

# PEKING REVIEW

27

July 5, 1963

## Statements of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

July 1, 1963 & July 5, 1963

## Chinese Communist Party Delegation Leaves for Moscow

## Foreign Ministry Protests Against Unreasonable Soviet Demand for Recall of Five Chinese

At the World Congress of Women

北  
京  
周  
報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# A PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in Reply to the Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30, 1963

The booklet also includes:

- The Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. (March 30, 1963)
- The Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (March 9, 1963)
- The Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. (February 21, 1963)

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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

July 5, 1963 Vol. VI No. 27

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued two statements, on July 1 and July 5 (see p. 5).

- The delegation of the Chinese Communist Party left Peking for Moscow for the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties (p. 4).

- China's Foreign Ministry on July 4 in a note to the Soviet Embassy in Peking strongly protested against the unreasonable demand of the Soviet Union for the recall of three staff members of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow and two other Chinese. Earlier, on June 30, a Foreign Ministry spokesman issued a statement concerning this incident.

- In Moscow, news photo display windows of the Chinese Embassy were smashed by four Soviet citizens on June 27, in a provocative act against Sino-Soviet friendship.

- At the World Congress of Women in Moscow the Chinese Women's Delegation voted against the draft Programme of the Women's International Democratic Federation and the congress' Appeal to the Women of the World and issued statements pointing out the erroneous line embodied in the two documents. The delegation also issued a statement on the Sino-Indian boundary question rebutting the anti-China activities of the Indian delegates at the congress.

- Chinese army units and civilians in Kwangtung, Fukien and Chekiang won a resounding victory in wiping out six groups of armed U.S.-Chiang special agents who made sneak landings in these coastal provinces last month.

- Chinese support for the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle found expression last week in a Peking rally on "South African Freedom Day" and the inauguration of a preparatory committee for China's participation in the Games of the New Emerging Forces to be held in Djakarta in November.

- The Chinese press last week reported: a speech made by Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, on June 3, underscoring the need for a thorough repudiation of modern revisionism; an article in the Japanese paper *Akahata* of June 29, exposing Kennedy's "Strategy of Peace" as a conspiracy; and a speech of Lukman, First Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian C.P. made in Djakarta on June 28 emphasizing that Communists should point out to the people that imperialism is a paper tiger.

- The Chinese Foreign Ministry last week sent four notes to the Indian Embassy in China refuting the Indian Government's slander about China's establishment of civilian posts on the Chinese side of the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian boundary (June 26); protesting strongly against a fresh Indian troop intrusion into Chinese territory in the Spanggur Lake area in Tibet (June 25); rejecting New Delhi's allegations about China's "violation of Indian territory" (June 26); and protesting strongly against an intrusion by Indian soldiers into the Tungmula Pass, on the line of actual control of November 7, 1959, in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border (June 28).

### Unreasonable Soviet Demand for Recall of Chinese Personnel

Three staff members of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union, a post-graduate student in the U.S.S.R. and a staff member of an institute returned to Peking from Moscow on June 30.

The Soviet Government had unreasonably demanded their recall by the Chinese Government, declaring their continued stay in the Soviet Union "undesirable" on the excuse that they had distributed the published letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14 in

# Chinese Communist Party Delegation Leaves Peking for Moscow

**T**HE Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party left Peking by special plane on the morning of July 5 for Moscow to take part in the talks between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The delegation is led by Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, head of the delegation and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Comrade Peng Chen, deputy head of the delegation, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Leaving with them were the following members of the delegation: Comrade Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Comrade Yang Shang-kun, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Comrade Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; and Comrade Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The other member of the delegation, Comrade Pan Tzu-li, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, was already in Moscow.

The delegation was given a warm send-off at the airport by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council; Chu Teh,

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Tung Pi-wu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the state, leading members of the departments of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, government ministers and vice-ministers, leaders of the democratic parties and people's organizations, high-ranking officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, leading members of the Peking municipality and diplomats of the countries of the socialist camp.

Amidst warm applause, Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Tung Pi-wu and the other leaders shook hands with Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen and the other comrades of the delegation at the plane side and bade them farewell.

Among those present were Chen Yi, Li Fu-chun, Ho Lung, Li Hsien-nien and Tan Chen-lin, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premiers; Lu Ting-yi and Po I-po, Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premiers; Hu Chiao-mu, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Teng Tzu-hui and Nieh Jung-chen, Vice-Premiers; Kuo Mo-jo, Huang Yen-pei, Li Wei-han, Chen Shu-tung and Lin Feng, Vice-

reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of March 30.

Before their departure, the Chinese Embassy in Moscow held a send-off meeting for them. Chinese Ambassador Pan Tzu-li and all the other diplomatic officials of the Chinese Embassy, representatives of the Chinese students in the Soviet Union, Chinese post-graduate students and personnel of the institute saw them off at the airport.

When they arrived in Peking, Deputy Director Hsu Ming of the Soviet Union and East European Affairs Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, Deputy Director Li Tao of the Overseas Student Affairs Department of the Ministry of Education,

Deputy Director Ming Ke of a bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Deputy Director Wei Chao-lin of a bureau of the State Scientific and Technological Commission and many others were at the airport to welcome them. As they stepped down from the plane, they were presented with bouquets, and there were warm handshakes and hearty greetings. The day after their arrival, Vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs Liu Hsiao and Tseng Yung-chuan, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences Kuo Mo-jo, Minister of Education Yang Hsiu-feng, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang and other leading officials of the ministries concerned received and had talks with them.

Regarding the Soviet Government's demand for their immediate recall by the Chinese Government, a spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on June 29 in which it is asked: Whether or not the Soviet Government is deliberately trying to undermine Sino-Soviet unity, vitiate relations between the two states and create obstacles to the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties? It also said that the Chinese Government would continue to act in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism and would not take corresponding measures with regard to Soviet establishments and personnel in China, and it hoped that the

*(Continued on p. 25.)*

Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Li Ssu-kuang and Burhan Shahidi, Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; Hsu Hsiang-chien, Yeh Chien-ying, Chang Chih-chung, Fu Tso-yi and Tsai Ting-kai, Vice-Chairmen of the National Defence Council; Chang Ting-cheng, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate; and Wu Teh-feng, Vice-President of the Supreme People's Court.

Among the leaders of the democratic parties present were Hsiung Ke-wu, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang; Yang Ming-hsuan, Acting Chairman of the China Democratic League; Shih Fu-liang, Vice-Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association; Wang Shao-ao, Vice-Chairman of the China Association for Promoting Democracy; Chi Fang, Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party; Chen Chi-yu, Chairman of the China Chih Kung Tang; Hsu Teh-heng, Chairman of the Chiu San Society; Hsu Meng-shan, Secretary-General of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League.

Among the leading members of the people's organizations present were Liao Cheng-chih, Wu Yu-chang, Liu Chang-sheng, Tsai Chang and Teng Ying-chao.

Also present were diplomats of the countries of the socialist camp: Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Jerzy Knothe, Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic; Reis Malile, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Albania; Dumitru Gheorghiu, Ambassador of the Rumanian People's Republic; Dondogiin Tsevegmid, Ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic; Kristiu Stoichev, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Regino Pedroso Aldama, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Republic of Cuba; Josef Koudela, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; I.S. Scherbakov, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; Zung Bong Koo, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Horst Brie, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic; and Nyitrai Bela, First Secretary of the Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic.

# STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

July 1, 1963

(1) In accordance with the agreement reached between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the two Parties will begin to hold talks in Moscow on July 5.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. has decided that its delegation in the talks will be composed of the following:

Head of the delegation: Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

Deputy head of the delegation: Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

Members of the delegation: Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; Yang Shang-kun, Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.; and Pan Tzu-li, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

(2) The Central Committee of the C.P.C. has instructed the delegation of the C.P.C. that in the talks with the delegation of the C.P.S.U., it should adhere to our Party's consistent stand of persevering in principle and in unity; it should expound our Party's views on the general

line of the international communist movement and on some related questions of principle in accordance with the letter of June 14 of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. in reply to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; it should firmly defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960; it should safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement; and it should defend the interests of the cause of the liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations, the cause of opposition to imperialism and of the struggle for world peace, and the cause of the proletarian world revolution.

(3) The letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. of June 14 was a reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of March 30. In its letter, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. systematically presented its own views on the question of the general line of the international communist movement and accused us of making "groundless attacks" on the C.P.S.U. In its reply, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. in turn expounded its views, and put forward its proposal, concerning the general line of the international communist movement and some related questions of principle. This was only natural and conduces to a full exchange of ideas in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties.

It is highly regrettable that, contrary to the way the Central Committee of the C.P.C. has acted, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has not published the letter of the other side in its newspapers and has not let its Party members and people learn the views of the C.P.C. The statement of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of June 18, the resolution of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of June 21 and Comrade Khrushchov's speech at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. described the constructive views of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. as "groundless and slanderous . . . attacks," announced that they "categorically rejected" them, and launched direct and unreasonable attacks on the C.P.C. Subsequently, the Government of the Soviet Union demanded the immediate recall of five persons—staff members of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union or Chinese research students there, thus extending the ideological differences between the two Parties to the sphere of state relations.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. is compelled to point out solemnly that the series of measures taken by the Central Committee and leaders of the C.P.S.U. constitute a serious step in further worsening Sino-Soviet relations and in manufacturing a split in the international communist movement.

In view of the fact that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties are due to take place soon, the Central

Committee of the C.P.C. will not reply for the time being to the attacks on our Party made by the Central Committee and leaders of the C.P.S.U., but reserves the right to reply.

(4) Despite the steps taken by the Central Committee and leaders of the C.P.S.U. in further worsening the relations between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and between the two countries, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. will still send its delegation to Moscow as scheduled to take part in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties. It is doing so for the sake of the common interests of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and peoples, for the sake of the common interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and in accord with its consistent stand of persevering in principle, strengthening unity, eliminating differences and waging a common struggle against the enemy.

It is the sincere hope of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties will yield positive results, that Sino-Soviet relations will be improved and that the unity of the international communist movement will be strengthened—all on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960, and on the basis of the principle of independence and equality and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties. This is indeed the common aspiration of all the Communists and all the revolutionary people of the world.

# STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

July 5, 1963

**T**HE Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has learned of the statement issued on July 4 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party cannot agree to the distortions, accusations and attacks which are made in this statement by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. against the statement of July 1 by the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

Since the Delegation of the C.P.C. is about to leave for Moscow for the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. has instructed the delegation to make the necessary comments at the talks with regard to the distortions, accusations and attacks by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

Despite the fact that on July 4 the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has once again issued this kind of statement, the Central Committee of the C.P.C., in accordance

with its consistent stand of perseverance in principle, the strengthening of unity and the elimination of differences in the interests of the common struggle against the enemy, has instructed the delegation to exercise the greatest patience and make the greatest efforts at the talks to strengthen the unity of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and of the two countries, the unity of the socialist camp and that of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. hopes that the outcome of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties will be advantageous to the preparations for convening a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties and advantageous to the great struggle of the people the world over against imperialism and for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

# Chinese Foreign Ministry Strongly Protests Against Unreasonable Soviet Demand

*The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China handed a note to the Soviet Embassy in China on July 4, 1963, lodging a strong protest against the unreasonable demand of the Soviet Union for the recall of three staff members of the Chinese Embassy, a post-graduate student and an institute functionary in the Soviet Union. Following is the text of the note.—Ed.*

## **The Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in China,**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China makes the following statement with regard to the note handed to the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. on June 27, 1963:

Following the unwarranted charges conveyed on two occasions by Deputy Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Comrade V.V. Kuznetsov on June 17 and 24 to the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union concerning the distribution of the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Foreign Ministry in its note of June 27 to the Chinese Embassy even went to the length of declaring that staff members of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union Mei Wen-kang, Lu Pei-hsin and Wang Yao-tung, post-graduate student Liu Tao-yu and institute functionary Yao Yi are "persona non grata," and of demanding "their immediate recall from the Soviet Union." Against this the Foreign Ministry of China hereby lodges a strong protest.

The note of the Soviet Foreign Ministry said that distribution by staff members of the Chinese Embassy and Chinese citizens in the Soviet Union of the C.P.C. Central Committee's reply to the C.P.S.U. Central Committee is "illegal" and "incompatible" with the status of the Embassy, and shows "disrespect for the sovereignty of the Soviet state." Such charges are completely unwarranted.

It is perfectly normal for the official organs and personnel of one socialist country in another socialist country to distribute the published documents of their own Government and Party. This has always been done by the Soviet organs and personnel in China. In the past six months, the Soviet organs and personnel in China have distributed the following documents:

Comrade Khrushchov's report at the session of the Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1962;

The article by the editorial department of *Pravda* dated January 7, 1963;

Comrade Khrushchov's speech at the Sixth Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party on January 16, 1963; and

The article by the *Pravda* editorial department on February 10, 1963.

What particularly needs to be pointed out with emphasis is the fact that the Soviet organs and personnel in China had distributed the letter of March 30, 1963 of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee to the C.P.C. Central Committee before it was published in the Chinese press.

Since the Soviet organs and personnel in China could distribute Soviet government and Party documents in China, why then cannot the Chinese organs and personnel in the Soviet Union distribute the official documents of the Chinese Government and Party? The principle of reciprocity must be unanimously observed by countries concerned and must in no circumstances be violated at will by any one side. It is utterly untenable to justify the Soviet Union's one-sided, unreasonable demand by certain decisions made by the Soviet Government.

It is also generally known that documents distributed by Soviet organs and personnel in China attacked the Communist Party of China by name. Knowing fully well that China would surely not agree to these attacks, the Soviet Government yet does not consider the distribution of these documents by Soviet organs and personnel in China illegal or an act of disrespect for the sovereignty of China. But when Chinese organs and personnel in the Soviet Union distributed the reply of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Soviet Government at once charged that this was illegal and an act of disrespect for the state sovereignty of the Soviet Union and raised the unwarranted demand for the recall of the Chinese personnel. This is impermissible in international relations in general, and least of all in the relations between two socialist countries.

The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14 is a reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated March 30. The Soviet Union should have published in its press this reply letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, as China has done with respect to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated March 30. However, instead of doing so, the Soviet Union has obstructed the normal activity of the Chinese Embassy in distributing the reply letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and has even demanded the recall of Chinese personnel. Thus, the Soviet Union has extended the ideological differences between the two Parties to the relations between the two countries, and created new obstacles to the bilateral Party talks. In spite of this, the Chinese Government still acts in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism and is not prepared to take cor-

responding measures against Soviet organs and personnel in China. The Chinese Government hopes that the Soviet Government will not again rashly take actions harmful to the unity of China and the Soviet Union and to the relations between the two countries but will make common efforts together with the Chinese Government

to uphold and strengthen the unity between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the two countries.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the  
People's Republic of China

July 4, 1963, Peking

## Statement of Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman

### On the Soviet Government's Unreasonable Demand For the Recall of Five Chinese From the Soviet Union

*Following is the text of a statement of the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman issued on June 29, 1963. — Ed.*

**T**HE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. sent a note on June 27 to the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union declaring undesirable the further stay of Mei Wenkang, Lu Pei-hsin and Wang Yao-tung, staff members of the Chinese Embassy; Liu Tao-yu, a Chinese post-graduate student in the Soviet Union; and Yao Yi, an institute functionary, and demanding their immediate recall by the Chinese Government, on the excuse that they had distributed in the Soviet Union the published letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14 in reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30.

A spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs points out that this demand of the Soviet Government is unreasonable and its excuse untenable. It is normal and unimpeachable for the Chinese Embassy and Chinese personnel in the Soviet Union to distribute official documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The Soviet establishments and personnel in China have always been doing the same and no objection has ever been raised by the Chinese Government. On April 3, before China made public the letter of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union of March 30 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Soviet establishments and personnel in China had already distributed it. Since the Soviet establishments and personnel can do, and have always done this in China, why cannot the Chinese establishments and personnel do the

same in the Soviet Union? What justification has the Soviet Government to lodge a protest with the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union in this connection? What justification has it to demand that the Chinese Government recall the said Chinese personnel?

One cannot but ask: What is the Soviet Union aiming at in putting such an unreasonable demand to the Chinese Government on such an untenable excuse? One is also fully justified to ask this: In taking this step, which is unprecedented in the history of the relations between the two socialist countries of China and the Soviet Union, on the eve of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, whether or not the Soviet Government is deliberately trying to undermine Sino-Soviet unity, vitiate the relations between the two states and create obstacles to the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties?

The Chinese Government has always conducted its relations with the Soviet Union in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism. Despite the fact that the Soviet Government has taken such an unreasonable and unfriendly action, the Chinese Government will continue to act in a principled way and will not take a corresponding measure with regard to the Soviet establishments and personnel in China. The Chinese Government hopes that the Soviet Government will not take further rash steps detrimental to Sino-Soviet unity and the relations between the two states, but will, together with the Chinese Government, uphold and strengthen unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and strive for the common goal of the Chinese and the Soviet peoples.

## At the World Congress of Women

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**T**HE World Congress of Women called by the Women's International Democratic Federation (W.I.D.F.) was held in Moscow from June 24 to 29.

Because certain members of the executive body of the congress, ignoring normal international practice and violating democratic principles, took a partial attitude in presiding over the congress sessions, a series of abnormal phenomena took place at the meetings. Certain delegates

in their speeches expressed totally unreasonable viewpoints while those delegates who disagreed with them were deprived of the right to speak. The Indian delegates even used the congress rostrum to slander and make unwarranted attacks against China. But the Chinese delegate was unjustifiably refused the floor when she wished to make the truth known. The conference hall was packed to capacity with "listeners" in addition to the



delegates and observers. During the congress sessions these "listeners" whistled and booed, throwing the congress into complete confusion. As a result of this uproar, the congress could not fulfil its tasks successfully.

### Impairing Growth of Women's Movement

The reason why certain members of the executive body of the congress failed to fulfil their duties was because they attempted to impose their erroneous viewpoints on others. This was borne out by the evidently organized uproar in which the Programme of the W.I.D.F. and the Appeal to the Women of the World were adopted by the congress. These two documents do not mention the principal current tasks of the women's movement and therefore seriously impair the development of the movement. When the two documents were put to the vote, the Chinese delegation voted against them. It also issued statements to make clear its views. (For the two statements see pages 12 and 13.) Delegates of several other countries also voted against the two documents or abstained. The Korean and Albanian Women's Delegations both issued statements at the congress. The Korean statement says in part:

With the backing of certain members of the executive body, attempts were made at the congress to obstruct the struggle against imperialism and colonialism led by U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the world's people and the prime target of struggle of the world's people including women, and the struggle for winning national independence, the emancipation of women and peace. This is an act which runs diametrically counter to the basic aim of the world women's movement of today and the mission of the congress.

We regarded and still regard the W.I.D.F. not as a social club but as a truly democratic organization of women for achieving the common goal of the world's women.

Therefore, the programme of action should clearly define, on the basis of the experience of the struggles of the W.I.D.F. and women's organizations of all countries, the course of struggle for realizing the emancipation of women, defending their rights, opposing U.S.-led imperialism and colonialism and winning peace, national independence and social progress, the basic problems of the women's movement at the present time.

We express deep regret that a programme, which does not reflect the basic questions of the world women's movement, has been adopted under the coercion of certain delegates in disregard of the just demand of a large number of delegates from Asia, Africa and Latin America including the Korean Women's Delegation.

The Korean statement also solemnly protested against the unfair actions of the executive body of the congress.

The Albanian statement says in part:

The Albanian Women's Delegation came to attend the World Congress of Women called by the W.I.D.F. to express the Albanian women's feelings and will to fight against imperialism and its hirelings and to defend world peace. We have to vote against the draft of the Appeal to the Women of the World because this document has failed to emphasize those basic and essential questions the stressing of which would give the necessary impetus to the women of the world in their joint struggle for a bright future.

The document has not stressed that the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States is a major task of women and the decisive factor in safeguarding peace and striving for and defending national independence, democratic freedoms and the rights of women and children.

Moreover, the document has raised the question of disarmament and peaceful coexistence to such a height as might create an illusion among women that disarmament and peaceful coexistence could solve all current problems which concern mankind.

But meanwhile the struggle for national independence has not been regarded as an important contribution towards the struggle for and in defence of peace. This is unfair.

The Albanian Women's Delegation wants to point out emphatically that practices violating the principle of democracy were adopted at the plenary sessions and committee meetings of the congress and this hampered the normal proceedings of the work of the congress. This situation made it impossible for the delegates to have thoroughgoing discussions on all questions put before the congress.

### Leading the Congress Astray

On the third day of the congress, the Indian delegate, Mrs. Asaf Ali, raised the Sino-Indian boundary question — a question which should clearly not be discussed by the congress. Distorting the truth, she engaged in slanders and attacks against China. She said: "Our government leaders have time and again indicated that we would be very glad to sit down and negotiate with China if it were prepared to accept the Colombo proposals *in toto*." She added: "We are encouraged by the sympathy and support from all countries of the world, and particularly from those of the great Soviet Union." She said: "Our hearts are filled with gratitude because our Soviet friends helped us strengthen non-alignment and peaceful coexistence at our most critical moment."

Following Mrs. Asaf Ali's speech, Kuo Chien, deputy leader of the Chinese delegation, immediately asked the executive chairman for the floor to tell the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question. But the British delegate Joan Carritt, the executive chairman, arbitrarily denied Kuo Chien the floor and employed all sorts of improper means to prevent her from speaking. Many delegates were indignant at the arbitrariness displayed by the chair. Jeanne Martin, Secretary-General of the All-African Women's Conference and leader of the Guinean delegation, and Mrs. Aoua Keita, leader of the Mali delegation, indicated to Kuo Chien that their delegations disapproved of the behaviour of the executive chairman.

In her speech at the June 29 session of the congress, Mrs. Umi Sardjono, head of the Indonesian Women's Delegation, made a statement concerning the anti-Chinese statements of the Indian delegate and the biased attitude taken by the chairman of the session towards the Chinese Women's Delegation. It reads in part:

Taking it into consideration that the aim set forth by the Women's International Democratic Federation in holding this worldwide gathering is to seek ways and means of uniting the majority of women all over the world, who are sincerely fighting for peace, national independence and social progress, we are of the opinion that this congress is not the proper place for raising an issue which is a

problem between two states and has to be solved by the states concerned.

We very much regret indeed the attitude of the acting president, at that time, who, in our opinion, has acted in an undemocratic and partial way. We therefore think that to rectify this matter the president should request the Indian delegate to withdraw that part of her speech concerning the Sino-Indian border question. In case this withdrawal is not agreed to, it would be only correct to give an opportunity to the Chinese delegate to explain their position in this matter.

The Korean delegation in its statement also expressed surprise at the use of the congress as a rostrum for an anti-China campaign. The Albanian delegation pointed

out in its statement that it does not conform with the aim of calling the congress that the Indian delegation should have raised the Sino-Indian boundary question and so created confusion.

To make things clear the Chinese delegation issued a statement especially on the Sino-Indian boundary question at the closing session of the congress. The statement points out that the whipping up of an anti-China campaign by the Indian delegates at the congress was a carefully designed manoeuvre, aimed at diverting the attention of the women of the world from the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of world peace, and at creating confusion and splitting the women's movement. (For full text of statement see page 13.)

## Common Task of the Women Of the World

**Those who claim that anti-imperialism is the task for the political parties and not for the women's organizations and emphasize that the central tasks now facing the women's movement are general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence, fail to see, nor wish to see, the excruciating miseries of women under imperialist oppression. They fail to understand, nor wish to understand, that oppressed women cannot survive without fighting against imperialism.**

*Following is the full text of a speech delivered on June 25 by Yang Yun-yu, leader of the Chinese Women's Delegation, at the World Congress of Women in Moscow. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

**Dear Friends,**

On behalf of the women of China, the Chinese Women's Delegation greets you all and requests you to convey the Chinese women's sincere friendship to the women of your countries.

Since the Fourth Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation (W.I.D.F.), the people of all lands have scored great successes in their struggles against imperialism, in defence of world peace, for winning and safeguarding national independence and for democratic freedoms and social progress. The masses of women have played an important role in these struggles. Tempered in struggle and with growing political consciousness, women of different countries are becoming increasingly aware that imperialism is the enemy of world peace, that imperialism is the enemy of oppressed nations and that imperialism is also the main source of the oppression, enslavement and menaces to which the women and other people of various countries are subjected.

### **U.S. Policies for World Domination**

In its vain attempt to dominate and enslave the people of the world, the Kennedy Administration of the United States is further intensifying its efforts to apply

its "strategy of peace." While talking glibly about durable and just peace, it is in fact pursuing with redoubled vigour its policies of aggression and war. Moreover, it makes poisoning the relations between China and the Soviet Union and splitting the socialist camp a major component of this strategy. In south Viet Nam, the United States is engaged in barbarous "special warfare." In Laos, it has rekindled the flames of civil war. It is hanging on in south Korea and still occupying China's territory of Taiwan. It is energetically sponsoring the Japan-south Korea talks and is moving its nuclear submarines into Japanese ports. In order to cover up its ferocious features, it uses such names as "the Peace Corps," "Alliance for Progress," "Food for Peace" and "aid" to facilitate its political, economic and cultural infiltration into many countries for carrying out neo-colonialist expansion. It even encroaches upon the independence and sovereignty of some of its own allies. In the United States itself, monopoly capital is bleeding the working people white, and cruelly slaughtering our Negro brothers and sisters.

The United States has never stopped its aggression and interference against Cuba. Spokesmen of the U.S. Government have repeatedly made it clear that the United States had given no assurance for not invading Cuba, stressing that communism in the Western Hemisphere was unnegotiable. Whatever its schemes, it has failed to subjugate the united and dauntless Cuban people who are defending the sovereignty and dignity of their motherland by relying on their own strength. It will surely receive even heavier blows from the Cuban people with their

mighty moral weapons and enjoying the support of the people of the whole world. The peoples of the world will always shout, "Cuba si, Yankees no" (*applause*) and will never permit U.S. imperialism to commit aggression and interference against Cuba.

Owing to the aggression and plunder by the U.S. imperialists and other colonialists, millions of women and children in many Asian, African and Latin American countries are suffering from poverty, hunger and disease and are dying in great numbers. In south Viet Nam, numerous women and children have been killed by the chemical weapons used by U.S. imperialism. In those African countries that have not yet achieved independence, the sufferings of the broad masses of women and children are even more unbearable. In Latin America, as the Second "Havana Declaration" has exposed, for each thousand dollars wrested from the people there by U.S. imperialism, a dead body is left behind. In some countries in Latin America, infant mortality reaches as high as 300 per thousand. The prisons of the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries are filled with fighters who have taken an active part in the national democratic movements, many of whom are women. In the oppressed nations, the very existence of the masses of women is not guaranteed, let alone their rights.

In capitalist countries, the burdens of arms race and war preparations weigh heavily on the masses of working people. Confronted with soaring prices and exorbitant taxes and the menace of unemployment, wives and mothers worry day and night about the livelihood of their families. Their democratic rights are not guaranteed.

After prolonged struggles, the people of the socialist countries have won the great victory of socialist revolution. This has opened up broad prospects for the emancipation of women and the happy life of children. However, the imperialists are still threatening our socialist countries with war. They are carrying on subversion and infiltration and attempting to restore capitalism in the socialist countries through "peaceful evolution." In order to protect the fruits of the socialist revolution which we have won at the cost of blood and to defend the happy life of our women and children, we still face the serious task of fighting against imperialism.

The broad masses of women of the world through their own experience have clearly perceived that, in order to defend world peace, to win liberation of the oppressed nations, to secure democratic freedoms and social progress and to defend the rights of women and children, they must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and its policies of aggression and war. This is not just the task of the women of one region or continent but the common task of women throughout the world.

### **General Disarmament No Substitute for Anti-Imperialist Struggle**

The W.I.D.F. should keep alive its anti-fascist and anti-imperialist tradition and give full expression to the urgent demands of the women of all continents. In the face of aggression and threats of war by imperialism, to strive for general disarmament is an important task of the world peace movement and also a task of the international women's movement. But this definitely must not and should not be made the sole task. The struggle for general

disarmament definitely cannot replace or abolish various struggles against imperialism. Nor can it be used to replace or abolish the struggle of the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. While mothers and children in south Viet Nam are being massacred by the U.S. imperialists, can the people there be told to accept general and complete disarmament instead of taking up arms to fight against imperialism? (*Applause.*) Among the peoples of those African countries which have not yet attained independence, some are being subjected to armed suppression by imperialism and old and new colonialism at this very moment. How is it possible for them to sit and wait for the realization of disarmament instead of rising to fight for national liberation? To strive for general disarmament at a time when the imperialists are carrying on general arms race, it is imperative to direct our struggle against imperialism and to expose and oppose the imperialist policies of arms race and war preparations. To do otherwise is deliberately to lull and dupe the peoples of the world and to divert their attention from the real target of struggle.

Nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive. U.S. imperialism is actively preparing for a nuclear war and is pursuing the policy of nuclear blackmail in an attempt to achieve world domination. The Chinese people have always opposed the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and stood for a total ban on nuclear weapons, that is to say, total prohibition of the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons and the complete destruction of the existing nuclear arsenal. We firmly support the struggles of all peoples against nuclear weapons. We support the Japanese people in their struggle against the mooring of nuclear submarines of U.S. imperialism at Japanese ports. We hold that by relying on the united struggle of all peace-loving countries and people, it is possible to force imperialism to accept an agreement for banning nuclear weapons.

### **No Peaceful Coexistence Between Oppressor and Oppressed**

We Chinese women consistently support the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence initiated by our Government, namely, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. In accordance with these five principles and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, our Government has concluded treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or treaties of peace and friendship with many Asian and African countries. (*Applause.*) Peaceful coexistence refers to a relationship between states with different social systems, and must not be extended to cover relationships between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed and oppressor countries, or between oppressed and oppressor classes. At no time is it possible for the oppressed nations and peoples to coexist peacefully with the imperialists, nor should the former be told to do so. To ask the oppressed nations and peoples to coexist peacefully with imperialism is to force them to give up their struggle and to keep them for ever in the position of being oppressed and enslaved. To tell the oppressed nations and peoples to coexist peacefully with the imperialists in order that one can enter into a compromise or "co-opera-

tion" with the imperialists is tantamount to sacrificing the fundamental interests of these countries and peoples and serving the interests of imperialism.

Dear friends, the serious tasks of struggle require women from all continents to unite still more closely on the common ground of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism and defending world peace. We should rely on the working men and women of all countries and unite with all those who can be united to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism and reactionaries of various countries. We are confident that by relying on the combined struggle of the forces of the socialist camp, of the national-liberation movement, of the working-class movement and all other peace-loving forces, it is possible to frustrate the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Those who claim that anti-imperialism is the task for the political parties and not for the women's organizations, and emphasize that the central tasks now facing the women's movement are general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence, fail to see, nor wish to see the excruciating miseries of women under imperialist oppression. They fail to understand, nor wish to understand that oppressed women cannot survive without fighting against imperialism.

The Chinese Women's Delegation has come to this congress with a desire to strengthen unity and with a serious sense of responsibility towards world peace, human progress and the defence of the rights of women and children. We will always strengthen our unity with sisters of various countries in our common struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, supporting and encouraging each other.

We have all along been upholding and defending unity, but unity must be based on principles. Only by basing itself on principles can unity be really solid and unbreakable and stand all tests. (*Applause.*)

### Six Proposals

Finally, the Chinese Women's Delegation would like to put before the congress the following proposals:

1. Affirm that the struggles against imperialism and new and old colonialism, in defence of world peace, for winning and safeguarding national independence, for democratic freedoms and for social progress, and in defence of the rights of women and children are the common tasks of the women of all countries today.

2. Explicitly point out that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of world peace, the enemy of the national-liberation movement and the source of oppression, exploitation and discrimination to which women and children of many countries are subjected; call upon women of all countries to maintain the sharpest vigilance against all machinations of U.S. imperialism.

3. Resolutely oppose the policies of war and aggression pursued by imperialism headed by the United States; oppose the arms expansion and war preparations carried on by imperialism; demand a complete ban on and total destruction of nuclear weapons, dismantling of foreign military bases and withdrawal of troops stationed on foreign soil and strive for general disarmament.

4. Resolutely support the oppressed nations' struggle for national independence, and the newly independent countries' struggle for safeguarding their sovereignty and winning complete political and economic independence; demand total elimination of the colonial system; oppose aggression, enslavement and interference by imperialism and old and new colonialism.

5. Call on women of all countries to take an active part in struggle, to link their destiny closely with the current struggle of the people of the world, to defend the rights of women and children and to raise the status of women in political and economic fields and in both society and family.

6. Appeal to the women of the whole world, irrespective of their races, political views, religious beliefs and professions, to strengthen their solidarity, support each other and, together with the other people of all countries, form the broadest possible united front directed against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and to wage a concerted struggle for the realization of the above-mentioned goals. (*Warm Applause.*)

# Statements of the Chinese Women's Delegation

## I. On the "W.I.D.F. Programme"

NOW that the congress is putting the draft Programme of the W.I.D.F. to the vote, we of the Chinese Women's Delegation wish to make the following solemn statement.

The draft Programme of the W.I.D.F. now being submitted for adoption by the congress is one which foregoes opposition to imperialism and which follows an erroneous line. It fails to point out that the source of war is imperialism and that the most dangerous enemy of peace is

U.S. imperialism. It fails to point out that the correct way to defend peace and prevent war is to rely mainly on the concerted struggle of the people of the world against the policy of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States. It fails to point out that the national-liberation movement represents a mighty force in defence of world peace. It fails to point out that the movement of women's emancipation is closely linked with the current struggles of the people of the world and that women of various countries can win their own emancipation and genuinely safeguard the rights of women and children only by taking a firm stand against imperialism, colonial-

ism and reaction in various countries. Although it carries a few isolated phrases supporting women who are persecuted under imperialism, in essence it nevertheless makes general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence the most urgent tasks of the women of the world. It does not oppose imperialism but speaks hollowly about women's rights and about broader unity in an attempt to lead the world women's movement onto an erroneous and dangerous path. Such a draft programme is not conducive to mobilizing the broadest masses of women of the world to struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace. Some people who obstinately try to impose on others the programme with its erroneous line are deliberately creating a split and undermining the unity of the women's movement. These people should be held responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

In the course of discussion on the draft programme the National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China has given it a serious and careful study and has offered its own proposals to the W.I.D.F. We had sincerely hoped to reach unanimity through consultation. But some W.I.D.F. leaders persisted in their erroneous views and our proposals were completely rejected. In order to defend the fundamental interests of the women of the world and to uphold their unity, we cannot but make clear the solemn attitude of the National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China, and resolutely oppose the draft programme.

## 2. On "The Appeal to the Women of the World"

WE are of the opinion that the struggle of the women of the world to win their rights and safeguard children's happiness is closely linked with the struggles of the people of the world against imperialism, against old and new colonialism, in defence of world peace, to win and safeguard national independence and to win democratic freedoms and social progress. Without opposing imperialism and without unflinching struggle against it, peace and national independence cannot be ensured, nor women's rights and children's happiness secured. However, "The Appeal to the Women of the World" has bypassed the fundamental question of opposing imperialism. It fails to point out that the most dangerous enemy of world peace is U.S. imperialism, it fails to expose and condemn the policy of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States. While paying lip-service to the right of all nations to freedom and independence and to the need of eliminating the shame of colonialism, it fails to point out that the enemies of oppressed nations are imperialism and old and new colonialism. This is no genuine support to national independence but is in fact denying the important contribution of the national-liberation movement of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the cause of world peace and the defence of women's and children's rights. This document does not point to the path of genuine peace, nor to the path of happiness for women and children.

On the question of defending peace and of disarmament, this document also overlooks the significance of joint struggle by various peace forces. Instead of directing the spearhead of struggle against imperialism, its armament drive and war preparation and its preparation to unleash nuclear war, the document merely indulges in empty talk about disarmament and spreads unrealistic illusions.

We hold that the adoption of such a document is not conducive to uniting and mobilizing the broadest possible masses of people and women of the world to wage a struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace. Nor does it help the cause of women's emancipation. Those who attempt to impose this erroneous line on others are deliberately creating a split and disrupting the unity of the women of the world.

At this World Women's Congress held in Moscow, some people have been brandishing their baton, trying their utmost to enforce in the world women's movement their own line of not opposing imperialism and forbidding others to oppose it. These people have also taken advantage of the congress to carry out anti-China manoeuvres. They violate the democratic principles of international conferences, put the congress under their control and manipulation, and restrict and deprive Chinese delegates of the right to speak. They have been assailing the Chinese Women's Delegation by name or by insinuation and maliciously spreading all kinds of slanderous stories about the Chinese delegation and the Chinese people and distorting their views. Their purpose is to hit at the steadfast anti-imperialist stand of the Chinese people and women in a premeditated attempt to disrupt and split unity in the world women's movement. This exposes once again the ugly features of those serving imperialism.

We of the Chinese Women's Delegation have come to this congress with a solemn sense of duty towards defending world peace and upholding the fundamental interests of the people and women of the world. We are firmly against adopting this document which does not conform to the fundamental interests of the people and women of the world. We are convinced that despite any counter-current the stormy sweep of anti-imperialist revolutions of the peoples of the world cannot be checked by any force and that the unity of the women of the world cannot be destroyed. The Chinese women will, together with women of the whole world, continue to carry to the very end the struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace and to maintain the correct line of the world women's movement.

## 3. On the Sino-Indian Boundary Question

Dear Friends,

We of the Chinese Women's Delegation have come to the World Women's Congress with a desire to strengthen unity. We have come to join delegates from other countries in the deliberations on the common tasks of women

of the world. We are therefore categorically against bringing up a border dispute between two Asian countries at the congress. However, even before the opening of the congress the Indian delegates had repeatedly raised this matter at the bureau meeting slandering China for alleged aggression against India. We have repeatedly made clear our solemn stand on this question. But they have now brought it up again at the congress. In doing so, they were serving the expansionist and anti-China policies of the Indian Government, diverting the attention of women of the world from the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of world peace, and undermining unity and creating confusion and split. That the boundary dispute between two Asian countries should have been injected into the World Women's Congress held in Moscow is a carefully designed manoeuvre to whip up an anti-China campaign.

After an Indian delegate had raised the Sino-Indian boundary question at the plenary session we requested the floor from the chairman to make a statement. To our astonishment, however, the organizers of the congress arbitrarily deprived the Chinese delegation of its right to speak in contravention of elementary democratic principles. We cannot but express our deepest regret on this.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is a question left over by history. The Chinese Government has consistently stood for a fair and reasonable settlement of this question through negotiation on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It is in this spirit that our Government has settled through friendly negotiations the boundary questions left over by history with Burma, Nepal and Pakistan respectively and is now carrying on boundary negotiations with Afghanistan. Similarly, the Sino-Indian boundary question can only be settled through peaceful negotiation.

The Chinese Government has more than once proposed negotiation to the Indian Government and has expressed appreciation for the efforts of friendly countries to promote direct negotiation between China and India. The Indian Government, however, has taken a different attitude. It invariably blocks the road towards negotiation by raising all kinds of preconditions. Likewise, its present insistence that China must accept the Colombo proposals without reservation is nothing but a trick, designed to impose its preconditions on China in the name of the Colombo proposals. The countries participating in the Colombo conference were well intentioned in making mediation, and their proposals were meant as a recommendation to China and India for their consideration. But the Indian Government is now bent on placing the conference participants in the position of an arbitrator by turning their proposals into an unquestionable arbitration. Such a move of the Indian Government with its ulterior motive runs counter to the desire of the participants of the Colombo conference.

Now, what is the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question? After all, who has committed aggression against whom? Who was it that provoked the armed conflict? Who is it that has been unwilling to conduct peaceful negotiations? The facts are there for all to see. The Indian Government has long occupied more than 90,000

square kilometres of Chinese territory on the eastern and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian border. Since 1961, and particularly in 1962, the Indian Government has continuously nibbled away Chinese territory on the western sector of the border and set up strongpoints for further aggression. The Chinese side repeatedly showed forbearance and appealed for negotiation and the Indian Government mistook this for an indication that China was weak and could be bullied. Finally, in October last year, the Indian Prime Minister personally gave the order to clear Chinese frontier guards from Chinese territory, thereby precipitating the subsequent large-scale armed conflict. China struck back in self-defence only when she had been pressed beyond the limits of forbearance and left with no room to retreat. Following this, the Chinese Government took the initiative in bringing about the ceasefire, withdrawing its own troops, releasing all captured Indian military personnel and sending back large quantities of captured military materiel. Thanks to these measures the situation on the Sino-Indian border has been eased.

These measures taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative have not only represented a positive response to the Colombo proposals, but have shown that it has put into effect or even exceeded the requirements made by these proposals on the Chinese side. The people of all countries who love peace and uphold justice have expressed their appreciation of these peaceful efforts of the Chinese Government. However, instead of responding positively to these initiatives of the Chinese side, the Indian Government has intensified its efforts to fan up war hysteria and worsen Sino-Indian relations. The Indian Government and some Indian politicians constantly call on their people to get ready for a long-term war against China.

As everybody knows, the Indian Government has got the active support of U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. It has accepted huge military aid from the United States, thus throwing off its cloak of non-alignment. It has continued to violate Chinese territory and air space and make military provocations. It should be especially mentioned that the Indian Government has been persecuting innocent Chinese residents in India in disregard of the code of international conduct. All this shows that the Indian Government has no sincere wish to hold negotiations with China. It all depends on the Indian Government whether negotiation can take place and whether a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question fair and reasonable to both sides can be found through peaceful negotiation.

We Chinese people have always had at heart the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples and the common cause of opposing imperialism. We hope to solve the Sino-Indian boundary question by means of peaceful negotiation. We Chinese people cherish a profound traditional friendship for the diligent and intelligent Indian people. We are convinced that no matter how many obstacles may be placed in the way by the Indian Government, the common aspirations of the Chinese and Indian peoples to live for ever in friendship will eventually help bring about a satisfactory solution to the Sino-Indian boundary question.

# The Tito Group Sabotages International Communist Movement

*Following is a translation of an article published by the Vietnamese paper "Nhandan" on May 22 and entitled "The True Colours of the Yugoslav Revisionist Group as Provocateurs and Saboteurs of the International Communist Movement Have Been Exposed." — Ed.*

ACCORDING to foreign reports, at the recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Tito's report, regarded as the "guide line" of that organization, was adopted. The most spectacular part of the report, which has aroused the keenest interest of the Western news agencies, is its frenzied attack on China.

In his report, Tito, again harping on hackneyed themes of the imperialists, slandered China's socialist construction and distorted China's political line on international questions. He barefacedly asserted that China's policy was aimed at opposing the unity of all progressive and socialist forces, and could only lead to a war in which hundreds of millions of people would be wiped out, and would prompt the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to rise and oppose the European nations and the developed countries.

At that session, other leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists including V. Vlahovitch and A. Rankovic also unleashed venomous attacks against China.

Observers noted that these odious slanders of the Tito group were connected with the recent situation within the international communist movement and the working-class movement. At present, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the world are endeavouring to strengthen unity and preparing for the convening of an international conference of the fraternal Parties. In particular, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China—which have the greatest responsibility in the strengthening of international unity—are going to start important talks between delegations of the two Parties. Under these circumstances people consider that Tito's insidious attacks and slanders against China expose to the full the Yugoslav revisionist group as provocateurs, who are attempting to pour oil on the fire, hamper the settlement of differences within the international communist movement and sabotage unity among the Communist and Workers' Parties.

In his report, Tito took pains to reaffirm Yugoslavia's close relations with the U.S. and other imperialists. He made no secret about Yugoslavia's unwillingness to make the slightest change in its relations with the capitalist countries.

It has also been noted that the Yugoslav leaders launched these frantic attacks against China shortly after U.S. State Secretary Rusk's recent visit to Yugoslavia and his contacts with Tito and other leaders of the Yugoslav revisionist group.

## The Tito Group's New Constitution

### It Can't Cover Up Their True Colours

*Following are excerpts from a commentary published in the June issue of "Hoc Tap" (Study), theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

THE revisionist group of Yugoslavia claim that their new constitution is a "socialist constitution," and in the constitution "The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" has been changed to "The Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia." Now, have the Tito group really mended their ways, corrected their errors and brought the country back to the socialist path?

No. Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and Chairman of the Constitutional Commission, said candidly that the new constitution is "the legal-political and organizational embodiment" of the concepts of the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, a thoroughly revisionist pro-

gramme. Kardelj added: "The social-economic and political relations formulated in the new constitution are not relations yet to be established. These relations have already become reality with us."

#### Free Competition in "State Enterprises"

Now in Yugoslavia, beside the "state-owned enterprises" there are tens of thousands of medium- and small-sized private enterprises which the Tito group term "handicraft trades." Although by law each of these "handicraft trades" is allowed to employ at most five workers, some of them employ almost 100 workers, and no action is taken by the state about it.

In the "state-owned enterprises" the capitalist method of management is the practice. The activities of these enterprises are guided by the law of free competition and profit-seeking. As a result of this method of management and competition from foreign capital, many enterprises

have gone bankrupt. In 1961, 618 enterprises in Yugoslavia were declared insolvent due to failure to pay taxes, bank debts and wages. In the first half of last year, 259 enterprises went bankrupt for the same reason.

### Polarization in Countryside

In agriculture, individual peasant economy is still dominant in the rural areas. Ninety per cent of the arable land is in private hands. The law stipulates that the land-holding of each peasant household shall not exceed ten hectares. But in reality land owned by rich peasants has exceeded this ceiling.

Class polarization has appeared in Yugoslav rural areas. The poor and middle peasants are being driven to the point of bankruptcy by the rich peasants and more and more of their land is being concentrated in the hands of the rich peasants. This is not accidental, but an evil outcome of the revisionist line of the Tito group.

Rich peasants in Yugoslavia are allowed by law to buy and sell and mortgage land, hire labour and make loans. Furthermore, the state sells tractors to rich peasants. The weekly *Kommunist* of February 7, 1958, said that among peasant households owning more than eight hectares of land in the Serbian People's Republic 52 per cent hired labourers. The Tito group substitute the "integrated co-operatives of farm workers" for the disbanded agricultural co-operatives and take them as the main form in transforming the rural areas. These "integrated co-operatives" are in fact run by rich peasants. By utilizing the means of production at their disposal, their abundant funds and the management of the co-operatives, these organizations are engaged in exploiting the peasants.

The Yugoslav economy is becoming more and more dependent on the imperialist countries, U.S. imperialism in particular. Yugoslavia has received "aid" from the imperialist countries totalling 5,000 million U.S. dollars.

The enterprises in Yugoslavia have more and more subjected themselves to the enterprises of the imperialist countries and become their assembly shops. *Borba*, mouth-piece of the Tito group, said: "Yugoslavia's industrial enterprises have virtually become the appendages of foreign companies." *Privredni Pregled (Economic Review)* also admitted that "the industrial enterprises of Yugoslavia are no longer production units but have become some kind of import companies."

In the commercial sector, businessmen may raise prices at will and go in for hoarding and speculation. Foreign trade is not under state monopoly. Import and export trade is left to the more than 500 commercial enterprises. These enterprises are free to import whatever commodities they think are profitable. As a result, commodities from the imperialist countries have flooded the Yugoslav market, putting many Yugoslav enterprises out of business.

### Theory on Class and Class Struggle Discarded

The Tito group have discarded the theory on class and class struggle and deny the existence and development of capitalist factors, the leading role of the working class and the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition from capitalism to communism. They assert that the landlord and capitalist classes no longer exist in Yugoslavia and that the social structure has undergone changes; therefore "the concept about the working class has changed, assuming a more extensive meaning."

No deception of the Tito group, however, can cover up this fact: in Yugoslavia the exploiting classes and the factors giving rise to exploitation still exist on an extensive scale both in town and countryside.

On Yugoslav foreign policy, in all the past and present official documents of the Tito group as well as in the new constitution and the report delivered by Kardelj on the draft new constitution, not a single word is to be found exposing the schemes of war and aggression of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, nor a single word in condemnation of new and old colonialism. And no clear-cut attitude of support is ever expressed towards the working class and labouring people of various countries fighting for national independence, democracy and socialism.

The foreign policy of the Tito group as defined in the new constitution is to have "comprehensive political, economic and cultural co-operation" with all peoples and countries regardless of social systems, and to "develop a free community of all the peoples of the world." In reality, this foreign policy is nothing but an embodiment of U.S. imperialism's "cosmopolitanism," designed to legitimize again a policy of throwing the door wide open to infiltration by the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, into Yugoslavia's political, economic and cultural life.

### Standing Outside Blocs — A Fraud

The Tito group have often claimed that Yugoslavia stands outside all blocs. This is nothing but a fraud. It is common knowledge that Yugoslavia has concluded the Balkan treaty with Greece and Turkey, a treaty which represents one of the U.S. imperialist military aggressive blocs in the Mediterranean. In the Sino-Indian border conflicts provoked by the Indian reactionaries, the Tito group have defended Indian reaction and slandered China, a peace-loving socialist country, as the "aggressor."

The Tito group accorded U.S. Secretary of State Rusk a most enthusiastic welcome during his recent visit to Yugoslavia. *Borba* stressed in an article welcoming Rusk that the objectives of Yugoslav policy remained unchanged and that Yugoslavia had had the maintenance of stable relations with the United States at heart and would continue to do so. USIS described Rusk's visit to Yugoslavia and the exchange of letters between Kennedy and Tito as major steps to strengthen U.S.-Yugoslav relations.

At a time when U.S. imperialism, the international gendarme, chief warmonger and the most dangerous enemy of mankind, is busy preparing for a new world war directed against the socialist camp, making energetic efforts to suppress the national-liberation movements the world over and carrying out a monstrous criminal war against the people in south Viet Nam, why is U.S. imperialism so interested in strengthening its "relations of traditional friendship" with Yugoslavia?

Rusk referred to this question at a press conference held on October 18, 1961. He said: Undoubtedly, U.S. aid did help Yugoslavia in strengthening its efforts to maintain independence. This development did not fail to have an effect on the Soviet bloc. He added: Yugoslavia quit the Soviet bloc in 1948. Since then, instead of being influenced by the Soviet bloc, it had been a divisive force against world communism. Referring to the U.S. government policy towards Yugoslavia, Kennedy declared at a press conference on June 7, 1962, that U.S. "aid" to Yugoslavia



accorded with the "national interests" of the United States.

These facts completely gave the lie to the Tito group's claim about their "non-aligned" policy.

A look at the Titoites' intimacy with U.S. imperialism will tell us at once what sort of people they really are.

The state of affairs in Yugoslavia shows that the Tito group, faithfully pursuing a revisionist line, are continuing to throw away the gains of the people's revolution and to push Yugoslavia onto the road of retrogression. The Yugoslav economy is developing according to the law of capitalism. The new constitution adopted by the Tito

group is designed to deceive public opinion at home and abroad. In fact, their domestic and foreign policies have never changed a bit. They remain a willing and loyal servant of U.S. imperialism, trying to undermine the socialist camp and the international communist movement and disrupt the national-independence movement and the movements of the people in the capitalist countries for democracy and socialism.

The views expressed by the Communist and Workers' Parties in the Moscow Statement of 1960 on the nature of the Tito group and the Marxist-Leninist parties' attitude towards them remain perfectly correct.

# Modern Revisionism Must Be Refuted

by SANZO NOSAKA

*Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Communist Party of Japan, made a speech to the third group of students beginning studies at the Central Party School of the Japanese Communist Party on June 3. Entitled "On the Importance of Educational Work and Institution of the Educational System," it was published on June 14 by "Akahata," organ of the Japanese Communist Party. Following are excerpts from his speech. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

## Four Banners, Two Central Tasks

The Party is now holding high four banners, the four basic tasks in the present struggle.

The first banner: hold high the banner of democratic revolution, carry forward the struggle in defence of the people's interests;

the second banner: hold high the banner of the national democratic united front, make steady efforts to develop the united front;

the third banner: hold high the banner of building up a powerful Party, strive to further enlarge the Party membership to several hundred thousand and actively to carry out education of Party members;

and the fourth banner is: hold high the banner of the international united front for national liberation and peace, strive to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement.

The third banner is the stimulating and moving force for the fulfilment of these tasks.

Prior to the Eighth Party Congress, the Party had already stressed the need to enlarge and reinforce its ranks. A two-year comprehensive plan for enlarging the Party and strengthening the work of ideological education was confirmed by the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee held soon after the Eighth Party Congress. Since then the Party has repeatedly stressed these two central tasks and the whole Party has worked consistently for their fulfilment. Thanks to the efforts of all Party members, much has been achieved to date. The circulation of the Sunday edition of *Akahata* has now increased to 350,000 copies and that of *Akahata* daily to about 150,000 and Party membership has far exceeded 100,000.

The central and local Party organizations have also made considerable progress as far as Party education is concerned. For us, one of the most important tasks after deciding on the Party programme is to arm the whole Party with Marxism-Leninism and the ideology of the Party programme, to further consolidate ideological unity among Party members and raise their ideological level. On this score, advances to a certain extent have already been achieved. It cannot be denied that such ideological unity and advancement have played a very important role in the struggle of the Party and in swelling its ranks after the Eighth Party Congress.

Current developments at home and abroad require that our Party raise its theoretical and ideological level. At present, the various contradictions at home and abroad have become even sharper and, consequently, the situation has become even more complicated and is changing ever more rapidly.

In these circumstances, it is most necessary and important for us to cultivate the ability correctly to see and analyse the complicated and drastically changing objective situation and the essence of the relative strength of the enemy and ourselves, to grasp the direction which the course of events is taking and its prospects, and to formulate in good time correct policies and tactics of the Party, proceeding from the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly standpoint of the democratic revolution.

This ability can be successfully cultivated only by having a good grasp of the essence of Marxism-Leninism and knowing how to apply it to the various aspects of the changing social life in a creative, not dogmatic manner.

We Communists must learn conscientiously, systematically, uninterruptedly and intensely in the course of the present fierce struggle. Without this effort to learn, we shall not be able to develop the Party further along the correct path and fulfil the important tasks shouldered by the Party.

## Uprooting Modern Revisionism

Under these circumstances, we must unify our will and strengthen the ideological unity of our Party, as called for by the Resolution of the Fifth Central Com-

mittee Plenum, and work for the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement.

To achieve this, it is imperative for the members of the Party to stand on principled Marxist-Leninist positions, to adhere to Marxism-Leninism, and to study indefatigably, and acquire a correct and thorough grasp of the two programmatic documents of the international communist movement adopted at the Moscow meetings as well as the platform of our Party and the resolutions adopted by its Central Committee since the Eighth Party Congress.

Though it is true that the differences in the international communist movement have arisen because of the different objective conditions in which the Party in this or that country is working, they, in the final analysis, arise as a result of whether or not the principles of Marxism-Leninism are correctly understood and interpreted, and whether or not Marxism-Leninism is being correctly applied to the reality in each country.

To find a solution, it is therefore necessary to return to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and have a correct understanding of them.

The independent views of our Party have been clearly stated in the Resolution of the Fifth Central Committee Plenum and also find expression in our Party programme and the resolutions and policies adopted by our Party since its Eighth Congress.

After the differences in the international communist movement came into the open, the Japanese Party was united as one and adopted a correct attitude in line with the policy of its Central Committee. Our Party has been able to do so because there are the two documents of the Moscow meetings and our Party programme.

Taking advantage of the polemics within the international communist movement, the anti-Party revisionists in our country, the "structural reformists" and the Right-wing social democrats are hatching new schemes to impair the prestige of our Party and divide our democratic camp. The main danger to the revolutionary movement in our country remains to be modern revisionism and the revisionists of various shades. Since our Eighth Party Congress, we have dealt telling blows at such anti-Party, anti-revolutionary "theories." But this struggle has not ended. Being the pawns of the "Kennedy-Reischauer [U.S. Ambassador to Japan] line," they will continue their vicious conspiratorial activities in future. Therefore, we must systematically and thoroughly refute them in all respects and eliminate revisionism root and branch.

To this end, we must devote ourselves wholeheartedly to the study of Marxist-Leninist theories, the Party programme and other important documents.

Some people have manifested dogmatic deviations. It goes without saying that we cannot neglect such petty-bourgeois ideology and must make an effort to overcome it ideologically.

In short, we must stand at the forefront of the struggle to strengthen the unity of the current international communist movement and to combat revisionism in our country and have these tasks fulfilled.

### **Education and Study Within the Party**

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in the days when Yen-an was made its headquar-

ters, conducted its first and now well-known rectification campaign in two to three years beginning 1942. It was a bold and thorough campaign to build up the Party both ideologically and theoretically on a scale unprecedented in the history of the world communist movement. With the Central Committee taking the lead, the entire Chinese Communist Party devoted itself to study, a movement being conducted in a planned and disciplined manner both at the front and in the rear. All the time and facilities needed were provided and even the Seventh Congress [of the Chinese Communist Party] was postponed. This painstaking effort for ideological examination and theoretical study achieved great success. This campaign raised further the ideological level of the Party as a whole and led to stronger unity. It may be said that it was thanks to this effort and its success that the foundation was laid for the brilliant victory of the revolution in 1949 and for the swift advance in building socialism in the years that followed.

It would be wrong for the Japanese Communist Party to copy the Chinese Communist Party mechanically. However, I believe we should learn many things from [the Chinese Party's] understanding of the importance of study and the entire Party's serious efforts to study.

### **Japanese C.P.'s Current Tasks**

The resolution passed at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee says: "Both the international and domestic situations have become increasingly grave. They require the Party, the democratic forces and the Japanese people to make further efforts in struggle." The resolution also pointed out that the Party must stand at the forefront to lead the masses in the struggles against the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines into Japanese ports, the stationing of U.S. F-105D fighter-bombers in Japan, the holding of "Japan-R.O.K. talks," etc., and must rally the masses to oppose the revival of militarism and imperialism and oppose the introduction of the reactionary politics.

The resolution of the Sixth Plenum also calls upon the entire Party to stand in the forefront of the struggle to safeguard the working people's livelihood and rights.

In order to win great successes in the forthcoming general election, the Sixth Plenum resolution also asks for active preparations now.

The Sixth Plenum resolution also sets the task of enlarging and strengthening the Party's ranks and establishing a correct style of work as the obligation of all Party members.

Particularly, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on June 1 called upon all Party members and readers of our paper to go all out in enlarging the circulation of the Sunday edition of *Akahata* to 600,000 copies before the end of July.

All these tasks are of prime importance and urgency. No matter what happens we must fulfil them. One of the most important factors in guaranteeing the fulfilment of these tasks is the thorough arming of all Party members with Marxism-Leninism and the Party programme and thus to raise further the quality of Party members.

# Chinese, Korean and Japanese Trade Unionists Meet

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

ON July 1 more than 1,500 workers in Peking met to hail the joint statement of eight trade unions of China, Korea and Japan, signed earlier on the same day. The meeting, while celebrating the great unity of the working class of the three countries, pledged that the working class and people of the three countries would support each other, help each other and wage resolute struggles against U.S. imperialism, common enemy of the peoples of the world, and against the schemes of modern revisionism to split and wreck working-class solidarity.

Liu Chang-sheng and Chu Hsueh-fan, Vice-Presidents of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, attended the meeting. The audience rose in warm applause when the honoured guests entered the meeting hall. They were members of the delegation of the Union of Korean Transport Workers and the Union of Korean Metal and Chemical Industry Workers led by Huh Pil Man, the delegation of the Japanese Council of Metal Workers for Common Struggle led by Takashi Matsuo, the delegation of the Council of Trade Unions of Dock and Allied Workers of Japan led by Yukio Iwanami, and the delegation of the National Federation of Automobile Transport Workers' Unions of Japan led by Yonakichi.

## Towards Final Victory

Liu Chang-sheng began his speech by saluting the Korean and Japanese workers standing in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Comparing Kennedy's speech at American University and the one he gave at the "Free University" in West Berlin, Liu Chang-sheng told the audience how the U.S. imperialists were putting up a big show about their "strategy of peace" while actually intensifying their aggression. He said: No applause from the reactionaries or the modern revisionists can help U.S. imperialism, nor hoodwink the masses. Their applause has only served to unmask them before the revolutionary masses of the world.

"We must energetically support the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America," Liu Chang-sheng said. "The revolutionary storm of the national-liberation movement, dealing heavy blows at the forces of imperialism, has made great contributions to world peace; it is of tremendous aid to the socialist countries and the working class in all the capitalist countries." Liu Chang-sheng pointed out that it was necessary to develop and extend the concerted struggle of the world's proletariat and peoples of all lands;

only by relying on the concerted struggle of these four forces—the socialist camp, national-liberation movement, international working-class movement and the movement in defence of world peace—could world peace be effectively preserved.

Liu Chang-sheng, in conclusion, declared that in the common struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Chinese workers and people would for ever be united with the Korean and Japanese people, and would fight side by side with them until final victory.

## Against the Common Enemy

Huh Pil Man of Korea stressed the necessity for the working class of Korea, China and Japan to reinforce their co-operation and solidarity in the struggle against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism. To persist in and strengthen their common front meant to deal blows at the enemy and would enable them to advance their struggle, he said. He denounced the modern revisionists, the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and their ilk, for prettifying U.S. imperialism and trying to paralyse the revolutionary struggle of the people.

Takashi Matsue spoke on behalf of the three Japanese trade unions. He said that the joint statement had made it clear that, in the present world situation, the more serious was the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism headed by the United States—the more necessary it was to take a clear-cut stand for the international solidarity of the working class. This was completely in conformity with the class struggle principle of international solidarity in the trade union movement. The Japanese delegations, he said, therefore, agreed with this point with all their heart.

## U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of the West Pacific!

The joint statement itself declared that the Korean and Japanese trade union delegations had reached with delegates of the Chinese trade unions unanimity of views on the current international situation, the Asian situation and in particular on the unity of the Asian and African workers and trade unions and other major questions. As was put forward in the 1960 joint statement of the trade unions of the three countries, the present statement reiterates the object of their common struggle: to drive U.S. imperialism out of the West Pacific. Other salient points of the statement include:

★ U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the peoples of China, Korea and Japan, the common enemy of all peace-loving peoples of the world.

★ The peace movement must make it clear that the enemy of peace is imperialism headed by the United States. Anyone who makes no distinction between enemy and friend, between right and wrong will only mislead the movement and commit great errors.

★ The struggle to preserve peace and that for national independence support each other and are inseparable. The working-class movement of the Asian, African and Latin American countries should be linked

with the movement for national independence, and economic struggles should be linked with political struggles.

★ The three parties actively support the proposal for the convening of an Afro-Asian trade union conference. They firmly oppose all schemes by the imperialists and their agents—the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the leading group of Yugoslav trade unions—to split and undermine the unity of the Afro-Asian trade union movement.

## Pen Probes

### Masquerade and Truth

“LIKE a holiday camp,” sighed one correspondent. “Like living in a hotel,” quoted another. And their accounts described women wearing gaily coloured silk dresses; a well-equipped 50-bed hospital and facilities for both outdoor and indoor sports: ping-pong, badminton and tennis. The happy people in the camp have been given violins and other musical instruments to organize musical entertainments. Those who are Christians or Muslims may attend their own religious services. The health of those who live there appears to be “unusually good,” confirmed one Mr. Ahoy. Their daily food is more than enough; everyone is entitled to five rupees a day as pocket money and they recently received an additional 50 rupees to make new clothes. All told a visiting Minister they had nothing to complain about.

Where in India is this place so delightfully described first by the *Indian Express* in the month of May and then by the Press Trust of India in early June? It is, of course, the Deoli internment camp, a former World War II P.O.W. concentration camp which now holds the Chinese nationals still detained in India by the Indian Government. These lush reports appeared apparently in an attempt to counter the effect on world public opinion of the disclosures made by many Chinese, who, since their safe return to their homeland, have told about the brutalities and atrocities perpetrated in that camp by the Indian authorities.

If life in the camp had been anything like what these Indian reports said, an average Indian would have jumped at the chance to live there. And, added the *Indian Express* correspondent, all these “amenities” were free!

On June 9, Mr. Shastri, India's Home Minister, himself visited the camp to lend what prestige he has got to the deception. To further bolster up these reports and news dispatches, Indian officials and photographers went to the camp in May. They took several photographs for distribution to the press. As Chinese camp inmates who saw them being taken describe it, they took a picture of

**Happy Children in a Class:** The Indian officials set some Chinese children on a carpet they had brought along with them and forced a woman inmate to play the part of “teacher.” This “class” broke up for ever as soon as the photographers had taken the picture. Then there was

**A Chicken Dinner:** An Indian official thrust two chickens into the hands of a detained Chinese and placed another

two beside him. After a picture of this “chicken dinner” was taken the Indian official made haste to snatch the chickens back. For the picture of

**The Invalids,** a bed with clean sheets was put in a dazzlingly lit ward; and several sick people were made to lie on it in turn for the photographs to be taken.

The official Indian photographers had no difficulty taking these, but when correspondent of the British *Sunday Telegraph* went he had a very different story to report. When he arrived at the camp, the External Affairs Publicity Department “was taking jolly pictures of Mr. Rai handing toys to internee children. . . .” “The camp commandant,” he wrote, “at first cheerfully gave the *Sunday Telegraph* photographer permission to take pictures. His deputy then approached and said: ‘There is one difficulty, Sir. The men started work at seven this morning and are very tired. They are now cooking their food.’ After this apparently innocuous, but obviously coded, remark, Mr. Rai's attitude changed completely. It soon became clear that not only would we get no pictures (except the official ones) but that someone had something to hide. Finally we were escorted out by a police lieutenant, using a different road from the one we had used to enter, that road passed close to the Chinese living quarters but the lieutenant now declared it too bad for use.”

But at least one thing PTI reported is true: that Mr. Ahoy and a few other Chinese nationals do live comfortably in the camp. They are supplied with meat, wine, cigarettes and orange juice, all at Indian Government expense. They can freely leave the camp, often by car.

Who is Mr. Ahoy? Mr. Ahoy, alias Li Ching-nan, is an agent of the Chiang Kai-shek gang planted in the camp by the Indian Government. In Kalimpong, he and some others exacted money from Chinese as “defence funds” for the Indian Government during the Sino-Indian border clashes. It was this same “Mr. Ahoy” who, together with some other Chiang Kai-shek agents, usurped the name of the Chinese there and wrote a letter to Nehru, slandering the Chinese Government.

And who are the rest of the Chinese nationals held in the Deoli internment camp? The *Sunday Telegraph* correspondent also gives the answer: They are “innocent restaurateurs and shoemakers” who were “never remotely as much of a danger to it [the Indian Government] as its own generals.” In concocting his stories Baron Munchausen had to use his own unaided tongue. How he would have envied these gentlemen of New Delhi who can use as well that wonderful modern invention—the “camera, that cannot lie.”

# ROUND THE WORLD

## U.S. IMPERIALISM

### "Strategy of Peace"

Much has been said about Kennedy's June 10 speech at American University. Let's see how his deeds bear out the new "peace refrain."

On June 24, the Kennedy Administration rejected the Soviet proposal that the area of the Mediterranean Sea be declared a nuclear free zone.

On June 25, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission announced another underground nuclear test at its Nevada test site. This was the 10th test this year and the 68th conducted at the site since the resumption of such tests in September 1961.

Also on June 25, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defence Arthur Sylvester specifically denied the report that Washington was planning to reduce its overseas military deployment and cut the size of its armed forces. On the contrary, he emphasized, the U.S. is increasing its military strength at home and abroad. Before the autumn of 1961, the U.S. had 228,000 armed men in Western Europe; at the end of fiscal 1964, it will have several thousand more men there with many more weapons. Sylvester also disclosed that the United States is replacing its B-47 medium bombers in Western Europe

and the Pacific area with nuclear missiles.

And Kennedy's words? At one moment he talks soft and at the next he talks tough. In Ireland he was all blarney. During his provocative tour in West Berlin a few days earlier, he openly called for the annexation of the democratic sector of Berlin and the German Democratic Republic, for subversion and dismemberment of the socialist camp. "The shield of moral and military commitment with which we [the U.S.] guard the freedom of the West Berliners," he bragged, "will not be lowered or put aside so long as its presence is needed." Moreover, "behind that shield, it is not enough to mark time—to adhere to the status quo while awaiting a change for the better."

You won't find ivory in a dog's mouth, so goes a Chinese saying. It is every bit as fanciful to seek reason and an enlightened attitude in the words and deeds of the arch imperialist.

## CHARLES VS. JOHN

### The Fight Goes On

The struggle between Washington and Paris for leadership in Western Europe has flared up again.

During his visit to West Germany, the U.S. President attempted to woo Adenauer and isolate de Gaulle. More than once Kennedy assailed the French President, accusing him of trying "to separate Europe from the U.S." and ridiculing de Gaulle's policy of establishing an "independent nuclear force" as turning the clock backward. More than once Kennedy spoke about the need for "Atlantic unity" and of Western Europe's "closest co-operation with the United States."

France, of course, had not been idle. On the eve of Kennedy's arrival in Western Europe, Paris announced the withdrawal of its Atlantic fleet from NATO. Answering Kennedy's attacks, French Information Minister Alain Peyrefitte told newsmen that France believed "the current function-

ing of NATO . . . is subject to criticism" and France would "repeat this criticism" and "expect reforms in this connection." He reiterated France's intention to establish its own "independent nuclear force" and said that the repeated U.S. assertion that this would be too costly and of little value was "unrealistic." "Some American papers," he said, "have a tendency to present things as a prizefight in which . . . a certain Charlie would take a round and a certain John would take another . . . in the third round John is going to get his revenge over Charlie. This is certainly not the way things are."

Peyrefitte's reply has provoked still more U.S. attacks. Democratic Senate Leader Mike Mansfield described his speech as "a gratuitous slur" on the United States, and Senator Hubert Humphrey threatened that Peyrefitte would "do well to retract" his words. Senator Wayne Morse attacked as "most ridiculous and infantile" Peyrefitte's observation that the United States failed to stand by France at the outbreak of the two world wars in 1914 and 1939, declaring that "if France wants to continue that kind of reference to the past, someone is going to bring up the 6 billion dollars in World War I debt and interest which she still owes the United States."

The French and U.S. press is filled with mutual recriminations. De Gaulle, accompanied by several French ministers, is going to visit Bonn. More backbiting and sleight of hand are in the offing.

## SOUTH KOREA

### The Food Crises

South Korea is in the throes of a calamitous famine. In the countryside as well as in cities, millions of people are starving. Hundreds of peasants have already died of hunger; others are fleeing their native soil in large numbers. The unprecedented food shortage has further aggravated the political and economic crisis gripping this U.S.-occupied land.

Under U.S. rule, farm production has plummeted year by year although south Korea is the agricultural part of the divided country. A spring food shortage has become an annual affair. But this year the situation is especially bad because last year's crop failure (even according to the doctored



Decoy Duck Cartoon by Hua Chun-wu

figures released by the Pak Jung Heui regime, it was 550,000 tons below 1961) was followed by the near complete loss of the summer harvest of wheat and barley. Rice prices, already three and a half times the official maximum, are still soaring, and some areas have reported that as many as 70 and 80 per cent of the peasant households are "running out of provisions."

A recent UPI dispatch gives some idea of the gravity of the situation. "In Andong (a provincial city) alone," it reported, "approximately 2,500 people live on pig swill and pine tree bark. Similar hardships are reported in other rural areas as well as the larger cities of Taejon, Taegu, Pusan and Seoul." "Since March, nearly two-thirds of Andong's school children have gone without lunch, many of them without breakfast, too. In some areas, schools have closed because pupils do not have enough to eat." AP noted on June 26 that the food shortage is so serious in Seoul that university authorities have decided to put off the end-of-semester tests till after the summer vacation to allow students to leave Seoul as early as possible.

The Pak Jung Heui regime and its U.S. masters have taken no effective measure to solve the crisis or alleviate the people's suffering. In a speech on June 27, Pak called on citizens to "tighten their belts." Washington has sent in still more new-type weapons, military supplies and naval vessels, and held war exercises. By contrast, the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic whose people have succeeded in reaping good harvests despite unfavourable weather conditions, has decided as a first step to deliver free of charge 15,000 tons of rice for the relief of distress in the south.

The situation in south Korea is a powerful indictment of the U.S. global policy of intervention, aggression and war. A puppet military clique, a ceaseless flow of arms and equipment, and an exploited and oppressed populace, these are all familiar attributes of predatory U.S. imperialism. In south Korea they are exposed for all the world to see.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### **One Vast Prison**

Fascist terror reached new heights in South Africa on June 26 as people the world over marked South African

Freedom Day. There was another round of police raids against Africans in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth. These boosted further the number of political arrests, which already constituted an all-time record. Eight patriots have recently been executed on the charge of "sabotage."

The Verwoerd racist government has turned the country into one vast prison. Along the frontiers, barbed-wire fences are being hurriedly erected and round-the-clock patrols maintained to seal South Africa off from Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland. According to a recent statement by Verwoerd's Prison Director Viktor Verster, 67,636 people, or roughly one in every 236 South Africans, are in jail. Over 10,000 are awaiting trial.

More fascist laws have recently been passed to bolster the hated racist rule. For example, the General Law Amendment Bill adopted in May makes it legal to detain political prisoners indefinitely and to keep other people in prison for 90 days without trial. It even makes it a crime, punishable by death, for Africans to criticize the apartheid policy at meetings of the U.N. or other international bodies.

Yet, despite all these repressive measures, the racist rulers are sitting on a volcano. The struggle of the oppressed Africans intensifies day by day. Many organized armed groups have appeared. Among them are the "Spear of the Nation" led by the African National Congress and "Poqo" which was organized after the banning of the Pan-Africanist Congress. Increasingly, the Africans have come to see that to gain freedom they must pay back the oppressors in their own coin. As Duma Nokwe, General Secretary of the African National Congress, told Hsinhua on June 26, "the existing fullfledged fascist state has left the people with no other alternative than to prepare to smash armed repression with armed revolt."

## WORLD TRADE

### **Tin and Rice Dumping**

Washington's decision to double its weekly sale of stockpiled tin (from 200 to 400 long tons) as from June 26 and the ensuing sharp decline in tin prices have evoked sharp reactions.

Malaya has declared that the U.S. move was "shocking" and would cause

much suffering to the country's small tin producers. Nai Vicha Sethabut, head of the Thai Mines Department, complained bitterly of the U.S. action, noting that the fall in tin prices will cut the country's earnings and drastically reduce the state revenue. Bolivia, the second biggest tin producer in the capitalist world, has described the increased sale of U.S. stockpiled tin as "catastrophic." The President of the Bolivian Mining Corporation threatened that his country would resign from the International Tin Council if the U.S. did not rescind its decision. With an average annual output of 30,000 tons of tin, Bolivia last year sustained a loss of \$9 million as a result of U.S. dumping.

At the recent GATT meeting in Geneva, Washington made a show of supporting the demands of the underdeveloped countries. In fact, it is the chief exploiter of the countries exporting raw materials. Further, by using the tremendous stockpiles of what are called "strategic raw materials" built up during the Korean War years to flood the market it depresses world prices at will. Tin is an example. For several years now the U.S. has dumped an increasing amount of its stockpile (40,000 tons in 1961 and 50,000 in 1962) on the international market to the great detriment of producer countries.

\* \* \*

Rice is another commodity which the U.S. has dumped in large quantities in an effort to get rid of its surplus farm products. This too has caused heavy economic losses to the Southeast Asian countries, first of all Thailand and Burma.

According to figures released by the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization, the United States unloaded more than 930,000 tons of rice during the first eleven months of 1962, a 40 per cent rise compared with the corresponding period in 1961. Of these, 700,000 tons were disposed of in Asia.

As a result of U.S. dumping in India and other Southeast Asian countries, Burma's annual rice exports have dropped by 600,000 tons. Also because of U.S. competition, Thailand suffers an unfavourable balance of payments with Japan, once a major buyer of Thai rice. From \$7.23 to \$7.77 per 100 pounds in 1953, the prices of Burmese and Thai rice have dropped to between \$4.37 and \$5.81 in 1962.

# Revolutionary Art and Literature: Their Educative Role

by CHIN LI

IN our country today, when revolutionaries who are in their mid-40s and with intellectual backgrounds come to recall their earliest contacts with the revolution, their thoughts will often go back to literary works which at that time greatly influenced them, books like Gorky's *Mother*, Serafimovich's *Iron Flood*, Ostrovsky's *How the Steel Was Tempered*, Furmanov's *Chapayev* and Fadeyev's *The Nineteen*. They recall these books with the same feeling as if they were beloved old comrades. The truth of Marxism-Leninism and the glad tidings of the October Socialist Revolution came to China's aspiring young revolutionaries via many channels in those early days; one of them was the early proletarian literature and this played no small role. China's proletarian literature was also born in that period and gradually grew in stature amid the storms of struggle. Literary works by the great writer Lu Hsun (1881-1936) and other Left-wing writers inspired many young intellectuals then to take the path of revolution. The period of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) saw a fine development of literary works with patriotism as their central theme, and, despite the many restrictions imposed on them by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, they made a big contribution to the patriotic movement for national salvation.

With the publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, China's revolutionary art and literature spread out beyond the small circles of intellectuals and made living contact with the working people in the various revolutionary bases. There, they enjoyed an unprecedented popularity, especially among the young people. The long narrative poem *Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang*, the modern opera *The White-Haired Girl* and other fine works of art and literature were widely known at the time. They exercised an enormous influence, encouraging the masses in the revolutionary war and the land reform movement. During the War of Liberation, villagers were so deeply stirred after seeing a performance of *The White-Haired Girl*, a powerful exposure of landlord oppression, that many wives immediately urged their menfolk to join the people's army to fight for liberation. In the P.L.A., works of revolutionary art and literature have always figured prominently in the army's educational programme. They are highly treasured for their invaluable role as builders of morale and inspirers of revolutionary enthusiasm.

## Chain Reaction

The influence of works of art and literature on youth is sometimes like a chain reaction. They have helped to bring to the fore many outstandingly progressive elements; and then the stories of these advanced people, in turn, come to exercise an influence on later comers. A celebrated story in China is the one about the Soviet hero Matrosov

who went to a heroic martyr's death carrying a copy of *How the Steel Was Tempered*. There is a link, as all can see, between Ostrovsky's novel and Matrosov's heroic character. Then, Matrosov himself was immortalized in literature and on the screen and his story in turn influenced untold numbers of youth. Among the hundreds of millions who read the Matrosov story, was a young Chinese People's Volunteer in Korea. At a crucial moment on the battlefield, he had the courage to throw himself on a U.S. machine-gun to stop its murderous fire and open up a way to victory for his comrades. His immortal name is Huang Chi-kuang.

Our young people have an insatiable appetite for fine works of revolutionary art and literature. A recent example is the novel *Red Crag\** which tells of the revolutionary struggles waged inside U.S.-Chiang concentration camps in Chungking in the 1940s. When this novel first appeared in the press in instalments, it quickly won an extraordinary large following among young readers. It was brought out in book form in 1961 and in less than eighteen months, sold more than three million copies. A major event in the cultural life of our young people was the publication of this novel and the wide discussion of it which followed. Its heroes and heroines have been taken into countless young hearts; their staunch revolutionary will so superbly depicted has made an indelible impression on millions. In discussions in workshops and on the farms, in classrooms and among our soldiers, these men and women are cited as living examples. Their moving fictional deeds have encouraged many to voice their determination to become worthy sons and daughters of the Chinese Communist Party. There is no doubt that this novel will continue to play a big part in shaping the moral character of more and more young readers.

## Powerful Weapon in Class Struggle

Good works of art and literature affect young readers in a good way, while bad works influence them in a bad way. There were no lack of instances before the liberation of school children, led astray by novels dealing with the supernatural, running away from home to seek supernatural powers in the depths of the mountains. Bourgeois films filled with corrupt ideas have had a similar effect: they have poisoned the minds of unsteady youth and led them onto the wrong path. All this illustrates what a powerful weapon art and literature is in the struggle between the classes. The organized proletariat has always attached great importance to this weapon; but the bourgeoisie too has no intention of relinquishing it. Those who contend that art and literature have nothing to do with politics are in reality allowing art and literature to serve the politics of the bourgeoisie.

\* See *Peking Review*, No. 35, 1962.

In the struggle against the socialist countries and the working people all over the world, capitalism and imperialism have made a big investment on the artistic and literary front. They do their best to try to corrupt the working people, and especially the working people and youth of the socialist countries by means of their decadent and degenerate art and literature. In this vicious activity of moral corruption, they use a whole arsenal of weapons — novels playing up ideas of bourgeois individualism, films extolling “the American way of life,” songs eulogizing love and sexuality as the supreme good, paintings full of *fin de siècle* nostalgia, and so on.

### Modern Revisionists' Ignominious Role

In this “warfare against the mind and the heart” the modern revisionists play the ignominious role of lackeys of the class enemy. While trying by every means to negate the healthy educational function of art and literature, they make a great to-do about so-called “individual happiness” with the aim of luring young people into a blind pursuit of their individual interests and material comforts. Take a look at revisionist art and literature and see what they provide for the young people to learn from. They depict great revolutionary wars as meaningless bloodshed, dark and gruesome enterprises; soldiers in action are portrayed as weak-minded, cynical pessimists; the truth of socialist society is distorted to a fantastic extent. What such so-called art and literature offers to the youth is a philosophy of life characterized by extreme egoism and a nihilistic and pessimistic attitude towards the cause of the revolution and the collective. Under revisionist influence, the young people gradually degenerate ideologically and they drift further and further away from the spirit and ideals of the revolution, forgetting their duty in the fight to overthrow imperialism and to support the revolution of the peoples throughout the world. When the younger generation gets into such a state, can they be expected to carry on the work of building socialism and communism and to safeguard the fruits of the revolution, the winning of which cost so many lives?

The modern revisionists talk a great deal about the great Lenin. But they are precisely the ones who have discarded Lenin's teachings on how to educate the young generation. Lenin stressed: “The whole object of training, educating and teaching the youth of today should be to imbue them with communist ethics.” He said: the young generation “can learn communism only by linking up every step in its studies, training and education with the continuous struggle the proletarians and toilers are waging against the old exploiting society.” (Lenin: *The Task of the Youth Leagues*)

Thus, art and literature can help to foster a young generation which will truly be worthy heirs to the cause of the revolution; they can also lure them onto paths of decadence and degeneration, so that they betray the cause of their revolutionary forebears. Revolutionary artists and writers today are faced with a heavier responsibility than at any time in the past.

The national conference of writers and artists held recently in Peking (*Peking Review*, No. 22, 1963, p. 7) called on the nation's writers and artists to raise still higher the banners of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Tse-

tung's thinking and resolutely oppose imperialism, the reactionaries in all countries and modern revisionism as well as their influence in the realm of literature and art. The conference discussions clearly affirmed that:

In the sharp class struggles which were now raging in the international arena, all truly revolutionary writers and artists were faced with the following question: should they take up their position on the anti-imperialist front, safeguard the interests of socialism and support the people of all countries in their revolutionary struggles, or should they fawn upon and capitulate to imperialism, slander socialism and break the people's revolutionary militant will? Should they use works of art and literature to reflect the revolutionary struggles of the masses, eulogize the heroism and collectivism of the masses in their labour and revolutionary struggles and praise the new people and new personalities of the new age, or should they stand aloof from the mass struggle, separate themselves from the common destiny of the people and immerse themselves in descriptions of the “fate of the individual” and the exalting of so-called “personal happiness” treated in isolation, which in effect means publicizing the individualist world outlook of the bourgeoisie? Should revolutionary socialist art and literature fly their own colours, with new content and new styles in radical contrast to the various schools of bourgeois literature and art, or should they willingly serve as the rump of Western bourgeois literature and art, join them in their cesspool and hail the decadent as wonderful, as “innovation”?

If this question — which puts to rigorous test all socialist writers and artists in China and everywhere else — is viewed together with the responsibility of revolutionary writers and artists for the education of youth, the answer can only be in the affirmative. We must create more works of revolutionary art and literature so as to cultivate the posterity of the proletariat, heroic fighters for communism and firm Marxists.

### Elevated Content and Artistic Form

The Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government is giving the utmost care to raising the younger generation. In our socialist society, the young are ensured a healthy growth both physically and mentally; the overwhelming majority of them have acquired a socialist outlook and are keen to do their bit in building socialism. But they also have their shortcomings. Not having experienced or seen class oppression and exploitation themselves, they do not sense the meaning of class struggle as acutely as their elders do. This story was told about a young commune member in the northeastern province of Heilungkiang: There are the same number of breadwinners and the same number of mouths to feed in this young man's family but compared with pre-liberation days, they are much better off. He took all these improvements for granted and when he was told by his mother that at the time of his birth, there was not even a piece of cloth in the family to swaddle him in, he cried out in astonishment: “Could that be possible!”

It is our duty to tell more of our young friends what was once “possible”!

The Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have many times repeated that in the historical



period of the transition from capitalism to communism, classes and class struggle will continue to exist. For this reason it is necessary to continue to educate our people in the knowledge of classes and class struggle.

In the long years of revolutionary struggles in the past, Chinese writers and artists have produced quite a number of outstanding artistic works such as the plays and films of *The White-Haired Girl*, *The Long March* and *Red Guards of Lake Hunghu*, the novels and films of *The Hurricane*, *Keep the Red Flag Flying* and *Song of Youth*, the short story and film *Li Shuang-shuang*, the film *A Red Detachment of Women*, and the play *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights*. They have all given young people an education in the nature of classes and class struggle. We need more such works of art and literature, works which reflect real life, which reflect the class struggle both at home and abroad. Revolutionary artistic and literary works bring knowledge to the youth. They help their readers get to know reality, to understand the complexity

of life, and to draw strength from what is positive, healthy and revolutionary in life. As trusted friends of the youth, revolutionary art and literature should help them to understand what is meant by class and class struggle, to temper their class stand so that they can better resist the influence of bourgeois ideology and remain loyal to the revolution no matter what the circumstances.

While being educative and imparting knowledge, literature and art must, of course, perform their function as entertainment. In giving aesthetic enjoyment, a work of art or literature subtly transforms its audience's ideology. That is why we must strive to create a literature and art with a high ideological content so as to educate people in communist ideas, striving at the same time to achieve superb artistic form. Our works of art must be heart-stirring ideologically and of commanding artistry. What are needed are works of art and literature that are a great unity of ideas (content) and artistry (form), that is, a unity of healthy, revolutionary ideological content with the finest possible artistic form.

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

Soviet Government would not take further rash steps detrimental to Sino-Soviet unity. (For full text of the statement, see p. 8.)

### Provocative Incident in Moscow

Almost at the same time a flagrantly provocative incident took place which was clearly aimed at undermining Sino-Soviet friendship. And the astonishing thing was that it occurred in the capital of the Soviet Union.

On June 27, at 21 hours (Moscow time), four Soviet citizens smashed the display windows used for news photos which stand in front of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. On display were news photographs of May Day celebrations in China, pictures of the successful Chinese team at the 27th World Table Tennis Championships, the release of captured Indian military personnel by China and the persecution of Chinese nationals in India by the Indian Government.

By the time Chinese Embassy staff rushed to the scene, two of the four trouble-makers had fled but the other two were talking with a Soviet militiaman guarding the Chinese Embassy. At this moment, a Soviet police car suddenly appeared on the scene; its occupants wanted to take the trouble-makers away before the Chinese Embassy staff had time to find out the

details of the incident. The Soviet militiaman described the two trouble-makers as "foreigners" and "drunkards." But the two men looked quite sober, talked intelligibly, behaved in a normal manner and showed no sign of drunkenness. They spoke English at first but later spoke Russian. It was only at the insistence of the Chinese Embassy staff that the Soviet policemen produced the identification card of one of the trouble-makers. It showed that he was no "foreigner" at all but a first-year student of the physics department of Moscow University by the name of Evgenii Vladimirovich Vozniakovich.

On June 28 when Director Vlasov of the Consular Bureau of the Soviet Foreign Ministry saw Counsellor Chen Tung by appointment he told the Counsellor that the Soviet citizen Vozniakovich was drunk when he broke the Chinese Embassy's news photo display windows on the night of June 27. He also said that Vozniakovich had been detained by the police and would be punished according to law. On behalf of the Soviet Foreign Ministry he expressed regrets to the Chinese Embassy over this unhappy incident.

Pointing out that such behaviour on the part of the four Soviet citizens was harmful to the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, Counsellor Chen Tung said that it was really astonishing that such an incident should have happened in a socialist

country. He drew attention to the fact that the Soviet citizen was far from being drunk and that the incident was obviously a planned act of sabotage. The Chinese Embassy told the Soviet Foreign Ministry that this incident was most regrettable.

### Armed U.S.-Chiang Agents Annihilated

The Chinese people dealt another blow at the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. Last month they wiped out six groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents who sneak-landed on the southeastern coast.

A Public Security Ministry communique of June 29 announced that P.L.A. coastguards, people's public security forces, militia and public security personnel in the coastal areas of Kwangtung, Fukien and Chekiang, closely supported by the local people, utterly wiped out six groups of armed U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents who had landed by sea between June 21 and 28 to make harassing attacks and engage in sabotage. Some of the agents were captured or killed, while the rest gave themselves up; not a single one got away. With five other U.S.-Chiang agents captured or killed earlier in the coastal areas, that made a total of 62 enemy agents accounted for. U.S.-made guns with silencers, carbines, pistols, bullets, poison, radios, invisible ink, counterfeit certificates and other materials were captured.

Commenting on this fresh blow to the plans of the enemies, the *Renmin Ribao* editorial of June 30 says that the U.S. imperialists, in their adamant hostility to the Chinese people, have time and again directed the Chiang gang to send spy planes and armed agents to the mainland to harass and sabotage. "All this," the paper points out, "is part of the criminal activities of the U.S. imperialists to perpetrate aggression against China and create tension in Asia."

When their plot to launch a large-scale invasion of the mainland coastal areas failed last summer, the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang sent over a U-2 spy plane in September. This was shot down over east China. Following this, they sent nine groups of armed agents to land by sea or from the air in the coastal areas of Kwangtung. Every one of those that arrived was put out of action. But the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang gang refused to be reconciled to their ignominious defeat. They would not give up their vain hope of establishing a "guerrilla base" on the mainland to bolster their ebbing morale. This year, they continued to make unsuccessful harassing attacks on the coastal areas of Kwangtung, Fukien and Chekiang. They also sent over a P2V spy plane which was downed by the people's air force over east China on the night of June 19. Thus all their criminal attempts have failed in the face of the people and their armed forces.

In smashing these six groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents, the soldiers and people along the Kwangtung, Fukien and Chekiang coasts displayed exemplary revolutionary vigilance and a fine spirit. They went into action as soon as they discovered the enemy agents; worked swiftly and in close co-operation. The enemy personnel were wiped out soon after they landed.

The way in which the P.L.A. and the people wiped out these agents in short order demonstrates the strength of the people's democratic dictatorship and it should be a lesson to the U.S. imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek gang that any attempt to sabotage China's socialist cause and stage a comeback is doomed to failure.

### **China Ready for GANEFO**

China will send a sports delegation to the First Games of the New

Emerging Forces (GANEFO) to be held in Djakarta in November this year. This was announced by the Chinese Preparatory Committee for Participation in GANEFO, which was set up in Peking on June 26. Attended by government ministers, leading officials of people's organizations and some 150 well-known people in China's sports world, the inaugural meeting elected Vice-Premier Ho Lung Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and four vice-chairmen, 17 committee members and a secretary-general. Chinese public opinion views the formation of the committee as another important step taken by the Chinese Government and people to support GANEFO.

GANEFO as proposed by President Sukarno of Indonesia is born of the Bandung spirit. It aims to break the imperialist monopoly of international sports, enhance the friendship among the athletes and people of the new emerging countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and promote cultural exchange and the development of sports in these countries.

Speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Chinese Preparatory Committee, Vice-Premier Ho Lung predicted that GANEFO "will undoubtedly enhance unity and friendship among the Asian, African and Latin American countries and people in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and will bring about a common advance in sports." He also stressed that it was precisely because GANEFO held high the banner of solidarity against imperialism and colonialism that the imperialists and their hirelings would try every trick to wreck it. But, he added, as long as the people of the various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are united, see through the intrigues and tricks of the imperialists and reactionaries and wage resolute struggles against them, GANEFO will certainly be a success.

### **"South African Freedom Day"**

On "South African Freedom Day" (June 26), China's 650 million people expressed their solidarity with the South African people in their just struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence, democracy and freedom. They voiced firm support for the resolutions of the Second and Third Afro-Asian Peoples'

Solidarity Conferences and the Conference of African Heads of State backing the South African people's struggle and pledged to continue the severance of all economic and trade relations with the colonialists in South Africa. This was the keynote of speeches made at a Peking mass rally last week and of the message it sent to the South African people.

The rally was sponsored by the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and other people's organizations representing the trade unions, women and youth. John D. Marks, Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa, came specially to Peking to take part in activities marking this day designated by the African National Congress of South Africa as the day of struggle against colonial oppression and for human rights. He was given a great ovation when he appeared at the rally.

Addressing the rally, President of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association Liu Chang-sheng severely condemned the imperialists and colonialists for ruthlessly pursuing their policy of racial discrimination and apartheid. He praised the South African people's dauntless and unremitting struggle for independence and freedom. The powerful resistance movement of the South African people, he said, had dealt the colonialists one crushing blow after another. In the course of that struggle, he went on, the South African people had come to a deep understanding that, in order to carry the sacred cause of national liberation to victory, they must use armed struggle to counter the brute force of the colonialists.

Liu Chang-sheng denounced the North Atlantic Treaty Organization headed by the United States for providing the Verwoerd government in South Africa with weapons to massacre the people. "Facts," he pointed out, "show the fraudulent nature of the so-called sympathy which the Kennedy Administration says it has for the struggle of the peoples of South Africa in particular and of Africa in general against racial discrimination. Facts prove that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious and cun-

ning enemy of the peoples of Africa and South Africa."

Liu Chang-sheng drew attention to the fact that, at this moment when the national-liberation movement was surging to unprecedented heights, the imperialists were making use of the Yugoslav modern revisionists to serve their interests. "The modern revisionists," he said, "are trying hard to weaken and undermine the common cause of the Afro-Asian peoples in opposing imperialism and colonialism. While prettifying imperialism, they want the oppressed peoples to compromise with imperialism and colonialism and they try to check the development of the national-liberation movement. But the Asian and African peoples are daily becoming more awakened; the vile attempts of the modern revisionists are doomed to fail."

Amidst thunderous applause, John D. Marks took the floor. Reporting that violent repression was mounting in South Africa, he declared that the African people had decided to meet armed repression with armed revolt. "The African National Congress," he told the rally, "says that the South African people are at war with the Verwoerd government. Twelve million people will be slaves no longer. For 300 years the whites have refused to hear our voice. The ways of peace have failed. Now we fight to be free!" Announcing that the army of the liberation movement had struck against the white state more than 70 times, the African leader said with confidence: "With concrete and material assistance from countries that have already won their freedom from imperialism, colonialism and white domination, the freedom fighters of our country can achieve a speedy victory."

### **Ghanaian National Day Reception**

Ghanaian Ambassador to China James Mercer celebrated the third anniversary of the Republic of Ghana and its Armed Forces Day with a reception on July 1. He and Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, who were among those present, toasted the growth of Sino-Ghanaian friendship.

In his reception speech, the Ambassador hailed the strong bonds of friendship between Ghana and China.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, praised the tremendous efforts Ghana had made and the marked successes it had scored in opposing imperialism, safeguarding national independence and building an independent national economy under the leadership of President Nkrumah. The Vice-Premier wished the Ghanaian people still greater successes in the days to come.

Referring to China's assistance and support to Ghana which the Ambassador had mentioned in his speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "We are of the opinion that the help between the peoples of various countries is mutual. The anti-imperialist struggles waged by the peoples of Ghana, Africa, Asia and Latin America all constitute a tremendous support to the Chinese people. To talk only about one's help to others without mentioning others' help in return does not tally with the facts." He thanked Ghana for always standing up for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke of the great significance of the summit conference of African states. "This conference," he said, "reflected the common desire of the African peoples to win and safeguard national independence, strengthen their unity and cooperation and oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism. It stressed in particular that those African states which have already won independence must support in every way possible all the peoples who are struggling for national liberation. This has an important bearing on speeding up the complete liberation of the African continent."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that the imperialists and colonialists would never withdraw from Africa of their own accord. "Recently," he said, "under the smokescreen of his glib talk about world peace, U.S. President Kennedy is plotting to prevent other countries and people from supporting the national-liberation movement. In particular, he is trying to coerce socialist countries not to support the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world. But his scheme will never succeed." The Vice-Premier stressed in no equivocal terms that the Chinese people would resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of the African peoples and of all the oppressed nations and peoples. "This," he said, "is

the internationalist duty of all the socialist countries."

Touching on the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Vice-Premier said: "Many friendly Asian and African countries show great concern for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. His Excellency President Nkrumah, together with the other Colombo conference nations, have made unremitting efforts towards this end. His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia and host of the recent summit conference of African states, also expressed the hope that China and India would settle their dispute in the Bandung spirit. We greatly appreciate the good wishes of the friendly Asian and African nations and support their efforts in this connection. Although no direct negotiations have yet been held, the Chinese Government's stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question is firm and unshakable."

### **Fresh Water for Hongkong**

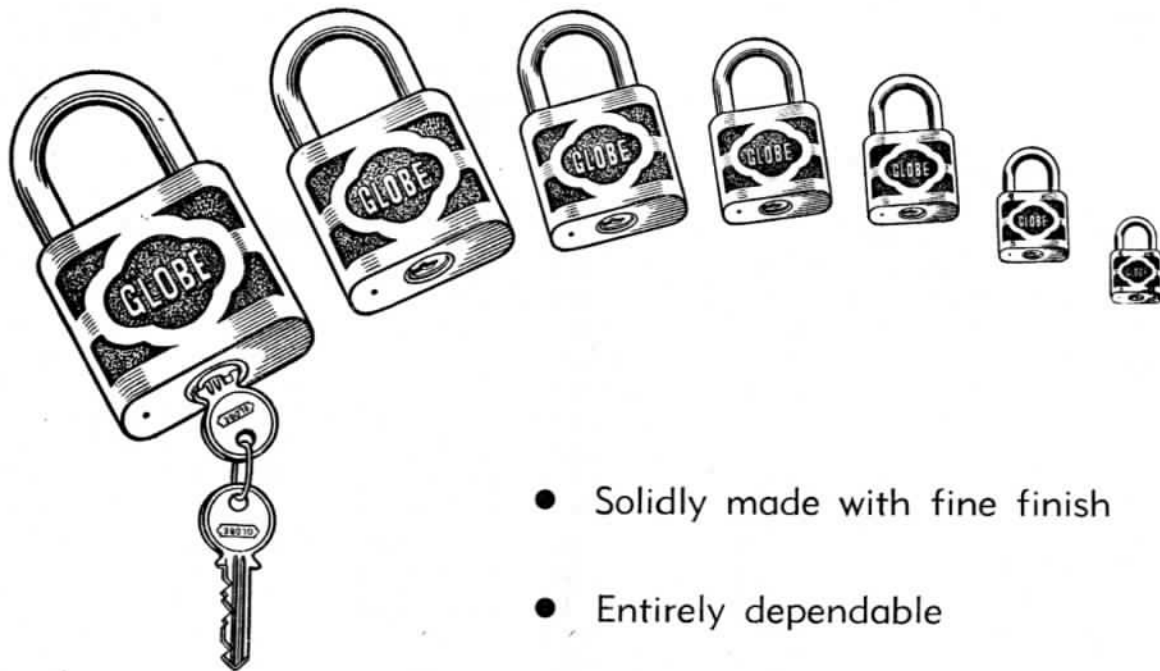
A tanker carrying 14,000 tons of fresh water left Whampoa harbour near Canton for Hongkong on June 26. This was the first tanker sent by the British authorities to bring water from Kwangtung for Hongkong residents. Hit by the worst dry spell in decades, the island is suffering an acute shortage of water. Since June 1, tap water has been available for only four hours in every four days. This has seriously affected Hongkong industry and commerce, and caused its inhabitants great difficulties in their everyday life.

The people of Kwangtung have shown great concern about the water shortage troubling their compatriots and residents in Hongkong. In late May, Kwangtung Governor Chen Yu expressed readiness to provide fresh water for Hongkong free of charge. Discussions began early this month; and, following salinity tests of the water along the Pearl River, Tahachou and Lienhuashan were selected as places for ships to take on fresh water for Hongkong.

When the first tanker from Hongkong arrived at Whampoa on June 25, the harbour administration and customs officers, and the Chinese frontier guards and quarantine service simplified inspection procedures to speed up the return of the ship to Hongkong.

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