly the true features of the Sato government. **The fond dreams of being "the leader of Asia" which Sato and his like cherish will certainly be dashed to the ground. How can those who are willing to be buried alive in the tomb of U.S. imperialism play a "leading" role in Asia?**

We are not in the least pessimistic about the future of Sino-Japanese friendly relations. The Japanese people want to oppose U.S. imperialism and want friendship with China. This is an irresistible historical trend. We wish to be friends with Japan just as we wish to be friends with all those who desire friendship with us. **We believe that the day will come when courageous statesmen will arise in Japan and put an end to its subservience to and dependence on the United States, and bring about a genuinely independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan.**

U.S. Monopoly Capital and the Nuclear War Industry

by TUNG WEI-JEN

MODERN militarism is the result of capitalism¹ and in the imperialist countries "militarization is now permeating all social life."² So wrote Lenin more than 40 years ago. Since then there has been an unprecedented development of militarism and militarization of economic life in the imperialist countries. This is especially so in the United States where today these phenomena have developed to an unparalleled extent. Branch after branch of industry in the United States has been sucked into the whirlpool of the arms drive and preparations for war. Some branches, such as the nuclear industry, have been in the service of war from the very moment they were born.

Gigantic Nuclear War Industry

Since August 6, 1945, when, over Hiroshima in Japan, the United States exploded the first atomic bomb to be used in warfare, nuclear weapons have become the treasured means of U.S. imperialism for realizing its nefarious plot to subjugate the world. In the decade and more since World War II, preparations for nuclear war and nuclear blackmail have been the consistent government policy of successive U.S. Administrations. Frenzied expansion of nuclear arms production in the attempt to retain the U.S. nuclear monopoly and later to gain nuclear supremacy have characterized the Administrations of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson — the agents of big monopoly capital. With a blind faith in new weapons, the U.S. monopoly capital groups have long established a gigantic nuclear industry which has assumed a uniquely important position in the U.S. war industry.

The U.S. nuclear industry is subject to strict "security regulations" and a large part of the plants, installations, laboratories and other equipment used in the manufacture of fissionable material and nuclear arms are government property. In and after June 1940, the U.S. Government set up successively the National Defence Research Council, the Office of Scientific Research and Development, the Manhattan Engineering District under the Army's Corps of Engineers and, after

the world war, the Atomic Energy Commission to supervise and develop this branch of war industry. To keep pace with the growth of the nuclear industry and stockpile nuclear weapons, over the last 20-odd years the U.S. Government has invested an astounding amount of money in the industry. Up to fiscal 1964 it had invested the huge sum of U.S.\$35,800 million, a total bigger than the combined capital of the five biggest U.S. industrial monopoly concerns including General Motors and Standard Oil of New Jersey. Today plants and installations of the Atomic Energy Commission can be found in at least 27 states, occupying an area of more than 2.1 million acres, with buildings taking up 76.7 million square feet, and a staff of about 140,000 of whom 20,000 to 30,000 are scientists or engineers. Each year the nuclear industry uses one-tenth of the nation's total output of electricity or one-half of that required for domestic needs.

Who Controls It?

The nuclear industry is a typical case of the integration of monopoly capital and state power and of the further subordination of the state apparatus to the big monopoly concerns. In actual fact this enormous industry set up by the Government is controlled by a handful of the biggest monopoly groups and is an important source of their monopoly profits. The label "government owned" is used by them as a fig leaf to hoodwink the American people and cover up the plunder of the state treasury by the monopolies.

Atomic energy is one of the newest branches of science. In the early days of World War II research into the use of atomic energy was still in its initial stages; a rather complicated technological process is involved in making fissionable material and turning it into atomic weapons. For these reasons and because it was uncertain whether the huge amount of capital required would yield quick and big profits, the big U.S. monopoly concerns got the U.S. Government to launch the venture and shoulder the risks. This is why the nuclear industry started with the government financed and run plants like the ones at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Los Alamos, New Mexico, where the first lot of atomic bombs were made. At the same time certain big monopoly concerns were awarded contracts to build nuclear laboratories and plants (including installations and equipment), and they supplied key executives, scientists and technicians to take charge of research for the manufacture and development of atomic bombs. This,

¹ V.I. Lenin, "Bellicose Militarism and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social-Democracy," *Collected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol. 15, p. 192.

² V.I. Lenin, "On the Slogan of 'Disarmament,'" *Collected Works*, Fourth Russian edition, State Publishing House of Political Literature, Moscow, 1950, Vol. 23, p. 87.

in actual fact, meant they had control of this newly created branch of industry and were well placed to cash in on its future development.

The war over, under the 1946 Atomic Energy Act, the U.S. Government turned over most of the nuclear plants and laboratories to "reliable" private contractors to operate. These so-called "reliable" private contractors are none other than the handful of the biggest electric and chemical monopoly groups which right from the start had taken an active part in all phases of the manufacture of the atomic bomb. They include the General Electric Co. of the Morgan group, the E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. of the du Pont group, the Union Carbide Corp. in which the Rockefeller and Mellon groups have a major interest, and the Sandia Corp. (a subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.) which is jointly controlled by the Morgan and Rockefeller groups. These four companies now monopolize more than half the projects of the U.S. "atomic energy programme." The first three mentioned groups (known as the "Big Three" in the nuclear industry) use government buildings and installations which account for two-thirds to four-fifths of the Government's total fixed assets in the nuclear industry. Furthermore, most of the remaining government nuclear projects are shared out among the big companies, scientific research centres and universities related to the big financial groups mentioned above. In 1954 the U.S. Government went a step further in "lifting restrictions" on private capitalist enterprise in the industry. The revised Atomic Energy Act passed that year allows private enterprises to make, use and export reactors for producing fissionable materials and build nuclear power plants, etc., under licences issued by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The big Morgan, du Pont, Rockefeller and Mellon financial groups have for a long time held a special monopoly position in the nuclear industry. Around ten of their giant companies have become the biggest producers of fissionable materials and nuclear weapons as well as government or private-owned nuclear equipment used for military or civilian purposes; they also control a major portion of the exports in this field. They are the real controllers of the U.S. nuclear industry.

Huge Profits

Of all the industries in the highly militarized U.S. national economy, war industry gives the surest and highest profits. The munitions companies' rates of profit are generally 50 to 100 per cent higher than those of the ordinary run of big enterprises which manufacture civilian goods. Even though the nuclear concerns' profits are kept a strict secret, it can be seen from the following very incomplete data that the nuclear war industry is indeed a business that pays huge profits on relatively modest outlays.

In the United States, nuclear contractors are different from conventional arms contractors. The latter normally produce according to government contracts and then sell what they produce to the Government.

Basically this is still a business transaction of purchase and sale (though, of course, it is different from the ordinary run of trade); in the nuclear war industry, however, the big monopolies enjoy a specially privileged and advantageous position vis-a-vis the state. In most cases the nuclear contractor uses government-owned installations and capital and only "processes on behalf of the Government" according to contract. There is no normal buying and selling relationship here. The U.S. Government makes the investments while day-to-day management, procurement of supplies, etc., are in the hands of the contractor. Such contractors annually receive rich compensation of up to U.S.\$2,500 million, roughly one-third of the value of the government plants and equipment they use or more than 95 per cent of the total annual expenditure of the Atomic Energy Commission. It can be safely said that the greater portion of this compensation is profit.

One of the ways the nuclear concerns get their enormous profits is by falsifying costs. For example, the General Electric Co. once received an engineering contract involving an estimated cost of U.S.\$6.3 million. But in the course of a few years the estimated cost rose again and again until it finally reached U.S.\$25 million, about four times the original estimate. What is more, from what has been revealed, no design drawings or data were supplied when these revised and inflated costs were submitted.

It is estimated that of the total business contracted by the nuclear contractors, at least 81 per cent was on the cost-plus-fixed-fee basis; the fixed fee generally ranged from 2 to 6 per cent of the total value of the work done (some estimate it to be from 3 to 7 per cent). Consequently the more the cost of production is padded, the bigger the fee and the greater the profit. Furthermore, as the Government and the nuclear contractors are not in the relationship of simple buyer and seller, the contractors' fee is not included in "company profits" and is therefore tax free and pure profit. In this respect the nuclear concerns are in a more favourable position than the ordinary munitions concerns.

What is more, nuclear contractors enjoy a wide range of government subsidies such as so-called "home office expenses," "general overhead," allowances to be used for research and developmental projects "of their own choosing" (research or developmental projects run by the contractor and not subject to government supervision though financed by it), etc. Through fees paid for research and developmental projects "of their own choosing" the Union Carbide Corp. and General Electric Co. each year rake in nearly U.S.\$10 million from the Oak Ridge and Hanford plants alone.

One of the greatest benefits which big contractors enjoy in the nuclear industry is perhaps that they can control and monopolize the technical know-how of this newborn branch of science and use it to preserve their positions of advantage in face of competition. It also gives them opportunities to engage in new pursuits. The discoveries they make while using government laboratories are specially protected by law. It is this

monopoly of technology and skill enjoyed by government nuclear contractors that has enabled the General Electric Co. and the Westinghouse Electric Corp. (jointly controlled by the Mellon and Rockefeller groups) to become the biggest suppliers of nuclear power equipment, and the Union Carbide Corp. and du Pont de Nemours & Co. to rank top in the capitalist world for production of isotopes.

On the whole, although just how much the monopoly concerns benefit from their use of the "government-owned" signboard is a closely guarded secret, it is clear that these benefits must be very big indeed.

The growth of the nuclear industry naturally brought a "rain of gold" for U.S. uranium mining companies. U.S. imperialism not only seizes huge quantities of raw material for its nuclear industry from abroad but, starting from the 1950s, has whipped up a "gold rush" hysteria for mining uranium at home. All home-produced uranium is bought up by the Government at a surprisingly high price. For example, in 1951 although the Atomic Energy Commission set the guaranteed buying price for uranium oxide at U.S.\$3.5 a pound, that year the actual average price went to more than U.S.\$12. The Government generally pays a low price for uranium oxide produced overseas, normally one-half or one-third of that paid for home-produced uranium oxide. In 1951 the buying price for overseas supplies averaged about U.S.\$4 per pound. In the past decade and more labour productivity in the mining and processing of uranium has been greatly increased. Despite this, the Government has kept the home contract price of uranium oxide for the years 1958 to 1966 at the high figure of U.S.\$8 per pound. Even the U.S. General Accounting Office admits that the price is far too high and enables those enterprises producing uranium oxide to get "unjustified extra profits" amounting to U.S.\$34 million (and that's putting it very mildly).

Apart from the high price it pays for uranium, the Government gives the uranium mining industry "depletion allowances," excessive capital depreciation allowances, loans, subsidies and other benefits. With rich pickings to be had, businessmen flocked into it and as early as 1955 the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's 17th mid-year report pointed out that uranium mining "now ranks as a major segment of the domestic non-ferrous metal mining industry from the standpoint of the dollar value of product and the number of persons engaged in the industry." But, just like the production of fissionable materials and nuclear weapons, mining and processing of uranium for the most part is shared out between the big monopoly concerns of Morgan, Rockefeller, etc. These include, for example, the American Cyanamid Co., the Kennecott Copper Corp. and the Homestake Mining Co. of the Morgan financial group; the Atlas Corp. and the Union Carbide Corp. (shared with the Mellon financial group) of the Rockefeller financial group; the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. belonging to the First National City Bank and also connected with the Morgan and Rockefeller financial groups; and the Phillips Petroleum Co. which

is connected with the du Pont financial group. It is these giant companies and others which are in fact the chief U.S. uranium ore monopolists.

Nuclear Disarmament or Nuclear Armament?

The U.S. Government's ceaseless production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, fissionable materials and uranium ore multiplies the monopoly concerns' wealth and at the same time further strengthens its means of aggression and expansion. Of course, while speeding up the expansion of nuclear armaments, the U.S. Government which is controlled by the financial oligarchs, may, for some specific political purpose, at times put on a show of being willing to relax international tension such as by proposing a partial ban on nuclear testing, announcing reductions in the production of certain fissionable materials, making proposals for the peaceful use of atomic energy, and so on. In reality, all this is simply eyewash to deceive the people. Let us now examine these deceptive professions of goodwill.

1. *Is the U.S. Government really sincere about reducing nuclear armaments and stopping the production of nuclear weapons?*

As early as August 8, 1963, Kennedy answered this question in his special message to the Senate on the partial nuclear test ban treaty. Here he proclaimed that the Moscow treaty "does not assure world peace," "does not prohibit the nuclear arms race," "does not prohibit the United States . . . from engaging in all nuclear tests," "will not halt the production or reduce the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons," and "will not end the threat of nuclear war or outlaw the use of nuclear weapons." Again on April 20, 1964, when President Johnson announced that the United States intends to reduce its production of fissionable materials, he made it quite clear that: "This is not disarmament." "This is not a declaration of peace." "I have reaffirmed all the safeguards against weakening our nuclear strength which we adopted at the time of the [partial nuclear] test ban treaty." McNamara and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission Dr. Glenna T. Seaborg admitted in their report to Johnson on April 16, 1964, that in the eight months since the signing of the partial nuclear test ban treaty the United States had carried out a complete, active and uninterrupted underground testing programme. The report said that "the highest yield nuclear device ever detonated in the continental United States was fired at the Nevada test site" and that "important information has been obtained on new weapons designs and weapons effects." In his October 15 television speech on the first anniversary of the signing of the tripartite nuclear test ban treaty, Johnson said that the treaty "has contributed to the security of the United States of America." He declared that "this treaty did not end the arms race. It did not reduce man's power to destroy civilization." In the year since the signing of the treaty, he admitted, "Our [the U.S. imperialists] nuclear superiority has continued to grow. A programme of underground testing and the most modern research laboratories have helped

us to improve our [nuclear] weapons." He emphasized, "We stand ready, at a moment's notice, to resume atmospheric testing, should that be necessary." In fiscal 1964 alone the amount spent by the United States on improving nuclear weapons laboratories was U.S.\$375 million.

It is clear that rapacious, aggressive U.S. imperialism will not stop its nuclear armaments drive. On the contrary, it is doing all it can to improve its strategic nuclear weapons as a means for political blackmail; it is developing and producing tactical nuclear weapons on an ever bigger scale and using nuclear energy to power submarines, warships, various kinds of military aircraft and guided missiles. U.S. monopoly capital, making a fetish of weapons, finds all this necessary to preserve its share of the nuclear monopoly and practise nuclear blackmail and this has a direct bearing on the war industry run by the biggest monopoly concerns. For example, the U.S. Government has to pay nuclear concerns an extra U.S.\$126 million for equipping one aircraft carrier with nuclear power. This is not to mention the enormous profits they rake in by supplying U.S. "allies" at high prices with various U.S.-controlled nuclear materials and nuclear power equipment, and from licence payments for patent rights. Certain people, despite everything, think that monopoly capital will give up its guiding principle of "profits above all else," and change its expansionist and enslaving nature. They laud to the skies U.S. imperialism's "sincerity for peace" and "wish for disarmament." Apart from their being bent on acting as apologists for U.S. imperialism, there can be no other explanation for this.

2. *What is behind the U.S. Government's "reduction in the production of fissionable materials"?*

The monopolization of raw materials and their sources is a basic feature of the operations of finance capital, and an indispensable condition enabling one competitor to defeat another and to get monopoly profits. For U.S. imperialism, which wants to rely on nuclear weapons to dominate the world, strategic raw materials like uranium are key essentials. Through a host of means, economic, political and military, U.S. monopoly capital has long had a hold on the uranium-rich countries in the capitalist world such as Canada, the Congo (Leopoldville), South Africa, Australia and Portugal where in varying degrees it controls the uranium deposits and their mining. The United States before 1958 got all the raw uranium produced in these areas and still buys up about 90 per cent of their production today. During World War II and in the early postwar years, the U.S. nuclear industry relied on Canada and the Congo (Leopoldville) for all its uranium. Since the early 50s, though the uranium mining industry in the United States has grown rapidly each year, it still has made huge purchases overseas. For example, in the period 1957-63 the U.S. Government bought about half of its uranium abroad. As the facts show, without a monopoly of the uranium of Canada, the Congo (Leopoldville) and other countries, the U.S. nuclear industry could not have grown to its

enormous size nor achieved its one-time monopoly of nuclear weapons.

Even though U.S. imperialism controls most of the capitalist countries' uranium resources there are no bounds to its desire to seize, plunder and stockpile more. At most it sometimes reduces a little its plans for the purchase of uranium. But there are special reasons for such a step. First it acts as a smokescreen of peace to fool the people of the United States and the rest of the world. Next, by reducing its purchases of uranium the U.S. Government deals a knock-out blow to those weaker, private-owned uranium mining enterprises at home; this is, in fact, an act of the state to force cartelization. In the period from 1961 to the spring of 1963 alone, seven big uranium smelting plants closed down in the United States. As Robert W. Adams, President of Western Nuclear Inc., mournfully said, "Probably only half the [companies in the] industry will survive the 1960s." At the same time some big monopoly organizations such as the Anaconda Copper Mining Co., the American Cyanamid Co. and the Atlas Corp., took the opportunity to buy up the bankrupt enterprises (including mineral deposits, processing installations and government contracts for purchasing uranium), so bringing about a still greater concentration of the domestic uranium extraction industry.

Apart from this, active prospecting for uranium is going ahead in readiness for "future needs." Again, this action of the U.S. Government to reduce uranium purchases is a grave threat to those countries which supply it with large amounts of uranium. The uranium mining industries which have been developed in their lands but whose products they cannot utilize themselves have already suffered outrageous exploitation at the hands of the U.S. monopoly capitalists. Now these countries face difficulties in selling their uranium; this will undoubtedly cause a further worsening of their crises of international payments while at the same time giving the U.S. monopoly organizations greater opportunities for more vicious plundering.

The same is true in regard to fissionable materials. As the U.S. bourgeois press said of Johnson's announcement, "the planned reductions in nuclear material output have no military significance," and "the cutbacks have no effect on atomic stockpiles." Moreover, economically, far from adversely affecting the basic interests of the big monopoly concerns which control the nuclear industry, the U.S. Government's temporary cutback in its plan for production of nuclear materials creates conditions for them to increase their gains in the future. In 1963 the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission let it be known that some of the present fission reactors made during World War II are now obsolete and of low efficiency. New equipment must be got and there was a need for so-called "diversified development." Therefore, with huge stocks of nuclear materials in hand, there is nothing strange at all about the closing of some old plants and reductions in production for a short space of time. It is for these very same reasons that the General Electric Co. has contentedly

expressed its intention of gradually abandoning some of the nuclear material plants it operates in Hanford in the next few years.

It is obvious that the U.S. Government has ulterior motives in making a big fanfare about its planned reduction in the production of fissionable materials. On the surface it looks as if the United States has shown "initiative" in taking a step to reduce international tension. In fact, it is trying to fool the people of the world in an attempt to heat up public opinion in order to put political pressure on other countries to restrict and give up their arms. This would enable it to consolidate its own position in the nuclear monopoly and engage still more unscrupulously in nuclear blackmail. There is still another purpose behind Johnson's much-vaunted plan to reduce the production of fissionable materials and that is to fool people at home and siphon off their discontent over the Government's policy of heavy taxation for expanding armaments and war preparations. So the plan to reduce production of fissionable materials is just like Johnson's proposed plan for a so-called "war against poverty"—nothing but a gimmick to trick the people into giving him more votes.

3. *What are the prospects for the U.S. Government greatly expanding the nuclear industry for peaceful civilian use?*

The U.S. Government talks big about expanding the peaceful use of atomic energy. What are the prospects for this in a United States ruled by monopoly capital and whose national economy is highly militarized?

The plundering and stockpiling of huge quantities of uranium and fissionable materials by U.S. imperialism is not to bring happiness to the American people but to produce nuclear weapons for mass slaughter. According to G. Weller, Executive Vice-President of the U.S. Uranium Research Institute, the United States at present uses 1 to 3 per cent of the total home production of uranium for "peaceful" purposes. Take, for example, nuclear power generation which the U.S. Government has publicized with great vigour. Up to August 1963, the U.S. nuclear power plants in operation or in construction had a total generating capacity of 1.1 million-odd kw., or less than 1 per cent of the total U.S. power output for the same year. (It is ironic to contrast this with the fact that the nuclear industry uses one-tenth of the annual U.S. power output.) The U.S. magazine *Fortune* admits that "if the U.S. uranium industry had to depend on current sales to nuclear power plants, almost all the mines and mills would shut down." As it is, even these few nuclear power plants are mainly used to supply the needs of out-of-the-way military bases or to produce plutonium needed by the Pentagon for its nuclear weapons. Therefore, Washington's grandiloquent talk about the "peaceful use" and "civilian use" of atomic power is mostly hot air.

A sharp conflict is going on among the U.S. capitalists regarding the civilian use of atomic energy. The

appearance of atomic energy as a new source of power is, first of all, a mortal threat to the established monopoly concerns in oil, coal and gas; it also represents a feared competitor of those monopoly concerns which use oil, coal and gas for generating electricity. It is exactly for this reason that Rockefeller with his oil kingdom and Morgan with his nationwide electric power network have fought for control of the nuclear industry and done everything they could to obstruct and delay its development for civilian use. For example, in 1958 the monopoly concerns producing electric power reached an agreement with the Atomic Energy Commission not to use atomic energy for ordinary civilian industries before 1968. The Southern Coal Producers' Assn. wrote a letter to Congress asking the Government to stop developing nuclear power reactors for civilian use.

Of course all the U.S. monopoly capitalists do not have identical interests. For instance, there are sharp contradictions and struggle between the petroleum, coal and electric power monopoly groups, between the groups which supply electric power and those which use it, between the main monopoly groups (such as the eight big financial groups in the United States) and the local monopoly concerns, and within these two types of monopoly groups. Generating electricity by atomic energy represents a trend for the future development of power. And getting cheap electric power is, first of all, the eager hope of the industrial and mining monopoly concerns and those local monopoly groups whose resources of power and equipment are relatively small. The main monopoly groups in petroleum, coal and gas are resolutely opposed to this trend in power development. While doing all they can to block full development of nuclear power generation, the monopoly groups in electric power take part in expanding and building government and private nuclear power plants in an attempt to get a cheap and highly efficient source of power. In doing so they hope to get a start on their rivals should nuclear power generation unavoidably become widely practical. In such complicated and contradiction-ridden circumstances, the rapid development of a nuclear industry for civilian use is obviously impossible.

From the point of view of cheapness of power, at the present time nuclear power plants cannot compete against the ordinary electric power plants under ordinary circumstances. At present the few nuclear power plants already built in the United States are mostly of an experimental nature, with the Government covering the whole or the greater part of the costs of construction. Their promoters enjoy preferential treatment in many ways; these include subsidies from the Government, exemption from taxes, excessive capital depreciation allowances and grants for research. But with the Government, obeying the will of a handful of financial oligarchs, already giving the lion's share of the Federal income to the munitions concerns including, naturally, the nuclear concerns, the amount of financial

support it can give to nuclear power generation is highly problematical.

Right from its inception the U.S. nuclear industry has been militarized from top to bottom. Its development is inseparable from the strenuous efforts of U.S. monopoly capital to push ahead its policies of aggression and war in a vicious attempt to enslave the people of the various countries of the world and to squeeze out as much monopoly profit as possible. This is determined by imperialism's and monopoly capital's nature as a plunderer and enslaver; it is also a clear sign of the increasing rottenness and weakness of imperialism, of the fact that it is approaching its doom. Under present-day conditions, in which the general

crisis of capitalism is deepening and the international situation is growing steadily worse for U.S. imperialism, it is certain that the U.S. monopoly capital groups will engage even more frenziedly in expanding nuclear armaments and in nuclear war preparation as a means of maintaining their tottering worldwide regime of exploitation. Those people who, ignoring the facts, deliberately prettify U.S. imperialism's nuclear fraud as "conforming to the vital interests of the world's people," being "a big step forward along the path of relaxing international tension" and who persistently fall in with its plot of a fake peace and real arms expansion, are obviously quite willing to wallow in the same mire with U.S. imperialism and be the enemy of the people of the world.

China's Economy

A System of Modern Basic Industries Develops

by CHEN KUANG-CHUN

IN his recent report on the Government's work delivered to the National People's Congress, Premier Chou En-lai said that in order more effectively to carry out the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, it is necessary for heavy industry to provide increasing quantities of the means of production, in the first place to agriculture, and also to light industry. In order to do this, he said, "it is essential to speed up the development of heavy industry, and first and foremost of the basic industries, still further." By "basic industries" he meant those basic branches of heavy industry producing: 1. basic raw materials (minerals; metals, non-metals; cement, timber and other building materials; acids, alkalis, benzene, synthetic ammonia, carbide and other basic chemical raw materials); 2. basic fuels and power (coal, petroleum and electric power); and 3. basic instruments of production (machine tools, generators, electric motors, vehicles, vessels, and special equipment for different branches of production); i.e., the metallurgical, machine-building, coal, oil, electric power, chemical, timber and building materials industries. These are all closely linked with the various other branches of the national economy, supplying them with raw materials, fuels, power and technical equipment. Thus, the growth of basic industries provides the material foundation for the development of the national economy as a whole. Only with highly developed basic industries is it possible to modernize agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology.

Tremendous Growth

Old China's basic industries were extremely backward due to the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudal-

ism and bureaucrat-capitalism. There were no more than a few mining and metallurgical enterprises, and what engineering works existed could only handle repairs and assemble imported parts. Most of them were controlled by the imperialists and comprador-capitalists.

New China launched its First Five-Year Plan in 1953 after three years of rehabilitation. In that five-year period, China built and renovated a number of enterprises which formed the backbone of the basic industries. But since their production and technical levels were raised to a limited extent only, the country still had to depend on imports for certain important equipment and raw materials.

During the first three years of the Second Five-Year Plan, i.e., 1958-60, under the guidance of the general line for building socialism, the basic industries forged ahead rapidly both in scale of production and in technical levels. From 1961 onward they were developed in accordance with the policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards. As a result of all these efforts, **China today has a fairly comprehensive and powerful system of modern basic industries.**

First of all, China now has a whole range of modern industries. Among them are: the automotive, tractor, aircraft, and shipbuilding industries; the metallurgical equipment and other equipment-producing industries including those for mining, oil drilling and refining, chemicals manufacture and power-generation; heavy machinery, precision machine tools, high-grade alloy steels, important non-ferrous metals, and synthetic materials industries.

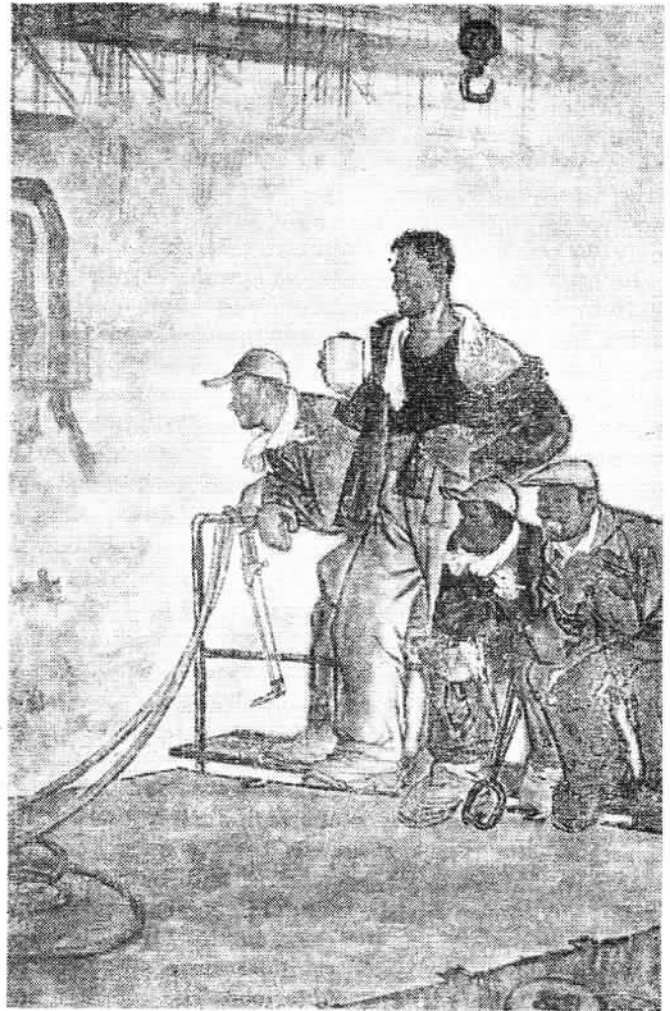
As a result of the great expansion of the basic industries, China's ability to produce such major products as coal, steel, forgings and rolled stock, electric

power, crude oil, chemical fertilizers, machine tools, engines, heavy machinery and power-generating equipment has grown rapidly. China had to import the bulk of the oil needed until quite recently. Thanks to the establishment and rapid development of its own oil industry, the country is now basically self-sufficient in oil and oil products and the day when it has to import oil will soon be gone for good. The gross output value of chemical products in 1963 was more than 40 times what it was in 1949, and the output of over 100 key chemical products in 1964 showed a further big increase on the 1963 figures. The coal industry has also advanced rapidly in the past few years. Scores of modern coal bases have been established. The expansion of the machine-building industry has been just as fast. Compared with the end of the First Five-Year Plan, the capacity for heavy-machinery production at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan was doubled; that for motor vehicle production was six times, for power-generating equipment seven times, and for irrigation and drainage equipment for farm use (in terms of horse power) 11 times as great. This shows that China has built the foundations of an independent basic industry.

Secondly, the technical level of China's basic industries has been greatly raised. This is shown clearly in the great extension of the range of products and the big improvements in quality.

The varieties of steel, forgings and rolled stock and non-ferrous metals made at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan were more than double the number being made at the end of the First Five-Year Plan. Over the same period, the range of petroleum products increased nearly three times, that of machine tools almost 2.5 times. During the First Five-Year Plan, China's industries could make only ordinary products of rather simple design. They are now independently designing and building a whole range of high-quality, large-sized and precision products. The machine-building industry has successfully trial manufactured several thousand new items since 1958. Compared with the First Five-Year Plan, this means an average increase of 25 per cent in the number of new products developed each year. Among the examples of large-scale or precision equipment made are: a 12,000-ton hydraulic press for free forging, railway tyre mills, blooming mills with rolls up to 1.150 m.m. in diameter, blast furnaces with an effective volume of up to 1,513 cubic metres, 50,000-k.w. turbo-generator units, 72,500-k.w. water turbine generator units, a 350-ton gantry crane, jig boring machines, gear grinders and other high precision machine tools. These big and precision machines speak volumes for the rapid rise in the technical level of China's machine-building industry.

The metallurgical industry successfully trial manufactured more than 400 new steels and forgings and rolled stock in 1964 alone, including many high-grade rolled alloy steels that are stainless, can withstand high pressure and are corrosion resistant: shaped steel plates for building big lorries, low-temperature resistant steel plates for building oceangoing ships and ice-breakers, extra-thick channel steel for tractors,



Steel Workers

*Painting in Chinese ink and colour
by Chang Jen-chih*

composite stainless steel plates for making nitrogenous fertilizer equipment, and high-pressure and hydrogen-resistant steel pipes for oil pipelines. All of these had to be imported in the past.

Many new chemical products have also been developed. Items like polyethylene, polyvinylidene chloride, polystyrene, ion exchange resin, and organic glass are in quantity production. China's former needs for these items were mainly met by imports. Only a few years back China could produce no more than two or three plastics such as bakelite and celluloid; now it makes 20 or more.

The other branches of basic industry have also rapidly extended their range of production.

The quality of the output of basic industries has greatly improved. The proportion of up-to-standard iron and steel, the most widely used materials, reached a fairly high norm in 1963. Further conspicuous improvements were made last year so that practically all forgings and rolled stock supplied were top grade. Hitherto this was something unknown in China's metallurgical history. The quality of coal mined in 1964 reached an all-time high. A large number of the machines made show a great improvement in quality.

The performance of the huge 12,000-ton hydraulic press commissioned in 1962, for example, was rated as good.

Thirdly, China is itself meeting a much greater proportion of its needs in forgings and rolled stock and major items of machinery and equipment. Home industries are supplying over 90 per cent of the forgings and rolled stock needed whereas in 1957 they produced only 75 per cent. For example, a large proportion of the 2,000 types of forgings and rolled stock needed for motor vehicles and tractors, and of the more than 1,000 that go into making 10,000-ton oceangoing ships or nitrogenous fertilizer plants with an annual capacity of 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia had to be imported several years ago; virtually all are now made in China.

The degree of self-sufficiency in machinery and equipment rose from 55 per cent in 1957 to over 90 per cent in 1964. By turning out complete sets of equipment for industrial processes, China has shed the backwardness of the First Five-Year Plan when a considerable proportion of the products made by the nation's machine-building industry was auxiliary equipment for imported machinery. Greater self-sufficiency in the production of raw materials and equipment shows most clearly that China's basic industries have moved to a new, higher level.

Fourthly, with the establishment and expansion of many new branches of basic industry, the level of designing and construction has been greatly improved. China is independently designing and building many important modern basic industrial enterprises—something which could not be done in the First Five-Year Plan. Most of the more than 50 large and medium-sized chemical works now under construction have been designed in China by Chinese engineers. Both the No. 10 mine at the Pingdingshan Colliery in Honan Province with a designed annual capacity of 1.2 million tons of coal and the Fankochuang mine at the Kailan Colliery in Hopei Province which has a designed annual capacity of 1.8 million tons have been designed and built by Chinese personnel. They were commissioned last year. China is also capable of independently designing integrated iron and steel works with an annual capacity of 1.5 million tons of steel and, hydro-power stations with a capacity of 650,000 k.w.

Developing Basic Industries by Self-Reliance

It may be asked: How is it that China's basic industries, although starting from such a weak foundation, have scored these great gains in the past decade and a half?

A vital reason is that we have followed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teaching and upheld the principle of self-reliance. Developing our basic industries—and the cause of socialist construction as a whole for that matter—by self-reliance means that we are confident that by relying on hard work and the wisdom of the masses, fully utilizing domestic resources in a planned way, and tapping all potentials, we shall be able to build our own modern basic industries and press ahead with our socialist construction.

Guided by the principle of self-reliance, we persist in the revolutionary spirit of working hard to build a prosperous country by diligence and thrift and to amass all possible funds for construction. In building basic industrial enterprises, we stress that investment and building time must be minimized and efforts must be made to achieve quick and maximum results. In running these enterprises, we try our level best to raise labour productivity, lower costs and combat all waste and extravagance. This is why we have been able to make the most of the manpower, material and money available.

At the same time, we employ various methods to foster the growth of a powerful army of technical personnel who are both highly socialist-minded and proficient in modern science and technology. We train technical personnel by the planned development of college and secondary technical school education. We also energetically train technical cadres and skilled workers in short courses, part-time work and part-time study schools and spare-time schools, and by having veteran workers coach new hands. In this way many engineers have been trained from among the rank and file in the last ten years and more. In building China's 12,000-ton hydraulic press, it was one of these worker-engineers Tang Ying-pin, who made the breakthrough in mastering the modern technique of electro-slag welding. He was formerly an ordinary welder at the Kiangnan Shipyard in Shanghai with more than 20 years of experience at the bench but only two years of schooling.

In implementing the policy of self-reliance we adhere to the mass line in every field of work. All kinds of complicated technical problems are encountered in every stage of developing the basic industries—in designing, building and in regular production. In the face of these problems, we uphold the Marxist principle of giving first place to the human factor. We are confident that, if one relies on the masses, there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome. Responsible and ordinary cadres as well as the rank and file are all guided by the idea that strategically one should despise difficulties, emancipate one's own mind and think and act boldly, while tactically one should take each specific difficulty seriously, attach importance to experimentation and respect science. That is to say we endeavour to closely integrate boundless revolutionary drive with the strictly scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, conduct experiments in a down-to-earth manner, boldly explore new fields of technology and scale the peaks of modern technology. By applying the mass line method whereby the leadership, technical personnel and the rank and file work in close co-operation, we bring into full play the initiative, wisdom and power of the masses to tackle difficult technical problems and constantly raise the technical level of our industries.

In this way we took all difficulties in our stride, rapidly developing the basic industries and enabling them to produce increasing quantities of raw materials and equipment, and make ever greater contributions to the modernization of China's agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology.

Essence of Khrushchov's "Peaceful Coexistence" Line

Following are extracts from a commentary published in the November 22, 1964 issue of Akahata, organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

THE commentary says that Khrushchov and his followers have described their line of unprincipled concessions and capitulation to the imperialist forces, U.S. imperialism in particular, as the Marxist-Leninist line of "peaceful coexistence"; they have attempted to impose this line on the entire socialist camp, the international communist movement, the world peace movement and the international democratic movement, thus not only creating and increasingly widening the disunity of the international communist movement, but also causing serious harm to all the anti-imperialist forces in the world. Backed by the anti-Party revisionists and the Right-wing Social Democrats, what Khrushchov termed "peaceful coexistence" has exercised a damaging influence on the movement for peace and democracy in our country, hampering correct unity and development. Khrushchov bears a grave responsibility for this.

Exactly for this reason, it is the most important task of Japanese Marxist-Leninists to critically sum up anew Khrushchov's line on foreign policy, finding the root causes for both the present difficult situation of the Government and Party of the Soviet Union and for the confusion and harmful influence in the international communist movement.

The commentary points out: **On the question of peaceful coexistence, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Khrushchov ran completely counter to the principled stand as set down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and descended to the anti-Marxist-Leninist stand of giving up struggle against the imperialist policy of war and surrendering to imperialism. The present dispute over the question of peaceful coexistence is not about whether to endorse peaceful coexistence or to oppose it, but whether to adhere correctly to the Marxist-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence.**

Khrushchov argued that the appearance of nuclear missile weapons capable of destroying mankind made safeguarding peaceful coexistence the overriding "primary task." On the pretext of the threat of nuclear war, he attempted to legalize his capitulationist line of submission to imperialism and, going even further, demanded that the people's revolutionary movement in various countries and the national-liberation movement be subordinated to the task of "peaceful coexistence."

The so-called "theory of destruction of mankind by nuclear war" not only flies in the face of the principled Marxist-Leninist viewpoints as set forth in the Moscow Statement, but also opposes what Khrushchov had once advocated. This "theory," which can be said to be the starting point of Khrushchov's capitulationism, truthfully points up that he became a captive of the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail.

Panic-stricken by imperialist nuclear blackmail, the capitulationists, instead of helping forestall the danger of a nuclear war being unleashed by imperialism, more and more increase the imperialists' arrogance in pushing their policy of nuclear blackmail, enabling them to carry on their policies of war and aggression smoothly, thereby resulting in a greater and real danger of a nuclear war.

The first practical conclusion Khrushchov drew from his "theory of destruction of mankind by nuclear war" was, the commentary declares, that "peaceful coexistence" in the era of nuclear war could not be achieved through the active and resolute struggle of the socialist camp and the world's people against the imperialist policy of nuclear war, but it should be brought about mainly by "sensible consultation" and "mutual concessions" between the socialist and the imperialist countries on the basis of the common recognition that a thermonuclear war poses the danger of annihilating mankind. As to those who advocate adherence to the fundamental stand of safeguarding peace by struggling against imperialism, Khrushchov spared no efforts to attack them for helping the forces of imperialism—which are aggressive by nature—and for following the adventurism of the Trotskyites who "attempt to push the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on to the road of unleashing a world war."

The second practical conclusion Khrushchov drew is as follows: In the era of nuclear war the tasks of the revolutionary movement and the national-liberation movement are also inseparably linked together with the task of preventing a nuclear war; on the pretext that the only absolute need in modern times is to avert a nuclear war, these struggles must be subordinated in the end to his policy of "peaceful coexistence"; it is held that the victory of socialism over capitalism should be ensured by peaceful economic competition in an environment of peaceful coexistence, which is regarded as a fundamental policy in the struggle for socialism.

The commentary states that Marxist-Leninists hold that "peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems" does not rest on the premise that

the imperialists will abandon their policies of war and aggression and change their nature and become lovers of peace. The policies of war and aggression, that is, the aggressive tendency which is aimed at destroying socialism and suppressing other nations, are determined by the nature of imperialism. To defeat these policies completely, it is necessary to wipe out imperialism itself. In practice, to curb the imperialist policy of war calls for a really powerful anti-imperialist struggle against it. **Marxist-Leninists hold, therefore, that peaceful co-existence can be realized only if the socialist countries and the world's people unite and struggle against the imperialists' policy of war and clip their aggressive claws.** In the view of Marxist-Leninists, therefore, peaceful coexistence does not mean a new world order in which "peaceful imperialism" lives on friendly terms with peaceful socialism and the struggle against imperialism is cancelled. The core of the Marxist-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence lies in realizing and ensuring it between countries with different social systems by struggling against the imperialist policy of war.

But Khrushchov, by employing the method of raising the question of nuclear weapons possessing unprecedented destructive power, tried to emasculate the revolutionary core of the Marxist-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and water it down into a policy of compromise with and capitulation to imperialism.

Khrushchov's line throws the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism overboard. It is a line of total and all-out submission to the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and asks the world's people to make concessions to imperialism and bow before it. Instead of pointing out the true road of struggling for peaceful coexistence, this line, on the contrary, can only strengthen the position of imperialism and help implement its policies of war and aggression at a greater tempo.

In the opinion of Marxist-Leninists, the policy of peaceful coexistence can be no substitute for the revolutionary movement or the national-liberation movement; nor can it take precedence over these two movements and occupy a "primary" place in the struggle of the world's people.

Moreover, on the question of the relation between peaceful coexistence and the revolutionary movement, Khrushchov also completely turned his back on the principled stand of Marxism-Leninism and, using his familiar pretext that the avoidance of a nuclear war is the overriding task of modern times, attempted to subordinate the revolutionary movement and the national-liberation movement to his policy of "peaceful coexistence": he held that the basic prerequisite in the contemporary struggle for socialism consisted of achieving its victory over capitalism through peaceful economic competition. This is a stand for maintaining the status quo, meaning that the socialist revolution is in fact cast to the winds and that, in contravention of the revolutionary viewpoints of the Moscow Statement, the national-liberation movement is confined within the limits permitted by imperialism. The only result is that

the preservation of the "U.S.-Soviet detente," obtained by unprincipled submission to the United States, is regarded as the sole, supreme task of today.

Needless to say, such glib talk about the need to sacrifice the revolutionary movement and the national-liberation movement in the interest of "peace" is an opportunist argument directly opposed to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary view that the present era is one of doom for imperialism and victory for socialism.

In the struggle for world peace and peaceful coexistence today, not only has the task of preventing a world war been put forward; the task of eliminating the danger of such a war and taking a further solid step to realize and guarantee peaceful coexistence also has been advanced. But it would be impossible even to approach this task if the policy of maintaining the status quo as advocated by Khrushchov and his kind were to be put into effect. Completion of this task specifically requires a change in the status quo, a fundamental change in the balance of power between the imperialist forces of war and the anti-imperialist forces of peace so that the latter and the forces of socialism will gain absolute supremacy. To achieve this calls for not only strengthening the socialist world system politically, economically and militarily, but also the victory of the revolutionary movement to overthrow the rule of imperialism in the imperialist countries and the victory of the national-liberation movement to drive out the imperialist forces from the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

As described above, Khrushchov's line of "peaceful coexistence" is an anti-Marxist-Leninist line of those who are scared stiff by the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and who sink into double capitulationism. If such a policy were used to lead the struggle of the world's people, it would be impossible either to win world peace and really free the people from the threat of a thermonuclear war or to open up the road towards peaceful coexistence in the realities of life and consolidate world peace.

The commentary also points out that Khrushchov tampered with the policy of peaceful coexistence to the extent that it became one of "U.S.-Soviet co-operation" and, in particular, changed the slogan of peaceful coexistence to one of trailing behind U.S. imperialism by prettifying its mainstream as the forces of "peaceful coexistence."

Khrushchov's plan for "the safeguarding of peace by the United States and the Soviet Union" undisguisedly reflects the big-nation chauvinism which recognizes only the Soviet Union as the power representing the entire socialist system, and which calls for consultations between the big powers to shape the course of world events. It also exposes the idea that the Soviet Union is the centre of everything, an idea that if only the security of the Soviet Union is ensured, no disputes in other regions, whatever they might be, could affect the whole world peace situation. This suffices to show that such a plan completely repudiates the principle of proletarian internationalism in which

the socialist countries should persist as the foundation of their foreign policy. In Khrushchov's view, the U.S. imperialists' policy of "reconciliation with the Soviet Union" and their policy of nuclear blackmail and military aggression with Asia as the centre of attack are opposed to each other—one represents a good thing, and the other, an evil thing. Khrushchov asserted that the "sensible faction" and the "warlike faction" responsible for these two policies in the ranks of the U.S. imperialists are waging a "covert and complicated" struggle. This assumption was invented out of thin air, and only reveals that Khrushchov completely forgot the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism on the nature of imperialism, and especially on its "dual tactics."

The policy of "reconciliation with the Soviet Union" which has been followed by Kennedy, Johnson and company is an important component part of the U.S. imperialist "global strategy" which aims at destroying the socialist system and strangling the national-liberation movement. In essence, it is by no means contradictory to the policy of ferocious military aggression and nuclear blackmail which Khrushchov obstinately asserted was pursued because of the pressures from the "warlike faction." That the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have followed the policy of "reconciliation with the Soviet Union" only reveals the following: Firstly, in their "realistic" consideration of the fact that the current balance of power has changed, the U.S. imperialists have adopted a strategy of avoiding a full-scale nuclear war with the Soviet Union which possesses the most powerful defence capabilities, while seeking to destroy, one by one, China, other socialist countries and the national-liberation movement. Secondly, making the fullest possible use of the situation in which the trend of modern revisionism with Khrushchovism as its core has arisen, the U.S. imperialists are attempting to bring about "internal evolution" in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and split the socialist camp. As many military commentators have confirmed, U.S. military strategy reached a turning-point in 1959-60. Since then it has changed enormously and a strategy for a limited and partial nuclear war has been worked out: 1) The socialist countries in Asia, including China, Korea and Viet Nam, are now made the targets for direct attack; 2) in order to prevent an aggressive war in Asia from expanding into an all-out nuclear war against the Soviet Union, a huge nuclear striking force must be directed against it in anticipation of its nuclear retaliation. This has been fully borne out by the fact that centring around their simultaneous implementing of the policies of "reconciliation with the Soviet Union" and "containing China," the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have intensified their efforts to carry forward their policy of aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America and have not slackened in the slightest their arms drive aimed at assuring nuclear supremacy over the Soviet Union.

This reveals that in the final analysis the policy of so-called "reconciliation with the Soviet Union" on

the one hand and the policy of preparing for a nuclear war, resorting to nuclear threats and committing aggression against Asia on the other are two inseparably linked aspects of the U.S. imperialist design for world domination which envisions an attempt to destroy the whole socialist system, including the Soviet Union, and strangle the national-liberation movement; both are like two wheels of one chariot. If, as Khrushchov did, one makes a wrong assessment of the situation and hastens to prettify the present U.S. policy of "reconciliation with the Soviet Union" by asserting that this is a manifestation of a fundamental change to a policy of peaceful coexistence, it will inevitably mean beautifying U.S. imperialism which is pressing ahead with its most brutal policy of aggression behind a facade of the policy of "reconciliation with the Soviet Union." This is tantamount to whitewashing the "dual tactics" U.S. imperialism is playing with.

Despite all his sophistries, Khrushchov had not been able to cover up this fact: His "basic strategy" of co-operation with the "sensible faction" had objectively become an embellishment of the "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism and a powerful support to it. This "basic strategy" has diverted the attention of the people of the world from the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and has created the most favourable conditions for U.S. imperialism to deceive the peoples while carrying out its policies of war and aggression.

The commentary says: By basing himself on the prospects of "U.S.-Soviet co-operation," Khrushchov thought that peaceful coexistence had already been realized in the world, and, in his attempt to blunt the vigilance of the people opposing the U.S. imperialist policy of war, he had spread the illusion that a "world without war" can be brought about under present conditions when imperialism still exists.

However, if one really faces up to the present world situation, can it possibly be said that peaceful coexistence "has been realized in the world and is internationally recognized"? Could it be that Khrushchov could not see the dangerous facts: U.S. imperialism is at present continuing its war of aggression in Laos, south Viet Nam, the Congo and other places; it refuses to recognize China, Korea, Viet Nam and other socialist countries, and is intensifying its policies of nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail in all parts of the world? Those who say such things can only be people who hold that the Soviet Union is the centre of everything. They think that there will be peace in the whole world as long as peace is maintained between the United States and the Soviet Union and, that the U.S. ruling class has accepted the policy of peaceful coexistence as soon as U.S. imperialism adopts to a certain degree a policy of "reconciliation with the Soviet Union." Such people can only be capitulationists subservient to the will of U.S. imperialism. In Khrushchov's eyes, U.S. imperialism's preparations for aggressive wars against all the socialist countries except the Soviet Union, and its armed aggression and other activities in Asia, Africa and Latin America have nothing to do with the main issue of world

peace, and are but temporary and partial "departures" from peaceful coexistence. Obviously, however, starting from the narrow-minded viewpoint that "the Soviet Union is the centre of everything," and making light of the present aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism will in the end result in the peace and security of the Soviet Union itself being threatened.

The commentary points out: Khrushchov thought that through pressure from the struggle of the world's people for peace it was possible to disarm the imperialists, seize all their machinery of violence for oppression and for war against the people, bring about a "world without war" and enter into an age of lasting peace not only before the complete defeat of imperialism but even while the imperialist camp, with U.S. imperialism as its head, is still powerful. Firstly this "vista" of Khrushchov's boils down to a pacifist idea which is incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint that "as long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression" (Moscow Statement). Secondly, it disregards the basic Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and revolution that "the basic question in any revolution is that of state power" (Lenin) and promotes petty-bourgeois illusions. **Only in the course of defeating imperialism completely and ensuring the victory of socialism throughout the world, can the real possibility emerge of complete disarmament, the elimination of all wars from social life and the guaranteeing of permanent peace. To relinquish these principled viewpoints and to dream of eliminating armaments and ensuring lasting peace while imperialism still exists will certainly lead to this far-fetched apologia for imperialism: the illusion that the imperialist countries, while preserving the economic base of monopoly capitalism, will "finally and permanently" renounce their imperialist policies of war and aggression and their material means for dominating the people of their own countries and of other nations, and "evolve" into "peaceful" capitalism.**

The commentary says: To reduce the question of developing less advanced countries simply to one of the advanced countries providing funds for economic aid and to spread the notion that the military allocations saved from disarmament could be used to finance "joint aid" to the less advanced countries, completely negates the fact that the "aid" from the imperialist countries to the less advanced countries is a tool used by neo-colonialism "to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and new forms" (Moscow Statement). In the last analysis, this argument can only be an apology for imperialist neo-colonialism, to lead the broad masses of the people in the colonial and dependent countries away from the revolutionary road of opposing old and new colonialism and waging national-liberation struggles to win real national independence, and on to the path of compromise with imperialism and colonialism.

From all this anyone can see clearly that **Khrushchov's talk about "peaceful coexistence" was in essence an apology for imperialism. His proposals for com-**

plete disarmament while imperialism still exists, and for co-operation with imperialism in assisting the less advanced countries were, in the final analysis, based on the far-fetched argument that there was a "change" in the nature of modern imperialism — that in the coming new world of "peaceful coexistence," imperialism would once and for all abandon its policy of war and completely change itself into a peaceful, non-imperialist capitalism having nothing at all to do with old and new colonialism, and that such a change was already taking place in some imperialist countries. Khrushchov's proposals, contrary to all his pious sermonizing, were an attempt to suppress the national-liberation movements.

The commentary goes on to say that **Khrushchov's line of "peaceful coexistence" can be summed up as follows: It must be regarded as the primary task of the present epoch to follow the lead of the United States; the policy of tailing after U.S. imperialism must be implemented at all costs; and "to unite with the enemy of peace to ensure peace."** This is a line of co-operation with, and capitulation to, U.S. imperialism, a line which has nothing whatsoever in common with the policy of peaceful coexistence upheld by the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist countries.

After the "Cuban crisis" Khrushchov and his followers began with even greater enthusiasm to pursue their foreign policy of trailing behind the United States, while attempting even more flagrantly than before to force the world peace movement and the international democratic movements to support various propositions designed to prettify U.S. imperialism, and to follow the foreign policy of the United States. What was even more intolerable was that they stepped up their efforts to enforce their "anti-China policy" in every sphere — political, economic and military — when everybody knew that U.S. imperialism regarded Asia as its main battlefield in pushing ahead its policies of war and aggression and saw its "contain China" policy as the foundation of its "global strategy." Khrushchov and his followers, who had previously used the divergence of views in the ranks of the international communist movement as an excuse to unjustifiably worsen state relations between China and the Soviet Union, now took further steps to enforce their "anti-China" policy. Among other things they concluded with the United States and Britain the partial nuclear test ban treaty, one of whose principal aims was to prevent China from possessing nuclear weapons. They also gave a great deal of military aid to India which had entered into a de facto military alliance with the United States and was carrying out repeated military provocations against China. **That was how Khrushchov and his followers co-ordinated their efforts with those of U.S. imperialism in pushing ahead its policy of "containing China" and helped it to implement that policy directly and indirectly.**

The commentary points out: The policy of "peaceful coexistence" which Khrushchov took the lead in carrying forward has helped the forces of war and aggression headed by U.S. imperialism while striking a blow at the anti-imperialist forces of peace headed by

the socialist camp. In both respects, it has caused immense losses and difficulties to the struggle for world peace and peaceful coexistence. **From the point of view of defending peace, ending the imperialist threat of nuclear war, defeating the imperialist policies of war and aggression and achieving a true peaceful coexistence between countries having different social systems, it is the most urgent task to do away with Khrushchov's policy of "peaceful coexistence" and the modern revisionist line of capitulation to U.S. imperialism in the socialist camp and the international communist movement and to restore their unity in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism.**

Our Party and all true Marxist-Leninists and Marxist-Leninist parties in the world have resolutely launched a struggle against modern revisionism represented by Khrushchov.

In the course of the development of this struggle **the removal from office of Khrushchov, the main proponent of the international trend of modern revisionism and the main figure in pushing forward the "U.S.-Soviet co-operation" line of tailing along behind the United States, is itself a manifestation of the contradictions and bankruptcy of the modern revisionist trend.** Furthermore it has created more favourable conditions for the struggle of Marxist-Leninists to overcome modern revisionism and to restore unity in the international communist movement. But the errors committed in foreign policy under the leadership of Khrushchov cannot be simply reduced to a manifestation of Khrushchov's arbitrariness and his own temporary departure from a line which was basically correct. The crux of the matter is that the Khrushchov-style line of "peaceful coexistence" which seeks to ensure world peace by tailing after the United States is in itself a complete break with the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. In view of this, it is obvious that **the question of overcoming Khrushchov's line of "peaceful coexistence" cannot be resolved simply by Khrushchov's fall.**

To solve this question radically, it is necessary to intensify the struggle against modern revisionism consistently and systematically and in accordance with the principled policy set out in the "draft report" to be submitted by the Party's Central Committee to the Ninth Congress. **Firstly, an irreconcilable struggle of principle should be waged in the ideological and theoretical fields against the theory of "peaceful coexistence" that tails after the United States and prettifies imperialism, and against all manifestations of modern revisionism.** Secondly, every effort should be made to launch concerted actions in the international democratic movements, bearing in mind the nature of the different movements and the pressing demands of the masses in opposing the imperialist policy of war. Within the international communist movement, efforts should be made to promote joint actions among the fraternal Parties in conformity with the unanimous views regarding U.S. imperialism stipulated in the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement, and, in the process, to expose concretely the modern revisionists' line of capitulating to imperialism and creating a split. Thirdly, we must fight resolutely against and smash the sabotage and disruptive activities against our Party conducted by the international trend of modern revisionism and its blind followers, the anti-Party revisionists in our country. Only by adhering to this principled attitude and line and carrying on and strengthening the struggle against modern revisionism will we be able to convert Khrushchov's downfall into a more positive factor: a factor that serves to smash the modern revisionists' unprincipled policy of "peaceful coexistence," restore unity in the international communist movement and the socialist camp, and win a victory for Marxism-Leninism. This, moreover, is the only way that a positive contribution can be made to ensuring world peace and realizing peaceful coexistence by strengthening the unity of the anti-imperialist forces of peace on a world scale, and by developing on all fronts the struggle of the socialist countries and the people of the world against imperialism and for peace and independence.

"Akahata" Denounces New Attacks on Japanese C.P. by Prokhorov and Others

On December 28, 1964, "Akahata" published an article by Commentator under the title "On the Series of New Attacks by V.I. Prokhorov and Others on Our Party." Extracts from the article follow. **Boldface emphases are ours.**—Ed.

OPEN attacks against the Japanese Communist Party have been continued in various forms even under the new leadership of the C.P.S.U., the article said.

Yoshio Shiga, Shigeo Kamiyama and other renegades have been used to carry out disruptive activities against the Japanese Communist Party. These schismatic activities are impermissible in the relations among fraternal Parties, the article declared.

The article recalled how the leadership of the C.P.S.U. headed by Khrushchov had repeatedly attacked the Japanese Communist Party, interfered in its internal affairs and supported Yoshio Shiga, Shigeo Kamiyama and other renegades in undermining the Party.

"Two months have elapsed since Khrushchov's removal from office," the article stated. "But to this day the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. has failed to take a positive attitude towards radically changing the schismatic line and resolving in principle the question of disunity within the international communist movement. It has failed, in particular, to take any positive measure to change the situation that arose from the unlawful and disruptive activities against our Party before Khrushchov's removal from office. Not only that. Just as shown by the series of facts cited below, open attacks and internal intervention against our Party have been continued in various forms even under the new leadership of the C.P.S.U., and Yoshio Shiga, Shigeo Kamiyama and other traitors to our Party have been used in a still more flagrant manner to conduct vicious, disruptive activities against our Party. These are splittist activities impermissible in the relations among the fraternal Parties. Our Party has made it clear again and again that it will never be equivocal or indifferent but will take the necessary steps to deal with these illegal attacks and disruptive activities."

The article then cited the following facts to substantiate the charge. The Soviet paper *Trud*, organ of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, on October 30, 1964, published a report by its secretary Vasily I. Prokhorov, after his return from attending a meeting of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan. On the pretext of reporting on the meeting, he strained every nerve to attack the Japanese Communist Party and attempted to paint it before the workers and others in the Soviet Union as an anti-worker and anti-people's Party.

The article said that the purpose of Prokhorov's report was: "1. To defame the present leadership of the Japanese Communist Party by a false charge that it has taken a hopeless 'anti-people's stand.' 2. To give publicity to the 'Friends of the Voice of Japan' of which Shiga and Suzuki are the nucleus, saying that they are a group of genuine 'Communists' who struggle valiantly to correct the mistakes of the present leaders. 3. To praise the schismatic activities of the Right-wing Social Democrats in the movement against A- and H-bombs and other movements."

The article went on to say that, on the pretext of seeking an exchange of experience and of establishing unity with the trade union of a capitalist country, the trade union delegate of a socialist country openly attacked the Marxist-Leninist party of Japan and went so far as to give open support to the disruptive activities of the anti-Party elements against the Japanese Communist Party. This was a most flagrant violation of the internationalist principle of the proletariat and ran diametrically counter to the efforts for genuine class unity between the Japanese and Soviet working class, the article declared.

Pointing to the fact that the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions worked under the political and organizational leadership of the C.P.S.U., the article said:

"This fact alone is sufficient to show that the new leadership of the C.P.S.U., or at least a section of it, has not the slightest intention of showing remorse over the error of Khrushchov's splittist line but is continuing to engineer and carry on disruptive activities against our Party."

The article further stated that on October 18, the day after the publication of the news of Khrushchov's removal from office, *Pravda*, organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., copiously reported the statement of Yoshimichi Watanabe and others who, in co-ordination with Shiga, Kamiyama and company, attacked the Japanese Communist Party. This was clear proof that, following Khrushchov's removal from office, the editorial department of *Pravda* continued to take the stand of supporting these anti-Party elements. The article added that Radio Moscow's broadcasts to Japan had, up to this date, described Shiga and Kamiyama as "Japanese patriots, Communists" and "Members of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party."

These facts show, the article declared, that "even after Khrushchov's removal from office, these persons of the C.P.S.U. have not the slightest desire to change this splittist stand. Far from stopping its sabotage of the Japanese Communist Party so as to pave the way for improving and normalizing the relations between the Japanese and Soviet Parties, they have been openly supporting Shiga, Kamiyama and other anti-Party elements in their confrontation against our Party."

"Moreover, recent developments have shown that these people have not limited themselves to attacking our Party through the press and the radio but have, in the main, taken over Khrushchov's entire splittist plan, helped in an organized way the activities of Shiga, Kamiyama and others in an attempt to sabotage and deal blows at our Party and strengthen once again the collaboration with the anti-communist splittists who vainly attempted to undermine the coherence and unity of the movement for democracy and peace in our country."

"In this respect, it must be pointed out that these are obviously the conspiratorial activities of the anti-Party elements and renegades from the Party to achieve 'a great unity,' with the approval of the ideological trend of international modern revisionism and under its guidance."

The article noted that when the "great unity" of these elements fell through because of the deadly blow dealt by the downfall of Khrushchov, Shiga visited the Soviet Union on November 4 at the invitation of Comrade Pospelov, President of the Marxism-Leninism Institute which is under the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. After his return to Japan, Shiga scraped together the anti-Party elements and issued a statement shamelessly calling themselves "the 'Voice of Japan' of the Japanese Communist Party." They intended to line up all anti-Party elements and renegades from the Party to oppose the Japanese Communist Party "in an or-

ganized way." They began to carry out their new scheme with the approval, or more precisely, under the instructions and aid of a section of people within the C.P.S.U. "In this way," the article said, "a section of people within the C.P.S.U. have once again trotted out Khrushchov's bankrupt plan of using Shiga, Kamiyama and others as underlings to create trouble for our Party."

The article went on to expose the actions of certain Soviet personnel to split the movement for peace and democracy in Japan. It pointed out that a group of splittists in the Japan-Soviet Association were openly scheming to create in February 1965 a splittist organization called "new Japan-Soviet friendship organization." In the movement against the A- and H-bombs, there was also an attempt to set up a "Japan national council against atomic and hydrogen bombs" before February, 1965, in opposition to the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. The article said: "It is obvious that this kind of unjustifiable intervention in the movement for peace and democracy in our country has been conducted directly by the people concerned in the Soviet peace organizations. At least a section of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. should be held responsible for this state of affairs. In this respect, a section of people within the C.P.S.U. have also assigned themselves the role of acting as loyal followers of the Khrushchov splittist line. To plan attacks on our Party and split the movement for peace and democracy, the Khrushchov

splittist line openly runs counter to the interests of the entire peace and democratic forces of our country.

"We can never forgive such splittist activities of a section of people within the C.P.S.U. The report to the 9th Party Congress has pointed out that our Party has the determination to wage an uncompromising struggle and smash any plot and intervention to undermine and create trouble in the Japanese Communist Party, the only Marxist-Leninist party in Japan."

After describing the defeat of Shiga and company and the recent developments in the Japanese people's struggle, the article said: "If a certain section of people within the C.P.S.U. ignore the facts, pin their hopes on such renegades as Shiga, Kamiyama and other splittists and try to continue to disrupt and sabotage our Party and intervene in the democratic movement, they can only discredit the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U. in the eyes of the Japanese people and bring themselves to the same sad end as that of Khrushchov."

"The victory of Marxism-Leninism is as inevitable as the doom of modern revisionism. Our Party will confidently adhere to the principled policy of fighting against opportunism and splittism, manifestations of the international trend of modern revisionism, and will fight to the end until modern revisionism is completely smashed and the true unity of the international communist movement is secured."

Khrushchov's Dismal End

"Bandera Roja," organ of the Peruvian Communist Party, on October 27, 1964, published the editorial "Khrushchov's Dismal End." Extracts from it follow. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

"The Peruvian Marxist-Leninists always firmly believed that Khrushchov would be ultimately thrown out of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Government," the editorial said. "The mind and methods of this former Soviet Premier and First Secretary, down to his habit and propensity, do not befit a Marxist-Leninist leader of proletarian revolution."

"All seems to indicate that the healthy forces of the Party of the great Lenin have begun to settle accounts with those who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, smeared the glorious past of the building of socialism, encouraged the revival of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and done serious damage to the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. Every good Communist cannot but greatly and heartily rejoice over the event that took place recently in the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and of the Soviet Government, and express the hope that the revisionism of Khrushchov will be liquidated without pity."

The editorial continued: "The Soviet radio and television, *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and the TASS News Agency have been cleared of agents of Khrushchov, who were culprits responsible for a treacherous publicity campaign in favour of U.S. imperialism and the introduction of capitalist methods and systems in the Soviet economy. These agents were also the very persons responsible for the recent vicious, disreputable anti-China campaign launched by the Soviet press and radio. Moreover, sanctions have been applied against writers of Khrushchov's speeches and reports—his close collaborators."

"Nevertheless," the editorial noted, "the mere removal of Khrushchov does not suffice. It is necessary to make a thoroughgoing summing-up of the path traversed by the C.P.S.U. after its 20th Congress or perhaps, after the death of Stalin. The enormous responsibility of the C.P.S.U. for the communist and workers' movement of the world calls for a critical and self-critical analysis which should be as profound and objective as possible. Khrushchov not only personifies 'charlatanry,' 'boastfulness,' 'immature proposals' (adventurism), 'disordered machinations' (manoeuvres without principle) and 'idleness'; above all, Khrushchov

is a modern revisionist who has shamelessly betrayed the socialist camp and capitulated before U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail.

"The Peruvian Marxist-Leninists have condemned from the very beginning the revisionist policy of Khrushchov and rejected the reformist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., which was so closely linked with Khrushchov in person. One does not need much knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theories in order to perceive the revisionist essence of the Khrushchov thesis about 'peaceful coexistence,' 'peaceful competition' and

'peaceful road.' Moreover, the infamous fight against the cult of 'personality' is in fact an intrigue aimed at removing and liquidating revolutionary leaders of the proletariat and introducing the contraband of bourgeois ideology."

The editorial concluded: "We hope that with the expulsion of Khrushchov, a period of complete rehabilitation of Marxism-Leninism will begin in the C.P.S.U. and that this great Party will again become a 'shock brigade' of the world proletarian revolutionary movement."

Pen Probes

The Frightened Great Society

The 36th President of the United States, the wheeling and dealing prophet of that "Great Society" which promises all things to all men, had to be sworn in on January 20 in the "most security-conscious presidential inauguration in history."

LBJ, who has gone out of his way to publicize himself by penny-pinching measures such as cutting the White House electric light bill by \$1,800, felt no such urge in doling out funds for his own swearing-in. "Light Bulb" Johnson approved \$1.5 million to be lavished on the "costliest" American inauguration ever. And more than 200,000 invitations were sent to those politically connected with Johnson over the last 32 years, to those who supported him socially and politically, and to financiers who have helped him. . . .

Although the presidential guests were hand-picked, Washington was in a state of jitters on the big day. Apparently all of Johnson's melliferous promises of pie in the sky to the American public could not prevent the inaugural procession and ceremony from being turned into an armed camp. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, the presidential reviewing stand alone cost the Treasury nearly \$200,000, installed with all conceivable kinds of protective devices. The stand was made of bullet-proof glass 1.5 inches thick and steel plates one-fourth of an inch thick, forming a shield which separated the President from the inaugural parade. AP reported that Johnson arrived in Washington encased in an "armoured" limousine which was "especially reinforced," while "secret service agents, their eyes roving right and left, rode the bumpers of the presidential car."

Gun-toting protectors helped the President pass his inaugural ordeal. According to UPI, "below him were lined 3,000 city policemen and troops, stationed every 30 feet on both sides of Pennsylvania Avenue . . . policemen lined the roofs of nearly every building. Persons inside each building along the route had been asked to keep windows closed."

Three days earlier, in a special defence message sent to Congress, which bragged of U.S. military might, Johnson had let it be known: "Today we can walk the road of peace because we have the strength we need." It appears that lots of strength was indeed needed to get Johnson through his first day in office. Walking up to his bullet-proof reviewing post, the U.S. President, like the inauguration spectacle as a whole, was a symbol of a frightened society, a living picture of Washington's braggadocio, uneasiness and fear—which no show of force anywhere can hide.



For his inauguration, Johnson has given up the traditional top hat—a new fashion is now de rigueur.

ROUND THE WORLD

Anti-U.S. Demonstrations

Gathering Storm in Manila

On January 22 when students of the University of the Philippines massed before the American Embassy in Manila to hold an anti-U.S. demonstration, AP's correspondent in the city described it as "one of the largest of its kind ever held." But the demonstration that took place three days later, again in the Philippine capital, eclipsed it in both scale and intensity.

After sundown on January 25, fifteen thousand Filipinos staged the biggest demonstration there yet against Yankee imperialism. Workers, peasants, students and other demonstrators marched to the U.S. Embassy holding high a huge banner reading "Down with U.S. imperialism!" Wearing black arm bands, the demonstrators carried 32 black cardboard coffins betokening the Filipinos killed by trigger-happy U.S. servicemen on or near U.S. military bases in the country.

The demonstrators held a rally on reaching the U.S. Embassy. In their speeches students and trade union

leaders denounced U.S. imperialism for the crimes it had committed in the Philippines. An effigy labelled "U.S. Imperialism" was burnt right before the embassy building amid shouts of "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Down with U.S. murderers!" "Go home Yankee dogs!"

Anti-American feeling has been simmering in the Philippines. This is only to be expected. The United States which "granted" the Philippines independence in 1946 behaves as if the country were still an American colonial possession. American monopoly capital keeps a stranglehold on the economy. American servicemen kill with impunity because they enjoy extraterritorial rights, an affront to the Philippines as a sovereign nation. This cannot be endured for long. The two murders at Clark Field and Subic naval base last year were the last straw.

In the January 22 demonstration, which reports say had the approval of the Mayor of Manila, the students gave vent to the pent-up feelings of the Philippine people. They sought an end to the state of affairs in which the Philippines is held in subjugation by the United States and Filipinos treated abusively as "little brown Americans." The words inscribed on the placards the demonstrators carried reflected the mood of an enraged people: "Filipinos are not birds to be shot at!" "Yankees, go home!" "Filipinos, unite! You have nothing to lose but Americans!"

The people of the Philippines made clear,

in both demonstrations, that the struggle being waged at present was one of defending sovereignty and national interests. They demanded the abrogation of the U.S.-Philippine military base treaty, "parity rights," and the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement, and an end to the American colonial system of JUSMAG (Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group) and the entire local Yankee setup, including the "peace corps," that makes it possible for the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of the Philippines.

They raised the slogan of opposing the U.S. scheme to use Filipinos as cannon-fodder in its south Viet Nam aggressive war and urged their Government to punish those who are trying to recruit mercenaries in the Philippines for the Americans. They want no truck with the U.S. plan to internationalize the war in south Viet Nam.

The *New York Times*, commenting on the gathering anti-U.S. storm in the Philippines, noted that "the urge to cut the last vestigial apron strings of a former colonial ruler is passionate in some of the country's most vocal circles." The workers, peasants and students who represent the majority of the population have indeed spoken and taken action as well. They want nothing short of an end to U.S. domination. "We are not asking for palliatives, for simple reforms within the colonial order," said Cipriano Cid, President of the Labour Party, "We are demanding basic changes—a fundamental departure in our national life."

Tightrope Walker Disenchanted

Erhard Visits de Gaulle

West German Chancellor Erhard's visit to French President de Gaulle last week made Paris the cynosure of Western political circles. The visit aroused great interest in West European capitals chiefly because what emerged from the meeting would affect not only France and



Down Manila Way

Cartoon by Jack Chen

West Germany but relations between member countries of the NATO bloc, particularly between the United States and its Atlantic allies. For some months relations between Paris and Bonn have been frosty, and there was speculation that the Paris-Bonn axis might be reactivated as a result of the summit talks.

Erhard's friendly gesture to de Gaulle helped lend credence to this view. The West German Chancellor accepted de Gaulle's proposal that the talks be held before the British Prime Minister's visit to Bonn. Moreover, he made several statements stressing friendship for France before his trip and even went to the length of speaking in favour of France's political position. Would there be a "thawing" of Franco-German relations? Observers in West European capitals asked the question.

At Rambouillet Castle where the talks took place Erhard was closeted with his host for four sessions lasting over six hours. The joint statement issued afterwards said de Gaulle and Erhard "have expressed their mutual desire to strengthen still further the co-operation between Germany and France." Questions with regard to political co-operation within the West European framework were discussed. The "German problem" also came up. Erhard who faces a general election in the autumn wants an electoral bonanza in the form of French support for pushing the problem of "German unification." De Gaulle satisfied Erhard to the extent expressed in the words of the communique: "The questions raised by this problem will naturally be examined with the American and British Governments, in order to agree on joint demarches."

But the stumbling block during the talks was the question of nuclear weapons on which the two Governments hold widely divergent views. Bonn had gone all the way with Washington on the American M.L.F. project which Paris opposed because it was devised to isolate France within the NATO bloc. Paris sought a "European defence system" to be set

up with Bonn and with the French *force de frappe* as the core. Erhard tried tightrope walking first and then came down on the side of the Americans when he had to make a choice.

At the end of last year the M.L.F. project was postponed because of French opposition and the cool reception given it by other West European countries. Erhard retraced his path somewhat, began mending his fences with Paris, and took the first step by visiting de Gaulle.

The rapprochement between Paris and Bonn, though only a partial one, has aroused concern in Washington. President Johnson instructed the U.S. Ambassador in Bonn to assure the West German Government that it could count on U.S. support concerning the M.L.F. In French circles, this is regarded as an effort to prevent Erhard from drawing too near to de Gaulle.

U.S. "Reconciliation" Plan

Adoula Back in Circulation

Cyrille Adoula, kicked out by his masters last summer to make way for Moise Tshombe, is back in circulation in Leopoldville. Both Washington and Brussels want a reversal of the roles of these two faithful minions. Not that Tshombe has failed to perform the dirty chores assigned him. He did everything that could be expected of a bootlicking running dog.

But things have been going badly for U.S. imperialism and its Belgian partners in the Congo (L). Besides, Tshombe stinks to high heaven in Africa and has become too great a liability. Unless there is a change in the "premiership" again, Wall Street's interests, the Johnson Administration calculates, will be further jeopardized. Hence Adoula's come-back.

On January 12, after a visit to Brussels, Adoula, for three years the top U.S. stooge in Leopoldville until ousted last July, produced a so-called "four-point proposal" for remedying the Congolese situation. He proposed

that talks be held between "President" Kasavubu, the U.S. puppet, and representatives of various political trends, "especially those who are fighting" the U.S. puppet regime, to form a "transitional government" and work out a "common programme" for holding a "general election." To lend some respectability to the whole thing, he suggested excluding Tshombe from the talks.

There is no difference between this "reconciliation" plan and the one first put forward by Tshombe when he was installed by Washington as "premier." The Adoula proposal, like the bankrupt Tshombe plan, is nothing but another U.S. attempt to induce the freedom fighters to abandon their armed struggle and join a U.S.-manipulated "coalition government." But while holding out the "olive branch," the Johnson Administration, which uses the twin tactic of trickery and violence, is beefing up Tshombe's puppet troops and white mercenaries with more money and arms.

African opinion regarded Adoula's "reconciliation" proposal as a clumsy plot. Cairo's *Al Massa* (January 18) pointed out that the U.S. and Belgian Governments are scheming to replace Tshombe by Adoula because "he is no longer a good tool to achieve their interests." The *Ghana Evening News* (January 18) said that "if today the imperialists advise their puppets in the Congo to seek rapprochement with the nationalists, it is not because imperialism has suddenly grown reasonable and discarded its insatiable lust for wealth and blood; it is precisely because the nationalists have shown, by their relentless struggle, that they will fight until ultimate victory."

This was well said. The opening of a new battle area in Nkolo, some 200 miles northeast of Leopoldville, and the city's capture by the patriotic forces on January 23, together with the stepped-up fighting in the northeastern parts of the country, may well be taken as an answer of the freedom fighters to the American-devised "reconciliation" plan.

ACROSS THE LAND

Small Factory Makes Giant Machine Parts

SHANGHAI'S Jianshe Machinery Plant, whose ingenuity in the use of small machines to process large parts has been well-known since 1958, has made more than 100 types of complete heavy duty equipment and over 300 kinds of giant machine parts in the last six years. Machine parts weighing 37 tons, as compared to 11 tons in 1958, are being turned out by this plant's 300 workers.

Using a unique cutting method — "ants nibbling away at bones" — huge workpieces to be processed are laid on the ground alongside a small machine tool instead of placing the part on a machine. Groups of small machine tools can work simultaneously on a big piece or small machines operate inside big workpieces. In comparison with the huge work part, the small machine is an "ant."

When the Jianshe Plant, a merger of small ship repair shops and smithies, undertook making giant metallurgical equipment in 1958, it had only antiquated ordinary machine tools

for processing small and medium parts. The idea of using small machines to process big pieces was initiated by former ship repair workers who had had to bring hand operated implements down to the ships.

Several hundred small lathes, and milling, boring, shaping, drilling, grinding and slotting machines are now being used. Some can be reassembled into other machines according to requirements.

At present the plant supplies heavy duty machinery for steel mills, rolling mills, non-ferrous metallurgical plants, chemical works and other factories. It has made 1,500-ton and 2,500-ton hydraulic presses and synthetic ammonia equipment with a 25,000-ton annual output. The big high precision machine parts for China's first locomotive tyre factory were made here.

According to accepted methods, the heavy duty equipment and huge machine parts produced at Jianshe would have required giant vertical lathes, plano-milling machines and other very large machine tools. A heavy machinery plant with a similar

capacity ordinarily needs an investment five times as great as was called for here.

Many large and small factories in Shanghai have adopted the Jianshe Plant's quick and economical method of processing giant heavy duty machines.

State Farms

GOOD harvests underlined the 1964 picture on China's state farms with substantial increases registered in grain, cotton and other major products. Also on the ascent was the number of livestock on these big farms.

The grain and soyabean yield on farms directly under the Ministry of State Farms and Land Reclamation was a steep 14 per cent increase over 1963. Two major land reclamation centres, Sinkiang in the far northwest and Heilungkiang Province in the northeast, each grew well over 50,000 tons more grain and soyabeans than they did in 1963.

Cotton and tropical crops last year were the best in several years. Reaped on a larger area, output of the former was 42 per cent higher than that of 1963. In the case of the latter, production of aromatic oils overshot the set target by 48 per cent, and rubber and sisal hemp were also up.

The net increase of cattle and draught animals on state farms was 4.5 per cent, with pigs and sheep leading in the rise.

The successes of 1964 sprang from the enthusiasm of those working the farms and the wider use of machinery. The total number of machines, with the exception of tractors which increased by 11 per cent, rose by 30 per cent. Raised mechanization levels enabled the state farms to do their farm work on time and boost labour productivity.

The bigger farms under the ministry built irrigation and drainage facilities for more than 1.37 million *mu* of farmland in 1963 in their efforts to extend stable and high yielding areas.



A Heilungkiang Province state farm's threshing ground

New production winds are traveling across these farms in 1965. Machinery is being overhauled and water control projects are going up in preparation for spring sowing. Already, some farms have expanded their 1964 autumn-ploughed area and acreage of winter crops.

Geomagnetic Survey

HIGH in the Himalayas, an important contribution to world science has been made in the field of geomagnetic measurements by an expedition of young scientists. This group from the Institute of Geophysics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences has carried out a survey at an elevation over 6,000 metres above sea level on a mountain northwest of Mount Jolmo Lungma, the world's highest peak. This was done at an altitude some 1,000 metres higher than any previous attempt recorded in the annals of international geomagnetic surveys.

Completed in September last year when solar activity and geomagnetic disturbance were at a minimum, the measurements provide accurate data for further scientific research in geomagnetism and for such varied fields as mineral prospecting, aviation and national defence.

More Agro-Technical Dissemination Stations

HUNAN, a major rice province in the Yangtze valley, has 681 agro-technical disseminating stations which are helping to spread knowledge of modern farming among the rural people's communes. Distributed over plains, rolling hills and mountainous regions, these stations are equipped with apparatus for seed testing, plant quarantine and weather observation.

The general practice of the stations is to set up experimental plots for commune production brigades and teams to handle basic local production problems. Among the subjects studied by the stations for the popularization of modern techniques are seed selection, double cropping, cultivation of green manure, soil improvement, pest control, optimum

density of close planting and the development of fish breeding and animal husbandry. Last year 17 strains of good paddy were popularized throughout the province.

The co-operation of commune functionaries and experienced local peasants is used by the stations in carrying out their experiments, thereby making for the integration of modern techniques with traditional peasant experience as well as the readier acceptance of such techniques by the peasants, all of which adds up to better results. Last year, with the assistance of local leader-

ship, stations trained more than 70,000 commune peasants in seed selection, pest and disease control, and the use of new farm implements, new chemical fertilizer and pesticides. This was done in short-term training classes or in technical schools.

Workers at the agro-technical stations are graduates of agricultural colleges and agricultural technical schools. Most of the stations have been set up since the communes came into being in 1958. Before liberation there were no such establishments in rural Hunan.

Cotton Grower Wu Chi-chang

IUSED to grow melons for the landlord, same as my father and his before him. I didn't know a thing about cotton growing until I was asked to experiment on it back in 1959." The speaker, a peasant initiator of a new cotton transplanting method, was elected last year to serve as a Deputy to the National People's Congress.

The 54-year-old north China peasant from Wenhsi County in Shansi Province went on:

"There was opposition at first. Some said it was too risky. . . mightn't get anything at harvest time. Others said cotton has never been grown here for a good reason." He laughed: "I wasn't put off. The Government wanted us to grow cotton, the more the better, and that was enough for me. The Party branch and we former poor and lower-middle peasants were all for it."

The Suyang brigade of the Tungchen People's Commune not only started to grow cotton, but it grew more cotton by adopting and using advanced methods from other parts of China while, at the same time, audaciously experimenting under Wu Chi-chang's technical guidance. Eventually Wu's brigade gained national fame.

Altogether seven innovations were worked out. One of the most outstanding was Wu's new method of

transplanting cotton seedlings which brought on a high percentage of survival, entailed little labour and gave higher yields compared with the old method.

In the spring of 1960, about 15 per cent of the district's cotton acreage failed to sprout. This immediately dashed all hope for a good harvest. Wu's method, however, proved to be a remedy and laid the basis for that year's good cotton harvest in the district.

Wu Chi-chang's successful experiments are being widely popularized and he has become one of the more sought after lecturers on cotton in China. He has spoken at national, provincial, county and commune meetings. In six months he gave on-the-spot demonstrations in 50 production brigades. Wu's own brigade had 72,000 visits from peasants, rural cadres, and scientists from 12 provinces and cities.



ARCHAEOLOGY

Chingyang Cave-Temples

One of the major operations New China undertook in the realm of archaeology in the past few years has been the opening up of the North Cave-Temples in Chingyang County, eastern Kansu Province. This is a complex of several hundred grottoes filled with Buddhist sculptures dating from the beginning of the 6th century A.D. (in the Northern Wei period) to Ching times (1644-1911).

This discovery adds yet another treasure to Kansu Province, already known for the fabulous artistic riches of the Tunhuang Mokao and Yulin Grottoes. The Chingyang grottoes are one of the biggest and oldest of the groups of cave-temples brought to light in recent years.

Cut out of the living rock of a red sandstone bluff 14 metres high and 110 metres long at Shihkouchuan (Temple Valley), 75 kms. south of Chingyang county town, the caves were rediscovered in 1959 by an archaeological survey team of the Kansu Provincial Museum. Following this the local people's communes were asked to provide a maintenance team of art-loving peasants, and now a special institute to maintain the grottoes has been set up on the spot.

A number of studies on the grottoes have already been published. There are over 280 cellas and niches in all. The first 30 grottoes were hollowed out and carved in the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534 A.D.). More were cut out in the Sui Dynasty (581-618). The greatest number—over two-thirds of the total—date from the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The majority of the sculptured images are of stone. A few clay sculptures were added in the Ching.

Chingyang is northwest of Sian (an ancient capital of China) and southwest of Yen-an, on the banks of a tributary of the Ching River. Lying to the north of the then main route of overland communications between China and the west—the "Silk Road"—Chingyang was in an area of great economic, military and cultural importance when the first grottoes were carved. Then, with the decline of the area, fewer and fewer grottoes were built. By the time

New China's archaeologists sought and rediscovered them in 1959, they had lain desolate and forgotten for 200 years.

Of the Chingyang grottoes, the "Grotto of Buddhas" (No. 165) standing in the centre of the group is the biggest and best preserved. It was also the earliest built—in 509 A.D.—and of the highest artistic value. The grotto entrance is guarded by two huge 4-metre-high guardians of Buddha, one on either side, and lions; these are all carved out of the rock surface. Above the entrance is a small window, around which are carved bas-reliefs, some 18 metres wide, of a Buddhist legend.

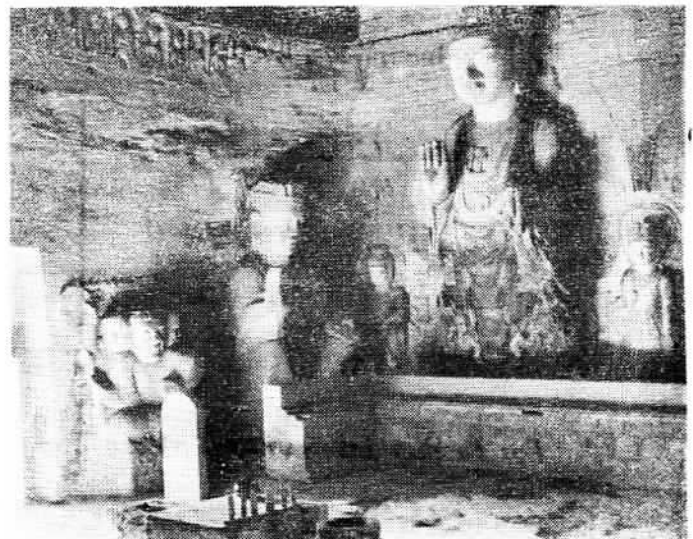
The interior of the cave itself is of a rectangular shape and unusually large—21.7 metres wide, 15.7 metres deep and 13.2 metres high. Cellas of such size are rarely seen even at the famous Yunkang Grottoes in Shansi and the Lungmen Grottoes in Honan. Under the dome-shaped ceiling, an altar platform 1.15 metres high runs continuously along the three sides of the room facing the entrance. Seven Buddhas sculptured out of the rock, each 8 metres high, stand on this platform. Ten garlanded attendant Bodhisattvas of half their height and also carved in the round, stand between them. In the corners to the left and right of the entrance are two Bodhisattvas seated with ankles crossed. To the left of the doorway as one enters is a three-headed and four-armed statue of Asura; to the right is the Samantabhadra Bodhisattva riding an elephant. The standing Buddhas are the "Seven Buddhas of the Past," and the two seated Bodhisattvas are Maitreyas (the Coming Buddhas).

The Chingyang sculptures have elements linking them to other famous cave shrines of China, but they also

have unique characteristics of their own. The faces of the seven Buddhas are plump, smooth and bright. They are full-bodied with rounded, rather heavy proportions, wearing full-pleated ceremonial dresses. They stand leaning slightly forward, looking into the centre of the cave with intent eyes. The force and solemnity of their bearing are typical of Northern Wei Buddhist sculptures. Some of their artistic traits are similar to those of the Buddhas of the earlier periods of the Yunkang and Lungmen Grottoes. The Asura and Maitreyas have a rough-hewn conciseness and simplicity of form not found in either of the above-mentioned grottoes. The Asura is a powerful figure. The crowned Samantabhadra Bodhisattva sitting on the elephant, with a *raksasa* in front and a monk behind, is a theme rarely found in sculptures of the same period. The lines of the body are fluent and the facial expression of beauty and tranquillity is particularly striking.

The Chingyang "Grotto of Buddhas" was carved at a time when Buddhism was flourishing during the Northern Wei period and work on the famous Lungmen Grottoes was in full swing. Its sculpture was influenced by that being done at Lungmen under the direct orders of the imperial court but its own unique elements clearly stem from ancient local artistic traditions.

—Teng Chien-wu



In the "Grotto of Buddhas." From left to right are sculptures of the Asura, the seated Bodhisattva and the Buddha, with two attendant Bodhisattvas

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