

PEKING REVIEW

45

November 8, 1963

OCTOBER REVOLUTION — 46TH ANNIVERSARY

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China Hails Independent Algeria

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

ANNOUNCEMENT

From January 1, 1964 the French and Spanish editions of **PEKING REVIEW**, which now appear fortnightly, will come out weekly. The price of single copies will remain unchanged, but subscription rates will be doubled and will be the same as those for the English edition. The old rates will, however, continue to apply to all overseas subscriptions placed before February 1, 1964.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

November 8, 1963 Vol. VI No. 45

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November 8, 1963

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• The 46th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was commemorated in Peking.

The capital also celebrated the 9th anniversary of the Algerian revolution.

• The air force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army shot down another U.S.-made U-2 reconnaissance plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang which intruded into the air space over east China on November 1. P.L.A. units throughout the land held meetings to celebrate this resounding victory.

In other body blows to the criminal plans of the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek gang to harass the mainland, P.L.A. fighters and civilians in the coastal provinces put out of action nine groups of armed U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents, totalling 90 men, who had been landed from boats or airdropped between June 23 and October 24.

• *Renmin Ribao* on November 2 published an article by its editorial department entitled "The Truth About How the Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Have Allied Themselves With India Against China." It is a refutation of an article published by the editorial board of *Pravda* on September 19 entitled "A Serious Hotbed of Tension in Asia."

• The fourth session of the Second National People's Congress will open on November 16.

• A good late-rice harvest was reported from provinces in east and central-south China.

• The Chinese press exposed the military coup engineered by the United States in Saigon. Commenting on this latest development, *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial demanded that U.S. imperialism get out of south Viet Nam. It also reported an editorial from the Vietnamese paper *Nhandan* which declared that U.S. imperialism could in no way escape complete defeat in south Viet Nam.

• The Chinese press last week reported:

— an article published by the editorial board of the Korean paper *Rodong Shinmoon* on October 28 entitled "Defend the Socialist Camp."

— an article by Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, entitled "Raise Proletarian Ideology, Stand Firm, and Struggle in Unity for New Victories." The article was published in the October issue of *Hoc Tap*, theoretical journal of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

Chairman Mao Receives Foreign Guests

On November 2, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received in Shanghai Vishwa Bandhu Thapa, Chairman of the Nepalese National Panchayat, and his wife, and the members of the delegation he led and had a cordial talk with them.

On November 3, Chairman Mao received and had a friendly talk with Abdul Aziz Sayed, Minister of Higher Education of the United Arab Republic, and members of the delegation

he led. Earlier, on October 30, the U.A.R. educational delegation was received by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai in Peking on separate occasions.

Chinese Leaders Receive Edgar Faure

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on November 2 received Edgar Faure, member of the French parliament and former premier, and Madame Faure in Shanghai, and had a friendly talk with them.

The French guests arrived in Peking on October 22. After visiting north, east and southwest China, they left for home on November 5.

Norwegian Communist Party's 40th Birthday

On November 1, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway, warmly greeting the 40th anniversary (November 4) of the latter Party's founding.

Paying tribute to the Norwegian Communist Party for leading the workers and other working people of Norway in waging arduous struggles for their own liberation and for the national interests and independence of Norway, the message said: "We wish the Norwegian Communist Party and people new victories and successes in their struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace and Norwegian national independence; in their struggle to oppose monopoly capital, safeguard the democratic rights and economic interests of the Norwegian people and realize socialism; and in their efforts to defend Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to strive for the unity of the international communist movement."

Renmin Ribao on November 4 carried an article entitled "Long Live Proletarian Internationalism" by Just Lippe, Member of the Secretariat of the Norwegian Communist Party.

Successful Land Reclamation in Sinkiang

Large-scale reclamation of land since liberation has more than doubled the cultivated area of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in northwest China. Out of wilderness, 28 million *mu* of new farms have been carved. Before liberation the entire region, which is three times the size of France, had only 18 million *mu* under the plough. Output on the new land is steady and as high as on older farmland.

More than 10,000 million *jin* of grain, large quantities of cotton, and vegetable oil have been produced on the reclaimed land. Grain and cotton

harvests this year are among the best in Sinkiang's history.

The rapid expansion of cultivated land and enlarged returns have been possible because of the combined efforts of the people's communes and ample state assistance for reclamation and irrigation projects. Work to wrest new farmland from Sinkiang's deserts, begun soon after liberation, was stepped up after 1958 when the people's communes were established. Many irrigation projects, including more than 200 reservoirs, have been constructed as part of land reclamation by rural people's communes of the different nationalities living in Sinkiang.

Uighur peasants of people's communes in Khotan in southern Sinkiang, for example, cleared sand dunes on one million *mu* of land and put a third of it under crops. Communes in the Aksu River valley in the Tarim Basin have extended cultivated area to 450,000 *mu*. This more than doubles the 1957 area under crops and is six times as great as in the early days after liberation. The Altai area where little grain was grown formerly is now getting from the new lands developed with state aid more than enough to feed its inhabitants and livestock.

Alongside efforts of the people's communes, the Construction Corps of the People's Liberation Army in Sinkiang has done wide-scale land reclamation work. It turned more than 10 million *mu* of desert in the Dzungarian and Tarim Basins into tillable land and set up 140 large state farms. It also turned a million *mu* of land which it had reclaimed over to nearby people's communes.

Several dozen towns have sprung up on Sinkiang's revitalized land, some with cotton mills and sugar refineries; all have theatres, hospitals, post offices and other public services and recreational facilities.

Second Generation Revolutionaries

The fighting spirit of the Long Marchers is very much alive today in the Ching kang Mountains on the Hunan-Kiangsi border. In recent years more than 200 sons and daughters of revolutionaries, mostly middle-school graduates or demobilized army-men, have returned. Here they have

joined in building a new socialist countryside on the site of China's first revolutionary base, where their fathers, after fighting off repeated Chiang Kai-shek attacks, left with the Red Army on its historic Long March to resist Japanese aggression.

The old revolutionaries have successfully brought up their heirs to love productive labour and to steel themselves through actual struggle. To this rising generation the idea of basking in the glory of their elders is alien. They are in the fore on the agricultural front where there are unlimited prospects to raise their ideological level and prove worthy of their forefathers. They are doing this well; mindful of the collective welfare and production, never afraid of, but always the first to tackle difficulties.

In Taiho County, 41 out of 48 children of veteran revolutionary army-men or cadres have been elected outstanding all-round commune members by fellow farmers. In the Ching kang Mountains 74 are production brigade or team cadres, and 115 are members of the Party or the Communist Youth League. These revolutionary sons and daughters exert an uplifting influence on production and the masses. By their example they have inspired 20,000 educated young people to join people's communes in the Ching kang Mountain area over the last two years.

More Bank Savings

Bank savings have reached a new high for 1963. According to the People's Bank of China, savings during the third quarter of 1963 were up by 130 million yuan over the second quarter, and the net increase was bigger than in the first or second quarter.

A People's Bank official stated that deposits throughout the first three quarters of 1963 have risen in urban areas. However, he noted, a new feature in the third quarter was the general rise in all provinces, cities and autonomous regions and in the small towns.

According to the same official, increased savings signify steady improvement in the national economy as well as in the all-round standard of living.

Peking Celebrates the October Revolution

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE Chinese people warmly celebrated the 46th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution — the festival of the proletariat and working people of the whole world, the world's oppressed nations and the whole of the progressive mankind.

On the evening of November 6, the eve of the festival, more than 1,500 people from all walks of life in the Chinese capital held a meeting to celebrate the occasion.

Among the Chinese Party and state leaders present were 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; Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; and Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

Firm Adherence to the Path of the October Revolution

The meeting was presided over by Liao Cheng-chih, Member of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. Wu Yu-chang, Member of the Party's Central Committee and another Vice-President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, who addressed the meeting, spoke of the great historical significance of the October Revolution and its far-reaching influence on the whole world.

Wu Yu-chang said: "Forty-six years ago, the imperialists were engaged in a criminal world war to redivide their spheres of influence. The sharpening of various contradictions hastened the ripening of the revolutionary crisis in Europe. But the Second International led by opportunism openly betrayed the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. At this crucial moment of the revolution, Lenin, the great revolutionary teacher, and the Russian Bolshevik Party which he founded, firmly adhering to the Marxist revolutionary theory and holding high the red banner of proletarian revolution, waged a resolute struggle against the opportunist line of the Second International and the Mensheviks who betrayed the revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party, the Russian proletariat and working people used the revolutionary means of seizing state power by arms to destroy completely the reactionary state machinery of the Russian bourgeoisie and win great victories for the socialist revolution. The victory of the October Revolution was a victory for Marxism-Leninism and a victory for the road of proletarian revolution. In commemorating the October Revolution, we must for ever hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, insist on the road of the October Revolution and continue and develop the tradition of the October Revolution."

Wu Yu-chang then went on to discuss the tremendous changes in the world situation that have taken place in

the last 46 years. He said: "The history of the last 46 years since the October Revolution shows that senile and decaying imperialism is confronted with its doom; the revolutionary struggles of the peoples everywhere are sweeping the world with ever growing vigour, no matter how desperately may imperialism and the reactionaries in various countries struggle, they just cannot stop the people of the world marching triumphantly forward along the trail blazed by the October Revolution. In looking back into history and forward into the future, we are full of confidence in the cause of the October Revolution that is bound to win victory all over the world."

Wu Yu-chang pointed out, battered by the revolutionary torrent of the people of the world, imperialism and reaction are fighting their last battle. To realize its criminal aim of enslaving the people of the world, U.S. imperialism, while paying lip-service to peace, is carrying out on a still more intensive scale its policy of aggression and war. It vainly tries to lull and destroy the revolutionary will of the people of all lands and attempts to restore capitalism in the socialist countries through "peaceful evolution" and to subvert the socialist countries and do away with the socialist camp. In order to defeat U.S. imperialism, their most ferocious and cunning enemy, the people of the world must heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and persevere in the struggle.

Most Loyal, Most Reliable Brother and Comrade-in-Arms

Wu Yu-chang said, "Imperialism headed by the United States and its followers are trying every means to undermine Sino-Soviet unity, the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist movement and the unity of the people of the whole world. The more we are united, the better a position we are in to deal powerful blows against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. The Chinese people, the Soviet people, the people in the socialist camp and the people of the whole world all want unity. We believe that the evil schemes of imperialism and its followers to split the socialist camp and disband the international communist movement will eventually end in failure."

Stressing the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, Wu Yu-chang declared: "No matter what may happen in the world, the Chinese people will always remain the most loyal, most reliable brother and comrade-in-arms of the Soviet people. The 650 million Chinese people will always fight to the end shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people to materialize our common ideal and against our common enemy."

After Wu Yu-chang's speech, S.V. Chervonenko, the Soviet Ambassador to China, and E.I. Afanassenko took the floor. The latter was the head of the delegation of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association which came to

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS

Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.,

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.,

On the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, allow us, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, to extend warm congratulations to you, and through you, to the fraternal Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Government.

Forty-six years ago, the proletariat and other labouring people of Russia, under the leadership of the great Lenin and the glorious Bolshevik Party, carried out an armed uprising, overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, and set up the first socialist country. The Great October Socialist Revolution shook imperialist rule to its foundations and opened up for the proletariat and oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world a broad avenue leading to their complete liberation.

After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the great Soviet Party and Soviet people continued to hold aloft the banner of the October Revolution and heroically waged a staunch, bitter and arduous struggle. They completely shattered the joint onslaught of the forces of world imperialism and domestic reaction, consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, carried out socialist construction, and realized socialist industrialization and collectivization in agriculture.

During World War II, the heroic Soviet people, under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., smashed the frantic onslaught of German fascism and won their patriotic

war, thus contributing greatly to the revolutionary and progressive cause of the people of the world.

After World War II, the Soviet people, with their intense enthusiasm for work, speedily healed the wounds of war and achieved great success in the magnificent job of building the country. The Chinese people heartily rejoice at the achievements of the fraternal Soviet people.

The Chinese people steadfastly uphold the friendship and unity of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. They firmly believe that this great friendship is eternal and unbreakable and will stand all tests. Always standing together with the fraternal Soviet people, the Chinese people will, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and also on the basis of the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, uphold and strengthen the unity of the two peoples and the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement and will strive jointly for the victory of the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

May the great Soviet people achieve new successes in their work of creating a beautiful future! May friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples ever grow and be eternally green!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

November 6, 1963, Peking

China by invitation to attend the October Revolution celebrations in this country.

At the end of the meeting, all present rose to their feet as the band struck up *The Internationale*.

The meeting was sponsored by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and seven other organizations.

There were also celebration meetings at the Sino-Soviet Friendship People's Commune in Shihchingshan on the outskirts of Peking and at the Peking Crane Works. They were attended by the members of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association delegation. During their stay in Peking, the members of the delegation were received by Tung Pi-wu and Chen Yi.

On November 7, Soviet Ambassador to China Chervonenko gave a reception at the Soviet Embassy in honour of the anniversary. It was attended by Chou En-lai, Peng Chen, Chen Yi and other Chinese Party and state leaders.

In celebration of this great festival, *Renmin Ribao* on November 7 published an editorial entitled "Long Live the Great October Revolution!" *Hongqi* No. 21, which appeared on the same day, carried an article under the title "Lenin and Stalin on the Road of the October Revolution" (for the full text of the article see p. 7).

Striving for Still Greater Victories

Commenting on the great international significance of the October Revolution, the editorial of *Renmin Ribao* says: "The October Revolution is the greatest revolution in human history. It reveals to the proletariat of the whole world and all the oppressed peoples that the capitalist system of the world is nearing its end and the road is blazed for mankind's advance to communism.

"The October Revolution shook the imperialist rule in the colonies, greatly promoted the revolutionary struggles of the world's oppressed nations and linked the liberation movement of the oppressed nations with that of the proletariat. Since the October Revolution, the national

question has ceased to be a local question of opposing national oppression within a certain region and has become a major question concerning the cause of world revolution of the proletariat and the liberation of all the oppressed nations from imperialist oppression."

The path of the October Revolution, the editorial points out, is not only the broad road of the Soviet proletariat, but also the necessary broad road for the victory of the proletariat in all countries. In the course of its socialist revolution and socialist construction, every country that has taken the socialist road must follow these major common laws. This is the road of the October Revolution.

After elaborating on the point that the Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution, the

editorial stresses the militant friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples and proletarian internationalist unity.

U.S. imperialism, the editorial points out, is the sworn enemy of the socialist camp. Kennedy and his like are plotting to use the "peace strategy" to carry out U.S. imperialist ambition of world domination. The editorial declares: "The people of all the countries in the socialist camp must keep high their vigilance, strengthen unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and together with the people of the world wage resolute struggles to shatter U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and struggle for still greater victories for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and the cause of socialism."

Lenin and Stalin on the Road of the October Revolution

by SHIH TUNG-HSIANG

The further that great day recedes into the past, the more clearly we see the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia. — Lenin

Following is a translation of an article published by "Hongqi," No. 21, 1963. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

FORTY-SIX years ago, the proletariat and working people in Russia, under the leadership of the great revolutionary teacher Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, heroically carried out the October armed uprising. The first to break through the imperialist front, they destroyed the reactionary state machinery of the Russian landlords and bourgeoisie and founded on one-sixth of the earth's surface the first state under the proletarian dictatorship.

The October Socialist Revolution was the greatest, most penetrating and far-reaching revolution in human history.

Historically, many revolutions took place before the October Revolution and each moved society forward. But all these revolutions, in the final analysis, only replaced one system of exploitation with another, leaving the downtrodden working people still in the lower stratum of society. Unlike all other past revolutions, the October Revolution was a social revolution aimed at building a society without exploitation, oppression and classes.

The victory of the October Revolution marked a fundamental change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, the beginning of the transition from capitalism to socialism, a fundamental change in the movement of the world proletariat to emancipate themselves and a fundamental change in human history.

Road of the October Revolution — The Splendid Way Of Progress for All Mankind

The October Revolution established the socialist system, the antithesis of a decaying and descending capi-

talist system; it has shaken the roots of imperialist rule throughout the world and opened up a new era of proletarian revolution and the revolution of the oppressed nations. As Lenin pointed out, "The destruction of capitalism and its traces, the introduction of the essentials of the communist order, constitute the content of the new epoch of world history that has now begun."*

The October Revolution cut out a broad path for mankind's advance towards socialism and communism. In his article "Fourth Anniversary of October Revolution," Lenin said: "The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open and the path has been blazed."**

Aside from its specific form then and there, the road of the October Revolution, as far as its fundamental contents are concerned, is a reflection of the universal laws of revolution and construction within a given stage in the long course of the development of human society.

Lenin said, "Certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance which is . . . international";*** "on certain very essential questions of the proletarian revolution, all countries will inevitably have to perform what Russia has performed."†

The Declaration of the 1957 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries points out:

*Lenin, "On the Struggle Within the Italian Socialist Party," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXXI, p.365.

**Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.600.

***Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.7.

† *ibid.*, p.19.

“... the processes of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism are governed by a number of basic laws applicable in all countries embarking on a socialist course. These laws manifest themselves everywhere, alongside a great variety of historic national peculiarities and traditions which must by all means be taken into account.

“These laws are: guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; the abolition of capitalist ownership and the establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production; gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture; planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, at raising the standard of living of the working people; the carrying out of the socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and the creation of a numerous intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people and the cause of socialism; the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between the peoples; defence of the achievements of socialism against attacks by external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class of the country concerned with the working class of other countries, that is, proletarian internationalism.”

These laws as are pointed out in the 1957 Declaration are also what is commonly known to Marxist-Leninists as the road of the October Revolution.

Speaking of the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: “Essentially, the path of the Soviet Union, the path of the October Revolution, is the bright common way for the progress of all mankind.” He added, “It is clear that, after the October Revolution, if a proletarian revolutionary of any country should overlook or not seriously study the experience of the Russian revolution, the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist construction of the Soviet Union, and should he fail to use these experiences analytically and creatively in the light of specific conditions in his own country, he would not be able to master Leninism, which represents a new stage in the development of Marxism, and he would not be able to solve correctly the problems of revolution and construction in his own country.”*

Firm adherence to the path paved by the Great October Revolution has been, and will be, the fundamental guarantee for the victory of the people of the world.

Seizure of State Power by Revolutionary Violence

The experience of the October Revolution shows that socialism can be realized only if the proletariat, under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with all working people, smashes the state machinery of the bourgeoisie by means of a proletarian revolution.

*Speech made at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. held in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The question of state power is the most fundamental question of all revolutions.

As was pointed out by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, “the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class.” For the materialization of communism the necessary political condition is to found a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Later, Marx and Engels further pointed out: The proletariat cannot simply get hold of a ready-made state machinery and use it to serve its own ends; instead, they must smash and destroy it. This is because the bourgeois state machinery is in the service of the exploiting classes, a tool they use to rule the people and preserve the system of exploitation. Without first smashing the reactionary state machinery of the bourgeoisie, their troops, police and bureaucratic institutions, it is absolutely impossible for the proletariat and the working people to overthrow the system of exploitation and establish a socialist system.

During the period in which the October Revolution was being prepared and carried out, Lenin defended and developed the Marxist theory for smashing the bourgeois state machinery and realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out, “Revolution consists not in the new class commanding, governing with the aid of the old state machine, but in this class smashing this machine and commanding, governing with the aid of a new machine. Kautsky slurs over this basic idea of Marxism, or he had utterly failed to understand it.”* Lenin also pointed out that, especially in the era of imperialism, banking capital, and big capitalist monopoly, the era in which monopoly capitalism is being transformed into state monopoly capitalism, the state machinery, whether in a monarchy or in one with the most liberal republican system, is greatly strengthened and its bureaucratic and military institutions are unprecedentedly expanded in order to intensify the suppression of the proletariat. This being the case, it is all the more essential for the proletarian revolution to concentrate all its forces to destroy the state machinery of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin pointed out that in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must learn to make use of all forms of class struggle—parliamentary and mass, open and clandestine, legal and illegal, armed and peaceful, etc.—and, in the light of the changes in the situation, quickly replace one form of struggle with another. Marxism does not in principle reject parliamentary struggle. However, if it is held that parliamentary struggle is the highest, the decisive, the principal form of struggle under all conditions and if it is held that it is possible to grow peacefully into socialism through parliamentary struggle, then this is a complete breaking away from Marxism.

The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat to seize state power is an extremely sharp and fierce one. The 1957 Declaration points out:

“Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these cir-

*Lenin, “The State and Revolution.” *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.319.

cles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism."

Lenin pointed out: As soon as the struggle of the proletariat threatens bourgeois rule, the bourgeoisie does not hesitate to use arms first and "place the bayonet on the agenda"; it does not have any scruples about killing countless workers and peasants in order to save its reactionary rule.

The use by the bourgeoisie of arms to suppress the proletarian revolution is a regular phenomenon of the class struggle in the capitalist society. In order to carry out the socialist revolution, the proletariat must learn to use arms and be prepared to use revolutionary armed force against counter-revolutionary armed suppression.

Lenin said: "An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot forget, unless we become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society, that there is no way out of this society, and there can be none except by means of the class struggle."*

Early in the period of the 1905 Revolution, Lenin said: "Indeed, what is revolution from the Marxist point of view? The forcible demolition of the obsolete political superstructure, the contradiction between which and the new relations of production have caused its collapse at a certain moment."** On the eve of the October Revolution Lenin again stressed: "The latter [the bourgeois state] cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of 'withering away,' but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution."*** "The necessity of systematically imbuing the masses with this and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of all the teachings of Marx and Engels."†

Marxist-Leninists have never refused to bring about social change by peaceful means. Such an eventuality would naturally be most advantageous to the proletariat. But the question is not whether the proletariat is willing or unwilling to carry out peaceful change; rather, it is whether the bourgeoisie accepts or does not accept this. Lenin pointed out: The peaceful development of revolution is "one very seldom to be met with in the history of revolutions." It is "a possibility that comes only in exceptionally rare cases." Consequently, a proletarian party must not base its revolutionary policy on the estimation that the bourgeoisie is willing to accept peaceful change. It must constantly pay attention to arduously accumulating revolutionary strength and be prepared to strive for victory in the revolution when conditions have ripened.

Stalin said: "Communists would welcome the voluntary departure of the bourgeoisie. But such a turn of affairs is improbable, that is what experience teaches. That is why the Communists want to be prepared for the worst and call upon the working class to be vigilant, to be prepared for battle. Who wants a captain who lulls the vigi-

*Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p.573.

**Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1967, Vol. 9, p.128.

***Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.219.

† *ibid.*, p.220.

lance of his army, a captain who does not understand that the enemy will not surrender, that he must be crushed? To be such a captain means deceiving, betraying the working class."*

During the preparatory period of the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party always actively educated the masses in a revolutionary spirit, combated the various tendencies to be infatuated with bourgeois democracy, and was ready to seize state power. For a time following the February Revolution, because "the arms were in the hands of the people," there appeared the possibility of the revolution developing peacefully. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party at the time worked hard for the realization of that possibility. The Bolshevik Party, however, did not in the least slacken its preparations for armed uprising ideologically, politically and organizationally. When the transient opportunity of peaceful development vanished and conditions for armed uprising ripened, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party lost no time in calling on and organizing the masses for armed uprising, smashed the state machinery of the landlords and bourgeoisie and established a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin said: "In the October Revolution . . . revolutionary violence produced brilliant results."**

II

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

After the October Revolution, the Soviet Union entered the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The historical period of proletarian dictatorship is one in which great changes in the economic, political and ideological aspects of society take place. In this historical period the form of class struggle changes but class struggle continues to exist. Lenin said: ". . . after capturing state power the proletariat does not thereby cease its class struggle, but continues it in a different form, and by other means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat conducted with the aid of an instrument like state power."***

Lenin pointed out that the exploiting classes which had been overthrown and expropriated would never be reconciled to defeat. They would multiply their efforts tenfold and their hatred a hundred times in the obstinate fight to restore capitalism.

Lenin specified that the force of habit of the small producers would encircle, adulterate and corrupt the proletariat from all sides. The spontaneous force of the small producers would constantly give rise to new bourgeois elements.

Lenin also indicated that among workers and employees of the state organs, because of the influence of the bourgeoisie, the encirclement and corruption by the spon-

*A Conversation Between Stalin and Wells, *New Statesman and Nation*, Oct. 27, 1934, p.605.

**Lenin, "Successes and Difficulties of Soviet Power," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1950, Vol. 29, p.41.

***Lenin, "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, p.32.

taneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie and the fact that the high salary system was applied to some of them, some degenerate elements and new bourgeois elements would come into being.

Lenin also pointed out that at a time when imperialism still exists and the revolution of the world's proletariat has not yet been completed, the danger continues to exist of imperialism committing armed aggression against, and engineering the peaceful disintegration of the socialist countries. This constitutes the external condition of class struggle within the socialist countries.

Stalin too said that as long as international capital existed, it would never look resignedly at the development of a country that was engaged in building socialism. It would always try to overthrow the Soviet power by direct armed intervention, and at the same time make the utmost effort in its attempt to undermine the socialist country by covert means. All this was closely related with the class struggle between international capital and the Soviet power, and was not accidental.

The 1957 Declaration says: "...the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion. After the conquest of power the working class is faced with the serious tasks of effecting the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and laying the economic and technical foundation of socialism. At the same time the overthrown bourgeoisie always endeavours to make a comeback; the influence exerted on society by the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and their intelligentsia, is still great. That is why a fairly long time is needed to resolve the issue of who will win — capitalism or socialism."

Lenin held that the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are mainly: to overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, transform the entire national economy in accordance with socialist principles, abolish all forms of private ownership of the means of production; suppress the resistance of the counter-revolutionaries, thoroughly eliminate the bourgeoisie, prevent the restoration of capitalism; eliminate the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and the conventional ideas of the old society, educate the proletariat and all the rest of the toiling masses; organize and give leadership to socialist construction, completely abolish classes and pass into a classless communist society; oppose the imperialists' threat of armed aggression and their intrigue of peaceful disintegration, and accelerate the victory and development of the revolution in various countries.

In order to accomplish the great historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat step by step, the socialist countries must consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, persist in the leadership of the proletariat. Only under the leadership of the proletariat is it possible to completely abolish classes and lead all mankind towards communism.

Lenin said: "If we translate the Latin, scientific, historical-philosophical term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' into simpler language, it means just the following: Only a definite class, namely, the urban workers and the factory, industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the toilers and exploited in the struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, in the process of this overthrow, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist so-

cial systems, in the whole struggle for the complete abolition of classes."*

Lenin pointed out many times that the abolition of classes is a long-term, arduous task. To abolish classes completely, it is not only necessary to abolish the exploiting classes but also the class differences between the working class and the peasantry. Abolition of classes is definitely impossible without the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore it is necessary to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat to create the conditions for the abolition of classes.

The dictatorship of the proletariat goes through the dialectical process of establishment, consolidation, strengthening and withering away. The withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat will definitely not come before the complete abolition of classes, nor will it come before the entry into the higher stage — communism.

Lenin said: "In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx wrote: 'Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.' Up to now this axiom has never been disputed by Socialists, and yet it implies the recognition of the existence of the state right up to the time when victorious socialism has grown into complete communism."**

Lenin also said: "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from communism."***

After the October Revolution the Soviet people, under the leadership of Lenin and his successor Stalin, opposed different attempts to weaken and liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, persisted in enforcing the dictatorship of the proletariat; in this way they ensured the growth of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

III

Building Up a Socialist Economy

Following the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin put on the agenda the great task of organizing the socialist economy. He pointed out: "It is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organizing in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic, foundations of life of scores of millions of people. And it is the most grateful task because, only after it has been fulfilled (in the principal and main outlines) will it be possible to say that Russia has become not only a Soviet, but also a Socialist Republic."†

*Lenin, "A Great Beginning," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.223.

**Lenin, "Discussion on Self-Determination," *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. 19, p.269.

***Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.234.

†Lenin, "Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part I, p.452.

Socialist revolution begins in circumstances where there are no existing socialist relations of production. After seizing state power, the proletariat must step by step abolish private ownership of the means of production and establish socialist public ownership.

The establishment and development of the socialist economy must rely on the correct leadership of the socialist state and the creative labour of the masses. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in accordance with the objective laws of economic development, mobilizes all the people to participate in socialist transformation and construction, and leads and organizes the managerial work of the economy. This state leadership is the fundamental guarantor of the following: encouraging the formation and development of socialist sectors of the economy, the abolition of capitalist economy and the transformation of the individual economy, and the rapid development of the entire national economy as well as cultural and education work. Lenin said: "It [socialism] is inconceivable without planned state organization which subjects tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a single standard in production and distribution."**

After the nationalization of industry, Lenin pointed out that to resolve the economic task of socialism, it is necessary to develop industry speedily, in order to industrialize the country and to shift the entire national economy, including agriculture, on to the technical base of large-scale production. He said that "without highly organized large-scale industry, there can be no thought of socialism in general. . . ."*** and that without industry "we shall be doomed as an independent country."****

Lenin called attention to the fact that the transformation of the scattered, backward agriculture, in line with socialist principle, is an inalienable part of socialist construction. Socialist economy is one in which industry is integrated with agriculture in accordance with the principle of public ownership of the means of production. Co-operation is the only road by which the peasants are led into socialism. Without agricultural co-operation socialism cannot be consolidated. Lenin said: "As long as we live in a small-peasant country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism."†

Socialist economy is planned economy. Only by setting the entire national economy on a planned track is there the possibility of building socialism. A planned economy demands the subjection of the development of all economic branches to the leadership of a unified plan and the observance of the ratios between different sectors of the national economy. This requires that the national economy be subjected to a unified, centralized leadership on a democratic basis. Lenin said that the building of socialism "means building a centralized economic system, an economic system directed from a centre. . . ."††

*Lenin, "The Tax in Kind," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.531.

**Lenin, "Report on the Food Tax," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IX, p.211.

***Lenin, "Five Years of Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.697.

†Lenin, "The Work of the Council of People's Commissars," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VIII, p.276.

††Lenin, "The Food Situation," *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1945, Vol. XXIII, p.491.

Lenin was firmly opposed to any sabotage of unified planning and unified leadership of the national economy. He pointed out: ". . . Any direct or indirect legalization of the possession of their own production by the workers of individual factories or individual professions or of their right to weaken or impede the decrees of the state power is the greatest distortion of the basic principles of Soviet power and the complete renunciation of socialism."** Negating unified leadership of the economy and, under the pretext of opposing bureaucracy, allowing every enterprise to be on its own inevitably will lead to free competition, speculation and similar sorts of things. It means reviving the "free economy" of capitalism and is not the way to build a socialist, communist economy.

Lenin stressed that economic tasks must be integrated with political tasks when the Soviet state went in for economic construction in a big way. Socialist economic construction is not just a simple, technical endeavour. What line to follow in economic construction and what policy to adopt is a political question with direct bearing on the vital interests of the proletariat.

Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. In leading economic construction, the political party of the proletariat definitely should not overlook the reality of class struggle and be unconcerned with political questions. On the contrary, it must first of all base all economic questions on politics. Lenin pointed out: "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the ABC of Marxism."*** "The only way the matter stands (and it is the only way the matter can stand from the Marxian point of view) is that without a proper political approach to the subject the given class cannot maintain its rule, and consequently cannot solve its own production problems."****

The Soviet people, in accordance with the policy put forward by Lenin, and under the leadership of the C.P.S.U. headed by Stalin, built the Soviet Union into a powerful socialist state under incomparably difficult conditions, mainly by relying on their own conscientious labour, their own resources and capital.

IV

The Socialist State and the Revolution of the Peoples of the World

The October Revolution was part of the international proletarian socialist revolution.

Marxists have always held that the great cause of the struggle of the proletariat for its complete emancipation is an international one. The guarantee for the victory of the communist movement is the international unity of the proletariat. Marx and Engels advanced the great slogan of proletarian internationalism: "Workers of all countries, unite!" Marx said: "Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their strug-

*Lenin, *On the Democracy and Socialist Character of the Soviet Power*.

**Lenin, "Trade Unions and Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IX, p.54.

****ibid.*, p.55.

gles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts.”*

Lenin consistently upheld the principle of proletarian internationalism. He pointed out that the proletariat and working masses of all nations and countries should be brought close to one another in a common revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landlords and the bourgeoisie. He said that the following slogan put forward by the Communist International was correct: “Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!”

The 1957 Declaration points out: “. . . the strengthening of the unity and fraternal co-operation of the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers’ Parties in all countries, and the solidarity of the international working class, national-liberation and democratic movements, acquire special significance.” It also stresses the need “for a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy on the part of the Communist and Workers’ Parties, for educating all the working people in the spirit of combining internationalism with patriotism and for a determined effort to overcome the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.”

After the October Revolution, imperialism did everything possible to support and conspire with Russian counter-revolutionary forces in an attempt to strangle the young Soviet Republic. It continued to exploit and oppress the broad masses of the people and suppress their revolutionary struggles in most parts of the world. Thus the Bolshevik Party was faced with a question which had to be solved: how to understand and handle correctly relations between the Soviet state and the revolution of the world’s peoples.

Lenin held that it was entirely possible, after the victory of the proletarian revolution, to complete the building of socialism in one country if there was a strong dictatorship of the proletariat, a firm worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and correct proletarian policy and if the strength of the people in that country was relied on and brought into full play. But Lenin made a strict distinction between the completion of building socialism and the final victory of socialism, which could only be achieved on an international scale.

Lenin pointed out: “From the very beginning of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations have been the cardinal issue that confronted us, not only because imperialism from now on implies one firm and strong chain of all the states of the world linked together into one system—not to say into one bloody and sordid lump—but because the complete triumph of the socialist revolution is inconceivable in one country alone and demands the most active collaboration at least of several advanced countries, among whose number Russia cannot be counted. That is why, the question of how far we shall succeed in extending the revolution in other countries too, and how far we manage to beat off imperialism until then, has become one of the cardinal issues of the revolution.”**

Lenin and Stalin, on one hand, opposed the fallacy that the building of socialism could not be completed in

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, English ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.384.

**Lenin, “The International Situation,” English ed., *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1945, Vol. XXIII, p.275.

one country; on the other, they opposed the view that the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia was something to be complacent about. They believed that the country where the proletarian revolution had triumphed must promote the development of the world revolution and under no circumstances should it be indifferent to the oppressed classes and nations which were still living in the depths of suffering and misery.

Lenin pointed out that “. . . the socialist revolution that has broken out in Russia represents only the start of the world socialist revolution.”* He also said: “I must argue, not from the point of view of ‘my’ country . . . but from the point of view of my share in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution. That is what internationalism means, and that is the duty of the internationalist, of the revolutionary worker, of the genuine Socialist.”**

Stalin also pointed out that the October Revolution was “a signal, an impulse, a starting point for the world revolution”*** and “a base for the further development of the world revolutionary movement.”† He said: “. . . lack of confidence in the international proletarian revolution; lack of confidence in its victory; a sceptical attitude towards the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries; failure to understand that without the support of the revolutionary movement in other countries our country would not be able to hold out against world imperialism; failure to understand that the victory of socialism in one country alone cannot be final because it has no guarantee against intervention until the revolution is victorious in at least a number of countries; failure to understand the elementary demand of internationalism, by virtue of which the victory of socialism in one country is not an end in itself, but a means of developing and supporting the revolution in other countries. That is the path of nationalism and degeneration, the path of the complete liquidation of the proletariat’s international policy, for people afflicted with this disease regard our country not as a part of the whole that is called the world revolutionary movement, but as the beginning and the end of that movement, believing that the interests of all other countries should be sacrificed to the interests of our country.”††

To influence and accelerate the world revolution, the state of the proletarian dictatorship on one hand must defend the fruit of the revolution and build socialism and, as Lenin said, achieve to the fullest extent what can be achieved in one country. On the other hand, it must exert its utmost to give in every possible form direct assistance to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. Lenin pointed out: “Alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against any and all the imperialists—

*Lenin, “For Bread and Peace,” *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXVI, p.351.

**Lenin, “The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky,” English ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1947, pp.75-76.

***J. Stalin, *Works*, English ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, Vol. VIII, p.274.

† *ibid.*, p.227.

†† J. Stalin, *Works*, English ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, pp.169-70.

such is the external policy of the proletariat.”* He also pointed out that genuine proletarian internationalism demands: “. . . firstly, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world scale, and, secondly, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the sake of overthrowing international capital.”**

Under the guidance of the foreign policy formulated by Lenin, the Soviet people supported the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all countries. This internationalist support not only was in accord with the interests of the peoples of all countries but also with those of the Soviet people. The interests of the people of the Soviet Union and those of the peoples of all countries are interdependent; they share weal and woe. Besides the strength of the Soviet people themselves, the reason the Soviet Union could stand firm against capitalist encirclement was that it had won the sympathy and support of the revolutionary people the world over. The revolutionary movements of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the revolutionary movements in the oppressed nations battered and tied down imperialism, thereby preventing it from concentrating its full strength in opposing the Soviet Union. This effectively helped the Soviet people in their struggle to build and defend socialism. Stalin said: “It would be a mistake to think that, having become a mighty force, our Party is no longer in need of support. That is not true. Our Party and our country have always needed, and will need, the confidence, the sympathy and the support of fraternal peoples abroad.”***

Support has always been mutual in the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the peoples of all countries. A socialist country should never one-sidedly underline its support to others and blot out the support others have given it; it should not consider its support to the oppressed peoples and nations as a burden or favour. Stalin said: “The characteristic feature of the assistance given by the victorious country is not only that it hastens the victory of the proletarians of other countries, but also that, by facilitating this victory, it ensures the final victory of socialism in the first victorious country.”†

The history of the October Revolution and the decades of the existence of the Soviet Union prove that the socialist countries must uphold the principle of proletarian internationalism, resolutely oppose imperialism, actively promote world revolution and vigorously support the peoples of different countries and receive their support. Only in this way can the socialist countries fulfil their obligations to the international proletariat and working people; only thus can they become consolidated and develop.

*Lenin, “The External Policy of the Russian Revolution,” *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXV, p.69.

**Lenin, “Draft of Theses on National and Colonial Questions,” *Selected Works*, English ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.467.

*** J. Stalin, *Speech at the 19th Party Congress*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, p.6.

† J. Stalin, *Works*, English ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, p.419.

V

The Founding of a Genuine Revolutionary Party Of the Proletariat

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution was achieved under the leadership of the new-type revolutionary party of the proletariat founded by Lenin, that is, the Bolshevik Party.

Marxism-Leninism has scientifically proved that the great cause of overthrowing bourgeois rule and building a socialist and communist system can only be led by the proletariat and never by any other class. The proletariat is the most advanced and most revolutionary class, the only one capable of leading all working people in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. To achieve its historical mission, it is absolutely necessary for the proletariat to build its independent and revolutionary party.

Lenin expounded and developed Marxist teachings on the Party. He indicated that the political party of the proletariat is its advanced and organized detachment and the highest form of its class organizations. This party must use Marxism as a guide to its actions and be able to integrate Marxist theory with revolutionary practice; it must be organized in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism; it must have strict and unified discipline; it must maintain close ties with the masses and win their trust and support; and it must dare to uphold truth and correct errors and know how to conduct criticism and self-criticism.

Lenin pointed out that the political party of the proletariat must be a revolutionary, not a reformist, party. This party should in no way regard its immediate interests as everything and sacrifice the fundamental interests of the proletariat. Nor under any circumstances should it accommodate itself to momentary events and forget the ultimate aim of the proletariat. The party should have sufficient courage to defy hardship and difficulty and always stand in the forefront of revolutionary struggle; it should never liquidate revolution under the pretext of avoiding sacrifices and take the so-called path of “least resistance.” The party should at all times relentlessly carry on its revolutionary work, educate the masses in the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, continuously raise their political consciousness and lead them in revolutionary struggles against the forces of reaction.

Before the October Revolution, Lenin founded a new-type revolutionary party of the proletariat after long and arduous struggle. Thus, in 1917, when the revolutionary crisis was ripe, the Russian proletariat had a combat headquarters capable of leading the masses of the people to fight a decisive battle against the bourgeoisie.

As World War I drew to a close, a revolutionary situation similar to that before the October Revolution in Russia appeared in some West European countries. However, the revolutions there all ended in failure because the overwhelming majority of the leaders of the Social Democratic parties in Western Europe had betrayed Marxism and these parties had degenerated into reformist ones. In 1918, Lenin pointed out that “Europe’s greatest misfortune and danger is that it has no revolutionary party.”*

*Lenin, “The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky,” *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1945, Vol. XXIII, p.238.

The victory of the October Revolution and the failure of the revolutionary movements in some European countries demonstrated positively and negatively that whether or not there was a genuine rather than a nominal revolutionary party of the proletariat was decisive to the success or failure of the proletarian revolution.

It is not only for seizing political power and establishing the proletarian dictatorship, but also for consolidating it and fulfilling its historical mission, that the proletariat needs a revolutionary party. A proletarian party is indispensable to the enforcement of the proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin said: "All the political and economic activities of which [the state power] are guided by the class-conscious vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party."*

He further stated: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully."**

After the October Revolution, Lenin waged a determined struggle against the "workers' opposition" which sought to liquidate the leadership of the Party. In 1921, the "workers' opposition" advanced the proposal that the leadership of the national economy be handed over to the "congresses or a congress of producers." Lenin pointed out that by speaking of ordinary producers before classes were eliminated and by ". . . banking on the non-Party masses, flirting with them,"*** the "workers' opposition" was divorced completely from the fundamental concept of class struggle and ran counter to Marxism. Lenin maintained that throughout the historical period of proletarian dictatorship, to obliterate the necessity for the existence of the proletarian party and to liquidate its leadership was in fact helping the enemies of the proletariat and leading to "the restoration of the power and property of the capitalists and landlords."†

Stalin also consistently safeguarded the leadership given by the proletarian party to the proletarian dictatorship. He held that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is not exercised automatically; it is exercised primarily by the Party's forces, under its leadership. Without the Party's leadership, in the present conditions of capitalist encirclement, the dictatorship of the proletariat would be impossible. It would be enough to shake the Party, to weaken it, for the dictatorship to be shaken and weakened in an instant."††

*Lenin, "Role and Functions of Trade Unions Under NEP," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.619.

**Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.367.

***Lenin, "Preliminary Draft of the Resolution of the Russian Communist Party on Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.503.

† *ibid.*, p.505.

†† J. Stalin, *Works*, English ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, p.352.

In order to realize its role of giving leadership, the proletarian party must maintain the purity of proletariat ideologically, politically and organizationally. If the Party does not carry out uncompromising struggle against opportunist elements within its ranks and purge them, it will be unable to maintain the purity and militancy of its ranks and will face the danger of being carved up by the opportunists and losing those revolutionary fruits which have already been won.

Lenin said: "With reformists and Mensheviks in the ranks, victory in the proletarian revolution is impossible; it is impossible to defend it. This is obvious in principle."* He also noted: "One of the necessary conditions for preparing the proletariat for its victory is a long, stubborn and ruthless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and similar bourgeois influences and trends, which are inevitable, since the proletariat is operating in a capitalist environment. If there is no such struggle, if opportunism in the working-class movement is not utterly defeated beforehand, there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat."**

The Bolshevik Party was a revolutionary party of the proletariat built according to Lenin's theories on the Party. It was the organizer and inspirer for the victory of the October Revolution, and leader of the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and Stalin became a brilliant example for the new-type revolutionary parties of the proletariat all over the world.

* * *

The Influence of the October Revolution on The Chinese Revolution

The October Revolution has had extremely deep influence on the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party has always been a component part of the socialist revolution of the world's proletariat which began with the October Revolution. The Chinese revolution has its own national characteristics and it is entirely necessary to take these into consideration. But both in the cause of revolution and of socialist construction, we have made full use of the rich experiences gained by the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet people."***

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also declared: "It is precisely by following the road of the October Socialist Revolution that we, Chinese people, have won the present victory and successes. The Chinese people always regard the Chinese revolution as a continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution and regard this as a great honour."†

*Lenin, "On the Struggle Within the Italian Socialist Party," *Collected Works*, 4th ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1950, Vol. XXXI, p.357.

**Lenin, "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, p.41.

***Speech at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution.

† Speech at the banquet in honour of Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

In the course of advancing along the road of the October Revolution as well as in the struggle against the common enemy, close and militant friendship has been forged between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese Communist Party and people have always treasured and defended the unity of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. Whatever the circumstances, the Chinese people will for ever stand side by side with the Soviet people.

The October Revolution is the first triumphal song of Marxism-Leninism in history to ring throughout the world. Today, along the road of the October Revolution, a number of countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America have won the victory of revolution and founded a powerful socialist

camp composed of 13 socialist countries including Cuba. The national-democratic revolutionary movements are vigorously developing in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There is a new awakening on the part of the proletariat and working people in the capitalist countries. Imperialism is rotting with each passing day and its days are numbered.

The banner of the October Revolution is the victorious banner of the peoples of various countries. Holding high that banner and adhering to the road of the October Revolution, the oppressed nations will be able to defeat imperialism, the proletariat will be able to triumph over the bourgeoisie, and socialism will be able to defeat capitalism. The red flag of the October Revolution will eventually fly all over the world.

New Victory Over U.S.-Chiang Gang

— Another U-2 Downed and 9 Groups of Armed Agents Destroyed

THE Chinese P.L.A. Air Force, on November 1, shot down a U.S.-made U-2 spy plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang on a harassing mission over east China. Three days later a Ministry of Public Security communique announced that nine groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents, totalling 90 men, who had furtively landed from the sea or been airdropped in the coastal areas of Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsu and Shantung Provinces between June and October, were knocked out of action by armymen and civilians in those areas. Thus, the Chinese people scored another smashing victory over the schemes of U.S. imperialism and its stooges, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, to step up harassing and sabotage activities against China's mainland and served a serious warning to them.

The U-2 high-altitude reconnaissance plane was the second downed by the P.L.A. Air Force since September 9 last year. Since 1959, the P.L.A. has bagged seven U.S.-Chiang espionage planes—a B-17, a RB-57D, a RF-101, two P2Vs and two U-2s.

The nine groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents were not the first put out of action. Between October 1, 1962, and October 24, 1963, the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang sent 24 groups of armed agents, made up of 324 men, to China's coastal areas. All were put out of action immediately after landing; none escaped. In addition, 47 armed agents in six groups secretly landed along the Viet Nam coast in an attempt to sneak into western Kwangtung Province. All were put out of action by the fraternal armymen and civilians of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic the moment they set foot on Vietnames soil. All U.S.-Chiang attempts to harass the mainland have come to grief.

U.S. — The Chief Culprit

It is an open secret that U.S. imperialism is responsible for all these criminal activities.

After the U-2 debacle, the panicky U.S. Government hastened to announce, as it did a year ago when the first one was brought down, that the plane did not belong to it, but had been purchased by the Chiang Kai-shek regime from the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. This only revealed its guilty conscience. Everyone knows that the Chiang gang is a mere flunkey of Washington and that the U-2s stationed in Taiwan are under American control and directly serve its policies of aggression and war. When the first U-2 was shot out of the sky the U.S. Government, while denying its crime in every way, admitted that it obtained information through the activities of these planes.

As for the criminal activities of the armed agents, the unclean hands of the United States are all too evident. In fact, one of the nine groups recently wiped out—an 8-man outfit airdropped on Hainan Island—was sent directly by the U.S. Naval Auxiliary Communications Centre (NACC), an espionage setup of the Central Intelligence Agency on Taiwan.

No Isolated Incidents

The U-2 flight and the undercover landings of the armed agents were not isolated incidents. They were an integral part of the nefarious activities of U.S. imperialism to step up its aggression against China and part of the intensified sabotage activities of Chiang Kai-shek forces against the mainland over a long period of time. They came at a time when U.S. military aircraft and warships were violating China's territorial air space and waters with increasing frequency and when the United States was stepping up its support to the frantic anti-China campaign by the Indian reactionaries. During this period, the U.S. Seventh Fleet also carried out nuclear weapons exercises in the Taiwan Straits and joint U.S.-Chiang parachuting manoeuvres also were held.

The Chiang group has intensified its harassing activities also because it has been making preparations for



Awards that no one returns for
Cartoon by Fang Cheng

catch in order to lure more agents into their trap. Now that Chiang's "ninth national congress" is about to open, the Chinese people announce that all armed U.S.-Chiang agents that came have been put out of action. Let the Chiang gang present this news as a "gift" to its congress!

South Viet Nam and South Korean Puppets Involved

In instigating and supporting Chiang's agents time and again to carry out harassing activities, U.S. imperialism has recently gone a step further. As the Public Security Ministry communique points out, it and the Chiang gang have colluded with the puppet cliques of south Korea and south Viet Nam to use their off-shore islands as springboards for secret landings by armed agents so as to extend their activities against the coastal areas of China. The U.S.-Chiang agents put out of action by armymen and civilians of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic made use of an island near Tourane in south Viet Nam. Sailing from Taiwan to the island, they rested and replenished their supplies with the help of the puppet regime of south Viet Nam.

South Korea's Rok Island played a similar role. The two groups of infiltrators wiped out in the coastal areas of Kiangsu and Shantung Provinces used it as a springboard.

An Invisible Great Wall

The downing of the U-2 spy plane and the complete rout of the armed U.S.-Chiang agents that dared come once again demonstrated the might of the Chinese P.L.A. and people. Defence Minister Marshal Lin Piao,

convening "the ninth national congress of the Kuomintang" to discuss what it terms "the master plan for the counter-offensive to recover the country." It has been trying hard lately to spread lies to the effect that it has succeeded in infiltrating the mainland from the sea. The Chinese people remained silent for some time about their

in his order commending the air force unit that hit the U-2, said that victory was gained because that unit firmly carried out orders, was well prepared and had engaged in intensive training.

In their fight to destroy the U.S.-Chiang groups, the frontier guard units, the people's public security units, militiamen and policemen, and the people in the coastal areas displayed great patriotic spirit, heroism and resourcefulness. The militiamen and people in particular acted swiftly in co-operation with the frontier guards and public security units to round up the secret agents. In most cases it was the militia that first discovered them. In Sheyang County, Kiangsu Province, a 65-year-old woman volunteered to ferry the frontier guards across a river in hot pursuit of the armed agents. Militiamen went into action at the first alarm. Hemmed in on all sides, the agents could not but lay down their arms.

The secret agents who landed in Chenghai County, Kwangtung Province, tried to bribe commune member Wang Liang-ho with cash and a gold ring. Wang refused. They forced Wang to act as a guide at gun point. But Wang managed to slip away. He ran at top speed to report to the local militia headquarters. Shortly afterwards, all the armed U.S.-Chiang agents were either captured or killed.

All this testifies to the great unity of the Chinese people and the might of the people's democratic dictatorship. The enemy agents ran into an invisible Great Wall. As captured Wei Hsung-wen, a "lieutenant-colonel" and detachment leader, put it: "We had expected the people on the mainland to turn out and welcome us; but they came after us like they were chasing rats."

The Only Way Out

It is clear the only way out for U.S.-Chiang agents is to cross over to the side of the people and turn over a new leaf. In its editorial of November 5, *Renmin Ribao* called on military and civil personnel of the Kuomintang



Armed U.S.-Chiang agents captured on Hainan Island

to come over to the motherland, reiterating the policy towards them that should they do so their past misdeeds would be forgiven and they would be rewarded for whatever meritorious service they might render.

More and more armed agents have seen through the deception of U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek regime and are no longer willing to give their lives for them. As mentioned above, eight armed agents who landed in Sheyang County on October 8, promptly laid down their arms when they found themselves surrounded, their leader being first in line. Five men who landed in

Wenling County, Chekiang Province, on August 27, voluntarily surrendered to local people's commune members.

But U.S. imperialism and its toady Chiang Kai-shek will never be reconciled to their defeat. Their reactionary nature will never change and they are bent on criminal activities against the Chinese people. It is clear that the Kennedy Administration, while making all sorts of peace gestures, is in fact stepping up its activities for aggression and war. But all their criminal acts are foredoomed to fail in the face of the Chinese people, vigilant and united as one.

Revolutionary Anniversary

China Hails Independent Algeria

by HSIAO MING

PROUD of progress in their nationalization of land, industrial plants and other enterprises mostly owned by the colonialists as well as a bumper harvest this year, the Algerian people on November 1 confidently greeted their second National Day and the 9th anniversary of the Algerian revolution. It was also an occasion for the Chinese people to renew their profound, militant friendship with the Algerian people—born of common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Greetings From Chinese Leaders

On the eve of the anniversary, Chinese Communist Party and state leaders, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message to the Algerian leaders hailing the Algerian revolution and Sino-Algerian friendship. Describing Algeria's national independence won through more than seven years' armed struggle as "an event of tremendous historic importance in the national-liberation movement of our times," the message declared:

Since independence, the heroic Algerian people, under the leadership of President Ahmed Ben Bella, have continued to develop their revolutionary work victoriously. They have won immense success in liquidating the forces of colonialism, safeguarding national independence, and developing their national economy and culture, and have made an important contribution to the cause of liberation of the African peoples and to the defence of world peace.

The message assured the Algerians that "the Chinese people will remain for ever their most reliable friends in the defence of their independence, the building of their country and the development of their revolution."

In Peking, more than 1,500 people on November 1 attended a meeting celebrating the Algerian anniversary. It was addressed by Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and Major

Ben Djedid Chadli, head of the Algerian military delegation visiting China.

A message of greetings to President Ben Bella was adopted at the meeting which was sponsored by the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association and seven other Chinese national organizations.

Independent Algeria – Mainstay of African Struggle Against Imperialism

Liao Cheng-chih said that in the cause of opposing imperialism and building socialism, the Chinese people were given great support and inspiration by the Algerian people. "No one on earth can disrupt the friendship between the peoples of China and Algeria," he declared.

"The great victory of the Algerian national-liberation movement shows once again that if the imperialists and colonialists used armed force to suppress the people, the people, provided they are united, can ultimately defeat armed-to-the-teeth imperialists and colonialists by opposing imperialist, counter-revolutionary armed suppression with revolutionary armed struggle. . . . This heroic and revolutionary spirit of daring to struggle and daring to win of the Algerian people has set a brilliant example for the oppressed nations of Africa," Liao Cheng-chih stressed.

Liao Cheng-chih also noted the increasingly important role Algeria was playing in the international arena. He declared that independent Algeria was the mainstay of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of the peoples of various African countries. The firm policy of opposing imperialism, old and new colonialism and supporting the African national-independence struggle followed by the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, and the concrete measures it had taken in this respect, had promoted an upsurge in the national revolutionary movement in Africa.

Welcoming the end of the border conflict between Algeria and Morocco, Liao Cheng-chih said: "Between us

Asian and African nations there is no problem which cannot be solved through peaceful negotiations. No problems can be solved by employing armed provocation or intervention."

Growth of Sino-Algerian Friendship And Co-operation

Five Chinese delegations went to Algeria to participate in the National Day celebrations. They are the Chinese Communist Party delegation headed by Liu Ning-yi, Member of the Party's Central Committee; the Chinese government delegation headed by Fang Yi, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission; the Chinese military delegation headed by General Li Chih-min, Political Commissar of the Military Academy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; a Chinese women's delegation and a Chinese youth and students' delegation. President Ben Bella received the Chinese delegations on October 27 and had a cordial and friendly talk with Liu Ning-yi, Fang Yi and Li Chih-min.

The Chinese Communist Party delegation also attended the First National Congress of Agricultural Workers of Self-Management Committees in Algiers. Addressing the closing session of the congress, Liu Ning-yi said that the Chinese people firmly support the revolutionary measures taken by the Algerian people for continuing the national-democratic revolution. He declared that the Chinese people solidly support all the efforts being made to pave the way for the Algerian people to embark on the road to socialism. He expressed the belief that through

unity and their own efforts, the Algerian people would surely win still more victories in the revolution.

On October 28, an economic and technical co-operation agreement was signed between the Chinese and Algerian Governments in the hall of the People's Palace in Algiers.

Sino-Algerian friendship was spelt out by the two signatories to the agreement.

Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, the Algerian Foreign Minister, who signed the agreement for his government, said after the signing: "Algeria considers this agreement a new page in the history of relations between the peoples of China and Algeria. . . . It is of major importance, because it provides without conditions for a long-term credit of 25,000 million old francs to Algeria from China."

Recalling the aid of the Chinese Government and people to the Algerian people during the difficult days of war against French imperialism, he said: "In addition to the extremely important material aid which we received, after the formation of the first government of Algeria, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, immediate and spontaneous recognition followed as an expression of the faith which you have always had in our people and their future."

Fang Yi, who signed the agreement for the Chinese Government, in reply, pointed out that the Chinese people considered that aid was always mutual. First of all, by their struggle, the Algerian people had helped the Chinese people as well as the peoples of the whole world.

The Truth About How the Leaders of The C.P.S.U. Have Allied Themselves With India Against China

by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao"

ON September 19 the Editorial Board of *Pravda* published an article on the Sino-Indian boundary question, entitled "A Serious Hotbed of Tension in Asia," the full text of which we printed on September 25. Disregarding the facts and confounding right and wrong, the article makes the slanderous charge that China wants to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question by force of arms and does not sincerely desire a peaceful settlement. It strives to sow dissension between China and Asian-African countries and makes the accusation that, unlike India, China has not "reacted favourably to the proposals of the Colombo conference" and "accepted them fully without any reservations." In its anxiety to stir up trouble, it makes the inflammatory statement that the Sino-Indian border conflict "may again be aggravated."

The *Pravda* article gained the immediate applause of the Indian reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists.

Nehru said on September 21 that it indicated "a significant development in the Soviet appreciation of India's case."

The Indian Information Service, rejoicing over this windfall, asked all its receiving posts to give "maximum publicity" to the full text of the *Pravda* article.

The reactionary Indian press crowed over "all-out Soviet support to India against China" and declared that, "shedding its 'brotherly' reserve, the Soviet Union today came out openly on the side of India on the Sino-Indian border dispute."

The U.S. *Christian Science Monitor* said that the Soviet Union "is now taking an active role" in restraining China and that "the West has reason for deep and greatly needed relief." It also reported that many Indians see the

Pravda article "as a deterrent comparable in its own way to the forthcoming Western-oriented air exercises."

The *Pravda* article is assuredly an important document. The Soviet leaders have long allied themselves with the Indian reactionaries to oppose socialist China. This article marks their advance from their previous attitude of feigning neutrality while actually favouring the Indian reactionaries to alignment with U.S. imperialism in openly supporting them.

I

One of the important differences of principle between the Soviet leaders and ourselves turns on the Sino-Indian boundary question. We would have preferred to be reticent about the origin and development of the difference between China and the Soviet Union on this question. But the Soviet leaders have now brought it into the open and have moreover asserted in the Soviet government statement of September 21 that their stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question has been consistently correct since 1959 while China's stand has been wrong; it has, therefore, become necessary to show how our difference with the Soviet leaders on this question has developed over the last few years so as to distinguish between truth and falsehood.

1. The Indian reactionaries provoked the first armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border on August 25, 1959, after their failure in the armed rebellion of the reactionary clique of the Tibetan upper strata, which they instigated and abetted. On September 6, 1959, a Chinese leader told the Soviet Charge d'Affaires the facts about the conflict and the Chinese policy of striving to avoid hostilities. He also pointed out that the Indian Government's purpose in provoking the border conflict was to oppose communism and China; that, as was to be logically expected, the Indian bourgeoisie had become increasingly reactionary with the sharpening of the internal class struggle; and that it was necessary not to be taken in by Nehru who was striving to put pressure on China by utilizing the Soviet Union.

2. On the morning of September 9, 1959, the Soviet Charge d'Affaires notified the Chinese Government that the Soviet Government would issue a TASS statement concerning the Sino-Indian boundary question on September 10 and delivered a copy of this statement. The Chinese Government immediately intimated in principle that it would be better for the Soviet Government to refrain from making a public statement on this question.

On the afternoon of the same day, the Chinese Government gave the Soviet Charge d'Affaires a copy of Premier Chou En-lai's letter of September 8 to Prime Minister Nehru, in which the Chinese Government made proposals to the Indian Government for a friendly settlement of the boundary question through negotiations and for the maintenance of the border status quo pending such settlement.

That evening, the Chinese Government informed the Soviet Charge d'Affaires that China had already published Premier Chou En-lai's letter to Nehru, and asked the Soviet Government to take into consideration the Chinese

Government's attitude and position in this letter and not to issue the TASS statement.

3. Ignoring China's advice, the Soviet Government issued the TASS statement ahead of time on the night of September 9, 1959, thus revealing the differences between China and the Soviet Union. In that statement, without distinguishing between right and wrong, the Soviet Government expressed general "regret" over the Sino-Indian border conflict and, although assuming a facade of neutrality, actually favoured India and condemned China.

4. On September 30, 1959, Comrade Khrushchov publicly blamed China for wanting to "test by force the stability of the capitalist system." The whole world recognized this as an insinuation that China was being "bellicose" regarding Taiwan and the Sino-Indian boundary.

5. On October 2, 1959, the Chinese leaders personally gave Comrade Khrushchov an explanation of the true situation and background concerning the Sino-Indian border hostilities, pointing out that it was India that had provoked conflict across the border and that it would not do to yield to the Indian reactionaries all the time. But Khrushchov did not wish to know the true situation and the identity of the party committing the provocation, but insisted that anyway it was wrong to shoot people dead.

6. The Indian reactionaries provoked the second armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border on October 21, 1959. On October 26, the Chinese Government informed the Soviet Charge d'Affaires of the facts of the incident.

7. At a session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on October 31, 1959, Khrushchov again expressed "regret" and "distress" over the Sino-Indian border conflict and brushed aside India's responsibility for the provocation.

8. Receiving a correspondent of the Indian weekly, *New Age*, on November 7, 1959, Khrushchov said that the Sino-Indian border incident was "sad" and "stupid." He cited the case of the settlement of the Soviet-Iranian boundary question and said, "What are a few kilometres for a country like the Soviet Union?", insinuating that China should cede her own territory to satisfy India's claims.

9. Between December 10, 1959, and January 30, 1960, the Chinese leaders had six talks with the Soviet Ambassador. They pointed out that the Soviet leaders were wrong to "maintain strict neutrality" on the Sino-Indian boundary question and that, far from being neutral, their statements actually censured China and were in favour of India.

10. In a verbal notification to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. on February 6, 1960, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. stated that "one cannot possibly seriously think that a state such as India, which is militarily and economically immeasurably weaker than China, would really launch a military attack on China and commit aggression against it," that China's handling of the question was "an expression of a narrow nationalist attitude" and that "when shooting was heard on the Sino-Indian border on the eve of N.S. Khrushchov's trip to the United States, the whole world considered this to be an event that could hamper the peace-loving activity of the Soviet Union."

11. On June 22, 1960, Khrushchov said to the head of the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party during the Bucharest meeting, "I know what war is. Since Indians were killed, this meant that China attacked India." He also said, "We are Communists, for us it is not important where the frontier line runs."

12. On October 8, 1962, a Chinese leader told the Soviet Ambassador that China had information that India was about to launch a massive attack along the Sino-Indian border and that should India attack we would resolutely defend ourselves. He also pointed out that the fact that Soviet-made helicopters and transport planes were being used by India for airdropping and transporting military supplies in the Sino-Indian border areas was making a bad impression on our frontier guards and that we deemed it our internationalist duty to inform the Soviet side of the situation.

13. On October 13 and 14, 1962, Khrushchov told the Chinese Ambassador the following: Their information on Indian preparations to attack China was similar to China's. If they were in China's position, they would have taken the same measures. A neutral attitude on the Sino-Indian boundary question was impossible. If anyone attacked China and they said they were neutral, it would be an act of betrayal.

14. On October 20, 1962, the Indian reactionaries launched a massive attack on China. On October 25, *Pravda* carried an editorial pointing out that the notorious McMahon Line was imposed on the Chinese and Indian peoples and had never been recognized by China. It said that the three proposals put forward by the Chinese Government in its statement of October 24 were constructive and constituted an acceptable basis for opening negotiations and settling the dispute between China and India peacefully.

15. On December 12, 1962, forgetting everything he had said less than two months earlier, Khrushchov reverted to his original tune and made the following insinuations at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.: The areas disputed by China and India were sparsely populated and of little value to human life. The Soviet Union could not possibly entertain the thought that India wanted to start a war with China. The Soviet Union adhered to Lenin's views on boundary disputes. Her experience over 45 years proved that there was no boundary dispute which could not be solved without resorting to arms. Of course, it was good that China had unilaterally ordered a ceasefire and withdrawn its troops; but would it not have been better if the Chinese troops had not advanced from their original positions?

16. By publishing the article of the *Pravda* Editorial Board on September 19, 1963, the Soviet leaders discarded all camouflage and openly sided with the U.S. imperialists in supporting the Indian reactionaries against socialist China.

It is clear from the above facts that China has done her utmost to eliminate the Sino-Soviet differences on the Sino-Indian boundary question. But the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have persisted in their attitude of great-power chauvinism, acted arrogantly and turned a deaf ear to China's opinions. They brought the Sino-Soviet dif-

ferences into the open in order to create the so-called Camp David spirit and make a ceremonial gift to the U.S. imperialists. During the Caribbean crisis, they spoke a few seemingly fair words out of considerations of expediency. But when the crisis was over, they went back on their words. They have sided with the Indian reactionaries against China all the time. As facts show, the stand taken by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on the Sino-Indian boundary question is a complete betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

II

Our differences with the Soviet leaders on the Sino-Indian boundary issue over the past four years can be summarized under the following four main questions:

1. Is the Sino-Indian boundary issue a major one of principle or an insignificant one?
2. Who has firmly maintained the border status quo and who has provoked armed border conflicts?
3. What attitude should a socialist country take in the face of armed attacks by bourgeois reactionaries?
4. Who lacks a sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, India or China?

Let us see how the Soviet leaders, inspired by ulterior motives, have disregarded the facts and confounded right and wrong in supporting India and betraying China on these four questions.

(1) Is the Sino-Indian Boundary Issue a Major One of Principle or an Insignificant One?

It is well known that the Sino-Indian boundary question involves 125,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory. This is therefore a major issue, not a minor one. We consistently maintain that even an issue of such major importance can be settled, so long as both sides treat each other as equals and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. However, the Indian Government has not only occupied 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border and 2,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the middle sector, it is also insatiable and wants to occupy another 33,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the western sector, which has always been under Chinese administration. This is the reason why no solution of the Sino-Indian boundary question has been found for so long.

But the Soviet leaders assert that it is an insignificant issue.

Khrushchov says, "What are a few kilometres?"

We cannot agree. It is not a matter of a few odd square kilometres but of 125,000 square kilometres. How much is 125,000 square kilometres? It is larger than the total area of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Republics. Supposing that a capitalist country were bent on occupying these two Union Republics of the Soviet Union, would

the Soviet leaders regard that, too, as an insignificant matter beneath its notice?

Khrushchov also asserts that the disputed areas along the Sino-Indian border are sparsely populated and of no great value to human life, and therefore need not be taken seriously.

We cannot agree with this either. Who says that a socialist country may only defend its densely populated areas but not its sparsely populated ones? Actually, the population density of the area in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border is roughly the same as that of the Turkmen Republic of the Soviet Union. And the area in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border is not more deserted than the vast frozen northeastern part of the Soviet Union facing the United States of America's Alaska across the sea. Supposing that a capitalist country wanted to occupy these areas in the Soviet Union, would the Soviet leaders agree that there was no need to worry about them and that they could be surrendered?

The Soviet leaders also assert that Communists need not bother about where the frontier line runs.

Of course, this is clever talk. Unfortunately, they have forgotten that we are living in a world of classes and states, a world which still has imperialists and bourgeois reactionaries. If these words were applicable, would not the socialist countries forgo all right to defend their own frontiers? And what would be left of the unanimous determination of the socialist countries to uphold the inviolability of the Oder-Neisse boundary between Germany and Poland? Obviously, this absurd statement cannot be tolerated by the people of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries.

(2) Who Has Firmly Maintained the Border Status Quo and Who Has Provoked Armed Border Conflicts?

The answer is clear.

Although India has already occupied over 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory, China has consistently stood for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question through negotiations and for the maintenance of the border status quo and the avoidance of conflict pending such settlement.

On the other hand, the Indian reactionaries desire neither a peaceful settlement of the border question through negotiations nor the maintenance of the objectively existing status quo on the border. Pursuing their ambition to occupy another 30,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory, they have not scrupled to resort to force, have repeatedly violated the border status quo and even provoked armed clashes.

The two diametrically opposite positions of China and India on the boundary question are perfectly clear to all unprejudiced people who respect facts.

China has made unremitting efforts to maintain the border status quo, ensure tranquillity on the border and strive for a negotiated settlement of the boundary question.

China does not recognize the illegal McMahon Line. Yet in the past ten years and more it had never crossed it.

After India provoked two successive border clashes, it was China that proposed on November 7, 1959, that the armed forces of each side should withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control and stop patrolling. India rejected these proposals. Nevertheless, China unilaterally stopped her own patrolling.

Disregarding the anti-China wave stirred up by the Indian reactionaries, the Chinese Premier visited New Delhi in April 1960 and held talks with the Indian Prime Minister. But India desires neither the peaceful settlement of the boundary question nor the maintenance of the border status quo.

In 1961, and particularly in 1962, India took advantage of China's unilateral cessation of her patrolling to press forward, occupy more and more Chinese territory and perpetrate increasingly serious armed provocations. Exercising the greatest forbearance and self-restraint, China thrice proposed negotiations on the boundary question between August and October 1962, and thrice did India reject them.

On October 12, 1962, Nehru issued the order to "free" Chinese territory of Chinese troops. On October 20, 1962, the Indian troops launched a massive general attack. China struck back in self-defence only when the situation was unendurable and there was no room for further retreat. However, in order to reverse the trend, on October 24 she opportunely put forward three proposals for the cessation of conflict, the reopening of negotiations and the peaceful settlement of the boundary question. After India rejected them, China on its own initiative again took major conciliatory measures—the ceasefire, the withdrawal, etc.

The events of the past years prove that it is China which has firmly maintained the border status quo, and that it is India which has tried to alter it by force. It is China that has put forward every peace proposal, and it is India that has provoked every armed clash.

Yet the Soviet leaders shut their eyes to all these plain facts. They never publicly uttered a single word of censure against India over the years during which the Indian reactionaries made repeated armed provocations, nibbled away at Chinese territory and finally launched their massive attack. When China was compelled to strike back, they raised a hue and cry, wildly slandering China and insisting that she "wanted to settle the border dispute with India by means of arms." What grounds do they have for making this assertion?

Khrushchov says, "I know what war is. Since Indians were killed, it meant that China attacked India."

This is most illogical. It amounts to saying that, in the face of an aggressor's attack, you must take a beating and not strike back, because if you do, you may kill some of the enemy and so become the aggressor yourself. How can anyone with a clear conscience talk this way?

Khrushchov says, "Nor can we possibly entertain the thought that India wanted to start a war with China." The Soviet leaders also say, "One cannot possibly

seriously think that a state such as India, which is militarily and economically immeasurably weaker than China, would really launch a military attack on China and commit aggression against it." In other words, in their opinion, in view of China's greater strength, there was only one possibility—China might launch military attacks and commit aggression against India, but not vice versa.

Again, their argument is preposterous. Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism knows that all reactionaries are subjectivist and usually miscalculate the balance of forces and the trend of development. The Indian reactionaries are no exception to this law. They mistook China's long forbearance as a sign that China was weak and could be bullied. They thought that with the backing of the imperialists and the support of the Soviet leaders they had nothing to fear, and that as soon as they took action China would be forced to retreat and their territorial claims would be realized. It was on the basis of this wrong analysis and miscalculation that they launched their massive attack on China. Instead of having the courage to face these facts, the Soviet leaders unreasonably take the strength of a country as the criterion of whether it is the aggressor or the victim. Is there an iota of Marxism-Leninism in their attitude?

The ceasefire and withdrawal initiated by China have won the acclaim and warm praise of peace-loving countries and people throughout the world. But for some ulterior motive, Khrushchov obliquely attacked China by saying that of course it was good that China had unilaterally ordered a ceasefire and withdrawal, but would it not have been better still if the Chinese troops had not advanced from their original positions?

This question seems very clever. But we would like to ask the Soviet leader, "Why did you not ask Nehru whether it would not have been better still if he had not ordered the attack?" How could there have been any counter-attack without any attack? Is this not something even a school child can understand?

We would like to tell the Soviet leader: In striking back in self-defence, the Chinese frontier guards advanced to Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon Line in order thoroughly to rout the Indian reactionaries' assault and to shatter their plan of altering the border status quo by armed force. We then initiated the ceasefire and withdrawal in order to maintain our consistent stand of not altering the border status quo by armed force and to create conditions for a negotiated settlement of the boundary question. There is nothing incomprehensible about our measures. As the facts show, it is because we struck back at the Indian reactionaries that they have begun to have a little more sense and the Sino-Indian border tension has basically eased.

(3) What Attitude Should a Socialist Country Take in the Face of Armed Attacks by Bourgeois Reactionaries?

In the face of an armed attack by bourgeois reactionaries, a socialist country has only one of two alterna-

tives, either self-defence or capitulation. According to the logic of the Soviet leaders' statements, it is only capitulation which is permissible and anything else would be a violation of the principle of peaceful coexistence. Their viewpoint, they continue, is Leninist, while China's action in defending herself and repulsing the military attack of the Indian reactionaries is non-Leninist and an expression of a narrow nationalist attitude.

Is there a Leninist principle forbidding counter-attack as a means of defending oneself against a military attack launched by reactionaries? No, there never has been. To assert the contrary is an outrage against the memory of the great Lenin.

Is there a principle of peaceful coexistence put forward by Lenin that one must take a beating and not strike back? No, there never has been. To assert the contrary is an insult to the memory of the great Lenin.

It is common knowledge that peaceful coexistence is a principle both parties should abide by. Only when both parties desire and practise peaceful coexistence can conflict be avoided and a state of peaceful coexistence be maintained. If one party is bent on fighting, hostilities are inevitable, however much forbearance the other party exercises. This is common sense. China did everything possible to avoid a conflict over the Sino-Indian boundary question. The armed conflict was deliberately forced on China by the Indian reactionaries. China's speedy ceasefire and withdrawal after counter-attacking was precisely an effort on behalf of a negotiated solution of the boundary question and on behalf of the maintenance of peaceful coexistence. What the Soviet leaders call "peaceful coexistence" is really capitulationism. And capitulationism has no place in our policy.

In defence of his wrong views, Khrushchov says that the experience of the Soviet Union over the past 45 years has proved that there is no boundary question which cannot be settled without resorting to arms.

This is a flagrant distortion of Soviet history.

The following incident in Soviet-Turkish relations, which occurred in 1921, may be recalled. Although the Soviet state had vigorously supported the Turkish revolution and a Soviet-Turkish treaty of friendship was being negotiated, the Kemal government, which dreamt of resurrecting the plan for a Greater Turkey, forcibly occupied Soviet territories and even seized Batum, an important city in Georgia, after the signing of the treaty. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government ordered the Red Army to strike back in self-defence. After three days' fighting it recovered Batum. It was only thus that the Kemal government's expansionist ambitions were checked, the frontiers of the Soviet state protected and friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey preserved.

We would like to ask the Soviet leaders: Can you say that this action taken by the Red Army in self-defence was non-Leninist? Can you say that Lenin's decision was an expression of a narrow nationalist attitude?

Certainly not. On the contrary, Khrushchov's views on the Sino-Indian boundary question are an outstanding example of his adulteration of Lenin's principles on peaceful coexistence.

(4) Who Lacks a Sincere Desire for a Peaceful Settlement of the Sino-Indian Boundary Question, India or China?

Since repulsing the massive attack of the Indian reactionaries, China has continued, as in the past, to adhere unswervingly to its policy of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. Seeking a negotiated settlement, the Chinese Government has taken active steps to stabilize the ceasefire, to disengage the armed forces of the two sides and to ease the border tension. On the contrary, the Indian Government has done its best to make the ceasefire unstable and keep the armed forces of the two sides engaged, continued to create tension and stubbornly refused to negotiate. These two attitudes stand in sharp contrast for the world to see.

Yet, on no ground whatsoever, the Soviet leaders accuse China of lacking a sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question and of "not heeding the voice of reason which expressed the will of the Afro-Asian people," and they assert that "while the Indian Government reacted favourably to the proposals of the Colombo conference, accepted them fully without any reservations and expressed its readiness to start talks with the P.R.C. on the basis of these proposals, the Chinese Government has not yet accepted the proposals of the friendly neutral countries and has not shown its readiness to start talks on the proposed basis. . . . No constructive steps have been taken by the Chinese Government."

Facts speak louder than words. Let us review what the Chinese side has done.

1. The Chinese frontier guards ceased fire and withdrew on their own initiative. They not only evacuated the Chinese territory into which they had advanced during the counter-attack of October 1962 but also withdrew 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control which existed between China and India on November 7, 1959.

2. On its own initiative, the Chinese Government released and repatriated all the captured Indian officers and soldiers and returned most of the captured Indian weapons and war matériel in order to create a favourable atmosphere for renewing negotiations.

3. The Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed talks between the Prime Ministers of the two countries and has declared that if the Indian Prime Minister should find it inconvenient to come to Peking, our Premier is ready to go to New Delhi once again in order to find a way to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully. We have recently repeated this proposal.

4. The serious efforts made by China laid the foundation for mediation by the Colombo conference

nations, which is a fact they have unanimously acknowledged. The Chinese Government has responded positively to the appeal and proposals of the Colombo conference and has unilaterally given effect to the great majority of the Colombo proposals and even gone beyond them in certain respects. For example, the Colombo proposals ask China to withdraw 20 kilometres from the border on the western sector only, but China withdrew 20 kilometres on the middle and eastern sectors as well.

5. In response to the mediatory efforts of the Colombo conference nations, China has moreover vacated those areas on the Chinese side of the line of actual control which had been invaded by India and also those areas where there were disputes about the ceasefire arrangements and has even refrained from setting up civilian posts in any of these areas.

6. China's attitude to the Colombo proposals is sincere and consistent. In principle she accepts the Colombo proposals as the basis for the opening of negotiations between China and India and does not make her own interpretation of their individual stipulations a precondition for such negotiations.

These important and constructive steps taken by China have provided adequate conditions for the reopening of Sino-Indian negotiations and have won high appreciation and praise from the Colombo conference nations. Not a single Colombo nation denies that China's attitude towards the Colombo conference is positive and co-operative and that China sincerely desires a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, a settlement to which she has already made significant contributions. Is it not a plain lie when *Pravda* says that "no constructive steps have been taken by the Chinese Government"?

Now let us see what the Indian Government has done.

While China ceased fire on its own initiative, India has continued its provocations along the border.

While China withdrew on its own initiative, India has pushed forward anew.

While China released and repatriated all the captured Indian troops, India has imprisoned and persecuted Chinese residents in India.

While China has done its best to improve the relations between the two countries, India has continued to stir up hysteria against China.

While China advocates the unconditional holding of negotiations, India insists upon its preconditions and refuses to negotiate.

In the words of the Soviet leaders, all this adds up to India's "reacting favourably" to the Colombo proposals while China has done nothing. When they talk such drivel, what kind of conference do they take the Colombo conference to be? A conference for promoting direct negotiations between China and India, or a conference favouring India and opposing China?

In its attempt to cover up its arrogant attitude in refusing to negotiate, the Indian Government has pro-

duced an excuse, which is, "acceptance of the Colombo proposals *in toto*." What is behind India's "acceptance of the Colombo proposals *in toto*"? In the beginning India, too, considered that the Colombo proposals were not altogether clear and said that it accepted the proposals only in principle. It was only after the production of a document described as the New Delhi clarification of the Colombo proposals that India began to talk about "acceptance of the Colombo proposals *in toto*." China had no knowledge of this so-called New Delhi clarification. We found out later that it was actually a document drafted by the Indian Government as its own interpretation of the Colombo proposals. Therefore, by insisting on "acceptance of the Colombo proposals *in toto*," the Indian Government was actually making acceptance of its own interpretation of the proposals a precondition for Sino-Indian negotiations. The Indian Government was well aware that China would never accept such an unreasonable precondition. It has insisted on this precondition in order to prevent negotiations. This is a plot to distort the good mediatory intentions of the Colombo conference nations. And *Pravda's* warm praise of this plot merely proves that the Soviet leaders desire neither a solution of the Sino-Indian boundary question nor success for the mediatory efforts of the Colombo conference nations.

More ludicrous still, in trying to shield the Indian reactionaries *Pravda* has described China's negotiated conclusion of boundary agreements with Burma, Nepal and other neighbours as proving that she lacks a sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. *Pravda's* logic amounts to this: Since China has been able to settle her boundary questions with Burma, Nepal and other countries peacefully, why can't she also settle her boundary question with India peacefully? This shows that China lacks a sincere desire for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. What a brilliant inference! Anyone capable of logical thinking will surely draw the following conclusion from the fact that China has concluded boundary agreements with Burma, Nepal and other neighbouring countries: If the Indian Government, too, were sincere, the Sino-Indian boundary question, like the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese boundary questions, could be settled peacefully as well. China cannot be blamed for the fact that the Sino-Indian boundary question remains unsettled. Yet the Soviet leaders have drawn an entirely different conclusion. Obviously, in order to collaborate with the United States in supporting India and opposing China they have degenerated so far as to flout elementary logic.

III

The position of the Soviet leaders on the Sino-Indian boundary question is a betrayal of proletarian internationalism and cannot be said to be even neutral. Together with the U.S. imperialists, they are helping the Indian reactionaries against socialist China and against the Indian people too. They have betrayed the Indian people as well as the socialist camp.

Their position is also quite different from that of the Asian-African countries which maintain strict neutrality.

The Asian-African countries respect facts and patiently listen to both China's and India's views. But the Soviet leaders ignore the facts and give ear only to the Indian reactionaries.

The Asian-African countries seriously study the rights and wrongs of the dispute and avoid rash judgments. But the Soviet leaders wilfully assert that China has committed an error.

The six Asian-African countries which took part in the Colombo conference have repeatedly stated that their task is mediation and not arbitration, that their purpose is to bring about direct Sino-Indian negotiations and that China and India are not required to accept the Colombo proposals *in toto* before sitting down at the conference table. However, like the Indian reactionaries, the Soviet leaders demand that China should "accept the Colombo proposals *in toto*," thus attempting to place the Colombo conference nations in a pro-Indian position.

The Asian-African countries sincerely hope that the Sino-Indian boundary question can be peacefully settled by negotiation and that the Sino-Indian border situation will remain relaxed. The joint communique issued recently by Gamal Abdel Nasser, the President of the U.A.R., and Mme. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, expressed the desire that the "Colombo powers should continue in their efforts to remove the strained relation between these two great countries [China and India] to whom the U.A.R. and Ceylon are tied in bonds of friendship." But the Soviet leaders spare no efforts to sow discord and declare that the Sino-Indian border conflict "may again be aggravated," disregarding the fact that, thanks to China's unilateral efforts, the situation on the Sino-Indian border has long been relaxed.

The truth is so clear that even the renegade Tito clique, the bosom friends of the Soviet leaders, have had to admit that "in its analysis of the Himalayan conflict the Soviet Government has gone further than the Colombo countries, first of all censuring China for this conflict." ("New Action of the Colombo Countries," *Politika*, Yugoslavia, October 4, 1963.)

What is more, the Soviet leaders have recently worked even harder than the U.S. imperialists in supporting the Indian reactionaries. The U.S. imperialists are well aware that it is for the purpose of getting money from the United States that the Indian reactionaries have manufactured fantastic rumours about a planned Chinese "invasion" of India. They therefore often take a wait-and-see attitude, having reservations about these rumours. However, the Soviet leaders have been most active in supporting and chiming in with the Nehru government in its concoction of rumours.

With respect to the Sino-Indian boundary question, we have always welcomed the just efforts of friendly Asian-African countries to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations without becoming involved in the dispute, and we have attentively listened to their views which stand for fair play. On the other hand, like the Tito

clique of renegades, the Soviet leaders wholly side with the Indian reactionaries and hence have lost any right to speak on the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The Soviet leaders not only give Indian reaction vigorous political support but, following in the wake of the U.S. imperialists, they also give it active economic and military aid to oppose China.

From 1955 to April 1963, the Soviet Government gave or promised economic aid to India totalling 5,000 million rupees, the larger part being offered since the Indian reactionaries began their campaign against China.

It was in 1960, that is, after the Indian reactionaries had started their armed provocations against China, that the Soviet leaders began to supply India with military aid.

After the Indian reactionaries unleashed a large-scale assault on China in October 1962, the Soviet leaders stepped up their aid to India. On December 19 of last year, C. Subramaniam, Indian Minister of Steel and Heavy Industries, told correspondents that, after India's proclamation of "emergency," the Soviet Union accelerated the construction work on projects she was helping India on.

Following the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties in July of this year, the Soviet leaders promised to increase their military aid to the Indian reactionaries.

The *Pravda* article says, "... the nature of Soviet assistance to India is exactly the same as that it is giving to many other newly developing states."

The sole purpose of a socialist country in aiding newly independent countries is to help them develop independent national economies, eliminate colonial influence and free themselves from imperialist control—it is definitely not to help them oppose another socialist country. But the Soviet Government's motives in giving aid to the newly independent countries are open to suspicion. As for its aid to the Indian reactionaries, it overtly supports their subservience to U.S. imperialism and their opposition to China, communism and the people. This is a plain fact.

The September 21 statement of the Soviet Government says:

Now the Chinese leaders make accusations, stating that India is waging war against China and using Soviet armaments. This, first of all, is essentially not according to fact. Secondly, if one was to follow this kind of logic, the Indian Government has much more reason to declare that the Chinese troops are waging war against India and are using Soviet armaments, because everyone knows about the tremendous military aid which the Soviet Union renders China.

Denial and sophistry are of no avail. First, in the course of their counter-attack undertaken in self-defence, the Chinese frontier guards captured Soviet-made weapons used by Indian troops. Secondly, we wish

to ask the Soviet leaders: What are you? Munition merchants? If so, what you say is quite right. This is called cash on delivery, and you can do business with anybody. But if you still consider yourselves Communists and leaders of a socialist country to boot, then your words are silly as well as quite wrong. How can a Communist mention socialist China in the same breath with an India ruled by its big bourgeoisie and landlords? How can he put aid to his own class brothers on a par with aid to reactionaries?

The Soviet leaders assert that by giving aid to India the Soviet Union can help her to maintain a neutral position and prevent her from moving closer to U.S. imperialism and other Western countries.

This is a hypocritical lie. The facts are the exact opposite. The greater the Soviet aid, the farther the Indian reactionaries depart from a neutral stand and the closer they move to U.S. imperialism.

Let us look at the events of the past year. The Indian Government has concluded agreements for military aid and "air defence" with U.S. imperialism, both of which are in the nature of military treaties. Large numbers of U.S. military personnel and large quantities of U.S. weapons and military equipment have poured into India. The Indian Government has undertaken to provide the United States with more military intelligence and has agreed to the holding of air exercises by the U.S. and British imperialists in India. Radhakrishnan, the President of India, issued a joint communique with U.S. President Kennedy on June 4, 1963, openly declaring that the United States and India agreed that "their two countries share a mutual defensive concern to thwart the designs of Chinese aggression against the sub-continent." Thus, it is clear to any unbiased person that the Nehru government has virtually formed a military alliance with the United States, that India's "non-alignment" policy has very little practical significance left and that India has long ceased to be one of the countries "taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone," as described by the 1957 Moscow Declaration. It is only because of the Soviet leaders' support and assistance that the Nehru government can still make demagogic use of its tattered flag of "non-alignment" before the world. Such support and assistance make it possible for the Nehru government brazenly to become a retainer of U.S. imperialism in disregard of the Indian people's opposition.

In fact, in supporting the Indian reaction, the Soviet leaders are not only competing with the U.S. imperialists but also running a joint-stock company with them. After the *Pravda* Editorial Board published its article of September 19, the *Indian Express* exulted that "in addition to the U.S.A., this brings to India another powerful ally vis-a-vis China" and that "the noose is already round Peking's neck. Along with our two powerful allies, we have only to pull it." Although this is utterly reactionary drivel, it does bring to light the corporate aims of the U.S.-Soviet Company in aiding India and opposing China.

With the increase in Soviet aid, the Indian reactionaries have become more and more frantic in their exploita-

tion and suppression of the Indian people. The Nehru government has striven to stir up war hysteria and stepped up its arms expansion and war preparations. It has openly deprived the Indian people of their basic rights, throwing thousands of Indian Communists and other progressives into prison. By extorting taxes and levies under all sorts of names, it has plunged the Indian people into an abyss of misery. The Indian weekly *Blitz* of June 22, 1963, admitted that the overwhelming majority of the teeming millions of the Indian people have remained on the verge of the starvation level, that anger rises in their temples, and that "a slow, burning class hatred is accumulating today." It cried out in alarm, "There is thunder in the air, as clouds of crisis and demoralization darken our land." The Nehru government has completely discarded its counterfeit democratic and progressive signboards. It is pursuing an out-and-out anti-communist and anti-popular policy, which has aroused stronger and stronger opposition on the part of the Indian people. By supporting and aiding the Nehru government, the Soviet leaders have covered up its reactionary nature, strengthened its hand in suppressing the people and enabled it to push ahead more actively with its counter-revolutionary policy.

The 1960 Moscow Statement says that the national bourgeoisie in the newly independent countries has a dual character and that, as social contradictions grow, it inclines more and more to compromise with domestic reaction and imperialism. Communists in newly independent countries should expose the attempts of the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation. But so far from exposing the Nehru government's reactionary policy, the renegade Dange clique of the Indian Communist Party has completely betrayed the proletariat and the people of India and has degenerated into a shameful tool of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords. Instead of exposing the Dange clique of renegades, the Soviet leaders encourage them to help the Indian reactionaries persecute the true Communists and progressives in an attempt to strangle the revolutionary movement of the Indian people.

The Nehru government is hiring itself out to imperialism abroad and suppressing the Indian people at home. And the Soviet leaders are actively supporting the Nehru government and defending and whitewashing its reactionary policies in every possible way. The Soviet leaders have betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Indian people; this account will be settled sooner or later.

IV

Today when tension on the Sino-Indian border has been eased as a result of the initiatives taken by China, what is *Pravda's* real aim in suddenly conjuring up tension and publishing an article under the sensational heading, "A Serious Hotbed of Tension in Asia"?

Does the article show the Soviet leaders' concern over the preservation of peace in Asia? Obviously not.

There is certainly tension in Asia. The peace of Asia is being threatened and undermined. But it is the imperialists, headed by the United States, who are threatening and undermining the peace of Asia. The hotbeds of tension in Asia are places like south Korea, Taiwan, Japan, south Viet Nam and Laos, which are being subjected to U.S. aggression and are under its occupation, and particularly south Viet Nam where the U.S. imperialists are waging inhuman special warfare. Why do the Soviet leaders shut their eyes to these hotbeds of tension? Why don't they have the courage to step forward and speak out firmly with a few words against the U.S. imperialists' intervention and aggression in these areas, and particularly in south Viet Nam and Laos? Why do they deliberately single out the relaxed situation on the Sino-Indian border to make such a fuss about?

To be blunt, the Soviet leaders are doing so because they want to exploit the Sino-Indian boundary question to sow dissension between China and other Asian-African countries, divert the people in Asia and Africa from the struggle against imperialism and cover up the U.S. imperialists' aggressive and warlike activities. This is a betrayal of the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the people of Asia and indeed of the whole world.

Trying hard to sow dissension, *Pravda* slanderously accuses China of refusing the mediation of the Colombo conference nations, ignoring their efforts and even "questioning the competence of the Colombo conference." These words suffice to show that the Soviet leaders are wholly on the Indian reactionaries' side in the latter's opposition to socialist China, and are trying, by their demagogic language and activities behind the scenes, to incite the Colombo conference nations to abandon the lofty mission of peace mediation and follow them in their cold war against China over the Sino-Indian border question. The October 5 issue of the Indian weekly *Blitz* blurted out the truth when it said that *Pravda* openly "condemned China and blamed her for tension on the Sino-Indian border," and that "Russia has also taken it upon herself to do the explaining in Afro-Asian countries which, China claims, are critical of India's stand on the border issue." What does "the explaining," to which this Indian weekly refers, mean? It means the sowing of dissension.

Besides supporting the Indian reactionaries in rejecting a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Soviet leaders are opposed to China's establishing and developing friendly relations with other Asian-African countries, and particularly her settling disputes left over from history with other Asian countries. The *Pravda* article and the Soviet Government statement of September 21 repeatedly express dissatisfaction with China for settling her boundary question and developing good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan and maliciously accuse China of "making overtures to the obviously reactionary regimes in Asia and Africa." To the Soviet leaders, their submission and surrender to the arch-imperialists is a great contribution to world peace, while China's peaceful settlement of her boundary question with a neighbour is a crime. We would like to ask the Soviet leaders: Is it not enough that you are supporting the Indian reactionaries in creating tension on the Sino-

Indian border? Do you want to create tension on the Sino-Pakistan border as well?

In international mass organizations, the Soviet leaders forbid activities against imperialism while instigating activities against China, and try to break up the anti-imperialist united front by exploiting the Sino-Indian boundary question. China has repeatedly and earnestly pointed out that, for the sake of upholding unity in the common struggle against imperialism, disputes between Asian-African countries should not be brought up in these organizations. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has time and again instigated and abetted the Indian delegates in stirring up trouble by utilizing the Sino-Indian border question. For example, at the World Congress of Women in Moscow, the Soviet Union, the host country, encouraged the Indian delegation to raise the Sino-Indian boundary question which had nothing to do with the main theme of the congress, and by its manipulation of the congress tried to deprive the Chinese delegation of its right of reply. It is no secret that this anti-China farce was carefully planned and stage-managed by the Soviet Union. Again, at the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Moshi, the Indian delegates, with the Soviet delegates' support, insisted on placing the Sino-Indian border issue on the agenda. In his letter to the *Indian Express*, the head of the Indian delegation to that conference gave away some inside information about these underhand activities. He said, "We obtained the full support and co-operation of the Soviet delegation." Matters could not be clearer. And yet *Pravda* in its article of September 19 has the audacity to accuse China of using the Sino-Indian border issue to "poison" the atmosphere at various international forums. Don't its authors have any sense of shame?

The present Sino-Indian border situation has been eased as a result of the initiatives taken by China and of the active mediation of the Colombo conference nations. Unless India makes further provocations, this relaxed situation can undoubtedly be maintained. But to meet the needs of their domestic and foreign policies, the Indian reactionaries are working hard to create new tension. The U.S. imperialists are, of course, anxious to stir up trouble. The coming Anglo-U.S. air exercises in India prove that they do not wish to see a further relaxation of the Sino-Indian border situation. Likewise, the fact that the Soviet leaders are sowing dissension among Asian-African countries and fanning the flames proves that they are endeavouring to aggravate it. While the U.S. imperialists are attempting to exploit it for the purpose of controlling India, the Soviet leaders are trying to do so for the purpose of discrediting China. These are different roads to the same goal. Therefore, the possibility cannot be excluded of the Indian reactionaries' provoking a new conflict on the Sino-Indian border with the support of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet leaders.

But, after all, 1963 is not 1962. The six nations of the Colombo conference have undertaken the responsibility of mediation for peace, the people in Asia, Africa and throughout the world see the rights and wrongs of the Sino-Indian boundary question more and more clearly, the reactionary features of the Nehru government are

being increasingly revealed and the joint anti-China plot of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet leaders and the Indian reactionaries is no longer a secret. Under these circumstances, if the Indian reactionaries dare to provoke new clashes, we are confident that they and their supporters will surely be strongly condemned by the people of Asia and Africa and the rest of the world.

We hope the situation on the border will remain relaxed and we will do all we can to this end. We have told the Colombo conference nations that we would keep them regularly informed on Indian provocations, and we have already begun to do so. If India carries out not only harassing provocations but also armed invasions like those before October 20, 1962, and if she refuses to withdraw from Chinese territory, we will ask the Colombo conference nations to persuade India to withdraw. We will consider striking back in self-defence only if the Indian side turns down such persuasion and is determined to occupy China's territory.

We will not change our policy of seeking a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, whatever action the Indian reactionaries may take and however much the Soviet leaders support them. We are fully convinced that our policy will finally triumph, no matter what happens in the world or however long the settlement is delayed. It is impossible to undermine the great friendship between the peoples of China and India.

The stand and policy of the Soviet leaders on the Sino-Indian boundary question amply prove that they have betrayed the Chinese people, the Soviet people, the people of all the countries in the socialist camp, the Indian people and all the oppressed peoples and nations. It is becoming clearer and clearer that the Soviet leaders no longer consider the imperialists, headed by the United States, and the reactionaries of all countries to be their enemy. It is the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionary people and China in particular who are their enemy.

In order to oppose China, which firmly upholds Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, the Soviet leaders have allied themselves with U.S. imperialism and the renegade Tito clique, and now, with the September 19 article of the *Pravda* Editorial Board and the Soviet government statement of September 21, they have openly declared their alliance with the Indian reactionaries. They probably think that by joining with all the scoundrels in the world in shrieking abuse, they can discredit and isolate China.

We would like to advise the Soviet leaders not to rejoice too soon. Revolutionary China can never be isolated. The more brazenly you collaborate with all imperialists and reactionaries, the more you isolate yourselves. China cannot be discredited. For truth is on China's side. Your Achilles' heel is your lack of respect for truth. More than 90 per cent of the people of the world heed the truth. As the Chinese saying goes, "With truth on your side you can travel all over the world, without it you can't move an inch." Those who have no respect for truth will fail in the end.

U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of South Viet Nam!

Following is a translation of the editorial of "Renmin Ribao" of November 4. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE south Viet Nam puppet regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, the faithful stooge of U.S. imperialism, has been overthrown by a military coup engineered by the United States. On the afternoon of November 1, the pro-U.S. south Vietnamese forces taking part in the coup launched a fierce attack on Ngo Dinh Diem's puppet presidential palace, smashing the resistance of his puppet regime with U.S.-made artillery and mortars. The U.S.-supported generals who staged the Saigon coup have taken over the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime and installed a new puppet, Nguyen Ngoc Tho, who was a "vice-president" of the Diem regime, as "premier" of the so-called "new government." Thus U.S. imperialism has staged yet another farce of changing its lackeys in Asia and has conspired to step up its bloody suppression of the south Vietnamese people.

Self-Defeating Denials

After the outbreak of the military coup in Saigon, a spokesman for the U.S. State Department had the effrontery to deny the facts by saying that "I can categorically state that the United States is not in any way involved in the coup." For the U.S. Government to use these tactics of denial is extremely silly and ludicrous. For the past few months, the open and secret struggles between the U.S. Government and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, struggles between masters and slaves, have become extremely intense. It has long ceased to be a secret that the United States has been trying in a thousand and one ways to get rid of its stooge Ngo Dinh Diem to prevent the failure of its policy of aggression in south Viet Nam. It was to plan this conspiracy that the Kennedy Administration sent Lodge as "ambassador" to south Viet Nam. The military coup plotted by Lodge failed to come off smoothly because of the desperate resistance of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. But U.S. imperialism did not miss the chance of giving a fatal blow to a stooge who had become worthless. A few days ago, Taylor, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff who just returned home from an "inspection" of south Viet Nam, foretold in an undisguised manner: In south Viet Nam "a coup d'etat or uprising

could come overnight and without warning." At the outbreak of the coup, the Kennedy Administration immediately ordered the U.S. military forces to move "towards the area of south Viet Nam" in support of the pro-U.S. forces in the coup. However much it may try, the U.S. Government can never conceal its black hand in engineering the coup.

Lesson for U.S. Flunkeys

It is nothing strange for U.S. imperialism to stage the farce of changing its lackeys through military coups in the countries and regions under its enslavement and domination. The United States has constantly done so in Latin America. In Asia, the outstanding example is Syngman Rhee in south Korea. When the Syngman Rhee clique was no longer able to help U.S. imperialism stabilize its colonial rule in south Korea, the United States simply kicked that stooge aside. In south Viet Nam Ngo Dinh Diem has now met a similar end. Facts have proved again and again that when the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries are mounting as they are today, it is utterly impossible for U.S. imperialism to stabilize its rule over its enslaved countries and regions. This has sealed the miserable fate of all its stooges. U.S. imperialism does not hesitate to abandon or even butcher them when they become obstacles to its policies of aggression. The fate of Ngo Dinh Diem serves as a living example for all the flunkeys who are willing to let themselves be led by the nose by U.S. imperialism. If they continue to act as submissive tools of U.S. imperialist aggression and to oppose the Chinese people, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits entrenched on Taiwan, an island of the motherland, will not only do harm to the country and the people but will also come to a bad end themselves. They will finish up no better than did Syngman Rhee, Ngo Dinh Diem and their like. Their only hope lies in abandoning the wrong path for the right one.

Serious Setbacks in U.S. Imperialist "Special Warfare"

The U.S. determination to remove its lackey Ngo Dinh Diem reflects the serious setbacks it has suffered in its aggression against south Viet Nam. The United States has staked thousands of millions of dollars on the Ngo Dinh

Diem clique and sent about 20,000 U.S. troops to south Viet Nam to unleash the brutal "special warfare" and participate directly in the suppression and slaughter of the south Vietnamese people. In spite of this, the patriotic, revolutionary forces of the people of south Viet Nam have continuously grown in size and strength, dealing ever heavier blows to the U.S. and to the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Under such circumstances, U.S. imperialism is attempting to cover up its vicious features as aggressor and to deceive the south Vietnamese people by changing its stooge and making Ngo Dinh Diem its scapegoat, so that it can continue its dirty war against the south Vietnamese people. Recently Kennedy has clamoured that the United States will never "abandon" south Viet Nam and that "if south Viet Nam falls," the U.S. enslavement of the rest of Southeast Asia would also "go behind it." The statement issued by the White House on October 2 put this even more clearly, saying that "the central objective of our [U.S.] policy in south Viet Nam" is to "suppress as promptly as possible" the patriotic, just struggles of the south Vietnamese people.

Recently, the Kennedy Administration has been trying to find a panacea to save U.S. imperialism from its final bankruptcy in south Viet Nam. While stepping up arrangements for military suppression, it has hypocritically indicated that the United States hoped that "the national security forces of the government of south Viet Nam are capable of suppressing" the "insurgency" by themselves, so that the United States could gradually "withdraw" its aggressive forces. The U.S. Government has also attempted to use the United Nations for aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam through the manoeuvres of the so-called U.N. "fact-finding mission." All this is designed to benumb the fighting will of the south Vietnamese people, throttle their revolutionary struggle and convert south Viet Nam into a permanent colony and military base for the United States.

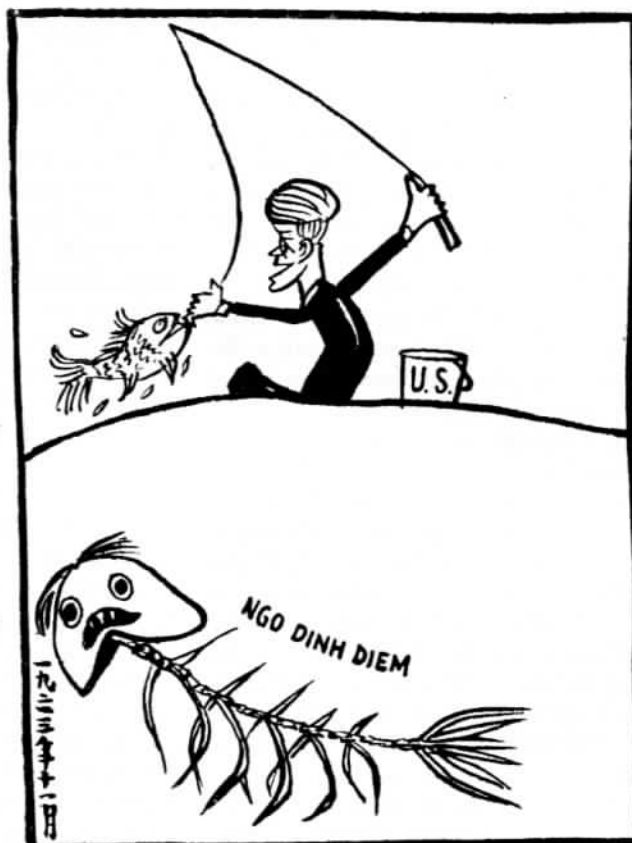
It is thus quite clear that the result of the military coup in Saigon is that one U.S. flunkey has collapsed and another come to power. The U.S. imperialist policy of hostility to the people of south Viet Nam and of attacking and enslaving them has not changed in the least and will never change. The only difference is that the U.S. imperialists will use this new and more tractable tool of aggression to tighten their control over south Viet Nam and attack its people even more wildly.

Powerful Reply From the South Vietnamese People

The south Vietnamese people are rich in experience of protracted struggles against foreign aggressors. They will not be intimidated into submission by the bloody suppression perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, nor will they be taken in by any intrigues U.S. imperialism may resort to. On November 1, the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front issued a statement on the Saigon military coup, calling on the south Vietnamese people and the people's armed forces to struggle their hardest

to smash the "strategic villages," shatter the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique's rule and wipe out its military strongholds. It called on the south Vietnamese people to strengthen their unity, heighten their vigilance, stand on guard against the divisive plots of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, believe in their own fighting power and wage a relentless struggle under the banner of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front. On November 2, 100,000 people in Saigon held demonstrations, shouting: "U.S. imperialism, get out!" All this is the powerful reply of the revolutionary people of south Viet Nam to the trick of the U.S. imperialist-instigated military coup in Saigon.

At present, the situation in south Viet Nam is greatly favourable to the people there but unfavourable to U.S.



There are other fish in the sea
Cartoon by Hua Chun-wu

imperialism and its lackeys who are already closely encircled by the south Vietnamese people. The downfall of the puppet regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, the lackey of U.S. imperialism, shows that the ultimate defeat of U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries in south Viet Nam is inevitable. Nor can the coming to power of a new henchman of U.S. imperialism avoid ending in total collapse. No matter how ruthlessly the U.S. imperialists carry out their bloody suppression of the people of south Viet Nam and no matter what schemes and intrigues they use to deceive them, U.S. imperialism eventually will have to clear out of south Viet Nam and the patriotic and just struggle of the south Vietnamese people will win final victory.

ROUND THE WORLD

Cuba

Teaching Washington a Lesson

While hypocritically offering "aid" to hurricane-stricken Cuba, Yankee imperialism was actually stepping up its subversion and sabotage. It sought to exploit the island republic's temporary difficulties for its own perverted purposes.

There was the night-time murder of a worker militiaman on guard duty during the hurricane. There was the sending to Cuba of dynamite and other material for sabotage in the guise of food parcels. There was the employment of two Canadians who, posing as businessmen, tried to sneak high explosives into Havana airport. There were also more landings of agents and arms on secluded beaches under the cover of darkness.

But the revolutionary Cuban people thwarted all these cloak-and-dagger operations and exposed them to the light of day. The murderers of the militiaman were arrested. The dynamite was intercepted and, together with other parcels sent from the U.S. for speculative purposes, confiscated. The "businessmen" were caught. Finally, the American-captained, Nicaragua-flagged and Florida-based C.I.A. pirate ship *Rex* was surprised landing secret agents. Though it managed to escape, four saboteurs from launches of the *Rex* were captured and confessed to their crime, naming the C.I.A. as their employer. From blustering about Cuban attacks on a "Nicaraguan" vessel, the State Department lapsed into a lame "no comment" to all questions about the *Rex* now back at its U.S. base.

Washington was beside itself with glee because Cuba was hit by the disaster. Tightening their economic blockade and intensifying their sabotage and provocations, U.S. officials openly bragged about effecting a "radical change" in Cuba. However, as Fidel Castro pointed out in his latest public speech, the Cuban people are teaching these gentlemen another important lesson. He said: "They possess wealth which can be swept away by a flood. But they do not have the inexhaustible wealth which a liberated people possess." Rallying around the

revolutionary government, the Cuban people have once again proved they are equal to the challenge. With the enthusiasm and singleness of purpose which only revolutionary people can have, they are performing feats of labour heroism as they reconstruct their devastated provinces.

Asian-African Workers

To Meet in Djakarta

The Asian-African Workers' Conference, the first in history, is to meet in Djakarta some time in 1964. Trade unions of the two continents which are anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist will be represented, irrespective of their political trends, religious beliefs and international affiliations. International organizations which are in agreement with the conference, support it and wish to attend as observers are invited. These and many other points were decided at a meeting of the sponsoring countries in the Indonesian capital on Oct. 28-Nov. 3.

The meeting adopted the following agenda for the conference: 1) Struggle of the workers and people in Asia and Africa against imperialism and colonialism and for independence and democratic rights, improved economic and social conditions, and world peace. 2) The strengthening of the unity of African workers in the struggle for national independence. 3) Struggle for the unity of the working class and the consolidation of the national united front in Asian countries.

The meeting also adopted a Djakarta Appeal which declared, *inter alia*, "It is only through the eradication of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism that the people of Asia and Africa can achieve and consolidate their independence and security in a peaceful world. It is therefore the duty of Afro-Asian workers to continue and even step up their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

The Asian-African Workers' Conference was first proposed by the Indonesian Trade Union Federation. It has been approved by 77 trade union federations in 36 countries of Asia and Africa. Delegates from Japan, China, Viet Nam, the Philippines, Ceylon, the Soviet Union, Ghana, Mali, Morocco

and Indonesia took part in the preliminary meeting.

India

Soviet Shot in the Arm

New Delhi's current military build-up has its backers in Moscow as well as in Washington. Side by side with the U.S.-U.K.-India "joint air exercise" this week, work is in full swing on the Soviet-designed MIG plants at Korapur and Nasik so that they can be in production by 1965. Indian pilots to man these locally made supersonic MIG-21s are being trained with Soviet help.

Moscow is now quietly furnishing New Delhi with such military hardware as tanks, artillery, helicopters, air transports, radar installations, ground-to-air and air-to-air missiles as well as the MIGs. After the recent return of an official Indian mission from Moscow, the New Delhi papers proclaimed their satisfaction at the favourable terms on which these weapons were being supplied. Payment is to be made in rupees. And the Nehru government, they reported, was given "a free hand" to use such equipment as it pleases.

The increased flow of Soviet arms to India is closely linked with the latter's anti-China campaign. Soviet military aid began in 1960 — soon after the Indian reactionaries began their armed provocations against China. This assistance was stepped up after Nehru ordered the massive attack on China in October last year. It has continued to increase despite the relaxation of tension on the border.

Soviet economic aid to India was also boosted around 1959-60. As Indian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. Kaul recently admitted, this assistance is "for building the defences of our country." Whereas such aid totalled 1,254 million rupees during the four years between February 1955 and March 1959, the amount jumped to 2,595 million between April 1959 and August 1962. By March this year, Soviet credits to India had reached 5,000 million rupees.

Naturally, Nehru is most grateful for this badly needed shot in the arm. He has publicly declared that Soviet aid to India during the period of Sino-Indian armed clashes exceeded the military assistance India received from the West. The Indian Prime Minister has boasted: "Indian-Soviet friendship is worth 20 divisions."

Palaeoanthropology

New Ape-Man Fossil Discovered

Unearthed in Lantien County, about 45 kilometres from Sian in Shensi Province, the find is the best preserved fossil lower jaw bone (mandible) of an ape-man ever discovered in China. It provides new valuable scientific data for the study of the origin of man.

The fossil was discovered in deposits of "reddish clay" of the quaternary period in the village of Chenchiawo on July 19 by a field team belonging to the Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeoanthropology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Scientists are of the opinion that the present fossil, belonging to an ape-man of advanced years, dates back about 400,000 to 500,000 years.

Until this time no ape-man fossil was ever found in China with the exception of Choukoutien where the first skull cap of the Peking Man was discovered in 1929. Before liberation fossil mandibles of ape-men had been unearthed several times in a cave of this north China town, but all were eventually lost. One fossil lower jaw bone was found there as recently as 1959. However, no fossil discovered at this world-famous small town was as well preserved as the July find at Lantien.

This time, the fossil mandible was buried near the basal part of the "reddish clay," the deposit of which lay 30 metres thick. Many mammal fossils including tigers, elephants, boar and sika deer were also unearthed. Over 300 metres away from the ape-man fossil a quartz pebble bearing traces of artificial chipping was found.



Fossil mandible unearthed at Lantien County

Judging by the characters of human and mammal fossils and the stratigraphical consequences, scientists inferred the geological age of the fossil as Middle Pleistocene. Since the Lantien fossil was found at the basal part of the "reddish clay" which, when compared with quaternary deposits in north China, might correspond to the lower part of the Middle Pleistocene, the fossil's geological age may even go back earlier than that of Peking Man which is now generally estimated as 400,000 years old.

Scientific workers have also discovered many fossils of vertebrates and palaeolithic artifacts in Lantien county belonging to a later geological period. The Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeoanthropology plans to carry out further study and excavations around Lantien.

SPORTS

Physical Exercises to Music

In New China millions of people, old and young, enthusiastically exercise to music twice a day as a means of keeping fit. Contrary to the poppycock which has been spread in the West, it is voluntary and the word "exercise" involves, in addition to calisthenics, volleyball, basketball, table tennis, badminton or a brief stroll up and down in the open air. For most people setting-up exercises is the most popular.

Every workday, around 10 a.m. and 3:30 p.m. depending on working hours, all labouring people and staff in mines, factories, offices and schools take a 15-minute break. Most go out to any open space around plants or offices, on flat roof-tops or even in the halls and corridors to do their exercise to the strains of music by the numbers. So exercise-conscious have people become that travellers on a long train journey often take advantage of stops to get in a few whacks on station platforms.

Judging from the present countless number of physical exercise aficionados one would think this is a traditional Chinese practice. Actually, it only became a widespread custom in 1951 shortly after liberation when the People's Government's Physical Culture and Sports Commission publicized the first set of standard exercises to music for adults. Because the majority of the people up to then had had

little time or inclination to indulge in physical culture and sports the first set of exercises was relatively simple. Over the years, however, the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission has publicized a total of 17 sets of daily exercises. These include four sets for adults; four each for children between seven and nine, and nine and twelve years old; two for athletes warming up for competitions; and three for industrial workers which are based on the first three sets of exercises for adults with special variations.

Most of those going in for the standard exercises in their work breaks nowadays favour the fourth set published this April. They seem to prefer its many variations, smoother rhythmic flow and greater beauty of movement. Although it takes only slightly more than four minutes to run through, the nine exercises in this fourth set afford a fairly thorough workout for the many devotees of muscle-flexing. Also, the musical accompaniment to these exercises has great popular appeal. Adopted from folk tunes of Shansi Province and Inner Mongolia, the music is contagiously catchy.

Much work went into the compilation of the fourth set of exercises. Noted gymnasts and coaches were called in. Before being made public, some schools and organizations ran through try-outs which were followed up by revisions. When the final version was forthcoming newspapers, radio and TV went into action. Diagrams and instructions appeared in the press, radio extended its programme time, and in Peking an expert demonstration was carried on TV.

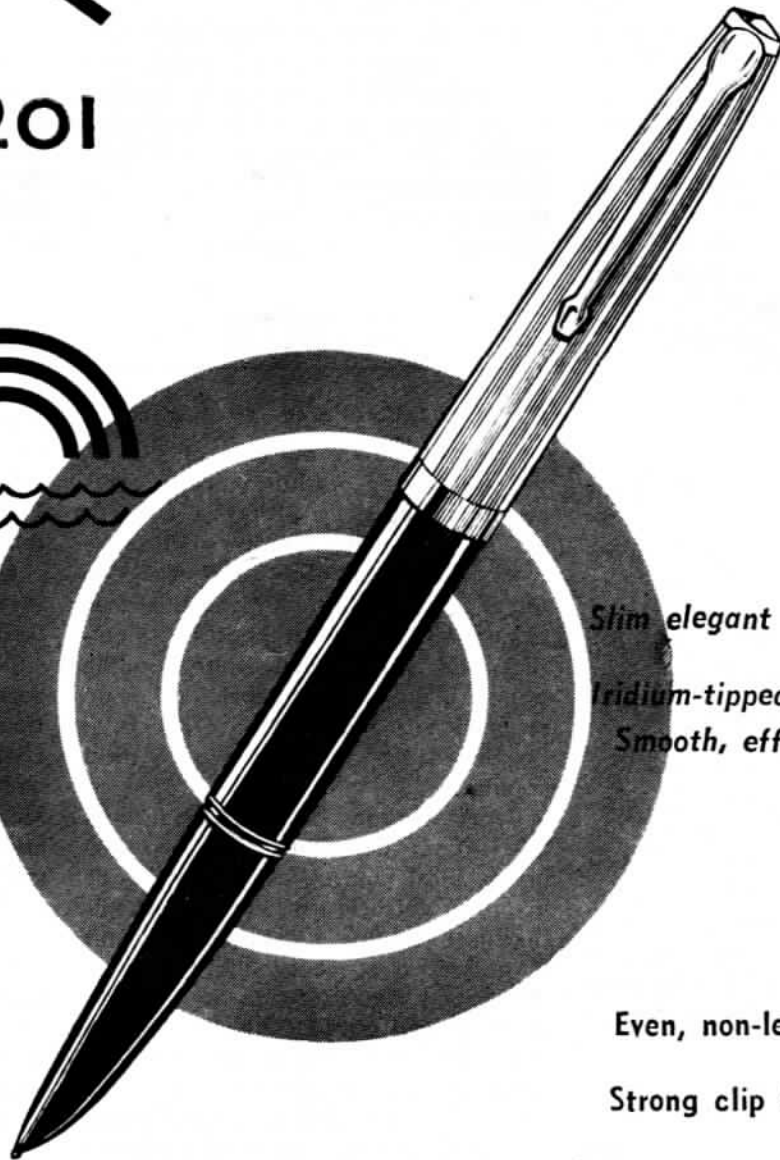
On October 14 two new sets of exercises for children were released. These sets, one for seven-to-nine-year-olds, the other for the nine-to-twelve group, bid fair to become a favourite of the small fry.

Special Radio Coverage of GANEFO.

The Central People's Broadcasting Station has announced a daily 15-minute coverage of the GANEFO over its national network from November 8 to 23. From 22:15 - 22:30 hours (Peking Time) daily, the programme will broadcast news and features sent by Chinese correspondents in Djakarta. While the games are on, the regular news broadcasts and sports programmes will also carry daily round-ups.

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