

# PEKING REVIEW

25

June 19, 1964

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# The Song of Youth

by Yang Mo



This novel of student life in the Peking of the early 1930s is immensely popular in China, particularly among the youth. Over two million copies of the original Chinese edition have been sold.

Set in the years between the Japanese occupation of northeast China in 1931 and the upsurge of the revolutionary student movement of 1935 on the eve of the War of Resistance to Japan, it follows the fortunes of the young intellectuals of Peking who, led by the Chinese Communist Party, battled the Japanese imperialist aggression and the Kuomintang government's capitulationist policy.

Lin Tao-ching, its heroine, is one of those young progressives who, at first puzzled and uncertain, later mature in the revolutionary struggle. Others of her circle waver and drift into the camp of reaction. The clash of personalities and of plot and counter-plot excitingly reflect the complexities of Chinese society in those years. It brings alive the heroic revolutionary tradition of China's youth.

*Hard cover and dust jacket*

*Illustrated*

*599 pp.*

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# The Roar of a Nation

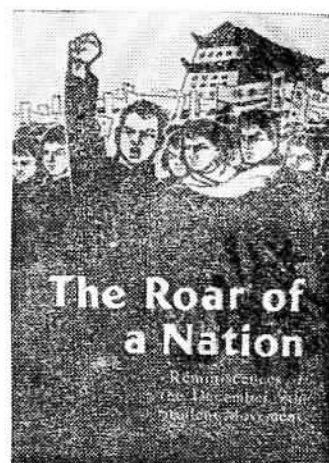
*Stories of a Student Movement That Roused a Nation*

The Peking students' demonstration on December 9, 1935, set going a patriotic movement that coursed through the country demanding an end to the Kuomintang government's policy of appeasement, an end to civil war in China, and the forging of national unity to resist the invading Japanese forces. Led by the Chinese Communist Party, the students' resolute actions opened a new stage in the growth of China's national revolution.

The reminiscences collected in this book were written by men who took an active part in that movement. They tell the story of men and women who dedicated their youth to the great cause of national liberation and grew to maturity in this heroic struggle. Filled with incident and the surge of a great mass movement, it is a book that will inspire all who read it.

*Illustrated with photographs of the time*

*172 pp.*



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# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

June 19, 1964 Vol. VII No. 25

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

• Second Vice-President Rashidi M. Kawawa of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar and the government goodwill economic delegation he led received a hearty welcome from the Chinese Government and people during their visit to China.

An agreement on economic and technical co-operation between the two countries was signed in Peking.

• The Chinese Government protested strongly against the bombing by U.S. aircraft of the quarters of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Khang Khay, Laos, which resulted in the killing of one staff member and the wounding of five others.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi sent a message to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference urging them to act immediately to halt U.S. armed intervention in Laos and convene the 14-nation conference.

• The Treaty of Friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Arab Republic of Yemen and the joint communique of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Abdullah Al Sallal were published.

• Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, gave an address in Peking on June 10 to the teachers and students of the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

A press release on the visit to China of the delegation of the Communist Party of Belgium was published.

• A delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party arrived in Peking for a visit.

• A U.S.-made P2V plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang was shot down while on a harassing mission over north China on June 11.

• The Chinese press published the full text of the joint statement issued by the Communist Parties of New Zealand and Indonesia. The statement stresses the unanimity of views between the two Parties on all international questions discussed, including those within the international communist movement.

### Chairman Mao Meets Belgian C.P. Leader

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on June 10 met Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, and the Party delegation he led. They had a cordial conversation. Later, Chairman Mao gave a dinner in honour of the Belgian comrades. Among those present were Liu Shao-chi,

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee.

Jacques Grippa left Peking on June 13 for home. On June 10, he gave an address in Peking to the teachers and students of the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He also visited places of interest, including a rural people's commune on Peking's outskirts. A



Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the C.P.C. with Comrade Jacques Grippa and members of his delegation

press release on his delegation's visit to China was issued on June 12.

**Press Release on Visit to China.** The delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium paid a friendly visit to China between May 20 and 28, and between June 4 and 14, 1964, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium was led by Comrade Jacques Grippa, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Party's Central Committee. Members of the delegation were: Henri Glineur, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium and President of the Walloon Communist Party; Rene Raindorf, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium; Arnold Hauwaert, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, Member of the Political Bureau of the Walloon Communist Party and editor of the Party organ *La Voix du Peuple*; and Mrs. Madeleine Grippa, secretary of the delegation.

During the visit, Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee; Kang Sheng,

Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee; and Chao Yi-min, Alternate Member of the Central Committee, held talks with the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium on questions of common interest and exchanged views on international questions and matters relating to the international communist movement. The talks, which proceeded in a friendly, fraternal atmosphere, testified to the complete unity and identity of views of the two Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on June 10 met and had a friendly and cordial conversation with the delegation.

### Indonesian C.P. Delegation Arrives

A four-member delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party arrived in Peking on June 12 after a tour of Korea. Led by Anwar Kadir, Member of the Party's Central Committee and its Secretary, the delegation has come for a visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Greeting the Indonesian comrades at the airport were Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and other leading Party officials.

On June 13, Peng Chen gave a banquet in honour of Anwar Kadir and the members of his delegation.

### Chiang Plane Shot Down

One more of the Chiang Kai-shek gang's P2V's (made in U.S.) was shot down on June 11. Flying a night harassing mission over north China, the plane was shot out of the sky by a naval air defence unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The following day Minister of National Defence Lin Piao commended the naval unit as well as a P.L.A. air force unit which co-operated in downing the P2V.

In north China the navy marked the occasion with a rally at which Admiral Su Chen-hua declared that the intrusion of the enemy plane once again revealed that the imperialists and all reactionaries were not reconciled to their defeat. He called on his men to heighten their vigilance and smash any new attempt at intrusion by the U.S.-Chiang brigands.

### Protest Against Kidnapping of Chinese Personnel

One of the latest in the series of hostile acts committed by U.S. imperialism against the Chinese people is the kidnapping on May 26 of Tung Chi-ping, a member of the Chinese Embassy staff in Burundi, by the U.S. Embassy. Despite repeated requests by the Burundi Government, the U.S. Embassy has refused to release the kidnapped Chinese.

In a statement on June 9 voicing strong protest, the Chinese Embassy in Burundi said that the U.S. Embassy had not only flouted Burundi's sovereignty, but had violated the elementary rules of international law and trampled underfoot fundamental human rights. It demanded that Tung Chi-ping be freed without delay.

# Tanganyika-Zanzibar Guests Visit China

**T**HE recent visit to China of Second Vice-President Rashidi Mfaume Kawawa and the goodwill economic delegation of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar he led was a new milestone in the relations of friendship and co-operation between the people of China and the people of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. An agreement on economic and technical co-operation between the two countries was signed in Peking on June 16. This was fresh and eloquent proof of Asian-African unity.

This friendship and unity was evidenced by the hearty welcome given Vice-President Kawawa and his colleagues in Peking and other cities, in the speeches at the 10,000-strong Peking rally and the many banquets held in their honour, and in the talks they held with the Chinese leaders. This friendship and unity is an important factor expediting the complete liberation of the Asian-African peoples from the imperialist yoke. As *Renmin Ribao* said in its editorial of welcome on June 11: "The imperialists and colonialists do not take their defeat lying down; they are trying by every means possible to stifle the Asian-African peoples' struggle to win and safeguard national independence and preserve their colonial rule." "To smash the conspiracies of the imperialists and old and new colonialists," it stressed, "it is necessary to strengthen mutual support and co-operation between the Asian-African peoples in their struggle against imperialism." Vice-President Kawawa's successful visit has contributed much to this common cause of the people of the two continents.

Vice-President Rashidi M. Kawawa and his delegation, which included Nsilo Swai and Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu, both Ministers of State in the Presidential Office, arrived in Peking on June 11 by special plane from Shanghai in the company of Vice-Premier Chen Yi. Welcoming them at the airport were Premier Chou En-lai and other government leaders and a large crowd



Chou En-lai and Rashidi M. Kawawa at the airport

of Peking citizens. After reviewing a guard of honour, Vice-President Kawawa, accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai, drove to the state Guest House, followed by a long motorcade. All along the way, gaily decorated with banners and streamers bearing slogans of welcome, hundreds of thousands of people lined both sides of the streets to greet him and his colleagues, showering confetti and flower petals on them, setting off firecrackers, and dancing and singing to Chinese music.

That evening Premier Chou gave a banquet in honour of his guests in the Great Hall of the People. He paid tribute in his speech to the people of Tanganyika-Zanzibar for their unremitting struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for their positive role in international affairs. He pointed out that the awakened Asian and African peoples had immense potentials and inexhaustible resources. "Although the imperialists now scoff at our poverty and backwardness," he said, "we are deeply convinced that, through our own efforts, we Asian and African peoples can change all this."

Stressing the need to strengthen mutual aid and economic co-operation, the Premier declared: "The Chinese Government has always regarded the strengthening of such mutual aid and co-operation as its international obligation and has abided by its eight principles in providing aid to other countries. We hold that all aid must be given in that spirit of equality and mutual benefit and with scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of the recipient, and that any attempt to demand privileges and attach political strings or to interfere with other countries on the pretext of aid should be resolutely opposed." The Premier also spoke of the situation in Indo-China. He condemned the U.S. authorities for scheming to supplant the Geneva agreements by actions under the signboard of the United Nations and introduce so-called "U.N. forces" in an attempt to turn Indo-China into a second Congo. He expressed full support for the just stand taken by Prince Sihanouk who declared that the United Nations had no power to handle the problem of Indo-China.

Vice-President Kawawa, in his speech, recalled the long-standing friendship between the people of China and of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. He praised the Chinese people for having driven out the imperialists and colonialists and for having achieved successes in construction through self-reliance. "This is a great achievement," he said. "It is most encouraging to us—the peoples of Africa." Referring to the problems confronting Africa, he said: "Our greatest anxiety in Africa stems from the presence and evil machinations of the imperialists. They have a way of leaving by the front door

and returning by the back door. At present our struggle against the imperialists consists of ridding Africa completely of imperialists and colonialists and being on our guard to prevent them from returning through the back door. In our struggle against the imperialists on these two fronts we mainly rely on the unity of the African states and on Afro-Asian solidarity and friendship."

On the afternoon of June 14 Vice-President Kawawa attended a mass rally in the capital. More than 10,000 people cheered him to the echo when, in his address, he spoke of the growing friendship between his country and China and of the surging movement among the African peoples for liberation. In the evening Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi met the Vice-President and the members of his delegation. They had a friendly and cordial conversation. Later, Chair-

man Liu gave a banquet in their honour.

Vice-President Kawawa and his delegation left Peking for Shanghai on June 17. On the eve of departure, he gave a banquet attended by many Chinese leaders. In his farewell speech, Vice-President Kawawa said that his visit was a great success and that "China is not only a great friend of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar but also of the whole of Africa." "The people of China," he added, "have demonstrated to the world that the mightiest force on this planet is the spirit of the people and their good intentions. These are more deadly weapons than the atomic bombs. The weapons you have used to defeat your enemies were inferior to theirs, yet because of your great spirit and determination to regain your motherland, their weapons were no better than toys."

Referring to the anti-imperialist struggle, he said: "I share the views expressed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung when we called on him, that the imperialists are like dirt which will not move until it is swept out." The Vice-President declared that the imperialists must go whether they liked it or not.

Premier Chou En-lai also spoke. He expressed conviction that the deep friendship between the two countries would continue to develop. The Premier took the opportunity to reiterate China's stand on the Laotian situation. He severely denounced U.S. imperialism's open armed aggression in Laos and declared that any attempt to put off the 14-nation conference would only facilitate U.S. aggression and intervention and the further extension of the war flames in Laos and Indo-China.

### **Greeting Polish Party Congress**

The fourth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party opened in Warsaw on June 15. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent a message extending warm greetings to the congress and, through it, to all the members of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish people. The message said: "The two fraternal countries of China and Poland have common interests and targets in their struggles. The peoples of our two countries have established a profound and fraternal friendship in the protracted revolutionary struggle and in the struggle for building socialism. Today, although our two Parties differ on a series of questions of principle concerning Marxism-Leninism, we believe that these differences are of a temporary nature and will certainly be resolved through practice in history on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

"The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will, as always, fight against the aggressive and war policies of imperialism led by the United States, for realizing peace,

national independence, democracy and socialism, and for strengthening the friendship and co-operation between the Chinese and Polish Parties and peoples."

### **Nepalese King's Birthday Marked**

Kaisher Bahadur, Nepalese Ambassador to China, gave a reception in Peking on June 11 to celebrate the 45th birthday of King Mahendra Bir Bickram Shah Deva. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi were among the guests.

Ambassador Kaisher Bahadur and Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke at the reception and toasted the growing friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples. "The Chinese Government and people," said Vice-Premier Chen Yi, "will continue to work together with the Nepalese Government and people to develop Sino-Nepalese friendly relations, promote Asian-African unity and defend world peace."

### **Premier Chou Greet Asian Economic Forum**

On the eve of the opening of the Second Asian Economic Forum in

Pyongyang on June 16, Premier Chou En-lai sent a message expressing warm congratulations and wishing it every success. Paying tribute to the great achievements of the Korean people under the wise leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Premier Kim Il Sung, the message said that the Korean people had set a good example of developing an independent national economy through self-reliance. "We understand well from our own experience," the message continued, "that consolidated, complete political independence is possible only when genuine, consolidated economic independence is achieved. The most reliable way to eliminate the poverty and backwardness resulting from long years of imperialist and colonialist rule is to develop an independent national economy through self-reliance and to strengthen mutual aid and economic co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit."

Premier Chou expressed the hope that the forum would contribute to the preparations for the Asian-African economic forum to be held in Algeria and submit positive proposals on economic co-operation to the Second Asian-African Conference scheduled for next March.

# China Strongly Protests U.S. Bombing Of Its Mission in Laos

This is a most serious step taken by the U.S. Government in further violation of the Geneva agreements and extending its armed intervention in Laos. It is an open provocation against the Chinese people. The Laotian situation has reached a critical juncture. The Co-Chairmen of the Geneva conference are duty-bound to immediately stop U.S. provocations extending the war in Laos and call a 14-nation conference without delay. The Chinese Government would like to remind the nations which signed the Geneva agreements that if the go-it-alone actions of the U.S. Government continue to be allowed, not only will it be impossible to restore peace in Laos, but there is danger that the flames of war in Indo-China may spread.

*Following is the text of the June 13 statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China in protest against the bombing of the quarters of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Laos by U.S. aircraft.—Ed.*

ON June 11, U.S. fighter-bombers invaded the Xieng Khouang area in Laos, carried out barbarous bombing in Khang Khay, the seat of the former Royal Laotian Government, and hit the quarters of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Laos, killing one and wounding five of the staff members of the Chinese mission. This is a most serious step taken by the U.S. Government in further violation of the Geneva agreements and extending its armed intervention in Laos. It is an open provocation against the Chinese people. The Chinese Government and people express their great indignation at this provocation and strongly protest against the U.S. Government and its followers.

This grave incident was deliberately created by the U.S. Government and the Laotian Rightist coup d'etat clique. Since they engineered the coup d'etat in Vientiane and placed Prince Souvanna Phouma under duress, the U.S. imperialists have been steadily intensifying their armed intervention in Laos. The reconnoitring and bombing flights made into Laos by air force units sent by the U.S. Government have from the very beginning been undisguised acts of aggression and intervention in Laos and gross violations of the Geneva agreements. The fact that now, at a time when many Geneva agreements nations are calling for the speedy convening of a fourteen-nation conference for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, the U.S. imperialists should go to the length of making wild attacks on Khang Khay and a Chinese mission in Laos demonstrates the determination of the U.S. imperialists to obstruct a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question and further extend the flames of war in Laos.

The bombing of Khang Khay and the Chinese Mission by U.S. aircraft further shows that the government in Vientiane is no longer the Laotian Government of National Union, that Prince Phouma is a mere tool of the U.S. Government and the Laotian Rightist coup d'etat clique and that real power is in the hands of the U.S. Government and the Rightist clique. What evidence is there? On June 10 Prince Phouma asked for the cessation of reconnoitring flights by U.S. aircraft, but at the same time the Laotian Rightist leader Phoumi Nosavan openly stated that the reconnoitring flights would not stop even if Prince Phouma requested it. Whose words count? Phoumi Nosavan's. For the very next day after Prince Phouma declared the cessation of the reconnoitring flights there occurred the bombing of Khang Khay and the Chinese Mission by the U.S. air force.

Moreover, the bombing of Khang Khay and the Chinese Mission by U.S. aircraft happened at a time when the so-called Vientiane consultations engineered by Britain were under way. This clearly reveals the essence of the so-called Vientiane consultations. The United States on the one hand took part in the consultations, and on the other hand wantonly bombed Khang Khay and the Chinese Mission. People cannot help asking: Were the other participating nations of the Vientiane consultations in the know or not? If they were, then were they accomplices or connivers? The facts have proved that, in the present circumstances in Laos, the holding of consultations among part of the Geneva agreements nations, no matter what the nations are, without facing the fact that the United States is thoroughly tearing up the whole of the Geneva agreements and without holding a fourteen-nation conference, would in fact serve no other purposes than putting off the fourteen-nation conference and providing a cover for the U.S. Government in extending its acts of armed intervention.

The Chinese Government holds that the Laotian situation has reached a critical juncture and that the convening of the fourteen-nation conference now brooks no delay. The Co-Chairmen of the Geneva conference have the duty to take immediate measures to stop U.S. provocative acts of extending the war in Laos and at the same time to call the fourteen-nation conference without delay, so that a way may be found to settle the Laotian question peacefully on the basis of upholding the Geneva agreements. The Chinese Government hopes that the Co-Chairmen will cherish their status and perform their duties. Otherwise, they cannot shirk their part of responsibility for the further deterioration of the Laotian situation.

The Chinese Government stands for compliance with the Geneva agreements. Even when such serious provocations have been made by the U.S. Government, it still reiterates its proposal for holding a conference of the participants of the Geneva agreements for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. However, the Chinese Government would like to remind the Geneva agreements nations, if the U.S. Government should continue to be tolerated to go it alone and act unscrupulously in defiance of the Geneva agreements, not only will it be impossible to restore peace in Laos, but there is the danger that the flames of war in Indo-China may spread.

## Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Letter to Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen

*On June 13 Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi wrote a letter to Andrei Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., and Richard Butler, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, Co-Chairmen of the 1962 Geneva Conference, about the U.S. bombing of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission's quarters in Laos. Following is a translation of this letter.—Ed.*

SIX U.S. fighter-bombers intruded into the air space of Khang Khay, the seat of the former Royal Laotian Government, at 10:00 a.m. on June 11, and carried out wanton bombing and strafing, destroying the quarters of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Laos, killing one and wounding five of the staff members of the Chinese Mission. This is another incident of deliberate provocation by the U.S. Government and a grave step taken by it to extend its direct armed intervention and aggression in Laos.

The Chinese Government and people are greatly indignant at this incident. Now that the situation has grown so serious, the Co-Chairmen must not remain silent any more but must discharge their duties by taking immediate measures to stop such acts of naked aggression and provocation by the United States.

The increasing deterioration of the Laotian situation shows that the 14-nation conference must be speedily convened and must not be put off any longer. Otherwise, with the continued deterioration of the Laotian situation, not only will it be impossible to restore peace in Laos, but there is the danger that the flames of war in Indo-China may spread. The Chinese Government once again asks the Co-Chairmen immediately to hold emergency discussions with the Geneva conference nations concerned on the question of convening the 14-nation conference, so that the conference may be held in Phnom Penh or Geneva as soon as possible.

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## Serious Provocation by U.S. Imperialism

*Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of June 15. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

IN defiance of the serious warnings delivered by the Laotian patriotic forces and the opposition of the countries determined to uphold the Geneva agreements, aircraft of U.S. imperialism and the Laotian Rightist

group on June 11 again intruded over Khang Khay bombing and strafing the city wantonly. Some of the bombs hit the quarters of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission. This is extremely grave. The Chinese Government has issued a statement protesting strongly against the outrage committed by the United States and calling for a 14-nation conference at the



earliest possible date to put an end to U.S. provocations to extend the hostilities in Laos.

### **A Premeditated U.S. Move**

The bombing of Khang Khay shows that the Johnson Administration has entered into a phase of direct and open armed aggression in Laos whereas previously it had been instigating and making use of local reactionaries to undermine peace there. It shows that the Johnson Administration is prepared to tear up the Geneva agreements completely and is bent on provoking a war and enlarging the conflict in Laos.

The incident is a premeditated U.S. move to enlarge its armed aggression in Indo-China. Claiming that the International Commission was unable to function normally, the Johnson Administration ordered its aircraft to fly reconnaissance missions over Laos, and then, on the pretext of providing "escorts" for its reconnaissance planes, wantonly bombed the Laotian liberated territories. Thus, U.S. imperialism is extending and intensifying step-by-step its armed intervention in Laos. But this is not all. Having aggravated the situation, the Johnson Administration is trying to conjure up new and more preposterous pretexts for further military aggression in Laos at a time it believes opportune. U.S. newspapers are now openly talking about the combined forces of U.S. troops, puppet troops of south Viet Nam and troops of the Laotian Rightists "controlling" the Viet Nam-Laotian and Thailand-Laotian borders. At the same time, U.S. imperialism is stepping up its efforts to extend the war of aggression in south Viet Nam, directing its flunkies to invade Cambodian territory and planning to introduce a "United Nations force" into Indo-China. These truculent U.S. acts have whipped up the highest tension in all of Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

### **Phouma's Role Further Revealed**

Events before and after the bombing show more clearly than ever Prince Souvanna Phouma's role in the Vientiane government. On June 9, he told Western newsmen that he did not agree to the sending of U.S. fighter planes as "escorts" or to any acts of "retaliation." No sooner had he made this statement than the U.S. Government and the Laotian Rightists reacted sharply. U.S. Ambassador to Laos Leonard Unger said no, and declared that the United States would dispatch its aircraft to conduct "general surveys" and "periodic checks" in Laos as before. A spokesman of the U.S. State Department, Richard I. Phillips, also said no, and stated that "there is no change" in the U.S. decision to send "escorts" as long as necessary. And Phoumi Nosavan, boss of the Laotian Rightists, also said no, and asserted that "other people in the government" would not agree, even if Prince Souvanna Phouma wanted an end to the flights. While uttering these harsh words to embarrass Phouma, they dispatched aircraft to bomb Khang Khay. Under the circumstances, Prince Phouma

at once chimed in and declared that he had requested the U.S. Government to resume its reconnaissance flights as soon as possible.

Has not Prince Souvanna Phouma said that he is the head of the Vientiane government? But one sees that a mere U.S. Ambassador and a junior official of the State Department can make him dance to their tune. Has not Phouma said that he is now the leader of both the neutralists and Rightists in Laos? But one again sees that an angry look from Phoumi Nosavan is enough to make Phouma echo his words and call black white. Events have proved that Prince Souvanna Phouma has today fallen completely into the hands of U.S. imperialism and the Laotian Rightists and has become a convenient tool of theirs to subvert the Government of National Union and torpedo the Geneva agreements. The painstaking propaganda of the Johnson Administration that it respects the Royal Government of Laos as well as the position of Prince Phouma as its Premier is sheer nonsense.

### **Does the U.S. Intend to Force the Chinese People to React?**

Having reconnoitred intensively and taken detailed aerial photographs, U.S. aircraft dropped their bombs on to the quarters of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Khang Khay, which flew the flag of the People's Republic of China, and killed and wounded several of the Chinese staff. This is a deliberate provocation against the People's Republic of China. We want to ask the Johnson Administration: What are you planning to do? Do you intend to force the Chinese people to react to your provocations?

It appears that U.S. imperialism is trying to use force to carry out intimidation in an attempt to compel the Chinese Government and people to renounce their stand of upholding the Geneva agreements. But the Johnson Administration seems to have a guilty conscience. After committing this crime it immediately denied it and attempted to shift the criminal responsibility of the Khang Khay bombing and the killing and wounding of Chinese personnel entirely on to the Laotian Right-wing. Actually, the arguments of the Johnson Administration are futile. The crime was committed by the United States in collaboration with the Laotian reactionaries. Both are responsible and there is no need for being so modest as to shuffle responsibility back and forth. Can the Johnson Administration's flat denial clear it of responsibility? It may be recalled that U.S. government officials and Prince Phouma publicly admitted only one or two days ago that the United States had directly sent airplanes to carry out "reconnaissance" with "escorts" over the liberated areas in Laos. How can these words which are still ringing in everybody's ears be denied? Since U.S. imperialism has been trying to carry out intimidation by force, why should it deny it? To be frank, U.S. imperialism will never succeed in its attempt to cow the Chinese people with the threat of force, nor will it

succeed in shirking its criminal responsibility by means of cunning denials.

### Vientiane "Consultations," a Cover for U.S. Intervention

As the June 13 statement of the Chinese Government has pointed out, the U.S. bombing of Khang Khay and the Chinese mission happened at a time when the so-called Vientiane consultations engineered by Britain were under way, and this clearly reveals the essence of the so-called Vientiane consultations. Let us examine the roles played by the participants in these "consultations": The United States is the chief culprit for undermining the peace and neutrality of Laos; Thailand has sent its troops to the neighbourhood of Vientiane; the puppet group in south Viet Nam is a cat's-paw of U.S. imperialism in the latter's aggression in Indo-China; a spokesman of the British Foreign Office has openly applauded the bombing of the Laotian liberated areas by U.S. planes. . . . What can such a gang do except whitewash the U.S. imperialist crimes of aggression and keep putting off and obstructing the convocation of the 14-nation conference?

U.S. imperialism and its followers are well aware that the nondescript Vientiane "consultations" have completely failed to fool anybody. Now they are actively trying new tricks in diplomacy. Prince Phouma also indicated in a recent statement his readiness to participate in such activities in the name of the three sides in Laos.

We wish to make it clear to the U.S. Government and its followers that all attempts to conduct "consulta-

tions" or "talks" to the exclusion of any participating country of the Geneva conference are illegal and will never succeed, and that the attempt to exclude the Neo Lao Haksat and pass Phouma off as a representative of the three sides in Laos in his activities is also illegal and will never succeed. The settlement of the Laotian question must be achieved through the 14-nation consultation internationally and among the three sides in Laos internally. There is no alternative.

### Two Co-Chairmen's Duty

The question of how to safeguard peace in Laos and Indo-China has been put on the urgent agenda of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. Will they ignore, connive with and even encourage the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism or immediately adopt effective measures to stop them? The Co-Chairmen must seriously and correctly fulfil their duty. All signatories to the Geneva agreements and all countries in the world which cherish peace are closely watching their attitude.

Peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia is hanging by a thread. The calling of a conference of the signatories to the Geneva agreements to check the aggressive and war activities of U.S. imperialism can no longer be delayed. Another appeal in this connection has been made in the June 13 statement of the Chinese Government and Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letter to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. It is our hope that all countries which have peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia at heart will make joint efforts to overcome the various obstructions that U.S. imperialism places in the way of the 14-nation conference and strive for its early convocation.

## Documents

# Sino-Yemeni Friendship Treaty

*Following is the text of the "Treaty of Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the Arab Republic of the Yemen" made public on June 15. — Ed.*

**T**HE Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Arab Republic of the Yemen,

Desiring to consolidate and further develop the profound friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Arab Republic of the Yemen, and

Being convinced that the strengthening of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Arab Republic of the

Yemen fully conforms to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries and also conduces to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty.

### Article I

The Contracting Parties shall maintain and develop the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between the People's Republic of China and the Arab Republic of the Yemen.

## Article II

The Contracting Parties decide to take the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence as the principles guiding the relations between the two countries.

The Contracting Parties shall settle any issue that may arise between them by means of peaceful negotiation.

## Article III

The Contracting Parties agree to develop the economic and cultural relations between the two countries in the spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly co-operation.

## Article IV

The present Treaty shall come into force on the day of signature and shall remain in force for a period of ten years.

Unless either of the Contracting Parties gives to the other notice in writing to terminate the present Treaty one year before the expiration of this period, the present Treaty shall remain in force, subject to the right of either Party to terminate it ten years after it comes into force by giving to the other notice in writing of its intention to do so in which case the present Treaty shall cease to be in force as from the day one year after the notice is given.

Upon the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Treaty of Friendship Between China and the Yemen signed in Peking on January 12, 1958 shall cease to be in force.

Done in Peking on June 9, 1964 A.D. or the 28th day of Muharam, 1384 Hegira, in duplicate in the Chinese and Arabic languages, both texts being equally authentic. In case of any difference of interpretation, the Arabic text shall prevail.

(Signed)

(Signed)

**LIU SHAO-CHI**

**ABDULLAH AL SALLAL**

Chairman of the  
People's Republic  
of China

President of the  
Arab Republic of  
the Yemen

# Joint Communique of Chinese and Yemeni Heads of State

*Following is the text of the joint communique of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Abdullah Al Sallal, President of the Arab Republic of the Yemen, made public on June 15.—Ed.*

AT the invitation of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Field Marshal Abdullah Al Sallal, President of the Arab Republic of the Yemen, paid a visit of friendship to China from June 1 to 11, 1964.

Accompanying President Sallal on his visit were Brigadier Mohamed Al Raaini, Deputy Prime Minister; Mr. Abdul Rahman El Eriani, Deputy Prime Minister; Brigadier Hadi Eisa, Deputy Defence Minister; Mr. Mohamed Kaied Saif, State Minister for the Presidential Affairs; Mr. Abdul Ghani Mottahar, State Minister; Colonel Abdullah Al Daubi, Counsellor of the President; Dr. Hassan Meki, Counsellor of the Prime Minister; Mr. Ahmed F. Abou El Oyoum, Counsellor of the President for Legal Affairs; Lt.-Col. Mojahed Hassan, Director of the Presidential Office;

and Mr. Ali Al Matari, Secretary-General of the Presidency.

During their stay in China, President Sallal and the Delegation of the Arab Republic of the Yemen to China toured Peking, Shanghai and Hangchow, visited factories, people's communes and places of historical interest and were accorded warm welcome and cordial hospitality by the Chinese Government and people.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, received President Sallal and all the other members of the Delegation of the Arab Republic of the Yemen, and they had cordial and friendly conversations.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai held talks with President Sallal. Present at the talks on the Chinese side were also Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Senior General Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Tseng Yung-chuan, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Fang Yi, Director-General of the Central Bureau

for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries; Lu Hsu-chang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Chen Chung-ching, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; Kung Ta-fei, Deputy Director of the West Asian and African Department of the Foreign Ministry; and Ko Pu-hai, Deputy Director of the Protocol Department of the Foreign Ministry. Present at the talks on the Yemeni side were also Brigadier Mohamed Al Raaini, Deputy Prime Minister; Mr. Abdul Rahman El Eriani, Deputy Prime Minister; Brigadier Hadi Eisa, Deputy Defence Minister; Mr. Mohamed Kaied Saif, State Minister for the Presidential Affairs; Mr. Abdul Ghani Mottahar, State Minister; Colonel Abdullah Al Daubi, Counsellor of the President; Dr. Hassan Meki, Counsellor of the Prime Minister; Mr. Ahmed F. Abou El Oyoun, Counsellor of the President for Legal Affairs; Lt. Col. Majahed Hassan, Director of the Presidential Office; Mr. Ali Al Matari, Secretary-General of the Presidency.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual trust. The two parties had a full exchange of views on international questions of common interest and on the question of further strengthening the relations of friendship between China and the Yemen, and identical views were reached on all the questions discussed.

The two parties agreed that the present international situation is increasingly favourable to the peoples of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and reaction. The main source of the present international tension is the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Provided the peoples of the world unite and wage a persistent and unremitting struggle against imperialism, they will be able to prevent a world war and defend world peace.

The two parties noted with pleasure that the Asian-African peoples' struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence is continually scoring great victories. The Asian-African peoples' revolutionary struggle against imperialism is a gigantic force defending world peace and promoting the cause of human progress.

The two parties noted that imperialism and old and new colonialism are putting up last-ditch struggles and trying hard to maintain or restore their colonial rule and colonial interests by political, military, economic and cultural means. The two parties held that neo-colonialism is even more dangerous than old colonialism. To combat imperialism and old and new colonialism and win and safeguard national independence remains the primary common fighting task of the Asian-African peoples at the present time.

The two parties unanimously pointed out that the Arab peoples' unity and the Asian-African peoples' unity are in the vital interests of the Arab and Asian-African peoples, and that the two parties resolutely oppose any foreign aggression and interference.

The two parties strongly condemned the imperialist policy of aggression against Arab countries and expressed resolute opposition to the imperialists' criminal activities in instigating and using Israel to harm the Arab national interests.

The two parties expressed firm support for the Arab peoples in their just struggle for the dismantling of all foreign military bases on Arab territory.

The two parties expressed firm support for the Arab people of Palestine in their just struggle for the recovery of their legitimate rights and for a return to their homeland.

The two parties strongly condemned the fresh crimes of military aggression committed by imperialism in Aden, the other occupied areas of South Yemen and Oman. The Chinese side expressed firm support for the Yemeni people of Aden and the other occupied areas of South Yemen as well as the people of Oman in their just struggles against the colonial rule and expressed the deep conviction that they will certainly triumph.

The two parties condemned imperialism for its recent creation of renewed tension in Indo-China and its execution of war plots there. They agreed that it is necessary quickly to convene a conference of the participants of the Geneva agreements in order to save this region from the ominous situation and to preserve peace in Asia and the world.

The Chinese side congratulated the Yemeni people on the victory of their revolution of September 26, 1962. It expressed firm support for the Yemeni people in their just struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries and for safeguarding their state sovereignty and territorial integrity. It expressed its support for the pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the Arab Republic of the Yemen and its appreciation of the efforts made by the Government of the Arab Republic of the Yemen in developing its national economy and culture and striving for social progress.

The Chinese side expressed gratitude to the Arab Republic of the Yemen for its just stand of supporting the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposing the "two Chinas" plot.

The Yemeni side expressed its appreciation of the Chinese Government's firm and just stand of consistently pursuing a foreign policy of peace, supporting struggles for national liberation, opposing imperialism and defending world peace, and highly appraised the successes achieved by the Chinese people in their construction.

The Chinese side reaffirmed that the Chinese Government unswervingly observes the following five principles in its relations with the Arab countries: 1. It supports the Arab peoples in their struggle to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence. 2. It supports the pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the governments of Arab countries. 3. It supports the desire of the Arab peoples to achieve solidarity and unity in the manner of their own choice. 4. It supports the Arab countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation. 5. It holds that the sovereignty of the Arab countries should be respected by all other countries and that en-

croachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed. The Yemeni side expressed its appreciation of and support for China's observance of these principles.

The two parties praised the positive role played by the First Arab Summit Conference held in Cairo in January this year in strengthening the Arab peoples' cause of unity against imperialism. They expressed the deep conviction that the forthcoming Second Arab Summit Conference will certainly make a new and even greater contribution in this respect.

The two parties pledged firm support for those Asian and African peoples who are still under colonial rule in their just struggles for independence and freedom, and expressed the wish that the new emerging independent Asian and African states would achieve continuous successes in consolidating their national independence, upholding their state sovereignty and developing their national economy.

The two parties pointed out with satisfaction that since the Bandung Conference tremendous victories have continuously been won for the Asian-African peoples' cause of unity against imperialism. They expressed full support for the decisions taken at the recent preparatory meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference, and considered that the meeting has laid a good foundation for the Second African-Asian Conference. The two parties expressed their determination, together with the other Asian and African countries, to work actively for making the Second African-Asian Conference a success and thus further strengthening the Asian-African cause of unity against imperialism.

The two parties expressed their satisfaction with the steady development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and the Yemen. During their

talks, the leaders of the two parties had a full exchange of views on the question of further strengthening the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and obtained satisfactory results. The two parties signed the "Treaty of Friendship Between the People's Republic of China and the Arab Republic of the Yemen," the "Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Arab Republic of the Yemen" and the "Agreement on Cultural Co-operation Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Arab Republic of the Yemen." This marked the advent of a new stage in the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and the Yemen.

The two parties expressed the firm conviction that President Sallal's present visit to China has made an important contribution towards strengthening the friendship and further developing the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and the Yemen.

President Sallal invited Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to visit the Arab Republic of the Yemen at a time convenient to them. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Peking, June 9, 1964.

(Signed)

**LIU SHAO-CHI**

Chairman of the People's Republic of China

(Signed)

**ABDULLAH AL SALLAL**

President of the Arab Republic of the Yemen

## International Communist Movement

# Joint Statement of the Communist Parties Of New Zealand and Indonesia

*Following is the full text of the joint statement of the Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of Indonesia, published in Djakarta on June 11. It was signed by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, and V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the New Zealand Communist Party on June 6 in Djakarta. Boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**F**ROM second to seventh, June, 1964, the General Secretary of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, Comrade V.G. Wilcox, paid a visit to Indonesia. During his stay in Indonesia,

Comrade Wilcox, among other things, visited Bogor and Bandung and delivered lectures on the struggle being waged by the Communist Party of New Zealand against U.S. imperialism and monopoly capital in New Zealand, for genuine independence and socialism.

Official talks were held between Comrade Wilcox and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia. Attending the talks on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia were Comrade D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia; Comrade M.H. Lukman and Comrade Njoto, First and Second Deputy Chairmen of the Central Committee of

the Communist Party of Indonesia; Comrade Sudisman, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia; Comrade Sakirman, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia; Comrade Karel Supit, Member of the Secretariat and Head of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

At the talks which proceeded in a very cordial and fraternal atmosphere marked by a deep spirit of proletarian internationalism, discussions were held on a number of international questions which are of common concern to the New Zealand people and the Indonesian people. Discussions were also held on the issue of the unity of the international communist movement which is today being jeopardized by the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the modern dogmatists.

**The two Parties hold similar views on all the international questions discussed including the problems that have arisen recently in the international communist movement.**

The two Parties are of one opinion and express their strong support for the resolute, heroic struggle being waged by the people of south Vietnam under the patriotic leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam to annihilate and drive out the U.S. imperialists who are plotting with the domestic counter-revolutionaries in south Vietnam. **The two Parties enthusiastically and proudly acclaim and pay high tribute to the brilliant victories which are continuously being gained by the guerrilla forces of the south Vietnam people in their struggle against the troops of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys who are fully equipped with modern weapons.**

**The two Parties most strongly condemn the armed aggression being waged by the U.S. in Laos which is attempting to destroy the national coalition that was agreed upon by the three princes representing the three main political groups in Laos. U.S. aggression and intervention in Laos seriously imperil security and peace, not only in Southeast Asia but also in the world as a whole. The problem of Laos is a problem for all mankind who love freedom and peace. It must be solved in accordance with the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos. The conference of the 14 states that signed the Geneva agreements must be re-convened immediately in view of the fact that these agreements are being trampled underfoot by the U.S. imperialists, the Rightist group as well as a treacherous section of the neutralist group.**

**The two Parties express their full support for the revolutionary struggle to seize, defend and consolidate national independence which is sweeping like a hurricane through the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, South**

**Africa and the other African countries. This is a struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.**

The victory of the Cuban revolution has aroused the peoples of Latin America and the oppressed peoples the world over and has provided a convincing example that **the only way to achieve full and genuine victory is the path of revolution.** The Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of Indonesia strongly condemn the vicious attempts of the U.S. imperialists who are still continuously waging aggression against Cuba. **The two Parties reaffirm their support for the Cuban revolution and the armed revolutionary struggle being waged by the peoples of Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia and of other Latin American countries.**

**The two Parties fully agree about the strategy and tactics which must be pursued in a Marxist-Leninist way against world imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, the principal enemy of the socialist camp, the oppressed nations, and the workers and peasants and all those exploited by the monopolists in the capitalist countries.** The struggle against imperialism for the independence of the peoples must not be relaxed, diverted or hidden by a policy of wooing and flirting with the U.S. imperialists, by a policy of nuclear blackmail, by scaring the people with the "terrifying" and "catastrophic" dangers of a nuclear war, by making the people lose all confidence in their own strength, in their role as the makers of history. **Blows must be continuously aimed at imperialism, and it is correct to concentrate these blows in those places where world imperialism is the weakest, in the storm centres of revolution as now exist in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.** Every victory achieved as a result of these blows brings nearer to their own final victory the working class and oppressed peoples in the capitalist countries, in the countries of the non-socialist world, and helps the socialist countries to safeguard and further develop their socialist achievements.

The facts prove that **the partial nuclear test ban treaty is a failure** and confirm the stand taken by the Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of Indonesia as previously expressed by each Party. The nuclear weapons issue is not a question of concluding treaties on the partial banning of nuclear weapon tests which only creates a monopoly of nuclear weapons held by certain big powers to be used to intimidate the non-nuclear countries. The only way to remove the threat of nuclear war is total and simultaneous cessation of all tests, manufacture of nuclear weapons and throwing all existing stockpiles into the sea.

The Communist Party of Indonesia expresses the support of all Communists and working people of Indonesia for the struggle being led by the Communist Party of New Zealand to build a united front of the workers and people of New Zealand against the U.S. imperialists who are dragging New Zealand into mili-

tary adventures through ANZUS and SEATO, aggressive military pacts that not only jeopardize the existence and independence of New Zealand but also pose a threat to the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia; **against monopoly capital in New Zealand and against the theories of the Social Democrats of class peace and collaboration.**

Of late, the imperialists have been actively making use of the ANZUS and SEATO aggressive military pacts in an attempt to exert strong pressure on the Republic of Indonesia which is now engaged in a struggle to crush the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project. The ANZUS and SEATO countries, New Zealand included, have decided to dispatch troops to fight the people of Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan, to wage hostilities against the Indonesian Government and people who are opposed to this "Malaysia" project.

The Communist Party of Indonesia reaffirms the viewpoint and stand of the patriotic and progressive people of Indonesia that the struggle to crush "Malaysia" is a matter of principle. The *Dwikora*, that is, the commands to reinforce the powers of national resistance and to help the people of Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan in their struggle to dissolve the "Malaysia" project which have further united the Indonesian people in a single, anti-imperialist front, must all be consistently implemented. The Government of the Unitary State of North Kalimantan which is led by Prime Minister Azahari should be fully supported, and active assistance be given to the people of North Kalimantan in their struggle to emancipate their country. The guarantee for success in the struggle to crush "Malaysia" lies in the anti-"Malaysia" united national front within Indonesia, the front of independence, anti-colonialism and anti-neo-colonialism of the North Kalimantan, Malayan and Singapore people, and active opposition to "Malaysia" of the international anti-imperialist front.

**The Communist Party of New Zealand states that it continues to support firmly and vigorously the just fight of the Indonesian people in the struggle to crush British imperialist aims for the continued exploitation of the people of Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan. It states that this struggle is in the best interests of the peoples of these territories, of the Indonesian people and of the people of New Zealand as well as the whole progressive mankind. This struggle will be a further blow weakening world imperialism.**

As regards the recent difference of opinion in the international communist movement, the two Parties reaffirm their united opinion that:

One, in accordance with the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, **the main danger in the international communist movement today continues to be that of modern revisionism. It is therefore obligatory for every Marxist-Leninist party continuously to intensify the struggle to expose modern**

**revisionism, while not relaxing the struggle against dogmatism.**

Two, the two Parties will do everything in their power to strengthen unity within the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Three, the two Parties are of the opinion that in order to achieve this, it is necessary that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China resume negotiations continuing the first negotiations that were held in July, 1963. This should be preceded by adequate preparations and held at a time convenient to both the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

It is also the joint opinion of the two Parties that bilateral talks on an equal basis should be held between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Albanian Party of Labour.

Four, the two Parties agree that **an international meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties should be held after proper preparations, achieving through bilateral discussions a settlement of the differences of opinion between the Parties in question. It is impermissible for this meeting to be forcibly or hastily convened and everything must be done to strengthen unity within the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and to prevent any further deepening of the division in the international communist movement.**

**The Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of Indonesia express their full support for the struggle successfully being waged by the Communist Party of Japan against revisionist and splitting activities of the Shiga-Suzuki group and are convinced that this struggle will further strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist Party of Japan and the Marxist-Leninist unity in the international communist movement.**

The Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of Indonesia state their common determination to strengthen the friendship between the working class and people of New Zealand and the working class and people of Indonesia, to continuously strengthen the revolutionary co-operation between the two Parties and peoples and to dedicate themselves to the execution of the historic tasks of all Marxist-Leninists, namely, the crushing of world imperialism headed by the United States of America, for the victory of the world revolution, for democracy, real national independence, world peace, socialism and communism.

Workers of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live world revolution!

Down with imperialism!

# JACQUES GRIPPA'S SPEECH

## At the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

Talks between leaders of the Belgian and Chinese Parties show a complete identity of views.

The modern revisionists are acting as accomplices of imperialism, stepping up their schemes to split the socialist camp, the international communist movement and individual Communist Parties. They want to stifle the revolutionary movement for national liberation, demobilize the working class in the capitalist countries, and prevent the proletariat from fulfilling its historic mission of overthrowing the capitalist social order and carrying out the socialist revolution.

The Yugoslav revisionists have persisted and gone further along the road of betrayal while Khrushchov and his followers openly pass over to the positions of the Tito group.

The revisionists are bent on ignoring the contradictions between the oppressed nations and imperialism and denounce indispensable armed revolutionary struggle.

"The state of the whole people" signifies liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; "the party of the whole people" signifies the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. The case of Yugoslavia proves the possibility of the "peaceful evolution" of socialism into capitalism and the possibility of revisionism throwing away the gains of socialism.

It is not only a theoretical mistake but demagogic to say that communist construction can take place in a single country when imperialism still exists and socialism is far from being completely realized. The aim of this is to cover up the consecutive failures caused by revisionism on the home front.

The main aspect of imperialist contradictions is antagonism between the various imperialist countries and U.S. imperialism. The West European countries are imperialists and exploiters, on the one hand, but on the other hand, they are mainly exploited by U.S. imperialism; and they are engaged in a struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the United States. The working class must make use of imperialist contradictions, isolate U.S. imperialism, seize and take the banner of national independence into its own hands.

Nuclear threats and nuclear blackmail are a component part of the "peace strategy" of U.S. imperialism and also a component part of the theory and policy of revisionism. The leaders of revisionism capitulate to U.S. imperialism and collaborate with it: this will only encourage its aggressiveness and increase its threat to the Soviet Union itself.

In a word, modern revisionism is completely reactionary and counter-revolutionary in theory and practice.

Our stand in the current debate is not in the least obscure: we stand by the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties and the forces of revolution. We will spare no effort to restore the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese Communist Party's proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement and its correct stand in the debate are an immeasurable contribution in this respect.

*On June 10, Comrade Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, gave a speech at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Following is the first instalment of a translation of the full text of his speech. Boldface emphases are ours.*

— Ed.

**Comrades:**

Permit me to convey to you the fraternal greetings of the Communists of Belgium and express their admiration for the firm example the Chinese Communist Party is giving in the struggle for socialist construction in your country, in the struggle to carry the



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## Welcoming Speeches for Jacques Grippa

A STANDING ovation lasting for several minutes greeted Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, and members of the visiting delegation of that Central Committee when they visited the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The Belgian guests were accompanied by Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Lin Feng, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese C.P. and President of the Higher Party School; and Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese C.P.

In a speech of welcome, Lin Feng pointed out that the Belgian Marxist-Leninists headed by Comrade Grippa, upholding the truth and daring to struggle, had displayed the great revolutionary spirit of fighters for communism. "They have hoisted a revolutionary banner which shines brightly in the communist movement in the capitalist countries of Western Europe. Their struggle against modern revisionism has made important contributions to the common cause of the international proletariat," he said.

"Holding high the banners of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Belgian Communists headed by Comrade Grippa have laid bare and criticized the errors committed by the revisionist group in the Belgian Communist Party, and resolutely boycotted and opposed its revisionist line," Lin Feng continued. "They have also laid bare and criticized the modern revisionist line represented by Khrushchov, which betrays the world revolution."

The experience gained by the Belgian Communists in their struggle against modern revisionism "is precious to the international communist movement. We should learn modestly from it," Lin Feng stressed.

He said that the Belgian Communist Party headed by Jacques Grippa, and the Chinese Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties throughout the world were supporting and assisting each other in their struggle against imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism. Lin Feng expressed deep gratitude to the Belgian Communist Party and people for their support for China's revolution and construction.

After Comrade Grippa delivered his speech, Lin Feng expressed profound thanks to him on behalf of the teachers and students. He said that the report they had heard was highly instructive. "We should learn conscientiously from Comrade Grippa and the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium."

Kang Sheng, who also spoke at the meeting, said that the Chinese Communist Party, together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, had waged a struggle against modern revisionism in the past few years. "This struggle has achieved an important victory. One of the manifestations of this victory is the big growth of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the other Marxist-Leninist forces all over the world," he said. "Marxist-Leninist theory is being developed and enhanced in the struggle against revisionism. The report made by Comrade Grippa today is a concrete example of this."

Kang Sheng said: "The struggle in the past few years against modern revisionism represented by Khrushchov fully demonstrates that Marxism-Leninism certainly will achieve even greater development in its struggle against revisionism and all sorts of opportunism. Marxism-Leninism is all-conquering. Revisionism certainly will fail completely." He wished the Belgian Communist Party headed by Jacques Grippa new successes in its struggles.

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socialist revolution to the end, and to oppose imperialist aggression, the export of counter-revolution and prevent a world war, in actively practising proletarian internationalism, in exposing modern revisionism, the main danger in the present-day international communist movement, and in the skilled application of Marxism-Leninism under the concrete conditions of our times.

The Communists of Belgium highly appreciate the ideological aid which the Chinese Communist Party has given to the Marxist-Leninists of all countries, to the international communist movement.

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The international situation is excellent for the revolutionary forces. The general crisis of capitalism is deepening but at the same time, the aggressiveness

of imperialism, its misdeeds, its crimes and the diversity of its plots too are on the increase.

In these circumstances, the revisionists are acting as auxiliaries of imperialism. They are stepping up their manoeuvres to divide the socialist camp, to split the international communist movement, and the Communist Parties.

They want to smother the revolutionary movement for national liberation.

They try to demobilize the working class in the capitalist countries, and drag them into the quagmire of neo-reformism.

They want to stop the proletariat from fulfilling its historic mission of overthrowing the capitalist social order and carrying through the socialist revolution.

They try to smash proletarian internationalism. They especially want to make the working class in the capitalist countries collaborate with imperialism, and first of all with U.S. imperialism, the main bulwark of colonialism of today, to oppose the working class in the capitalist countries to the revolutionary struggle for liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations.

This is how they have slid down the slippery slope of class collaboration into racism!

The speed of their degeneration reflects the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

But the Marxist-Leninists of all continents have strengthened their ideological unity and their ability to combat imperialism and its agents. They are united like the fingers of a hand.

Our presence here, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, is itself evidence of this, modest evidence, it is true, but significant, nevertheless.

The talks which we have had with several comrades of the leadership of your Party have enabled us to make a very deep examination of the various aspects of our common struggle. These talks have been of great use to us and very instructive. They have shown the complete identity of our views.

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**It is impossible to carry on an effective struggle against imperialism without denouncing and defeating reformism and revisionist neo-reformism.**

Lenin once pointed out that revisionism is "vague, indistinct, and imperceptible." We are familiar with the nebulous and confused talk of the revisionists, their high sounding phrases devoid of sense, their distortion of facts, their lies and their slanders against us. But we must uncover the content of their "theory" and practice.

The essence of modern revisionism is the same as that of reformism and classical revisionism: that is, it is the theory and practice of class collaboration.

One of its characteristic aspects, an important one in its present-day manifestations, is to be seen in the domestic and foreign policies of the Khrushchov revisionist group.

To Khrushchov, everything must be arranged around a monstrous edifice based on class collaboration. One of the mainstays of this edifice is big-power chauvinism in regard to the socialist countries, the revolutionary peoples and classes the world over. The other mainstay is "all-round co-operation" with U.S. imperialism, the biggest international exploiter and principal force of aggression and war. And the keystone of that edifice is nuclear blackmail.

Like all political conceptions based on the doctrine of class collaboration, modern revisionism opposes the historical development of human society. Therefore, it must deny the facts and objective reality.

While dialectical materialism is, for us Marxist-Leninists, our world outlook and our method of study and cognition, the revisionists use subjective idealism and eclecticism. They practice pragmatism and are distinguished by their practice of the volte-face.

**Thus it is bad luck for those who follow the baton. By justifying at all costs the pirouettes and disavowals of their ringleader, they discredit themselves in the eyes of the masses.**

In 1963, the Moscow tripartite treaty concerning nuclear monopoly was glorified as a great victory for peace but only a few weeks ago, this U.S.-British project was deservedly denounced.

U.S. imperialism is increasing the number of its underground tests and constantly reinforcing its nuclear arsenal.

But when China and other threatened socialist countries wish to have their own means of defence, that is a crime!

On many occasions, especially at the end of 1961, the Berlin question had to be settled at all costs in a matter of weeks. And then, suddenly there has been nothing urgent about it. . . .

The Khrushchov group installed missiles in Cuba — Marxist-Leninists did not ask them to do so. Then they removed these missiles — nor did Marxist-Leninists oppose that. But for the revisionists, this is a great feat and the wish to impose a violation of the sovereignty of Cuba and to change Cuba into a second Congo is a great victory!

For many years, they claimed that their ideas of "genius" in the field of agriculture would produce miracles. Today in the face of the agricultural disasters they have provoked in the countries which were made to suffer, revisionists are vaunting — U.S. methods of capitalist exploitation of the countryside!

Back in 1960, Khrushchov signed the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously condemning Yugoslav revisionism in the following terms:

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

**Since then, the Yugoslav revisionists have persisted and have gone further and further along the road of betrayal. Meanwhile Khrushchov and those who follow him openly pass over to the positions of the Tito group.**

They sing praises about this but those Marxist-Leninists who persist in considering "further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists" "an essential task" are accused by them of violating the Statement of the 81 Parties.

But let us take a closer look at the "thought" mechanism of the modern revisionists.

For them, the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world are reduced to one thing only: the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, and moreover this contradiction has and can have only one aspect — peaceful competition!

Furthermore, for the revisionists, this contradiction must be surmounted and bypassed by "all-round co-operation," thus doing away with all its class content.

This theory of class collaboration on an international scale attains the height of absurdity with the stupidly pretentious claim that the fate of humanity can be arranged by agreement between two "wise and reasonable men with powerful authority," namely, between U.S. imperialism, the representative of the enemy of the people of the whole world, on the one hand, and Khrushchev on the other.

For Marxist-Leninists, the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism is one of the basic contradictions of the contemporary world. For us, the national-democratic revolutions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are an integral part of the proletarian world revolution, strike direct blows at imperialism and show where the principal zone of revolutionary tempests is situated today.

For us, Marxist-Leninists, a people which oppresses others cannot itself be free.

This is why for the working class and the labouring masses in the imperialist countries, an active proletarian internationalism towards the revolutionary movements of national liberation is an unshirkable duty, inseparable from the struggle for their own liberation.

In pretending that colonialism is practically liquidated and in wilfully feigning ignorance of the role of neo-colonialism, the modern revisionists hope to negate the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism.

The revisionists wish to drain this contradiction of all revolutionary content and reduce it to a gap in level of development between "advanced" and "underdeveloped" countries, a gap which can be filled by so-called material "aid" within the framework of general co-operation with imperialism.

The facts, however, show that underdevelopment has become worse in countries languishing under the yoke of old and new colonialism.

At the most the revisionists allow these countries the prospect of having a bourgeois dictatorship and it is with horror that they condemn indispensable revolutionary armed struggle.

They try to make the working class of the highly industrialized countries an auxiliary of imperialism, shamelessly falsifying the Leninist theory on the necessity of the working class taking the lead in the national-democratic revolution so as to pursue it to the end and guide it to the path of socialism.

On the one hand, they pretend that this leading role must be filled exclusively by the working class of the highly industrialized countries.

On the other hand, they unjustifiably presume to represent, along with the classical reformists, this proletariat — although modern revisionism and reformism are really an agency of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class.

This is why they oppose any mutual support between the revolutionary movement of the working class of the highly industrialized countries and the revolutionary movement of national liberation.

What they wish to impose is, in fact, the stifling of the whole revolutionary movement by modern revisionism and reformism.

It is not surprising under these conditions that the revisionists, having cultivated colonial chauvinism, declared that the Algerian war was an internal affair for the French, that they make themselves protagonists of "the French Union" and have said, in Belgium, that "Belgium and the Congo share the same interests!"

Suslov, in his recent report, cited Lenin to support his own revisionist theses:

... the mutual relations between the nations, the whole world system of states, are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states, at the head of which stands Soviet Russia. If we lose sight of this we shall not be able to present correctly a single national or colonial question, even if it concerns the most remote corner of the earth. Only by adopting this point of view can the Communist Parties correctly present any political question concerning civilized or backward countries and give a reply to this question. (Lenin, "The Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions at the Second Congress of the Communist International," July 26, 1920)

But why does Suslov hide the first part of the sentence in this report of Lenin's to the Second Congress of the Communist International?

"The second leading idea in our theses is that in the present world situation, after the imperialist war, the mutual relations between the nations. . ."

Precisely because there is this idea, which is most important and fundamental, and which Suslov wants to hide as it stands in flat contradiction to his revisionism.

Such behaviour is enough for us to judge of the man and the theses he defends. But let us cite Lenin:

Firstly, what is the most important, the fundamental idea contained in our theses? The distinction between oppressed nations and oppressing nations. Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasize this distinction. It is particularly important in the epoch of imperialism for the prole-

proletariat and the Communist International to establish concrete economic facts and, in solving all colonial and national problems, to take as our starting points, not abstract postulates, but the phenomena of concrete reality.

The characteristic feature of imperialism is that the whole world, as we see, is at present divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressing nations possessing colossal wealth and powerful military forces. The overwhelming majority of the population of the world, numbering more than a billion, in all probability a billion and a quarter, if we take the total population of the world at one and three-quarter billion, i.e., about 70 per cent of the population of the world, belongs to the oppressed nations, which are either in a state of direct colonial dependence or belong to the outlying colonial states such as Persia, Turkey and China, or else, after being conquered by the armies of a big imperialist power, have been forced into dependence upon it by treaties. This distinction, the idea of dividing the nations into oppressing and oppressed nations, runs like a thread through all the theses, not only the first theses which appeared over my name and which were published earlier, but also through Comrade Roy's theses. The latter were written mainly from the point of view of the situation in India and among other large nationalities which are oppressed by Great Britain and this is what makes them very important for us. ("The Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions at the Second Congress of the Communist International," July 26, 1920)

Lenin returned immediately after this, in his third point, to the question of the national-revolutionary movement.

It is precisely the second leading idea spoken of by Lenin which shows that the revolutionary movements of national liberation are part of our epoch of world proletarian revolution.

What is the attitude of the revisionists with regard to the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries? Or more exactly, how do they try to reconcile their theory and practice of class collaboration on an international scale with the existence of this objective contradiction?

They do it by renouncing the strategic objective of proletarian revolution, of socialist revolution.

For this objective they substitute the slogans of bourgeois pacifism, of so-called structural reforms, and of bourgeois democracy.

As to the revisionist prattlings about peace, we shall see later on that these have nothing to do with the tactical objectives of a consistent struggle against imperialist aggression and for the defence of world peace.

**In forsaking the tasks of the proletarian revolution, the revisionists, in fact, deny the irreconcilable nature of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.**

Their subjectivist declarations about peaceful transition and peaceful evolution from capitalism to socialism are one part of their revision of Marxism-Leninism.

**The Marxist-Leninist stand on this question is known. It is well understood that the working class prefers to advance to socialism by the peaceful way; it should not let slip any opportunity of doing so. But how can one conceive such an eventuality which is extremely improbable and of which there is up to now no example that permits a verification of this possibility — unless a situation has arisen in which the working class formed an alliance with the other strata of the working people and established an overwhelming superiority of forces over the bourgeoisie, not excluding superiority in the field of arms.**

**This means that at the decisive moment, the working class and its vanguard, the revolutionary party, must be able to conduct armed struggle victoriously — ideologically, politically and organizationally. Only in this circumstance is it possible to force the bourgeoisie to capitulate.**

This can be "forgotten" only by those people who wish to "ignore" the fact that the bourgeoisie, with its state machinery, has an armed force of repression which it is quite ready to use.

To say, as the revisionists do, that it is practically only necessary to envisage the possibility of peaceful transition — only mentioning the other possibility for form's sake — means renouncing the proletarian revolution — whether peaceful or not.

Moreover, in these circumstances, the revisionists have gone to the lengths of participating in counter-revolutionary repression on the side of the bourgeoisie. Noske and Scheideman, the counter-revolutionary renegades of the social-democratic leadership, have shown before them where reformism can lead.

The possibility of peaceful transition to socialism which Lenin considered rare, is described by the revisionists as being the actual rule. What can this assertion be based on?

In the capitalist countries, every year workers are shot down during strikes and peaceful demonstrations which cannot in the least endanger the state power and privileges of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie has constantly strengthened the arsenal of repression of its state, its police and armed forces.

How can one imagine that capital will voluntarily renounce the use of these forces?

**In short, here again under the influence of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists have capitulated before the pressure of capital, of imperialism, before its threats and blackmail.**

They thus renounce all revolutionary perspectives precisely when the bourgeoisie is reinforcing its state apparatus in order to cope with the mounting difficulties and contradictions besetting the capitalist world, contradictions which will inevitably develop to their climax, to a revolutionary situation.

**Can one find a better proof of the absurdity of the position of the revisionists and their capitulationism than their application of so-called peaceful transition to fascist Spain where they preach the policy of "national reconciliation?"**

Now more than ever before we should keep in mind the following behest of Lenin:

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. The betrayal of their teaching by the now predominant social-chauvinist and Kautskyite trends is expressed in striking relief by the neglect of such propaganda and agitation by both these trends. (*The State and Revolution*)

... We always say—and it was said at the Second Congress—that revolution demands sacrifices. Some comrades in their propaganda argue in the following way: We are prepared to make a revolution, but it must not be too severe. If I am not mistaken, this thesis was uttered by Comrade Shmeral in his speech at the congress of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia. . . . At all events, I must say that if Shmeral did say that, he was wrong. Several comrades who spoke after Shmeral at this congress said, "Yes, we shall go with Shmeral because in this way we shall avoid civil war." If these reports are true, I must say that such agitation is not Communistic and not revolutionary. (Report delivered at the Third Congress of the Communist International.)

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**The modern revisionists have purely and simply taken the so-called theory of structural reform from the obscurantist ideological outfit of social democracy.**

The outline of this theory is well known. Peaceful evolution from capitalism to socialism will be realized by the so-called peaceful conquest of political power, achieved through a parliamentary majority, along with a so-called conquest of economic power by nationalization.

With regard to the first point, this is a negation of the class character of the bourgeois state and its ornament, the parliament; a negation of the necessity of destroying the bourgeois state machinery and in consequence, a negation of the necessity of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So far as concerns the second point, this denies the fact that the character of nationalization—whether it is bourgeois or socialist, is entirely decided by the nature of the state.

Socialist nationalization is the product of the socialist revolution; it is carried out under the conditions created by the state power of the working class and its allies and under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialist nationalization realizes the expropriation of the expropriators; by it, the means of production become the property of the whole people.

Nationalization within the framework of the capitalist system will always be bourgeois nationalization, that is, the further strengthening of state monopoly capital, the further fusion of capitalism and the state into a unique mechanism for intensified exploitation and oppression.

The examples provided by Britain, Italy, France, Germany and the Netherlands clearly demonstrate the true content and significance of bourgeois nationalization.

Lenin pointed out:

... state-monopolistic capitalism is a complete *material* preparation for Socialism, the *threshold* of Socialism, a rung in the ladder of history between which and the rung called Socialism *there are no intermediate rungs.* (*The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*)

In other words, the strengthening of state monopoly capitalism, bringing as it does the socialization of production to the highest point that the capitalist system can reach, creates very favourable objective conditions for the socialist revolution. But this by no means marks a stage on the road of the transformation of capitalist society into a socialist society.

Lenin long ago trenchantly exposed the deceptive nature of this assertion. He said:

... the erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion that monopoly capitalism or state monopoly capitalism is no longer capitalism, but can already be termed "state Socialism" or something of that sort, is most widespread. (*The State and Revolution*)

That is to say, the development of state monopoly capitalism must be used by us to demonstrate the necessity of the socialist revolution and not to negate the necessity of this revolution, or to celebrate the so-called progress of capitalism, as the reformists or the revisionist neo-reformists, do.

**In trying to confuse bourgeois nationalization and socialist nationalization, the reformists and neo-reformists tend to discredit the latter and therefore socialism itself. They try to make the masses accept bourgeois nationalization and the strengthening of state monopoly capitalism as a transformation of capitalist society into socialist society and so turn the working class and the mass of working people away from the indispensable task of smashing the bourgeois state machine and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as the first fundamental act of the socialist revolution.**

\* \* \*

**The modern revisionists wish to confine the struggles of the working class within the limits of bourgeois democracy and the legality of the bourgeois state. This will lead to and amount to smashing the struggles of the working class, even including those for their immediate rights in day-to-day life.**

The Italian revisionists restrict their activities within the limits of the constitution of the bourgeois republic.

In the document prepared for their 21st congress, the Dutch revisionists set themselves the following objective:

To win a parliamentary majority for a government of the workers' movement, so as to implement the main points of the programmes of the Dutch Communist Party, and of the Labour Party (the social democratic party) and the Pacifist Socialist Party. In this respect, there are the questions of the peaceful transition to socialism, the role of parliamentary democracy in achieving this aim and using the possibilities provided by the constitution to achieve greater democracy and the nationalization of the monopolies.

The revisionists have promoted the Dutch monarchical constitution into a means of peaceful transition to socialism. Here is a lovely example of parliamentary and monarchical cretinism!

And in fact, the immediate programme of the Dutch revisionists can be called, at best, a syndicate for class collaboration, which, among other things, includes the "inspiring" prospect of a second television network with parliamentary control over publicity.

In France, the leaders of revisionism demand:

A national assembly elected by universal and proportional suffrage, whose main task is to enact laws and control the government; and the formation of a strong and stable government which is responsible to the national assembly and whose role is to rule the country while carrying out the programme desired by the majority of the people.

The leaders of revisionism can add any qualification they like—genuine, real, pure—to the word "democracy," but what they are referring to is still bourgeois democracy. When they demand the formation of a "strong and stable government," what they demand is a strong and stable *bourgeois* government!

Lenin clearly gave us ideological weapons in exposing the treachery which makes social democracy a social bulwark of the bourgeoisie. He said:

... finance capital, in its drives for expansion, "freely" buys and bribes the freest democratic and republican government and elected officials of any country, even though it may be "independent." The domination of finance capital, as of capital in general, cannot be abolished by *any* kind of transformations in the sphere of political democracy. . . .

But this domination of finance capital does not in the least destroy the significance of political democracy as the freer, wider and clearer *form* of class oppression and class struggle.

The socialist revolution may begin in the very near future. In that event the proletariat will be faced with the immediate task of capturing power, of expropriating the banks and of carrying through other dictatorial measures. At such a moment, the bourgeoisie—particularly intellectuals like the Fabians and the Kautskyites—will strive to disrupt and to hold back the revolution, to restrict it to limited, democratic aims. ("The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination")

In general, political democracy is only one of the possible *forms* (although theoretically it will be normal for "pure" capitalism) of the superstructure *over* capitalism. As the facts show, capitalism and imperialism develop under *all* political forms and subordinate them *all* to itself. (Lenin, *Works*, Russian Edition, p. 312.)

... The learned Mr. Kautsky has "forgotten"—accidentally forgotten, probably . . . a "trifle"; namely, that the ruling party in a bourgeois democracy extends the protection of the minority only to another *bourgeois* party, while on all *serious, profound and fundamental* issues the proletariat gets martial law or pogroms, instead of "the protection of the minority." *The more highly developed a democracy is, the more imminent are pogroms or civil war in connection with*

*any profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeoisie. . . .*

Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that the learned Kautsky has never heard that the *more highly* democracy is developed, the *more* the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers? This does not mean that we must not make use of bourgeois parliaments. . . . But it does mean that only a liberal can forget the *historical limitations and conventional nature* of bourgeois parliamentarism as Kautsky does.

Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed masses at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the "democracy" of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage slaves*. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the masses to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of socialism are constantly exposing to the masses, *in order to prepare* them for revolution!

And now that the era of revolutions *has* begun, Kautsky turns his back upon it and *begins* to extol the charms of *moribund* bourgeois democracy. . . .

The toiling masses are *barred* from participation in bourgeois parliaments (which *never decide* important questions under bourgeois democracy; they are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) by thousands of obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realize perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions *alien* to them, *instruments for the oppression* of the proletarians by the bourgeoisie, institutions of a hostile class, of the exploiting minority. . . . (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*)

In our era, the era of the victorious proletarian revolution and of transition from capitalism to socialism, capital is using and will use two tactics: on the one hand, "pure," "genuine" and "real democracy"; on the other, repression and counter-revolutionary terror pushed to their most bloody form—fascism.

It is behind the smokescreen of this "pure democracy" that the bourgeoisie organizes its terrorist groups and prepares for bloody repressions.

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Here, you will ask: **Is there any difference at all between the modern revisionists and the social democrats? As a matter of fact, the revisionists have completely taken over the positions of the reformists.**

As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, the social basis of reformism has shrunk.

On the other hand, the sharpening of the class struggle has increasingly exposed the true colours of reformism. The labouring people have seen for themselves that reformism has brought them nothing but frustration and betrayal. Therefore, an increasingly significant section of them are turning away from social democratic reformism.

The modern revisionists camouflaged as Communists are trying to win the sympathy of these workers in whose eyes the name of Communist Party is the synonym for a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, vanguard party.

It is precisely here that there lies the grave danger of the working class in Western Europe being dragged into a new reformism while believing that they have found the revolutionary road.

That is why there is the most urgent need for the working people of the vanguard to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and foil these tricks which serve so well the plans of the bourgeoisie.

In Western Europe, the revisionist leaders are openly working in the direction of seeking unity with the social democratic leadership, including organizational unity, on the basis of reformist positions.

But the realization of this unity is not necessarily a simple process.

In reality, although modern revisionism, like classical reformism, implies class collaboration, there is still the problem of what the form of collaboration should be and with which of the bourgeoisie they should collaborate.

During World War I, the social democrat reformists took their stand on the side of the bourgeoisie of their own countries. As a result, the contradictions between the various reformist parties of the Second International were total.

Between World War I and World War II, some reformist leaders became collaborators of foreign imperialist finance capital, while others were still zealously serving the bourgeoisie of their own countries.

For instance, before 1940 Henri de Man, President of the Workers' Party of Belgium, was a real representative of the interests of German imperialism while Paul Henri Spaak was, at this time, the representative of British imperialism. Today the self-same Spaak, former Secretary-General of NATO, has become a creature of U.S. imperialism.

Nowadays, the pro-U.S. tendency predominates in the social democratic leadership in Western Europe.

Contradictions among the imperialists still exist and are becoming more acute. In spite of the fact that the policy of the Khrushchov clique actually consists in collaborating with U.S. imperialism, contradictions also still exist, and with all the more reason, between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries including the United States.

The changes in relations between the revisionist and reformist leaders should also be studied in the light of these facts.

Likewise, we can also note a deepening of contradictions between the revisionist leaders of various countries.

For instance, those revisionist leaders who follow the baton of Khrushchov and are completely subordinated to him are opposed to a certain extent to those revisionist leaders who, though taking the same neo-reformist position, are more inclined to collaborate directly with this or that bourgeoisie.

While furthering the development of the adverse current of revisionism, its ringleader Khrushchov has at the same time created the conditions for the growth of centrifugal tendencies in the relations between those Parties which are under revisionist leadership. This

is the reason for differences of view in the positions of various revisionist parties, especially those in Western Europe.

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The road followed by revisionism also leads it to betray the working class and labouring masses in their struggles for their immediate demands and against the encroachments of capital.

Marxist-Leninists must stand, and do stand, in the van of the day-to-day struggle of the working class for their immediate economic demands, in their struggle to defend threatened democratic freedoms, in "the general systematic and revolutionary struggle for democracy" and in their actions to prevent world war.

This combination of struggles signifies for us the preparation and ripening of the subjective factors of revolution. That is to say, the consciousness and organization of the proletariat are to be raised in the course of these struggles to the highest level so that it can fulfil its historic mission of socialist revolution.

And that includes the strengthening of the vanguard party, the Communist Party, theoretically, politically and organizationally, and the strengthening of its ties with the masses.

In this sense, day-to-day struggles—the working out of their objectives and means of action, must be subordinated to realization of strategic aims and the final goal.

For the revisionist neo-reformists (as for the classical reformists), "the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing." In their eyes, the pursuit of successive limited and immediate objectives, the realization of reforms within the framework of the capitalist system supposedly means evolution from capitalism to socialism.

But in wishing in this way to limit proletarian action within the laws, regulations and orders of bourgeois democracy, that is to say, the bourgeois dictatorship, the content of "movement" itself is changed, and so is its quality. It thus becomes an appendix to the policy of the bourgeoisie, a tool of class collaboration and a means of patching up the capitalist system; it takes a hand in the attempt to save the capitalist system.

This is what the practice of the modern revisionists in the capitalist countries leads to.

So far as concerns struggles for immediate economic demands, one of their demobilizing techniques is to oppose the large-scale movements carried out by joint, inter-trade union efforts, to encourage the ideas of craft unionism, divide up the working class by trades, enterprises and workshops. They also oppose valid objectives of struggle and substitute for them pseudo-demands acceptable to the bourgeoisie in order to ensure social peace. They advocate capitalist social and economic plans. They use negotiations as a weapon to deter the working class from action. They practise parliamentary cretinism.

Hence in the course of these day-to-day struggles we are duty-bound to expose the modern revisionists before the broadest masses.

(To be continued.)

# The Degeneration of the Yugoslav Economy Owned by the Whole People

by SHIH TUNG-HSIANG

Following is the second instalment of a translation of an article published in the May 23 (No. 10) issue of "Hongqi." The first instalment appeared in "Peking Review," No. 24. — Ed.

### III

#### The Managerial Stratum Above the "Workers' Councils"

The Tito clique claims that following the introduction of "workers' self-government," enterprises are now directed by workers' councils and workers' management boards, that the workers have become their "real masters" while the managers have to carry out the resolutions of the workers' councils.

The facts are, of course, quite different. In those enterprises under "workers' self-government," the "real masters" are none other than the managers representing the Tito clique while the workers' councils and management boards are there just for show.

Rankovic has admitted: "There are a group of people around the manager and management board forming the so-called 'upper crust' who strive to monopolize all power in the enterprise."<sup>22</sup> Drulovic, Secretary of the Belgrade City Committee of the L.C.Y., said: "In place of them, the work of management is undertaken by a group of leading personnel. The workers' council and the management board only give formal approval to the separate decisions."<sup>23</sup> Tito too has said that "the manager keeps contact with a few leaders among the local authorities and is complete master in his enterprise."<sup>24</sup>

When Khrushchov, during his last visit to Yugoslavia, ingratiatingly announced that he wanted to learn from its experiences in "workers' councils," the American *Christian Science Monitor* (August 26, 1963) commented:

"It should not be supposed that workers' councils really run the Yugoslav factories; that is done by state-

appointed managers though with advice from the councils and with participation by these groups in some decisions." "On the whole it may be questioned whether the influence of the workers' council is any greater than that of an employee representative on a West German board of directors or of a union business agent with whom an American employer has to bargain."

The rights of the manager in an enterprise have been established by the Tito clique. The relevant laws on "workers' self-government" stipulate:

1. A manager has the right to withhold implementation of any resolution adopted by a "workers' council."

2. If a "workers' council" calls for the removal of the manager and the local government vetoes this demand, then there will be a re-election of the "workers' council."

3. A manager can (like managers in all capitalist countries) punish and discharge workers at will, and even discharge the L.C.Y. secretaries and members of the "workers' council" in his enterprise who do not go along with him.

These rights have made a manager in Yugoslavia supreme and despotic in his enterprise.

Rankovic has said: "Members of the L.C.Y. and other workers have been punished, kicked out of their enterprises or, in case after case, degraded to jobs with less pay and worse working conditions because they criticized mistakes in the work of their enterprise and of individual leaders."<sup>25</sup> The Yugoslav paper *Rad* (January 1, 1964) carried a speech by Vukmanovic in which he said: More than half of those people who raised complaints to him accused the leading persons at their places of work of illegal discharges and other acts of discrimination. He added that "such activities have been going on on a very broad scale in some regions." He also said: "Because of collusion between leaders in enterprises or 'powerful backing' from local organs, their mistakes have usually been covered up and protected while their arbitrary acts have not been punished."

<sup>22</sup> Rankovic, report to the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, March 1956.

<sup>23</sup> *Komunist*, May 41, 1961.

<sup>24</sup> Tito, speech at the meeting in the city of Split, May 6, 1962.

<sup>25</sup> Rankovic, report to the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, March 1956.



There is too much material on this question in the Yugoslav press to quote exhaustively.

*Borba* noted that some managers of enterprises "take on anyone they like and fire those who criticize them. There has been a big turnover of labour. Although the basic wage figures have been fixed, at the end of the month, the manager decides on his little bit of paper who is going to get how much."<sup>26</sup>

*Rad* reported that "some leaders blackmail their collective and managing organ into discharging those workers who have justly criticized such negative phenomena as arbitrariness, bureaucracy, favouritism, misuse of power or of leading positions, and unjust privileges. There are also some leaders who insist on getting rid of 'undesirable workers'. . . ."<sup>27</sup>

*NIN* wrote that the manager of a restaurant in Belgrade "by skilfully picking personnel of the management organizations, had the workers' council and the management board completely under his thumb." "Whoever disagreed with him was made to leave, though their views might be entirely correct, and though they might have substantiated their case. If the person concerned did not want to leave of his own accord, he would be elbowed out by various means. In a three years' period, 342 of a total of some 500 in the enterprise were made to leave so that almost the whole collective was changed during the period."<sup>28</sup>

In Yugoslavia, the number of discharged persons is increasing year by year; this has been revealed by *Index* (No. 5, 1963). In 1960, it was 294,000; in 1961, 347,000; and in 1962, 379,000, which is about 14 per cent of the total number of workers in the economic organizations.

A new group of exploiters has appeared in Yugoslavia's enterprises under "workers' self-government." This group "has all the rights in the enterprises"; it enjoys "powerful backing from the local organs"; its members can adopt various arbitrary means to "mistreat" the workers.

Capitalist relations of exploiter and exploited have reappeared as between the managerial stratum and the workers in the enterprises of Yugoslavia where "workers' self-government" has been introduced.

By decision of the Tito clique, the "normal incomes" of managers and senior staff in Yugoslav enterprises are already very high; when to this are added the special allowances, funds, travelling expenses and "gifts" they receive by virtue of their privileged position, it comes to a large sum. A considerable part of the surplus value created by the workers thus falls into the hands of this managerial stratum.

In a letter addressed to Party organizations of various levels and their leaders in 1958, the Central Committee of the L.C.Y. admitted that "material privileges have greatly increased" for a very small number of people in the enterprises, that "a large sum in awards"

<sup>26</sup> *Borba*, November 2, 1963.

<sup>27</sup> *Rad*, January 6, 1962.

<sup>28</sup> *NIN*, November 24, 1963.

has been distributed "among a very small circle of leaders" in those enterprises; and that "in some enterprises, the total amount of awards received by a certain group of leading personnel equals the total wage fund of the entire collective."

Tito acknowledged on May 6, 1962, that in some enterprises "the worker received only 2,000 dinars from the realized profits while some others got 80,000 dinars." The "others" referred to here are of course the managerial stratum enjoying various special privileges.

*Politika* reported on February 14, 1963, that a manager's own "workers' council" had decided to mark his transfer to a new post by giving him an award of a million dinars which is about as much as a month's wage for 50 to 60 ordinary workers.

*Borba* once carried a letter of a worker to his manager saying that "the money you have divided up is our earnings."<sup>29</sup> *Politika* also reported, "there exists a considerable gap between some workers and staff, the former regarding the latter as bureaucrats who 'swallow up' their earnings."<sup>30</sup>

Corruption, stealing and the taking of bribes are another major source of income for the managers of enterprises. Tito himself admitted: "Behind such ways as bypassing enterprises in the country to go abroad (to buy goods), there are often hidden various corrupt acts — by means of all sorts of commission, graft and so on." "There are selfish people who have wormed their way into our foreign trade organizations; some of these come from the old trade organizations; some are those who in order to satisfy their own impermissible personal interests resort to intrigue or bribery or buy dear and sell cheap to get a rake-off from the foreigners. These intrigues have all been carried out under cover of so-called gifts."<sup>31</sup>

The Yugoslav press has revealed that "the managers are among the few thousand Yugoslavs with the highest living standards." This handful of bloodsuckers of the workers "while away their time in bars and coffee houses," "buy jewels for their paramours," and "use the money they get from corruption to buy houses, cars, expensive furniture and sometimes even land."<sup>32</sup>

This privileged social position of the managerial stratum is not a mere "negative phenomenon" which, as the Tito clique has said, has accidentally cropped up in Yugoslavia; it is an inevitable product of the degeneration of the Yugoslav economy owned by the whole people into a capitalist economy.

Marxist-Leninists hold that there must be authority and division of labour between managers and workers in large-scale, modern enterprises.

If the enterprise is socialist in nature, then the

<sup>29</sup> *Borba*, March 17, 1961.

<sup>30</sup> *Politika*, September 25, 1961.

<sup>31</sup> Tito, report to the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, November 27, 1955.

<sup>32</sup> *Rad*, October 15, 1960.

managers are commanders in production; their relations with the workers are those of comradely co-operation and socialist mutual aid between unexploited fellow-workers.

If the enterprise is capitalist in nature, then the managers are not only organizers of production, they are also exploiters. Marx said: "If, then, the control of the capitalist is in substance twofold by reason of the twofold nature of the process of production itself,— which, on the one hand, is a social process for producing use-values, on the other, a process for creating surplus-value—in form that control is despotic."<sup>33</sup>

In the Yugoslav enterprises originally owned by the whole people, the relations between managers and workers were once those of comradely co-operation and socialist mutual aid between unexploited fellow-workers. However, since the introduction of "workers' self-government," they have become independent units going after profits and engaging in competition and speculation. In these units, the managers have sole control. Concerned only with their private special interests, these people have turned into exploiters and oppressors.

The only difference between them and private capitalists is: they are the representatives of the Tito regime and while they enjoy the rights of capitalists they don't have to run the risk, which capitalists do, of going bankrupt. As a result, these people are even more adventurous; in competition they are even more hell-bent on strangling their opponents and they are insatiate in grabbing by various means the fruits of the workers' labour.

## IV

### Yugoslav Workers Have Again Been Turned Into Sellers of Labour Power

An outstanding problem troubling the working class in Yugoslavia is the existence of large-scale unemployment. Official statistics for recent years give the following number of unemployed (not counting the large number of Yugoslav migrant workers abroad):

1953	81,600
1954	76,200
1955	67,200
1956	99,300
1957	115,900
1958	132,000
1959	161,600
1960	159,200
1961	191,300
1962	236,400
1963 February	339,000 <sup>34</sup>

In recent months, unemployment has been increasing again. *Borba* reported on March 26, 1964 that, in

<sup>33</sup> *Capital*, Vol. I, pp.331-332, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959.

<sup>34</sup> *Index*, Nos. 3 and 5, 1963.

January that year, in the Republic of Serbia alone, there were 130,000 jobless, of whom more than 40 per cent were young people under 25 years of age.

According to figures in the January 1963 issue of the United Nations' *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, between 1956 and 1962, the percentage of unemployed workers in Yugoslavia was much higher than in Britain, West Germany or Japan, and after 1961, even higher than in the United States.

There is thus a rapid year-by-year increase in the number of unemployed in Yugoslavia; they now comprise a high percentage of the workers and this is because their ranks are being swelled constantly, mainly from two sources:

On the one hand, capitalism is flooding over the Yugoslav countryside and the process of polarization is being intensified. One result is that many poor peasants are losing their land and other means of production and becoming completely pauperized; they are forced to drift into the cities to look for jobs.

On the other hand, in the frantic competition that goes on between the various enterprises in the cities, one group of factories after another loses out and is eliminated, throwing their staffs and workers into the ranks of the unemployed.

The existence of this constantly supplemented and ever increasing army of unemployed makes it possible for the managers of Yugoslavia's enterprises to be most demanding when picking and choosing from among the hard-pressed jobless and to dismiss "unsuitable" workers any time according to regulations of their own making. During the period 1960-62 the number of workers discharged exceeded the number of unemployed. This speaks eloquently of the fact that there exists in Yugoslavia an army of unemployed which exerts a great pressure on employed workers, a pressure which the latter find it hard to resist.

Marx once said: "The over-work of the employed part of the working-class swells the ranks of the reserve, whilst conversely the greater pressure that the latter by its competition exerts on the former, forces these to submit to over-work and to subjugation under the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working-class to enforced idleness by the over-work of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists, and accelerates at the same time the production of the industrial reserve army on a scale corresponding with the advance of social accumulation."<sup>35</sup>

Such is the situation in Yugoslavia.

Because of the army of unemployed, managers can depress, even under conditions of continually rising prices, the wages of the employed workers and keep them struggling along at minimum standards of living.

Statistics supplied by the paper *Privredni Pregled* (February 12, 1963) show that between January and November 1962, workers with an average monthly income below 15,000 dinars made up 20.9 per cent of

<sup>35</sup> *Capital*, Vol. I, p.636, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959.

all workers employed in Yugoslavia's industries and mines while those with an average monthly income of between 15,000 and 20,000 dinars made up another 25.1 per cent. These two groups together comprised 46 per cent of the workers employed. Yet, by official admission of the Tito clique, it is quite difficult for people to get along on an average monthly wage of 20,000 dinars.

And it is often not possible to get the full amount even of this low wage. *Politika*, on November 3, 1963, reported Milenkovic, a woman worker from a cannery in Zajecar, Serbia, as saying that "although my wage is 17,000 dinars, for four months now I have been receiving 6,000 dinars and last month only 4,000 dinars. It's getting less and less. . . . How long will this go on for?"

If the income of the Yugoslav workers is so low, how about their expenses?

As reported in the Yugoslav press, single workers boarding privately have to spend one-third,<sup>36</sup> or even one-half,<sup>37</sup> of their wages on rent alone. The expenses of a worker who has a monthly wage of 12,600 dinars are: 5,500 dinars for food; 4,000 dinars for rent (he lives in the corridor of a private house); 2,000 dinars on hire purchase instalments and only 1,100 dinars for other expenses.<sup>38</sup>

In the same cannery reported on by *Politika*, woman worker Ramadanovic told the correspondent: "Since July we have been getting 6,000 dinars, but this month all we earned was 3,000 dinars. Enough to buy bread if I were alone . . . but there are the children. . . ."

Woman worker Yovana was in tears when she said: "My heart is heavy with worries. I haven't bought any winter provisions, nor fuel, nor warm clothes for my children. What did I buy first when I got my 3,000 dinars? I paid back 1,000 dinars to a woman I owed money to, spent another 1,000 for food, and kept another 1,000 for bread. . . . I don't know why I am getting so little but I know I have to work mighty hard. . . ."

Workers in Yugoslavia have found that in recent months their real wage, instead of going up, is declining still further and life is becoming more difficult. In a survey of the living conditions of 150 workers in three Belgrade enterprises published by the Yugoslav paper *Rad* (February 8, 1964), an article entitled "Widespread Protest Against Rising Prices" stated that more than 50 per cent of them were "worse off than before." The paper reported: "An overwhelming majority of the workers are angered by price instability, particularly by the continual rise in food prices."

Also because of the army of unemployed, managers can increase at will the working hours of those employed and make them work still harder.

*Politika* (August 8, 1962) reported that "in one famous textile mill . . . in practice a worker usually can-

not work more than ten years." "In a famous Belgrade enterprise, there are about a hundred workers whose capacity to work has been reduced. A survey reveals that eighty out of the hundred come from the countryside. Many of them do not own their homes and have to pay five to six thousand dinars in rent each month . . . . All these people have to get up at three in the morning so as to be on time for their work; they stay in the enterprise till 2 o'clock, then rush to catch the train so that they can be home at about 6 p.m. Obviously they have no time for rest. It must be added that the survey also shows that 75 out of this hundred workers have only one meal a day. . . . Some material indicates that most of those between 30 and 50 years old in this organization are worn out and unfit for work."

Because of the army of unemployed, the Tito clique-backed managers simply pay no attention to improving labour safety and protecting the health of the workers. The result is that accidents have reached alarming proportions.

Thus, NIN wrote on January 14, 1962, that "the percentage of industrial accidents in Yugoslavia is the highest in the world."

Such are the current labour conditions of Yugoslav workers (employed and unemployed). What is there in common between them and those of workers in a socialist society?

Lenin said that in the socialist society, "The means of production are no longer the private property of individuals. The means of production belong to the whole of society. Every member of society, performing a certain part of the socially-necessary work, receives a certificate from society to the effect that he has done such and such an amount of work. And with this certificate he receives from the public store of articles of consumption a corresponding quantity of products."<sup>39</sup>

Stalin said: The basic criterion for socialism is ". . . the socialist ownership of the land, forests, factories, works and other instruments and means of production; the abolition of exploitation and of exploiting classes; the abolition of poverty for the majority and of luxury for the minority; the abolition of unemployment; work as an obligation and an honourable duty for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the formula: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat'; the right to work, i.e., the right of every citizen to receive guaranteed employment; the right to rest and leisure; the right to education, etc., etc." He also said that the socialist state does not merely proclaim the right to work, but ensures it by abolishing unemployment.<sup>40</sup>

And how is the situation in present-day Yugoslavia?

In industry, commerce and other departments, with the exception of a small section which is in the hands of the private capitalists, the means of production are

<sup>36</sup> *Rad*, July 4, 1959.

<sup>37</sup> *NIN*, July 15, 1962.

<sup>38</sup> *Mladost*, January 14, 1959.

<sup>39</sup> *The State and Revolution*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.158.

<sup>40</sup> "On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.," *Problems of Leninism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1947, pp. 549, 551.

controlled by the Tito clique and its agents in the enterprises; the working class has completely lost its ownership of these means of production. In the Yugoslav Constitution adopted in 1963, it was stipulated that "no one has the right of ownership over the social means of production." For the Yugoslav working class, this is precisely the case.

The Tito clique uses the means of production under its control as instruments to exploit the workers. Instead of adopting measures to do away with the phenomenon where a majority are impoverished and a minority are living in luxury, it relies on "bonuses," "awards" and other material incentives for individuals in order to train up a group of exploiters enjoying numerous special privileges and living the corrupt life of the bourgeoisie. Instead of adopting measures for the gradual elimination of unemployment and to ensure the workers and other labouring people their right to work, it adopts policies which promote the polarization of classes in the countryside, encourage cut-throat competition among enterprises and aggravate the unemployment situation so that it can have, at its own disposal, as in a capitalist society, an industrial reserve army in order to intensify the exploitation of the workers employed.

Having lost their ownership of the means of production and lacking any dependable safeguards for their

right to work, workers in Yugoslavia can no longer receive, in accordance with the socialist principle of distribution, "an equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour." In practice they have become sellers of their labour power and can only earn their wage according to the price of their labour power, as do workers in all capitalist countries. This price is always lower than the value of their labour power so that many workers find it impossible to maintain even a minimum standard of living.

The "theoreticians" of the Tito clique assert that with them "workers' self-government" and "social self-government" are not "a slogan, but political and economic relations between people."<sup>41</sup> There can be no disputing this statement in itself; what is in question is: what are the nature of the political and economic relations between people in Yugoslavia?

From the facts listed above, it is impossible to deny that the economic and political relations between the workers in Yugoslavia on the one hand and the Tito clique and its agents in the enterprises on the other have long ceased to be socialist relations and are capitalist relations between employer and employed, exploiter and exploited, ruler and ruled.

*(To be continued.)*

<sup>41</sup> Bogdan Osolnik: "Yugoslav Reality and Chinese Policy," *Komunist*, November 7, 1963.

## Collective Farming Shows Its Strength

# Transforming a Poor Hill Village

by CHEN HSUEH-NUNG

**This report shows the way the new-type peasants of China combine revolutionary drive with a down-to-earth scientific spirit in building a socialist countryside. Relying on collective effort, the farmers of this hill village have worked hard over many years to transform their barren hills and ravines and improve their farming methods. They have freed themselves from poverty, and are now advancing along the road of stable, high yields and a common prosperity.**

SIYANG County is in eastern Shansi Province and here, tucked in the foothills of the Taihang Mountains, is the Tachai Production Brigade of the Tachai People's Commune. If you had gone there a dozen years ago you would have thought it one of the most unlikely places in which to build a new socialist village. Yet, that is what its peasants are determined to do . . . and are doing.

In those days, as a local saying has it, "It didn't have even three feet of level ground; its rocky hills

made everyone a mountaineer and weather trouble for the farmer was never far away." The rolling slopes of the rocky hills at the back of Tachai village were covered with a thin layer of poor top soil mixed with sand and liberally peppered with stones. The only really fertile fields were where silt had accumulated over the years in the scores of gullies which indented the foothills. They were all small, however—the biggest only 5 *mu*<sup>1</sup>—and the whole lot added up to just a few score *mu* out of the village's 300 *mu* of arable land. Before liberation, dependent on this hard, dry, low-yield land and brutally exploited by the landlords and rich peasants who hired labourers and went in for usury, the Tachai peasants lived in the most frightful conditions of poverty. Most of the over sixty households in the village were either landless farmhands or cowherds, day labourers or beggars.

Liberation in 1945 was the start of earth-shaking changes in Tachai and these came even faster following

<sup>1</sup> 1 *mu* = 0.0666 hectare.

the land reform and the advance to agricultural collectivization. In an immense collective effort the Tachai villagers have bit by bit transformed their native hills and ravines, improved their farming methods, introduced new techniques and taken their first steps on the road to a common prosperity.

Over the past few years they have built a number of check-dams across the ravines to accumulate more silt and form fairly large tracts of fertile arable land; they have levelled and terraced the fields on the slopes and, by joining two or more plots together, have reduced the number of plots from more than 4,700 to 2,900. In pre-liberation days yields of 140 *jin*<sup>2</sup> of grain were rated good; now yields of over 700 *jin* are got, a fivefold increase. Of the 80 households, 78 now have bank savings and surplus grain. The production brigade collectively owns 12 horses, 9 mules, 11 donkeys and 32 oxen. Its members also own 120 pigs and 240 sheep.

### Changed Beyond Recognition

The actual face of the landscape in Tachai began to change when the agricultural collectivization movement really got going. This was in the winter of 1952. The peasants were already organized in agricultural mutual-aid teams, then they went on to form their first farm co-operative. They pooled their land and began to farm it collectively according to a jointly agreed plan. In 1953 they got a bumper harvest, with per *mu* yields running at around 240 *jin*, a figure well above that achieved by individual farmers or mutual-aid teams in the past. With that success they were more than ever convinced the advantages of co-operative farming and were determined to try for even higher yields.

After discussion it was decided that as a first step the fields on the slopes should be levelled off or terraced. This was aimed at preventing soil erosion and conserving water and fertilizer.

The second and more difficult step was to transform and turn into farmland the seven large ravines in the area. These were from one to one and a half kilometres long and averaged around 15 metres in width. The plan was to put dams down across these ravines to check the flow of the summer freshets, form catchment basins and accumulate silt in the bottoms so as to form large plots of fertile land. The sides of the ravine too could be terraced and turned into good fields.

When the peasants all worked small individual plots, such schemes were beyond their wildest dreams. Only a few peasants ever had the temerity to reclaim land in the ravine or even to reclaim hillside land. In the old days a peasant by the name of Chia Chuyuan and his brother once put in a great deal of back-breaking work to reclaim hillside land. By terracing a slope, they finally put an additional ten *mu* of land under the plough, but this was at heavy cost. The younger brother's arm was broken on the job. They

were also so poor that they had to borrow money and grain from the landlords to buy tools and seed. When harvest time came after paying off the interest on their debts they found themselves little better off than before. Now, however, things were different. The peasants were organized and were confident that together they could put these ravines under control.

When the plan to transform the ravines was put forward by the Tachai Party branch it was immediately approved by many members of the co-op. But some had doubts about it because of the big amount of work involved and the smallness of the labour force available—about 50 able-bodied men and women. Chen Yung-kuei, the branch secretary, set out to mobilize support among these. He argued persuasively: "It's true the hills are high and the ravines deep, but each one controlled means one less to do. If three years aren't enough, we can take five years or even ten. If we give in to difficulties and never make a start, our village will always be poor." Patient discussions finally led to unanimous agreement. The Party branch and co-op management worked out a ten-year, long-term programme for the transformation of the co-op's land.

In the winter of 1953 the Tachai farmers started on the first ravine named Paituokou (White Camel Ravine). With the poor peasants in the lead and Chen Yung-kuei at their head, they began to build the stone check-dams. Nearly all the villagers took part in one way or another, each doing what his strength permitted. The work naturally had to be done in the winter—the slack farming season. Cold winds blew from the north-western steppes and the frozen earth was hard to dig, but work went ahead swiftly. In six weeks seven stone check-dams had been built. This gave them an extra three *mu* of land and protected 12 *mu* of land from the danger of being suddenly swamped by the runoff down the ravine caused by summer downpours. The villagers were so delighted that they renamed the ravine Hotso-kou (Co-op Ravine).

The Tachai peasants followed up this success by tackling another four ravines the following winter. Finally they came to the biggest of the lot—the Langwochang (Wolves' Haunt) Ravine. They built 25 big stone check-dams and moved tens of thousands of cubic metres of earth to fill the spaces in between. They turned the whole ravine and its sides into terraced fields. The entire project was completed in the winter of 1955 but a flood in the following summer wrecked the work. That winter the dams were rebuilt but again they were destroyed by flood in the summer of 1957. Not a few of the villagers were discouraged. Some of the well-to-do middle peasants began to throw cold water on the scheme. Not seeing much further than their immediate interests, they grumbled about the waste of effort. The poor and lower middle peasants understood that the future depended on carrying out the co-op's plans. If they and their children were not to live in poverty, Langwochang would have to be tamed. Detailed discussions were held on the causes for the failure of the Langwochang dams and these

<sup>2</sup> 1 *jin* = 0.5 kilogramme.

led to the decision to build 32 higher and more strongly constructed dams to replace the original 25.

The day work was due to start, heavy snow fell but over 70 people turned up at the work sites. And Tachai was now reckoned to have only 60-odd fully able-bodied members. Many households turned up en bloc. The enthusiasm was infectious. It was planned to use bigger stone blocks than before on the dams and here old Party member Chia Ching-tsai played a most active role. He was a former farmhand who was among the poorest of the poor before liberation. When the co-operative was set up he immediately threw himself heart and soul into its work. Now he was in charge of hewing rocks for the dams. Day-break found him up on the mountain with his tools, braving a biting wind. He worked hard and efficiently, yet, as fast as he got the rocks cut, the transport teams got them down to the construction sites. Liang Pien-liang and Chia Lai-heng, the two leaders of the No. 1 Production Team never once failed to overfulfil their daily quotas transporting stone and rock from the hills along the slippery, snow-covered paths. The work was done fast and well. The completed project has since withstood the test of several severe downpours.

As a result of five years' work, the Tachai peasants have terraced all their ravines, put up 180 big stone dams with a total length of 7½ klns., cut two high level, round-the-hills irrigation channels and built two reservoirs and more than 3,000 catchment basins. In addition, they have transformed 300 *mu* of hillside

farmland into terraced fields and put another 80 *mu* of former wasteland under the plough.

### Keen On Technical Reform

While transforming their hills and ravines the Tachai peasants have gone in for improving their methods of farming in a big way. Technical reform is an oft discussed subject. They have closely studied the Eight Point Charter for increasing agricultural production put forward by the Communist Party—deep ploughing and soil amelioration, better use of fertilizer, better water conservancy work, use of improved seed, rational close planting, plant protection, better field management and tools reform—and have systematically gone ahead trying to find the best way to apply these principles to local conditions.

In addition to learning the new scientific techniques publicized on a national scale, they have got their veteran farmers to hand on their experience, and have studied and shifted this to develop fresh ideas for better farming. This search for better farming methods goes on all the time. One year they have stressed deep ploughing and harrowing; the next they have tried to work out what is the optimum density of planting for hemp, millet, beans and vegetables inter-cropped with other plants on their land, so as to make the best use of space and soil fertility. Another year they paid particular attention to making use of the edges and corners of fields and other odd bits of useful land.

Sometimes, of course, it is no easy job to introduce new techniques. Some of the older farmers, long

accustomed to the age-old farming techniques and knowing little of science, find it difficult to accept new ways. Some still quote old sayings like "There are no short cuts in farming," or "Man proposes and God disposes." These difficulties are well illustrated by the following incident. In the summer of 1953, a technician from the Siyang county agro-technical station told Chen Yung-kuei that stalks of millet plants suffering from *sclerotinia craminicola* should not be fed to farm animals because the droppings of animals so fed would, if used as manure, carry the disease to other millet plants. When the peasants were told of this, they did not believe it, saying that "we've always used such millet stalks for feed and it would be waste to burn



**BEFORE**—a rock-strewn ravine with side gullies that bring down destructive, rainy season freshets



**AFTER**—terraced hill slopes and gullies with cheek dams to retain rainfall and soil and add to the commune's arable acreage

Drawing by Chou Chien-fu

them." Since his co-members were sceptical, Chen himself grew doubtful. To decide the issue he experimented by planting millet on a small plot of land and manuring it with droppings of animals fed on blighted millet stalks. Sure enough, out of 100 seedlings, 82 got the disease. This convinced everyone in the village, it was also an eye-opener for the Party branch and co-op management committee. They came to realize how valuable experimental plots could be for mass education. It has now become an established rule that experimental demonstrations must precede the introduction and popularization of advanced techniques.

Tachai is a hill area with low mean temperatures and a long period of frost, so the earlier maize is sown there the better. But early sowing needs more fertilizer to sustain the plants over a longer growing period. In the old days of small individual farms, most farmers couldn't afford to do this. Now with a strong collective economy, improved soil conditions and more fertilizer, the Tachai farmers have experimented most successfully with early sowing and are now able to turn to good account the knowledge gained.

Exhaustive experiments also paved the way for more rational and closer planting to increase yields. They made many experiments to discover the best spacing for maize and planted 1,000, 2,000 and 3,000 seedlings per *mu* on different types of fields. These experiments indicated that around 2,000 plants per *mu* gave the best yields, that planting can be closer on small plots and fields on slopes with good ventilation and ample sunshine but sparser on large plots and fields in the ravines.

In 1958, the Tachai farm began to use phosphate fertilizer on a trial basis. This didn't give particularly good results that year nor the next either but in the third year it was mixed with farmyard manure and ammonium fertilizer and excellent results were got. It is this new scientific and go ahead way of farming that, allied to its efforts in water and soil conservation, has increased the Tachai brigade's output so decisively.

### Cadres to the Fields

Another outstanding aspect of Tachai commune life is the close link between leaders and rank-and-file members.

The leading cadres of the Tachai Production Brigade Party branch are all men and women who were once poor peasants and have vivid memories of past sufferings and class oppression. Chen Yung-kuei, the secretary, is typical. He is the son of a farmhand who in 1920, during a serious drought in the area, was sacked by the landlord who employed him. Without any means of getting food for his family he was driven mad by despair and finally hanged himself. Chen himself worked as a farmhand for 24 years until the liberation. Such cadres naturally have close ties with the rank-and-file members especially amongst the poor and lower middle peasants. They take particular care not to let themselves get so immersed in administrative work and the tasks of leadership and manage-

ment that they become divorced from the day-to-day work of actual farm labour. Wherever the most difficult work is being done—building dams, taking manure to the fields, harvesting or fighting floods—it is there that you will find them. They take pride in being first to take a hand at the toughest jobs and the last to enjoy whatever good things are going.

This constant participation in productive work enables them to keep in close touch with what's going on and how the mass of members are faring. This gives them a quick view of problems as soon as they crop up, so they can often help to solve them immediately, on the spot. The other brigade members call them "Iron Men," meaning that they have a firm political stand, a will to battle and overcome all kinds of hardships and difficulties and a good mastery of the techniques of production and management.

### Self-Reliance

If there is any "secret" of Tachai's success, it is self-reliance. The brigade is a fine example of reliance in the first place on its own efforts and resources. When no bulldozers were available, they used picks and shovels. Before they could get chemical fertilizer in sufficient quantities, they raised as much farmyard manure as possible to raise yields. Its members are thrifty and never ask state help when they can handle things on their own. During all the eleven years since they organized as a collective they have only once asked for a state loan. That was in 1953 when they bought 13 oxen. And then they repaid the loan the very next year. They aren't skinflints when it comes to investing money in production but they don't spend money on frills. They make what farm tools they can and do most of their own repairs. They used old furniture for brigade headquarters.

This sturdy spirit of self-reliance, diligence and thrift, was seen to full advantage last year when an unprecedented downpour inundated a fifth of the brigade's cultivated land and damaged most of its houses. The county and commune both offered relief supplies and funds. The Tachai people were deeply touched by this but they refused the proffered relief with thanks. They said that they were confident that the brigade's collective reserves and its members' savings accumulated over the past 11 years would see them through. The rain had hardly stopped before they were out putting their fields in good order, salvaging the crops affected and replanting fields where crops had been washed away. By this prompt action they were able to bring in a fairly good harvest in the teeth of foul weather. They put aside food grain, seed and fodder and sold as much surplus grain to the state as originally planned. In the three months following the floods they not only repaired the damaged ones but built sixty new houses.

If the poor and backward face of Tachai before liberation epitomized the past of China's rural areas, so the changes there, the forward looking thinking of its people and their steady advance to modern farming is a picture of China's new socialist villages.



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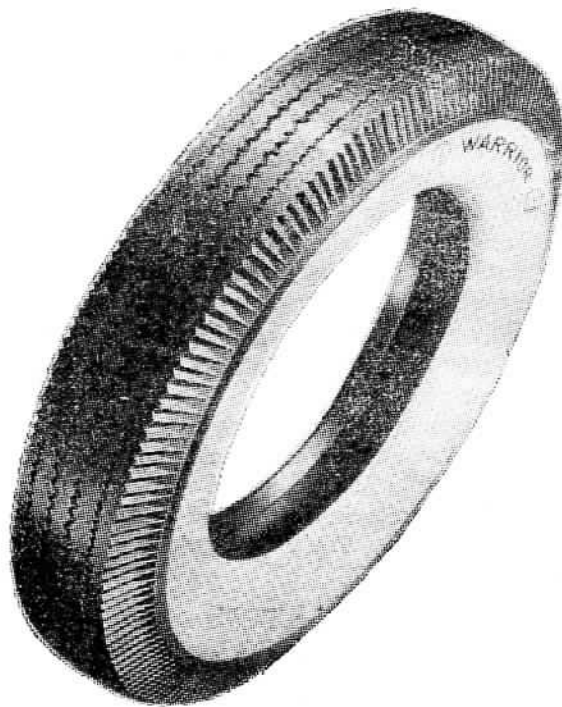


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