

PEKING REVIEW

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Chinese Government Statement

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

SELECTED MILITARY WRITINGS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Russian Language Edition

The *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, comprising twenty-nine articles from his *Selected Works*, Volumes I – IV, are the chief military writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, done at various periods of the Chinese people's democratic revolution.

In the present volume is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's scientific elucidation of three fundamental problems of the revolutionary armed struggles of the Chinese people, namely, the problem of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary war, of building a people's army, and establishing armed revolutionary bases. These writings fully expound the military line formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, by applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to serve the political line of the Chinese people's revolution.

The book will help the reader to a fuller understanding of how the Chinese people, after decades of arduous struggles, step by step succeeded in carrying their revolution to great victory.

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**Statement of the Government
of the
People's Republic of China**

October 16, 1964

Press Communique

CHINA SUCCESSFULLY EXPLODED

Chinese Government Statement

October 16, 1964

CHINA exploded an atom bomb at 15:00 hours on October 16, 1964, and thereby conducted successfully its first nuclear test. This is a major achievement of the Chinese people in their struggle to increase their national defence capability and oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats.

To defend oneself is the inalienable right of every sovereign state. And to safeguard world peace is the common task of all peace-loving countries. China cannot remain idle and do nothing in the face of the ever increasing nuclear threat posed by the United States. China is forced to conduct nuclear tests and develop nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government has consistently advocated the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Should this have been realized, China need not develop the nuclear weapon. But this position of ours has met the stubborn resistance of the U.S. imperialists. The Chinese Government pointed out long ago that the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests signed by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in Moscow in July 1963 was a big fraud to fool the people of the world, that it tried to consolidate the nuclear monopoly held by the three nuclear powers and tie up the hands and feet of all peace-loving countries, and that it not only did not decrease but had increased the nuclear threat of U.S. imperialism against the people of China and of the whole world. The U.S. Government declared undisguisedly even then that the conclusion of such a treaty does not at all mean that the United States would not conduct underground tests, or would not use, manufacture, stockpile, export or proliferate nuclear weapons. The facts of the past year and more fully prove this point.

During the past year and more, the United States has not stopped manufacturing various nuclear weapons on the basis of the nuclear tests which it had already conducted. Furthermore, seeking for ever greater perfection, the United States has during this same period conducted several dozen underground nuclear tests, thereby further perfecting the nuclear weapons it manufactures. In stationing nuclear submarines in Japan, the United States is posing a direct threat to the Japanese people, the Chinese people and the peoples of all other Asian countries. The United States is now putting nuclear weapons into the hands of the West German revanchists through the so-called multilateral nuclear force and thereby threatening the security of the German Democratic Republic and the other East European socialist countries. U.S. submarines carrying Polaris missiles with nuclear warheads are prowling the Taiwan Straits, the Tonkin Gulf, the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, threatening everywhere peace-loving countries and all peoples who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Under such circumstances, how can it be considered that the U.S. nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat against the people of the world no longer exist just because of the false impression created by the temporary halting of atmospheric tests by the United States?

The atom bomb is a paper tiger. This famous saying by Chairman Mao Tse-tung is known to all. This was our view in the past and this is still our view at present. China is developing nuclear weapons not because we believe in the omnipotence of nuclear weapons and that China plans to use nuclear weapons. The truth is exactly to the contrary. In developing nuclear weapons, China's aim is to break

CHINA TESTS ITS FIRST ATOM BOMB

the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government is loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We believe in the people. It is the people who decide the outcome of a war, and not any weapon. The destiny of China is decided by the Chinese people, and the destiny of the world by the peoples of the world, and not by the nuclear weapon. The development of nuclear weapons by China is for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from the danger of the United States launching a nuclear war.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that China will never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese people firmly support the struggles for liberation waged by all oppressed nations and people of the world. We are convinced that, by relying on their own struggles and also through

mutual aid, the peoples of the world will certainly win victory. The mastering of the nuclear weapon by China is a great encouragement to the revolutionary peoples of the world in their struggles and a great contribution to the cause of defending world peace. On the question of nuclear weapons, China will neither commit the error of adventurism nor the error of capitulationism. The Chinese people can be trusted.

The Chinese Government fully understands the good wishes of peace-loving countries and people for the halting of all nuclear tests. But more and more countries are coming to realize that the more the U.S. imperialists and their partners hold on to their nuclear monopoly, the more is there danger of a nuclear war breaking out. They have it and you don't, and so they are very haughty. But once those who oppose them also have it, they would no longer be so haughty, their policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat would no longer be so effective, and the possibility for a complete

Press Communique

China exploded an atom bomb in the western region of China at 15:00 hours Peking Time on October 16, 1964, and thereby conducted successfully its first nuclear test.

The success of China's nuclear test is a major achievement of the Chinese people in the strengthening of their national defence and safeguarding of their motherland, as well as a major contribution made by the Chinese people to the cause of the defence of world peace.

The success of this test was due to the hard work and the great co-ordinated effort

of China's workers, engineering and technical personnel, scientific personnel and all working personnel engaged in building up China's national defences as well as various regions and departments throughout the country who, under the leadership of the Party, displayed a spirit of relying on their own efforts and making enterprising endeavours.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council warmly congratulate them.

*(Hsinhua News Agency, Peking,
October 16, 1964)*

prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons would increase. We sincerely hope that a nuclear war would never occur. We are convinced that, so long as all peace-loving countries and people of the world make common efforts and persist in the struggle, a nuclear war can be prevented.

The Chinese Government hereby formally proposes to the governments of the world that a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that as a first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

If those countries in possession of huge quantities of nuclear weapons are not even willing to undertake not to use them, how can those countries not yet in possession of them be expected to believe in their sincerity for peace and not to adopt possible and necessary defensive measures?

The Chinese Government will, as always, exert every effort to promote the realization of the noble aim of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons through international consultations. Before the advent of such a day, the Chinese Government and people will firmly and unswervingly march along their own road of strengthening their national defences, defending their motherland and safeguarding world peace.

We are convinced that nuclear weapons, which are after all created by man, certainly will be eliminated by man.

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

October 16, 1964 Vol. VII No. 42

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October 16, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Chinese Government issued a statement on October 9 on the Sino-Indian boundary question.

- The delegations of the Chinese Communist Party and the Rumanian Workers' Party held talks in Peking.

- Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Government of National Union of the three groups in Laos and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, issued a statement on the Laotian situation at a press conference in Peking on October 8.

- *Renmin Ribao* in its October 14 editorial greeted the positive results of the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held last week in Cairo.

- The Chinese press published:

- the joint communique of the Indonesian and Ceylonese Communist Parties, signed on September 29 in Djakarta, expressing firm opposition to the convocation of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties aimed at legalizing a split, and stressing the need to intensify the struggle against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism.

- a resolution adopted last August by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, denouncing the revisionist Khrushchov clique for having unilaterally decided to call an international meeting to split the international communist movement.

- a statement issued on September 16 by the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party, condemning the splitting activities of the Khrushchov clique.

- the October 5 editorial of *Akahata*, organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, opposing the holding of a world conference for splitting the international communist movement.

- a resolution adopted on September 25 by the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, expelling Shigeo Kamiyama and Shigeharu Nakano from the Party.

Chairman Mao Sees "The East Is Red"

The song and dance pageant *The East Is Red* continues its successful run in the capital. It was seen on October 6 by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders together with officers and men of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Peking. This performance of the spectacular pageant of the Chinese revolution was sponsored by the General Political Department of the P.L.A.

Two evenings later, Chairman Mao and other leaders saw the new modern ballet *The Red Detachment*

of Women. On October 13 they saw the opera *Chiang Chieh*. They congratulated the actors and actresses on stage after the performances.

Chinese Leaders Meet Fraternal Delegations

Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese Communist Party and state leaders on October 5 met the Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam led by Pham Van Dong, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Premier of the D.R.V.

On October 7 they met the Party and Government Delegation of the Korean Democratic People's Republic led by Choi Yong Kun, Member of the Political Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly.

On October 8 they met the Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of Rumania led by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Vice-Chairman of the State Council.

On October 9 they met the Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of Albania led by General Beqir Balluku, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Defence.

Chinese and Rumanian Party Delegations Hold Talks

Delegations of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Rumanian Workers' Party held talks in Peking, on October 7, on questions of common concern.

The Chinese delegation was led by Liu Shao-chi and Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., and Teng Hsiao-ping, its General Secretary. The Rumanian delegation was led by Ion Gheorghe Maurer and Emil Bodnaras, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party. The talks proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Peking Rally Backs Laos' Anti-U.S. Struggle

A Peking rally on October 7 welcomed the joint friendship delegation of the Neo Lao Haksat and Laotian neutralists. Sponsored by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, it was attended by more than 1,000 representative citizens of the capital. Warm applause greeted the Laotian

guests as the envoys of a people fighting courageously against U.S. aggression and intervention and for the independence of their motherland.

Addressing the rally, Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the host organization, paid tribute to the Laotian people for their heroism in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. He pledged the Chinese people's support and expressed confidence that U.S. imperialism would be driven out of Laos.

Sithon Koumadam, head of the Laotian delegation, had warm words of praise for the achievements of the Chinese revolution which, he said, "serves as a shining example and a driving force for the oppressed and down-trodden people the world over in the struggle for emancipation and in defence of world peace."

Speaking of the present grave situation in Laos, Sithon Koumadam denounced U.S. imperialism for turning Laos into a new-type U.S. colony and military base in Southeast Asia, and for undermining the Geneva agreements, the Zurich and Plain of Jars agreements and the National Union Government of Laos. He declared that the Laotian question could only be settled on the basis of the agreements concluded and through peaceful negotiations.

Peking Commemorates Asanuma

The fourth anniversary of the death of Inejiro Asanuma, former Chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party, was commemorated at a public meeting in Peking on October 12. The meeting took place in the same assembly hall where, five years ago, Asanuma made his now famous statement that "U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Japanese and Chinese peoples." The gathering, which included Kyoko Asanuma, the widow of Inejiro Asanuma, and other Japanese friends, gave a pledge to continue to work in the spirit of Asanuma and make redoubled efforts in the struggle against the common enemy—U.S. imperialism.

The gathering stood for a minute's silence before a portrait of Inejiro Asanuma. Then Liu Ning-I, Vice-

Chairman of the China Peace Committee and President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, delivered the opening address. He noted that the broad masses of the Japanese people were becoming increasingly aware that U.S. imperialism was their sworn enemy and that the Chinese people were their close friends. "Inspired by the spirit of Asanuma," he said, "the Japanese people will surely intensify their patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism and drive it out of Japan."

Warm and prolonged applause greeted Kyoko Asanuma when she took the floor. She told the gathering about the struggle waged by Inejiro Asanuma against U.S. imperialism and for Sino-Japanese friendship. "I feel," she said, "that Asanuma's spirit is alive and has become the common possession of the Japanese and Chinese peoples." She assured everyone present that she would continue to work in this spirit for world peace and Sino-Japanese friendship.

Isamu Yuyama, head of the delegation of the Japanese Socialist Party's Council Against the "Security Treaty," was the next to address the meeting. Saying that the Asanuma spirit was closely linked with the road of liberation of the people the world over, he said, "The people of the whole world must unite to overthrow imperialism. This is the lofty mission of mankind." He vowed to carry the "Asanuma spirit" to every corner of Japan and to be as courageous as Inejiro Asanuma in promoting Japanese-Chinese friendship.

In his speech, Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, praised Inejiro Asanuma as a great fighter in the just struggle against U.S. imperialism and an outstanding hero in the defence of Asian and world peace. "The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries," he said, "instigated the fascist bandits to assassinate Asanuma. Their purpose was to sabotage, split up and suppress the Japanese people's just, patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism. But the heroic Japanese people have not been intimidated. They have stood

up courageously and are carrying on that struggle."

Chang Hsi-jo pointed out that "U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples." "It is an objective reality which, with his political acumen, Inejiro Asanuma spoke about five years ago," he said.

Expressing confidence in the struggle of the Japanese people, he quoted Chairman Mao's words in his statement last January that "the Japanese people will certainly be able to drive the U.S. imperialists from their soil and that their aspiration for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality will surely come true."

Chang Hsi-jo emphasized the importance of strengthening unity in the united front against U.S. imperialism. He said that the Chinese people considered that the Japanese Socialist Party differed from the Social Democrats in Europe because Asanuma put forward and implemented its anti-U.S. programme. But he expressed regret that, just before and after Asanuma's death, certain Right-wing members of the Japanese Socialist Party worked openly or covertly in collaboration with U.S. imperialism. Particularly after Asanuma's death, they energetically pushed a line running directly counter to the anti-U.S. imperialist programme of Asanuma and tried to get the Japanese Socialist Party to take the road of the Social Democrats in Europe. "But," he said, "the spirit of Asanuma cannot be effaced. Inejiro Asanuma has died, but others in the Japanese Socialist Party will carry on his unfinished work."

Indonesia and D.P.R.K. Boycott Tokyo Olympics

The Olympic teams of Indonesia and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have decided not to participate in the 18th Olympic Games now being held in Tokyo. This action is in protest against obstruction and discrimination engineered by U.S. imperialist agents in the International Olympic Committee, the International Amateur Athletic Federation and the International Amateur Swimming Federa-

tion. It is another rebuff to U.S. imperialism's political manoeuvres against the new emerging forces. The just stand taken by Indonesia and the D.P.R.K. in this matter has the full support of the Chinese people.

In a statement issued on October 10, the Chinese Physical Culture and Sports Commission and the Chinese National Committee for the Games of the New Emerging Forces pay tribute to the Indonesian and Korean teams for their determination to uphold their national sovereignty and honour, safeguard the interests of the GANEFO and oppose the interference and provocation instigated in the I.O.C. by that U.S. imperialist Avery Brundage.

The statement recalls that ever since the GANEFO idea was raised on the initiative of Indonesian President Sukarno, Brundage, Chairman of the I.O.C., had been doing all he could to strangle it. It was at his prompting that the I.A.A.F., the I.A.S.F. and other reactionary sports organizations suspended the membership of participants in GANEFO and unjustifiably barred them from taking part in the Tokyo Olympics. "This," said the statement, "once again shows that the I.O.C., the I.A.A.F. and the I.A.S.F. are political tools in the hands of the imperialists. They are playing a most sordid role in sabotaging friendship among the peoples, undermining international sport activities, and antagonizing the GANEFO and the new emerging forces, while Avery Brundage is the No. 1 agent of U.S. imperialism in international sports organizations."

Pledging the Chinese people's support for the sportsmen and people of Indonesia and of the Korean Democratic People's Republic the statement declares: "Their courageous action will surely win the active support of all who uphold justice in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world."

Chiang's Naval Officer Crosses Over

Following the example of Hsu Ting-tse, who came over to People's

China in June last year with his U.S.-made F-86F jetfighter, Chao Tsung-li, a petty officer of Chiang Kai-shek's "Greater Quemoy Water-Borne Scouts Team," has crossed over and brought with him a U.S.-made mechanized landing craft (L.C.M. No. 1279). Upon his arrival at a port in east China on October 4, he was given a warm welcome by local armymen and residents.

Marshal Lin Piao, Minister of National Defence, issued an order the next day granting him the rank of an ensign of the Navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and awarding him 600 *liang* (1 *liang* equals 50 grammes) of gold in accordance with the regulations for rewarding Chiang Kai-shek naval personnel crossing over to the side of the people.

On October 7, Chao Tsung-li was received by Vice-Admiral Liu Hao-tien of the P.L.A. Navy. The Vice-Admiral praised him for his patriotic act, and next day at a welcoming rally, on behalf of Defence Minister Lin Piao, conferred on him the rank of ensign and presented him with a certificate for 600 *liang* of gold which he could cash in at the Rear Service Department of the P.L.A.

In his speech at the rally, Vice-Admiral Liu Hao-tien pointed out that Chao Tsung-li's act was another pointer to the unpopularity of reactionary U.S.-Chiang rule. He called on Chiang's military personnel to follow Chao's example and return to the embrace of their motherland.

After receiving his award Chao Tsung-li, wearing his brand-new uniform with the epaulets of an ensign of the People's Navy, said that this was the greatest moment in his life and he was most grateful for the honour bestowed on him by the motherland. He said that compatriots in Taiwan were looking forward to the early liberation of the island, and that Chiang Kai-shek's military and administrative personnel whose homes were on the mainland were

(Continued on p. 21.)

Chinese Government Statement on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question

October 9, 1964

Following is the statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Sino-Indian boundary question. — Ed.

OF late the Indian Prime Minister and the Indian Minister of External Affairs have made successive statements in Cairo attacking China on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government cannot but regret that the Indian leaders should have taken advantage of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Cairo to make anti-Chinese clamours. The Chinese Government firmly believes that such a line of action taken by India runs diametrically counter to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the states to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

The Chinese Government has already published a large amount of documents concerning the Sino-Indian boundary question and has no intention of repeating them here. It will only make the following statement in refutation of the distortions and slanders made by the Indian leaders.

1. The Indian Prime Minister's allegation that China has made no positive or friendly response to the Colombo proposals is a travesty of the facts. In order to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese side adopted a series of measures such as the ceasefire and withdrawal effected on its own initiative, which have far exceeded what was requested in the Colombo proposals. The Colombo Conference nations know, and the Indian Government is aware too, that had it not been for these measures all taken on China's own initiative, the Chinese frontier guards could not possibly have withdrawn in Chinese territory 20 kilometres from the line of actual control along the whole Sino-Indian border and the present relaxation on the Sino-Indian border could not have been achieved. While talking glibly about accepting the Colombo proposals *in toto*, the Indian Government has in fact not only done nothing to relax the border situation, but has incessantly intruded into Chinese territory for harassment and provocations in an attempt to create new tensions.

2. The Chinese Government has from the very outset stated that it accepted the Colombo proposals as a basis for direct Sino-Indian negotiations. The re-

sponsibility for the failure up to now to hold negotiations lies entirely with the Indian side. The Indian External Affairs Minister asserted that in taking the position as it does, China wanted to benefit from aggression. This is turning the truth upside down. On the contrary, the fact is that India is still illegally occupying more than 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory south of the so-called McMahon Line, whereas China has never occupied a single inch of India's territory. Is it not clear who has been committing aggression? As for India's demand for China's withdrawal from the seven civilian posts as a precondition for negotiations, it is utterly unreasonable. The land on which these civilian posts are situated has always been Chinese territory under effective jurisdiction of the Chinese Government, and no Indian troops have ever been there. What right has India to ask China to withdraw? China will not withdraw from any of the seven civilian posts. On the contrary, China has every right to ask India to withdraw from the more than 90,000 square kilometres of China's territory south of the illegal McMahon Line. However, in order to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations, China has up to now not raised such a demand as a precondition for negotiations.

3. The Chinese Government always welcomes the efforts at impartial mediation on the part of the Colombo Conference nations in promoting direct negotiations between China and India without involving themselves in the dispute. And the Chinese Government has no objection to any new consultations by the Colombo Conference nations to this end. But as is well known, the consent of both interested parties must be obtained before there can be effective mediation. And any proposal put forward by the mediators can only be a recommendation for the consideration of both sides and must in no case be an arbitral award to be imposed on either side. At present, exploiting the opportunity of his participation in the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo, the Indian Prime Minister is making distortions and slanders about China over the Sino-Indian boundary question, and is doing his utmost to make use of the Colombo Conference nations to bring pressure to bear upon China. Moreover, the Indian Prime Minister is in Cairo while the Chinese Premier

is not. The Chinese Government holds that in these circumstances to motivate consultations among the Colombo Conference nations behind China's back is unfair and therefore the Chinese Government cannot agree. Such consultations not only cannot be of any help to the promotion of direct Sino-Indian negotiations, but will place more obstacles in their way, making it more difficult for the six Colombo Conference nations to conduct mediation in the future. Any substantive discussion about the Sino-Indian boundary question must be held with China present. Any mediation or any proposal made without the agreement and not in the presence of China will be unacceptable to the Chinese Government.

4. As a matter of fact, India does not really want to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations. If it really has a desire for negotiations, it may raise in the course of the negotiations questions which it thinks necessary to raise, just as China may in the negotiations raise questions which it thinks necessary to raise. The Indian Government is fully aware that China will not agree to its unreasonable demand for China's withdrawal from the seven civilian

posts as a precondition for negotiations. It also knows full well that the Colombo Conference nations will not agree that the Colombo proposals should be regarded as an arbitral award to be accepted by China *in toto*. And it knows equally well that China will never submit to any international pressure. In continuously calling for the acceptance of the Colombo proposals *in toto*, China's withdrawal from the seven civilian posts, etc., the Indian Government aims solely at opposing China, so as to divert the attention of the people at home, seek U.S. and Soviet military aid, and pursue its policy of double alignment under the cover of non-alignment. This practice of the Indian leaders is being seen through by more and more countries. The Sino-Indian border situation has on the whole eased. China does not feel threatened by India which has gained large quantities of foreign aid, it is the other neighbours of India that are really being threatened. The Chinese Government hereby declares once again that if the Indian Government really wishes to hold negotiations, the Chinese Government is ready to start them with the Indian Government at any time and at any place with the Colombo proposals as a basis. Otherwise, mere talk about reconciliation will be of no avail.

人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO

Historical Trend Against Imperialism And Colonialism Is Irresistible

Following is a translation of the October 14 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "The Historical Current Against Imperialism and Colonialism Cannot Be Checked," commenting on the recent Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries which opened in Cairo on October 5 ended on October 10. It has reflected the common aspirations of the peoples of the non-aligned countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America—oppose imperialism and new and old colonialism, and support the national-liberation movements and defend world peace—and made positive achievements. To this we express our heartfelt congratulations.

Unity in Opposition to Imperialism

The Chinese Government and people have always respected the independent foreign policy followed by

the non-aligned countries; they also support and assist these countries' just struggle against imperialist aggression and intervention. In his message greeting the conference, Premier Chou En-lai expressed the hope that "the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries will, on the basis of the positive results of the first conference, make fresh contributions to the great cause of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in opposing imperialism and new and old colonialism and in winning and safeguarding national independence, and to the great cause of the people of the world in opposing imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defending world peace." Now, as the progress of the Cairo conference reveals, it has continued to forge ahead exactly along the road of unity in opposition to imperialism.

Altogether 47 countries participated in the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, nearly twice as many as in the first conference. This reflects in itself the tremendous progress made by the national and dem-

ocratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America over the last few years. New emerging countries have come into being in large numbers, and one after another independence banners have been raised over the African continent amidst fiery struggles. Most of these new emerging countries follow a non-alignment policy of peace and neutrality; they are determined to safeguard their independence and sweep clean the forces of imperialism and new and old colonialism. These developments in the situation have greatly augmented the strength of the world's people in fighting imperialism and defending world peace.

The colonial structure of imperialism is heading for disintegration at a quickening tempo. The policy of aggression of imperialism headed by the United States continues to meet with strong rebuffs. The counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations, laid bare by their nakedly aggressive moves against Cuba, the Congo (Leopoldville) and Indo-China, have been further discredited. Bent on aggression, intervention, control, subversion and using threats of force all over the globe, U.S. imperialism has evoked ever stronger opposition from the people of all lands.

Unity has been further strengthened among the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their fight against imperialism and colonialism. Peoples in countries where independence has been won or is being won, who support and help each other in the struggle against their common enemy, have converged to become a torrent that buffets imperialism and new and old colonialism.

The strong desire of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for independence and liberation, and the imperialist role of teacher by negative example, have made the struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism a historical current that cannot be stayed. This situation could not but find its manifestation at the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

Mainstream of the Conference

The powerful voice of the heads or delegates of the great majority of the non-aligned countries against imperialism and new and old colonialism was the mainstream of the conference. They lashed out at imperialism and new and old colonialism and justly showed that the policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States are the source of world tension and the greatest threat to the independence, security and peace of the non-aligned countries. In their speeches they answered the following questions in unambiguous terms: Can countries which are the victims of aggression and enslavement coexist peacefully with imperialism and new and old colonialism? Does the policy of non-alignment mean abandonment of the struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism? Should national independence and world peace be safeguarded by unprincipled "peaceful co-

existence" with imperialism, or should they be safeguarded by waging a resolute struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war?

As President Sukarno of Indonesia pointed out, the confrontation between the new emerging forces and the old order based on domination continues today. "Colonialism is dying but is not yet dead." He stressed that "peaceful coexistence cannot be imposed." And he asked: "How can any nation coexist in peace when surrounding military bases and economic strongholds are used to subvert or manipulate its domestic activities? How can a nation peacefully coexist with an outside power that dominates its policies? How can a nation live side by side in peace with states which prevent it from establishing social and economic systems suited to its national identity?"

President Ben Bella of Algeria said: "Peace is indivisible. To realize peace, it is necessary first of all to eliminate completely colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism."

The heads of state or government of Cuba, Cambodia, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Burundi all emphasized that, in order to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the new emerging countries, it was necessary to fight against imperialism and new and old colonialism. And facts have proved that opposition to imperialism and colonialism, new and old, is precisely an important cornerstone of the non-aligned policy of peace and neutrality.

The viewpoints and aspirations of the great majority of non-aligned countries outlined above are reflected in the declaration of the conference, which stated: "Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict." It declared: "Peaceful coexistence cannot be fully achieved throughout the world without the abolition of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

Support for Oppressed Nations

In their speeches, the heads of state or government of most of the non-aligned countries expressed deep sympathy and warm support for the people of the various countries now fighting for national independence. They have affirmed that all the oppressed nations and peoples have the right to use any means, including the use of armed struggle, to get rid of their colonial shackles and achieve their historical aspirations. As the same time the countries that have gained independence have the obligation to give all necessary aid to the peoples fighting for national independence. The declaration of the conference correctly pointed out that "colonized peoples may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self-determination and independence if the colonial powers persist in opposing their natural aspirations." The declaration

also solemnly announced that "the participants in the conference undertake to work unremittingly to eradicate all vestiges of colonialism and to combine all their efforts to render all necessary aid and support, whether moral, political or material, to the peoples struggling against colonialism and neo-colonialism."

U.S. imperialism and its followers spare no effort to slander the powerful, just voice at the Cairo conference, describing it as a "bellicose" attitude. Obviously what they want is to deprive those countries that have gained independence of the legitimate right to support the oppressed nations, and to isolate and cut the peoples under colonial rule off from any support so that imperialism can slaughter them at will. But all this is futile. The resolutions adopted by the conference show that most of the non-aligned countries know very well that support of the struggles of the oppressed nations is their bounden duty and that only by giving resolute support to the struggles of the peoples for national liberation can they more effectively defend their own independence and sovereignty. This just stand of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries is a great inspiration to the peoples struggling for independence and freedom and a telling blow to imperialism and its followers who wish to maintain the colonial order.

U.S. and Other Imperialists Condemned

The conference severely denounced the U.S. and other imperialists. The leaders of many non-aligned countries angrily condemned U.S. imperialism for its various criminal acts of armed aggression, subversion and intervention against south Viet Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, the Congo (Leopoldville), Burundi, Cuba, Cyprus and other countries. They called for quick and resolute action to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. They also castigated the Portuguese, British and other old colonialists' ruthless suppression of the peoples of the colonies and dependencies who are demanding independence, as well as the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid practised by white colonial authorities in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

The Cairo conference showed great concern over the defence of world peace. The declaration of the conference called for the immediate convening of a new Geneva conference on the question of Indo-China. It also demanded the removal of foreign military bases, the elimination of nuclear threats and an end to the arms drive. All these aspirations are completely justified. As everyone knows, it is U.S. imperialism which has set up hundreds of military bases and stationed large numbers of troops in different parts of the world. It is also U.S. imperialism which is wildly embarked on arms drive and war preparations, development of nuclear weapons and the application of nuclear blackmail. All this presents a grave threat to world peace. It is,

therefore, necessary for all peace-loving countries and peoples to become further united, expose and oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, fight against U.S. imperialist nuclear monopoly, nuclear blackmail, nuclear proliferation and nuclear threats and struggle for the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

A General Review of the Political Forces

At the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, a serious struggle was fought against the disruptive schemes of U.S. imperialism and its henchmen. Pursuing its ulterior motives, U.S. imperialism made every effort to thrust its running dog, Tshombe, into the conference. But completely contrary to its hopes, the result of the struggle is that Tshombe who, like a dead cat which reeks to high heaven, was thrown out by the conference. Afterwards, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk went out of his way to express "some concern" over this. But what did he reveal if not the disappointment and sorrow of U.S. imperialism?

The Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries is a general review of the political forces. The results of the conference show that over 90 per cent of the people of the world are against imperialism; the struggle to win and safeguard national independence is irresistible, and the forces in defence of world peace are powerful.

There was, of course, a small adverse current at this conference. The delegates of India and Yugoslavia did everything they could to distort the essence of the policies of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment. They attempted to set the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in opposition to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism by the people of various countries so as to achieve their objective of weakening and abolishing this struggle. At the conference, Indian Prime Minister Shastri also tried to whip up an anti-China campaign in an effort to divert the focus of the struggle of the non-aligned countries and serve U.S. imperialism. The Indian leader's despicable manoeuvres gained nobody's interest; apart from further exposing the real features of the Indian Government which has sold itself to U.S. imperialism and its collaborators, his activities achieved nothing whatsoever.

In the struggle against imperialism and for safeguarding world peace, the Chinese people will, through thick and thin, stand together with the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. The positive achievements of the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries make us happy. Together with all countries upholding the non-alignment policy of peace and neutrality and all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, the Chinese people will, as always, struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism headed by the United States, strive to win and safeguard national independence, and safeguard world peace.

Prince Souphanouvong on the Situation in Laos

- He severely condemns the aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Laos and calls upon the Laotian people to heighten their vigilance and smash the enemy's war plans.
- A strong and prosperous China is a bulwark of all the peoples struggling for national liberation and a good example of organization and clear-sighted guidance for the whole world.
- The Rightist group of Laos, obeying American orders, has undermined the Paris negotiations. Prince Souvanna Phouma has completely abandoned the policy of peace and neutrality and the true neutralist forces and has placed himself in the ranks of the pro-Americans.
- Prince Souvanna Phouma and his associates can represent neither the Government of National Union of the three groups in Laos nor the whole Laotian people. Their words and acts at the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries are null and void.
- The Neo Lao Haksat firmly opposes the interference and aggression by the American war-mongers against China, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, south Viet Nam and Cambodia, and resolutely supports their anti-U.S. struggle.

At a press conference attended by more than 100 Chinese and foreign correspondents in Peking on October 8, Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Government of National Union of the three groups in Laos and Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, issued a statement on the current Laotian situation. He also answered questions put by many correspondents. Phoumi Vongvichit, Minister of Information, Publicity and Tourism, was also present at the conference.

Following is the text of Prince Souphanouvong's statement. — Ed.

I am very glad today to meet here so many representatives of the Chinese and international press and to talk to them about the latest news on Laos.

First of all, allow me to express thanks from the bottom of my heart to the Government of the People's Republic of China for kindly inviting me to attend the celebrations marking the 15th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

These grand, wonderful and magnificent celebrations bubbling with joy are of important significance. They demonstrate that in the past fifteen years the Chinese Government and the great Chinese people have achieved splendid successes in all the fields of their national construction by relying on their own strength and on the constant development of their own capabilities and possibilities. This is an extremely important lesson for us. In addition, these grand celebrations indicate that the People's Republic of China is a country which wants peace for its national construction and that all the different calumnies fabricated by the

U.S. imperialists and their followers about its alleged "warlikeness" are only lies. It is clear that the prosperity and strength of the great China constitute a solid base for supporting all the peoples who are waging struggles for national liberation and a good example of organization and correct and clear-sighted guidance for the whole world. Therefore, I would like to express here to the Government and the fraternal people of China my warmest and sincerest congratulations as well as my most ardent wishes for greater prosperity and new successes in their socialist construction, for victory in the liberation of Taiwan from the hands of U.S. imperialism and in the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations.

You know that I have just come from Paris where I had conversations with Prince Souvanna Phouma and the representatives of the Rightist group. I would like to tell you briefly about these negotiations.

I went to the tripartite meeting in Paris in all sincerity with the best constructive attitude and an ardent desire to settle the Laotian question by peaceful means. I proposed, with the most convincing reasons, that the three groups exert all their efforts to restore the Government of National Union of the three groups in conformity with the agreements of Zurich and the Plain of Jars and neutralize Vientiane and Luangprabang as the seats of this tripartite Government, in order to avoid fratricide. With a view to achieving these results, I proposed that the three groups agree to a ceasefire and appeal to the Co-Chairmen of the 1961-62 Geneva Conference on Laos to reconvene the con-

ference of the fourteen countries without setting any preconditions.

During the semi-official conversations, Prince Souvanna Phouma and the Rightist group agreed to my propositions. But shortly after, in the official talks, the Rightist group expressed a contrary view, again set forth its preconditions and even used provocative language to the Neo Lao Haksat and certain socialist countries. And Prince Souvanna Phouma also followed in the steps of the Rightists and abandoned his own position. Therefore, the three groups failed to reach any agreement on any point. On the next day, Prince Souvanna Phouma and the representatives of the Rightist group left Paris for Vientiane. Being thus deprived of valid interlocutors, I myself also left Paris for Laos, leaving in Paris a delegation reduced to three members headed by Secretary of State Khamfeuan Tounalom, so as to maintain contact with the representatives of the other two groups.

It is obvious that the Rightist group, obeying the orders of the Americans, has undermined these Paris negotiations, as it had already done on several occasions. The U.S. imperialists and the pro-Americans in Laos have once again showed that they do not want a ceasefire and are obstinate in maintaining their precondition in order to prevent the reconvening of the conference of the fourteen countries on Laos. And at home, they are daily intensifying their troop movements and destructive air raids, with a view to perpetrating their encroaching attacks on the areas controlled by the Neo Lao Haksat and the authentic neutralist forces.

All that I have said shows clearly that the U.S. imperialists and the pro-Americans in Laos, far from willing to settle the Laotian question by peaceful means, are insisting on settling it by the use of armed force and plunging Laos in the calamities of an even more sanguinary war. They should therefore assume full responsibility for the consequences of this war.

As for Prince Souvanna Phouma, he has completely abandoned the policy of peace and neutrality and the authentic neutralist forces and has placed himself among the ranks of the pro-Americans. Despite what he agreed with me, as soon as the Rightist group opposed it, he abandoned his position to follow faithfully the position of the Rightist group. This once more shows that Prince Souvanna Phouma is in agreement with the U.S. imperialists and the pro-Americans in Laos to torpedo the Government of National Union of the three groups, the policy of peace and neutrality of Laos, the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos and the various agreements reached between the three groups. It must be pointed out that Prince Souvanna Phouma has to share the responsibility of the U.S. imperialists and their followers.

Having sabotaged the recent Paris negotiations, the U.S. imperialists and their followers immediately decided to send Prince Souvanna Phouma and some pro-Americans to the Conference of Non-Aligned States

in-Cairo. I have just sent a telegram to the aforesaid conference to tell it that Prince Souvanna Phouma and the delegates sent by the so-called "Vientiane Government" can represent neither the Government of National Union of the three groups of Laos nor the entire people of Laos. The Neo Lao Haksat and the Laotian population living in three-fifths of the national territory, which constitute the areas controlled by the Neo Lao Haksat and the authentic neutralist forces, consider as null and void all the acts and words of Prince Souvanna Phouma and his associates at this conference.

Furthermore, the U.S. imperialists and the pretender "government of Vientiane" wanted to recall or replace the Laotian ambassadors to certain countries. On this subject, I have also cabled His Majesty the King of Laos and Prince Souvanna Phouma, asking them not to let the pro-Americans act in this way, which would infringe the principle of acting on tripartite unanimity within the Laotian Government of National Union and violate the agreements of Zurich, the Plain of Jars and Geneva.

However deteriorated may become the situation created in Laos by the U.S. imperialists and their followers, the Neo Lao Haksat maintains and will maintain its policy unchanged, which is to unite all the people of Laos, unite all the patriotic forces of Laos in a resolute fight to safeguard the government of tripartite national union, the policy of peace and neutrality of Laos, the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos and the various agreements concluded among the three groups, with a view to building a truly peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos.

The Neo Lao Haksat does not see any other solution for the Laotian question than a settlement by means of peaceful negotiations. A settlement by the use of armed force cannot but extend and exacerbate the war and bring greater misfortune and misery upon the Laotian people.

The Neo Lao Haksat is opposed to intervention and aggression by the U.S. war-mongers and their followers, who alone are the source of the present explosive situation in Laos, and demands that they stop their dangerous actions and agree to take, sincerely as does the Neo Lao Haksat, the path of a negotiated peaceful settlement.

I appeal once again to Prince Souvanna Phouma and the other leaders of the neutralist forces to take into full account the danger of thus following the U.S. imperialists and their followers, quickly free themselves from their control and return to the previous truly neutralist position, so that, together with the Neo Lao Haksat, the other patriotic forces and the Laotian people, they may fight against the intervention and aggression of the U.S. war-mongers and their followers, in defence of the government of tripartite national union, the policy of peace and neutrality and the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos and the various tripartite agreements.

I appeal once again to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the International Control Commission in Laos and the signatories to the 1962 agreements that they take into consideration the present explosive situation in Laos and urgently reconvene the 14-nation conference on Laos, in order to compel the U.S. imperialists and their followers to stop their interference and aggression in Laos, eliminate the present tension in Laos and preserve peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

I make a sincere appeal to all the patriotic forces and all my compatriots in the country that they should see through the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their followers to sabotage the negotiations and foment war, unite as one man, sharpen their vigilance and get ready to smash the war plans of the enemies of our country, so as to lead our just struggle to final victory.

I would like to thank here all the peace-loving governments and peoples of the world for their firm and warm support to the Laotian people in their patriotic struggle. I appeal to them and ask them to continue their support till success.

Indeed, while speaking about the situation in our country, Laos, I cannot pass by without mentioning the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, south Viet Nam and the Kingdom of Cambodia, which are all our neighbours and brothers and are subjected like us to interference and aggression by the U.S. imperialists and their followers. The U.S. imperialists are still occupying Taiwan, an integral part of the People's Republic of China, disturbing the tranquillity of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by the intrusion of their warships and combat aircraft, continuing to introduce American troops and armaments into south Viet Nam to plunder its wealth and massacre its people, and continuing their ground and air intrusions into the territory of Cambodia in order to menace its neutrality.

The Neo Lao Haksat and the Laotian people, who pursue a strict policy of peace and neutrality and adopt a policy of good-neighbourliness and of mutual aid based on the Five Principles of Peaceful coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Asian-African Conference, resolutely oppose the interference and aggression of the U.S. war-mongers against these countries, resolutely support the just struggle of these countries which are resisting American interference and aggression, and are firmly convinced that the heroic struggle of these four fraternal and neighbouring peoples will certainly be crowned with success.

The Neo Lao Haksat holds that the U.S. imperialists must cease their interference and aggression against these countries and let the peoples of these countries determine their own destiny and solve their problems through peaceful negotiations in order to guarantee peace in Southeast Asia.

The Neo Lao Haksat supports the proposals of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of

State of Cambodia, and General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, for reconvening the Geneva Conference on Indo-China to settle the problem of Cambodia and that of south Viet Nam, by recognizing their neutrality, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and is convinced that the governments and peoples of the world which love peace and justice will also give them their energetic support.

* * *

At the press conference, Prince Souphanouvong stressed that because of the Paris negotiations by the three Laotian groups, the Neo Lao Haksat had not yet retaliated against the attacks launched since last July by U.S. imperialism and its vassals. If the attacks should continue, the Prince added, the Neo Lao Haksat will be obliged to strike back; it is convinced that it will certainly win.

Answering questions by correspondents, Prince Souphanouvong further explained why the Laotian question has remained unsolved. In examining this question, he said, it was necessary to consider first of all U.S. policy towards Laos and American sabotage of the National Union Government of Laos. He emphasized that U.S. policy towards Laos was and is a plot to turn the country into a U.S. base for war and a new colony.

Since the French departed from Laos, the Prince added, the U.S. imperialists have never ceased organizing the Rightists' forces politically and militarily and, under the signboard of anti-communism, have attempted to strangle the patriotic Laotian forces including the Neo Lao Haksat and have undermined the peace and neutrality of Laos guaranteed by the 1962 Geneva agreements.

Prince Souphanouvong stated that the attempt by U.S. imperialism and its flunkies to settle the Laotian question by means of force was very clear. Violating the Geneva agreements and the agreements reached by the three groups in Laos, they have further mobilized, instead of demobilizing, their forces; they have increased the number of Rightist troops from 30,000 to 70,000.

The Prince severely condemned U.S. imperialism for its latest criminal air raids against Laos. U.S. jet planes, he said, from the Seventh Fleet, south Viet Nam and Thailand have bombed areas controlled by the Neo Lao Haksat and the true neutralist forces, and this is continuing even today. When he left Laos a month ago, Neo Lao Haksat troops had already shot down 15 U.S. jet planes, the Prince said.

Answering a question by a foreign correspondent as to whether troops of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam were in Laos, Prince Souphanouvong said that in order to cover up its direct armed intervention in Laos, U.S. imperialism has spread its slanderous propaganda widely, alleging that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has intervened in Laos.

In the name of the Neo Lao Haksat, Prince Souphanouvong solemnly declared at the conference that there are no foreign troops whatever in the areas controlled by the Neo Lao Haksat and the true neutralist forces. The Neo Lao Haksat and the other patriotic Laotian forces are strong enough to resist foreign aggression, he added.

We are neither aggressors nor warlike elements, the Prince stressed. We are only compelled to drive the robbers out of our home while the U.S. imperialists are thieves crying: "Stop thief," continued the Prince.

On the question of the International Control Commission in Laos, Prince Souphanouvong said that U.S. imperialism, the pro-Americans in Laos and Prince Souvanna Phouma, who have undermined the Government of National Union, should be held responsible for the failure of the commission to function normally. The Neo Lao Haksat has no responsibility at all for this, he declared.

The Neo Lao Haksat has always adhered to the Geneva agreements and is prepared to co-operate sincerely and actively with the International Control Commission, he said. During the early period of the

existence of the Government of National Union, he recalled, the Neo Lao Haksat proposed many times that the International Control Commission carry out inspection and the commission did make four inspections. If the International Control Commission in Laos has been unable to work normally, the Prince went on, it is mainly because since the April 19 military coup d'etat in Vientiane the Laotian Government of National Union has been completely sabotaged and the illegal "government of Vientiane" has been set up. According to the working procedures laid down in the Geneva agreements, the International Control Commission can only co-operate with the Government of National Union representing the three groups in Laos, he pointed out.

Finally, Prince Souphanouvong reaffirmed that peaceful consultation among the three groups in Laos is the only way to solve the Laotian question. In the interest of settling this, he maintained, the three groups in Laos should simultaneously cease their military operations and the 14-nation conference on the Laotian question should be convened. He expressed his conviction that convening this conference will exert a favourable influence on promoting harmony between the three groups in Laos.

G.D.R. National Day Marked in China

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

FIFTEEN years ago, on October 7, the German Democratic Republic was founded. Throwing off the shackles of monopoly capitalism and embarking on the shining path of socialism, the 17 million German people have become masters of their own destiny and have turned a new chapter in German history. The Chinese people warmly congratulate the people of the G.D.R. on the immense successes they have achieved in the building of socialism in the last 15 years.

The Chinese Communist Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai sent a joint message of greetings to the German Party and state leaders (*P.R.*, No. 41, p.5). Foreign Minister Chen Yi also sent a message of greetings to Dr. Lothar Bolz, G.D.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The G.D.R. Ambassador, Gunter Kohrt, gave a reception in Peking to mark the occasion on the evening of October 7. It was attended by Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Po I-po, Vice-Premier; Kuo Mo-jo and Lin Feng, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Burhan Shahidi, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Common Interests of the Two Peoples. In his speech, Ambassador Gunter Kohrt said that the founding of the G.D.R. ushered in the first worker-peasant state

in the history of Germany. In this part of Germany, German imperialist and militarist domination has been eliminated and the people are now victoriously building socialism. The G.D.R. has consistently strived to bring about a peaceful solution of the German question. "The consolidation and safeguarding of peace calls for the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two Germanys and the solution of the West Berlin problem on this basis," said the Ambassador. He added that the G.D.R. was a firmly established component of the big family of socialist countries. "The people of the G.D.R. and the People's Republic of China have common interests in the struggle for peace and socialism and against imperialism," he declared.

German Question Cannot Be Solved Without G.D.R. Participation. On behalf of the Chinese people and Government, Vice-Premier Po I-po congratulated the people of the G.D.R. on the great successes they have achieved on the various fronts of socialist construction and wished them new and still greater ones.

He pointed out that the people of the G.D.R. had struggled resolutely against West German militarism fostered by U.S. imperialism, made unremitting efforts for the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the solution of the problem of West Berlin and the reunification of their motherland, and had made important contributions to safeguarding European security and world peace.

"The Chinese people have always firmly supported the just struggles of the people of the German Democratic Republic against West German militarism, for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and for safeguarding state sovereignty. We have consistently held that the unification of Germany is an affair of the German people themselves, and that while there are two Germanys, the German question cannot be settled without the participation of the German Democratic Republic. Should the U.S. imperialists and West German militarists dare to attack the German Democratic Republic, the Chinese people will give all-out support to the fraternal German people," Vice-Premier Po I-po declared.

"As always, the Chinese Government and people will do their utmost to constantly enhance the friendship between the two peoples and safeguard the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," Vice-Premier Po I-po said.

G.D.R.'s Just Struggle Supported. Pointing out that the existence of the G.D.R. was an obstacle to the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and West German militarist plans of revanchism, *Renmin Ribao's* October 7 editorial marking the occasion drew attention to the recent attempts by West German militarists to isolate the G.D.R. and their cries for "swallowing up" and "buying it out." "Such frenzied outcries warrant people's vigilance," the editorial said.

International Communist Movement

No Support for World Meeting to Legalize a Split

Joint Statement Issued by Indonesian and Ceylonese Communist Parties

THE Indonesian Communist Party and the Ceylonese Communist Party "agree with each other that they should not support the efforts to convene an international conference that is aimed at legalizing a split, and are of the opinion that consultations and efforts must continuously be carried out among the Communist and Workers' Parties, both bilaterally and multilaterally, for the strengthening of the international communist movement."

This is declared in a joint statement signed in Djakarta on September 29 by Comrade D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, and Comrade N. Sanmugathan, National Organizer and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Ceylonese Communist Party. The document was published in *Harian Rakjat* on October 2, according to a Djakarta report.

N. Sanmugathan attended the Fourth National Congress of SOBSI (All Indonesian Central Organiza-

"The G.D.R. is a western outpost of the socialist camp. The Chinese people have maintained throughout that any infringement on the G.D.R. is an infringement on the socialist camp. Just as the people of the G.D.R. have supported the Chinese people in their struggle against imperialism, the Chinese people on their part have always resolutely supported the people of the G.D.R. in their struggle against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and West German militarism. We stand behind the people of the G.D.R. in their just struggle to secure a German peace treaty and safeguard their national sovereignty and resolutely oppose the wild ambitions of West German militarism to 'annex' and 'buy out' Democratic Germany. Whatever heavy storms the imperialists may stir up, the 650 million Chinese people will always be with the fraternal people of the G.D.R.," the editorial declared.

Other activities marking the G.D.R. anniversary included a cocktail party given by the China-G.D.R. Friendship Association and a film show at the Sino-German Friendship People's Commune on Peking's eastern outskirts.

In Berlin a Chinese government delegation led by Ulanfu, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, attended the G.D.R. anniversary celebrations, and issued a message of greetings to the G.D.R. Government and people.

tion of Trade Unions) at the invitation of the latter's National Council.

The statement stresses the necessity to strengthen the struggle against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism.

The statement adds that a number of matters of concern to both sides were discussed and unanimity of opinion was reached on the questions now being faced by the two Parties and peoples.

It says: Both Parties are unanimous in regarding U.S. imperialism as the No. 1 enemy of the peoples of the whole world and consider its unmasking and defeat the prime task of the struggles being waged in their countries against it. They regard this as a positive contribution to the struggle being waged by the peoples of the whole world, particularly in Asia, against imperialism and colonialism.

The statement condemns U.S. imperialism for all its criminal acts and schemes for aggression and intervention against Southeast Asia.

"The two Parties most vehemently condemn the war of aggression being waged by U.S. imperialism against south Viet Nam and its aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The two sides welcome with enthusiasm and fervently greet the great successes of the heroic struggle of the people of south Viet Nam under the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam. They also fervently welcome and salute the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam who have dealt fitting counter blows at the U.S. aggressors."

Both Parties affirm that U.S. imperialism, which is aggressive by nature, can be compelled to retreat and that it can be finally defeated only if the peoples unite still more firmly and carry out a persistent and relentless struggle against it.

The two Parties view with deep concern the sharp differences of opinion brought about by the modern revisionists in the international communist movement and in the international democratic movement. "This has weakened the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement and benefited world imperialism. Both Parties are agreed on the necessity to oppose modern revisionism just as they oppose im-

perialism. This is necessary to strengthen the anti-imperialist international united front, to strengthen the international communist movement and to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp."

The statement stresses the necessity to preserve and further strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. The two Parties are of the view that "this unity must be based upon the acceptance of the correct, revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. As regards the possibility of convening an international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, the two Parties are of the opinion that such an international conference must aim at strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and must conform to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. Such a conference should be preceded by adequate preparations and be based on the principles of consultation and common consensus of opinion so as to ensure that it would not result in legalizing a split in the international communist movement."

The statement says: "Both Parties express their firm conviction in the ultimate triumph of Marxism-Leninism and in a greater and closer unity of the international communist movement based on the eternal truth of Marxism-Leninism."

C.P. of Brazil Denounces Khrushchov Clique's Unilateral Decision to Hold World Meeting

THE Communist Party of Brazil has denounced the revisionist Khrushchov clique for having unilaterally decided to call an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties to split the world communist movement. This was made public in a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Party last August, according to a Rio de Janeiro report.

In unilaterally deciding to hold such a meeting next year, the resolution says, the revisionist Khrushchov clique "aims at formalizing the split in the world communist movement and at isolating those Parties which have consistently maintained their Marxist-Leninist stand. Its main idea is to strike at the Communist Party of China which stands in the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism and in defence of the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat and is effectively supporting the peoples' struggle against imperialism."

Rejecting the defence offered by Khrushchov and company for calling such a meeting, the resolution says, "the leaders of the Soviet Union know full well that it is impossible to achieve any positive result at a meeting of the sort they are attempting to hold, since the differences have developed to such an extent, and since

they have heaped endless abuse on the Communist Party of China and Marxist-Leninists all over the world. Their objective is not to seek a correct solution which would lead to strengthened unity of the communist movement. Up to their ears in the mire of revisionism, they have done everything possible to split the workers' movement and the forces fighting for national liberation.

"It is the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who are responsible for the unwholesome phenomena in the communist ranks. They elaborated a typically revisionist line at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of their Party, and, resorting to the most despicable means, have been trying to impose it upon other Parties. They have violated the resolutions of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960."

The resolution recalls the attacks and calumnies levelled by the revisionist Khrushchov clique at the Albanian Party of Labour, the Communist Party of China and the Marxist-Leninists of Brazil, Belgium, Australia, Ceylon and other countries that have risen against revisionism and adopted a revolutionary attitude. "At the same time, however, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are colluding with U.S. imperialism — the

principal enemy of peace and mankind. Thus, they have betrayed the interests of the Soviet Union and of the people of the world."

"In these circumstances," the resolution goes on to say, "the meeting which the C.P.S.U. is calling will be nothing but a farce. The vast majority of those who will attend are revisionists docilely obedient to the baton of Khrushchov. For instance, among those invited to attend the preparatory meeting to be called in Moscow in December to draft the documents for discussion are representatives of the Brazilian Communist Party, a party which does not represent the will of the Marxist-Leninists of Brazil, but which, owing to its opportunist line, was, to a considerable extent, responsible for the defeat of the people's forces in the April 1 military coup staged by the reactionary forces of the country.

"The meeting scheduled by the C.P.S.U. for 1965 is extremely harmful and should therefore be condemned by all genuine Marxist-Leninists. At a time when the U.S. imperialists are intensifying their aggressive activities in Viet Nam, Laos, Cuba, the Congo and other areas, and when greater unity of the socialist camp and of the world communist movement is therefore called

for, any step that serves to widen the split will be an unpardonable violation of the interests of the peoples and peace."

"Unity must be forged around Marxist-Leninist principles and in the tireless struggle against modern revisionism," says the resolution with regard to the unity of the communist movement. "If a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to be a success under the present circumstances, the C.P.S.U. and other Parties which have deviated from the correct path must renounce their erroneous policies and return to the position of Marxism-Leninism. A meeting aimed at contributing to the unity of the communist movement demands long and adequate preparations, and calls for an extensive debate on the controversial questions and a deep-going ideological struggle."

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, persisting in its stand of defending Marxism-Leninism, opposes Khrushchov's schismatic manoeuvres and stands shoulder to shoulder with all fraternal Parties which have refused to collaborate in the crime being plotted against the international workers' movement through the proposed meeting," the resolution concludes.

Peruvian C.P. Condemns Khrushchov Clique's Schismatic Manoeuvres

THE Peruvian Communist Party has denounced the decision made arbitrarily and without prior consultation by the revisionist Khrushchov clique to call a conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world to split the international communist movement.

The denunciation is contained in a statement issued by the Political Committee of the Party's Central Committee on September 16.

The statement says: "The divergences in the international communist movement have become so profound that any conference held rashly without necessary talks and consultations beforehand can only serve to realize the schismatic schemes of those who for many years have been creating serious disturbances in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

"It is necessary for the Parties which have divergent opinions to hold conversations, debates and discussions before a world meeting of all fraternal Parties can finally be convened. Those who have refused to make patient preparations for the convening of a genuine conference of Communist Parties have in fact shown themselves not in the least interested in unity but bent on bringing about division.

"In violation of all principles guiding the fraternal relations among the Communist Parties of the world, the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have arbitrarily decided to call a world conference,

have determined which Parties should meet beforehand to prepare documents which will serve as the basis for discussion, and have even fixed a date for the conference. This shows clearly that the so-called struggle against arbitrary methods professed by Khrushchov and his followers is nothing but a foul lie. Before a world conference of the Communist Parties is called, it is necessary to make all the preparations that will be useful, and above all, to consult with other Parties so as to learn their views on this question. The existence of father and son Parties is unacceptable in the international communist movement."

The statement declares: "The Peruvian Communist Party proclaims its sincere stand for a unity of the international communist movement built on the unshakable basis of Marxism-Leninism. Unity among the fraternal Parties can be achieved only when those who have unscrupulously revised the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism during the past few years admit their errors, make public self-criticism of these errors and return to the path of scientific socialism in all sincerity. There is no other way to achieve the unity of the international communist movement. Unity between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists is impossible. Even a mere reference to it would be most absurd."

The statement says: "The Peruvian Communist Party will not take part in the schismatic conference called by the revisionist leaders of the C.P.S.U. and

will, right from now, oppose and condemn such a conference. It notifies all fraternal Parties that any 'delegation' which might claim to represent our Party at the schismatic-revisionist conference will be a spurious one, which can only represent a handful of renegades expelled from our Party. They are today sparing no effort to collaborate with the class enemies in an attempt to strike sinister and perfidious blows at the party of the Peruvian working class."

The statement concludes: "The Peruvian Communist Party supports and acclaims the firm attitude taken by the great Communist Party of China and by the Korean, Albanian, Japanese, Indonesian and other Marxist-Leninist parties which are now raising higher than ever the banner of Marxism-Leninism against the corrupt revisionist trend and are exposing the schismatic manoeuvres of the international clique of Khrushchov and Tito."

"Akahata" Opposes Schismatic World Meeting

Following are extracts from the October 5 editorial of "Akahata," organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party. The editorial is entitled "International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties Should Be Conducive to Unity and Not to a Split — Proposals of the C.P.J." — Ed.

THE Japanese Communist Party "is firmly opposed to the convening of an 'international meeting' which will lead to a final split in the international communist movement and the socialist camp," declared *Akahata*.

The Japanese Communist Party has never heard about the existence of any "decision" which gives the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the right to call an international meeting, nor has it ever taken part in adopting such a "decision." A number of fraternal Parties have indicated their refusal to attend any "international meeting" which is unilaterally called and which will lead to a final split. If such an "international meeting" should be imposed upon the international communist movement, then the movement will be headed for a split both in name and in fact. And those who arbitrarily call such an "international meeting" must be held responsible for the split, *Akahata* said.

"In the last few years, as a result of serious differences of opinion, the phenomenon of disunity within the international communist movement and the socialist camp has been aggravated," the editorial said. The Japanese Communist Party "has repeatedly stated that it agrees in principle to the convening of a conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties to resolve the differences in the international communist movement and remove the causes of disunity. However, such a conference and the series of preparatory meetings among various Parties and separate talks preceding the conference should be held on the following principle and method: namely, to prevent a split in the international communist movement and promote the genuine unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. To this end, it is necessary to base oneself on the revolutionary principles and norms guiding

relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. . . .

"The controversy in the international sphere is serious in nature because it involves the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the fundamental questions of revolution. But these serious differences of opinion would certainly not have led to such grave disunity as exists today if the norms guiding relations among fraternal Parties set forth in the 1960 Statement and unanimously affirmed by the Communist Parties of various countries had been observed; in other words, if the independence, equality and self-determination of the fraternal Parties had been respected and the principle of reaching unanimity through internal consultation had been followed.

"But the fact of the matter is that the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., in violation of the 1960 Statement, levelled public attacks on a fraternal Party and extended differences in policy and theory to relations between the socialist countries. Moreover, certain Parties have crudely interfered in the internal affairs of our Party, just as they have been interfering in the internal affairs of other fraternal Parties. This has resulted in the complicated and difficult situation existing in the international communist movement and the socialist camp today.

"The chief responsibility for this situation, as the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party made clear in its reply dated August 26 to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., rests with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. . . .

"If one is sincerely willing to face this situation soberly and strive realistically for the genuine unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, one must strictly abide by the principles guiding relations among the fraternal Parties in preparing for the forthcoming international meeting. This is the minimum prerequisite for the success of the preparatory work for the meeting. If this is ignored, then no amount of beautiful phrases which one may collect on the question of the unity of the international communist movement can hide one's intentions for bringing about a split. However, the leaders of certain fraternal Parties have scheduled an 'international meeting' of the Communist and Workers' Parties for the

middle of next year, unilaterally decided that a 'Drafting Committee' composed of the representatives of 26 fraternal Parties start work in Moscow on December 15 and insisted that this programme be carried through even if any one of the 26 fraternal Parties failed to send its representatives by December 15. . . .

"This means that from the very beginning they planned to convene a meeting of only those Parties which approve the C.P.S.U. leadership's proposals. Furthermore, they even declared that to refuse to attend this meeting would be tantamount to 'formalizing' the split. This reveals their intention to impose their unilateral decision on others and shift on to others the responsibility for the split."

The editorial pointed out that the "Drafting Committee" of 26 Parties is entirely without foundation. Those Parties were chosen for preparing the 1960 international conference and their task ended when they submitted their draft to the 1960 Conference of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. What is more, at that conference, no decision was reached on the question of charging the 26 Parties with the task of preparing for subsequent international conferences. Therefore, if a preparatory meeting of a new international conference is to be convened, its composition must be decided anew through consultation among fraternal Parties.

In order to "legalize" the unilateral summoning of an "international meeting" certain persons have even alleged that a number of fraternal Parties are opposed to the convening of an international conference as such. The fact remains that not a single fraternal Party is opposed to international conferences, including its preparatory meetings.

Opinions differ as regards the date when an international conference should be held as well as the date, composition and agenda for a preparatory meeting. If there were no differences in principle within the international communist movement, the question of whether or not to hold a preparatory meeting and the question of its date and composition would not be of any major importance. But if, starting from the present-day actual situation in the international communist movement, one wants to oppose a split and fight for genuine unity, one must say that this is a question of very great, practical significance and not merely a matter of procedure for the conference.

"It is our opinion that, starting from the stand of opposing a split and fighting for genuine unity, constant efforts should be made to reach unanimous agreement on the question of procedure. Conversely, if one abandons such efforts, decides unilaterally on the date, composition and agenda of a preparatory meeting and is bent upon pushing through this plan, this is really 'formalizing' the split," Akahata stated.

"According to the Soviet paper *Pravda*, concrete consultations have been undertaken on the convening of an international meeting. But when, where and

with which Party have such consultations been held? . . ." asked Akahata.

"It is true that many fraternal Parties, including our Party, have put forward various opinions and proposals in connection with the coming international meeting," Akahata said. "But this does not mean that adequate and necessary consultations have already taken place among the fraternal Parties concerned, and there are considerable differences of opinion on this. To say that adequate consultations have taken place on the question of holding an international meeting, therefore, does not accord with the facts and is wholly untenable. The proposals of the C.P.S.U. leadership, in essence, have completely rejected the opinions and proposals of many Parties which maintain that no international meeting should be forcibly convened when proper preparations essential for unity have not been made. It goes without saying that to hold consultations with others one has to listen to their opinions and proposals and try to reach agreement. But, it is contrary to facts and defies reason to claim that adequate consultations have taken place when not the least consideration has been given to the opinions of others and proposals have been advanced which are completely one-sided.

"As everybody knows, the 1960 Statement explicitly stipulates that at international conferences, meetings among various Parties, or separate talks between them, unanimity should be reached through consultations and joint action should be taken in the struggle for common goals. At the 1960 Moscow meeting, representatives of some fraternal Parties proposed that differences of opinion be settled by majority votes. However, their proposal was voted down at the meeting."

Akahata declared: "If this ruling accepted by all fraternal Parties is to be faithfully followed, naturally the principle of unanimous approval should be followed at international conferences and the principle of 'unanimity through consultations' should be applied to the question of convening an international conference.

"For the international communist movement composed of fraternal Parties which are independent and equal, the correct method of preserving unity is to reach unanimity through consultations. Even if a certain stand or view has the support of a majority of Parties, it would obviously be a violation of the fundamental principles of the 1960 Statement if that stand or view is imposed on other Parties."

It is clear from the above, the editorial continued, that the unilateral proposal for calling an "international meeting" and the "arguments" supporting that proposal are devoid of any justified basis from the point of view of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

"Our Party has repeatedly declared that it is firmly opposed to the convening of an 'international meeting' which will lead to a final split in the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

"The disunity within the international communist movement today has become extremely complicated and

serious. But we hold that a final split would be even worse.

"Undoubtedly, the genuine unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp must be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. For, without a solid unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the international communist movement would not be able to fulfil its great mission of transforming the world, nor will it be able correctly to satisfy the pressing demands of the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations the world over."

It is necessary to realize such genuine unity at an early date, the editorial said. But judging from the present situation, conditions are not yet ripe for solving questions of principle all at once. Even those who want to impose an international meeting at an early date are not able to deny this reality.

"We think that, at present, the Communist Parties of various countries should strive for unity of action on the basis of the Declaration and the Statement, pending a final settlement of the public polemics on questions of principle, in order to fight against the concrete manifestations of the policies of aggression and war of international reaction headed by U.S. imperialism.

"One would at least not disapprove of such unity of action if one has not abandoned the will to fight against the common enemy of the peoples but is still conscious of his responsibility for the common cause. When imperialism is utilizing disunity in the international communist movement for disruption and attacks, the conclusion of such an agreement for unity of action would deal a blow at imperialist intrigues and would be a guarantee for the working people and oppressed na-

tions of the world to muster their forces for struggling effectively against their enemy.

"We believe that even if truth is to be sought through debate, efforts should also be made to bring about unity of action and fight against the common enemy of the peoples. Imperialism must not be allowed to sow discord within the socialist camp or to manoeuvre against the international communist movement. This is the realistic path towards forging a genuine unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"The 'international meeting' which would lead to a final split in the international communist movement has not yet been held, so it is still not too late. We propose to all fraternal Parties that the 'international meeting' — which is to be unilaterally held on the basis of untenable proposals and methods and which, as a matter of fact, would inevitably harm unity — be cancelled. We propose instead that an international meeting be prepared to discuss the question of how to unite and take concrete joint action against the aggressive activities conducted by that common enemy of the peoples as clearly defined in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

"We maintain that the question of preparing for such an international meeting should at least have the agreement of all the Parties that attended the 1960 meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties and that proper discussions be immediately conducted among the various fraternal Parties whose participation are necessary. This, we think, is essential.

"We address this appeal to the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries which want unity in the international communist movement and desire that the international working class and peace and democratic forces struggle effectively against the forces of war and aggression headed by U.S. imperialism."

Victory for Self-Reliance

China Is Basically Self-Sufficient in Oil

by SHIH YEN

China's oil industry is developing rapidly and prospects for future growth are excellent. By building new oilfields and refineries and expanding and modernizing old ones in a spirit of self-reliance, she is now able in the main to satisfy her domestic needs in oil.

IN 1907 the Ching imperial government sank China's first oil well in Yenchang, north Shensi Province. But in the 42 years from then until 1948, only a little over 2 million tons of oil were produced — an average of some 50,000 tons a year. Virtually all the mineral oil products used in old China, from gasoline to tar for the

roads, were imported. China's oil needs were a huge source of profits for foreign oil monopolies.

New China initiated a drive to produce more crude oil and refined products and gain self-sufficiency in oil. Construction during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) and especially since the beginning of the Second (1958-62), the rapid growth from 1958 to 1960, and in the past few years of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards," have done just this.

The rate of growth of the industry has been particularly remarkable in the last few years. Oilfield exploitation has been stepped up; not only are there more



The Talién No. 7 Oil Refinery

installations but they have been more efficiently run and the quality of products has improved. The output of crude oil, gasoline, kerosene, diesel oil and lubricants has steadily increased and the state plans for these products have been consistently overfulfilled each year. In its drive for self-sufficiency, the industry is producing or has successfully trial-produced several hundred kinds of oil products ranging from those ordinarily needed in industry, agriculture, communications and transport to high-grade special products. These products are all up to the standards set by the state. In quantity, quality and range, China's oil industry today basically satisfies the needs of the various branches of the national economy. In this industry, that is so important for the national economy and defence, China stands on her own feet.

Rich Oil Deposits

China has rich oil deposits. However, they were not properly surveyed or exploited before liberation. The foreign geologists who came and did some surveying and prospecting work before liberation in China categorically declared that because China had more continental than marine phase sedimentation she had few oil deposits and prospects for exploitation were dim. This theory of China being "oil poor" dampened enthusiasm and initiative and this, combined with the corruption and incompetence of the reactionary rulers, held back development. In the 42 years before liberation drillings totalled only 71,000 metres and only four small oilfields and two gas fields were discovered.

Since liberation, top priority has been given to surveying and prospecting for oil. Investments in this account for a big part of total investments in the industry and surveying and prospecting work has gone ahead on a big scale. During the ten years 1949-59, the total length of drillings reached 5 million metres. In the last

few years surveying and prospecting went ahead at an accelerated pace. Scores of oil and gas fields have been discovered in various parts of the country. The amount of proven deposits has greatly increased. These surveys prove that China has extremely rich deposits. Geological conditions on nearly half of the national territory indicate possibilities of the presence of oil. All this goes to show that China can rely entirely on her own resources to develop her oil industry.

Building an All-Round Oil Industry

The oil industry inherited from old China was a poor thing. At the time of liberation there were only

two small, poorly equipped oil enterprises and the few refineries were run-down and technically backward. Their capacity was inconsiderable and their range of products was limited to a few of the more ordinary varieties.

New China launched a programme of large-scale capital construction in the industry. Apart from rebuilding and expanding the original plants and installations, she has opened up a number of new oilfields and refineries to create modern oil industry centres.

Old China's main oil enterprise at Yumen in the northwest only extracted oil in the vicinity of Laochunmiao and its output was low. Since liberation, it has been expanded many times and turned into an integrated enterprise embracing geological surveying and prospecting, oilfield exploitation and oil refining. The Karamai field, also in northwest China, was opened officially in 1958 and has been undergoing continuous expansion ever since. The new Taching oilfield was opened in 1960 under difficult conditions. Its staff members and workers gained full knowledge of the oil-bearing formations, size of the oilfield and its reserve in a little over a year and built a modern petroleum enterprise there within three years. This speed compares favourably with that achieved in building certain modern oilfields in other countries. Virtually all the producing wells sunk there are up to standard.

National refining capacity has been greatly expanded to keep pace with the big increase in the output of crude oil. Among the older refineries which have been rebuilt and expanded is the Shanghai Refinery. Reconstructed according to the designs of Chinese technical personnel, it is now a large modern plant processing many kinds of fuel and lubricants. Among the new refineries built is the big Lanchow Refinery. Technical innovations and the introduction of new techniques have

greatly increased its originally designed capacity and it too now produces a much larger number of products.

Several hundred new oil products have been successfully trial-manufactured. For instance, due to lack of equipment in the past, China found it difficult to turn out products with a very low solidification point even though these were badly needed by the economy. New Chinese-designed equipment has now solved this problem.

China's refining capacity continues to expand this year.

Self-Reliance Succeeds

Chinese geologists, engineers, technicians and skilled workers can now independently tackle and solve the scientific and technical problems which face them in geological surveying and prospecting, oilfield exploitation and the designing and building of refineries. They have also worked out a series of reliable methods for the development of the industry and thereby laid a good foundation for the further advance of the oil industry "with greater, faster, better and more economical results" in the days ahead.

Proceeding from the specific geological, technical and economic conditions of China, the men on the oil front have step by step created a series of new survey-

ing and prospecting methods and processes to accelerate progress in this field.

Since the big refineries designed and built by our own efforts in recent years take close account of China's specific conditions, faster and better results have been achieved both in construction and production.

The industry producing oil industry equipment has been established and developed on a big scale. Now all the main machinery needed in surveying and prospecting, drilling, extraction and refining, such as big and medium-sized drilling rigs, pumping units, oil pumps and many precision instruments and meters, can be manufactured at home. This guarantees that the future needs of this growing industry can be promptly met.

The creation of a proficient scientific and technical force for the industry has gone ahead side by side with this growth. Higher educational institutions and secondary technical schools have been established specially to train personnel for the industry. At the same time large numbers of personnel are trained on the job and in spare-time courses.

A potent ingredient in the rapid advance of the industry has been the ardent enthusiasm of the mass of workers and staff on the oil front. That enthusiasm and efficiency has been one of the examples inspiring the whole Chinese working class and people in socialist construction.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

also daily hoping for the chance to return to their homes.

"Statements by Khrushchov" (Vol. 2) Published

The second volume of *Statements by Khrushchov*, compiled and edited by the Shijie Zhishi (World Culture) Press, has been published in Chinese and is now on sale throughout the country.

The first volume, published last August, comprises statements made by Khrushchov from 1932 to 1941, while the second volume includes those made by him from 1942 to September 1953. The two volumes contain 98 speeches, reports, letters and articles by Khrushchov which appeared in *Pravda*.

The "Publisher's Note" reads:

"Khrushchov is the biggest revisionist of contemporary times, the biggest teacher by negative example in the history of the international communist movement. A systematic understanding of Khrushchov is of great importance for the struggle

against modern revisionism. In order that our Party members and people should be able to understand not only the Khrushchov of today but also of the past, we have compiled and now publish the speeches and other documents of this big revisionist before he seized the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

"A comparison between Khrushchov's statements past and present will lay bare the ugly features of this big intrigant, careerist and double-dealer. Whereas in the past he used words *ad nauseam* to praise Stalin fervently, describing Stalin as 'father of the people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union,' now he viciously maligns Stalin to the tune of the Trotskyites as 'murderer' and 'idiot.' Whereas in the past, in excess of words and deeds, he extended the scope of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, swearing to annihilate the counter-revolutionaries to the last man and 'scatter their ashes to the winds,' now he rails with bitter hatred against the work of suppressing the counter-revolutionaries, doing his utmost to

paint a dark picture of Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whereas in the past he denounced Tito as a 'direct agent of imperialism,' and a 'contemptible turncoat,' now he treats Tito like a brother and his own flesh and blood. All these instances are too many to be cited. We can see that, in Stalin's lifetime, Khrushchov was a fellow who knew how to flatter and intrigue for position; we can see how he used volumes of high-sounding words to disguise himself in order to deceive and win the confidence of the Party and people. Then, once he had usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, he immediately began to oppose Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of opposing Stalin. Isn't it clear what kind of man Khrushchov is?

"Although Khrushchov tried to cover himself up in his early statements, they still show traces of revisionism betraying Marxism-Leninism. This is not difficult to see if the reader is patient enough to read on."

Currency War Between the United States And Other Imperialist Countries

by HSIANG CHUNG

THE imperialist scramble for world domination is usually marked by a struggle for financial supremacy, for monetary policy is one of the heavy weapons of the imperialist countries in their drive for expansion—a weapon they use to strangle their rivals and extend their spheres of influence.

In the struggle for monetary supremacy, an imperialist country invariably uses its political and economic power to establish a monetary bloc in which its own currency is made to take a leading position while the currencies of its colonies and dependencies as well as other states associated with it are reduced to a subordinate status. It has to link the currencies of the monetary bloc members with its own and at the same time to make them keep their gold and foreign exchange reserves in its central bank to be used by them for "unlimited buying and selling" on the foreign exchange market at fixed rates. Consequently, its commodity and capital exports will not have to suffer from the fluctuation of the currencies of the monetary bloc members and it will not have to pay more for raw material imports because of the devaluation of its own currency. Moreover, since the gold and foreign exchange reserves of its monetary bloc members are deposited in its own central bank, this makes it easier for its domestic monopoly capitalists—in the role of international bankers—to use these funds for foreign expansion and internal exploitation, and this leads to the formation of a financial centre within its own sphere of influence over which it is able to establish its financial supremacy. That is why currency warfare in capitalist international finance is an important means in the imperialist scramble for markets, outlets for investment and sources for raw materials, as well as an indispensable factor in their constant redivision of the capitalist world.

The Monetary System Crisis Sharpened

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, especially the emergence of the crisis in the capitalist monetary system, has intensified the monetary warfare

among the imperialist powers. As a result of the world economic crisis of 1929-33, normal financial relations among the capitalist countries were disrupted as never before; the gold standard completely collapsed and the monetary system of the capitalist countries became chronically unstable. From that time onwards, in their efforts to maintain currency stability and to ward off the crisis in the monetary system, monopoly capitalist groups in the imperialist countries were compelled to resort to government intervention on a larger scale than before and adopt such measures in the field of international finance as moratoria on foreign debts, currency depreciation, foreign exchange restrictions and controls etc., in order to consolidate their position in the bitter struggle for markets and spheres of influence. However, all these steps, which were designed to shift the crisis on to others, failed to extricate the imperialists from their plight, but instead made the struggle still sharper and more complicated.

Following the end of World War II, as a result of the formation of the socialist camp and the upsurge of the national-liberation movement the areas dominated or exploited by the imperialist countries have become smaller and smaller. In this predicament, the inter-imperialist struggle for markets and spheres of influence has become more acute and currency has been used on a still larger scale as an instrument in defeating their adversaries. Not only have they subjected the currencies of their colonies and dependencies to their own as in the past; they have also exerted great efforts to make their own currency the dominant one within the shrinking imperialist camp. At the same time, the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism has been accompanied by an intensified crisis in the monetary system, and the imperialist countries have been forced to take further steps to intervene in various forms in the field of international finance. However, whether they are taken by the strong to bully the weak or by the weak to counteract an adversary's pressure, these steps are bound to aggravate the imperialist monetary

struggle and make it more severe than was the case before World War II.

Domination Vs Independence

The characteristic of postwar inter-imperialist relations is that U.S. imperialism has increasingly endeavoured to consolidate and extend its dominant position while the other imperialist powers refused to reconcile themselves to U.S. control from which they have done all they can to free themselves. This rivalry between U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist powers—struggle between domination and independence—is also reflected in capitalist world finance.

During World War II, U.S. imperialism amassed enormous wealth and greatly expanded its productive capacity and export trade. In the early postwar years, Washington took advantage of the temporary disappearance of the three fascist countries, Germany, Italy and Japan, from the capitalist world arena of competition and of the heavy destruction suffered by the two old imperialist powers, Britain and France; it went all out for economic expansion abroad and consequently had a huge surplus in its balance of international payments and piled up vast gold reserves. In 1938, the U.S. gold reserves amounted to \$14,592 million, or 56.1 per cent of the gold reserves of the capitalist world. In 1948, they jumped to \$24,399 million, or 70.3 per cent of the capitalist world's total. During this period, the other capitalist countries incurred huge deficits in their international accounts with the United States, resulting in a serious "dollar shortage" and massive gold outflows to the United States.

In the decade between 1938 and 1948, the gold reserves of Britain, the sterling area and the West European countries dropped from \$9,511 million to \$5,707 million, and their share of the capitalist world's gold reserves fell from 36.6 per cent to 16.4 per cent. At that time, the disruption of domestic production, the heavy increases in budgetary deficits and the impact of deficits in the balance of international payments brought about serious currency depreciation in most of the capitalist countries except the United States. Under these circumstances, the governments of these countries were constrained to tighten their foreign exchange restrictions and controls to achieve an equilibrium in their external payment situation and to stabilize the value of their currencies by artificial means. The result was that their currencies became "soft," i.e., could not be freely converted into other foreign currencies; they were in no position to compete with the dollar, a "hard" currency which was freely convertible.

Shift in Economic Power

This shift in economic power was much to the advantage of U.S. imperialism in its greedy bid for world leadership. It has made every effort to form a

big dollar bloc to dovetail with its plan to build an unprecedentedly big empire in the world. In addition to adopting political, military, economic and other measures, U.S. imperialism, in order to fulfil this grandiose plan, must take the following steps in the monetary field. On the one hand, it needs to consolidate the external value of the dollar and maintain its "free convertibility," so that fixed exchange rates between the dollar and other currencies can be preserved, and the dollar can have the same status as gold in the capitalist world's currency reserves. This would provide favourable conditions for New York to become the capitalist world's sole international financial centre. On the other hand, rival imperialist countries clamped down further foreign exchange restrictions and carried out other measures both at home and in the currency blocs they control in order to check economic penetration by their competitors. U.S. imperialism therefore found it necessary to do the utmost to intervene in their international financial policies and foreign exchange systems, thus enabling it to maintain normal trade relations with them and paving the way for its further economic expansion.

In effect, this U.S. imperialist rabid plan is nothing but a refurbished version of the currency blocs established by Britain, France and other old imperialist powers in their colonies and spheres of influence. But in order to ward off the strong opposition of other imperialists, the United States had to resort to more covert and slyer tactics in pushing forward this plan in the capitalist world.

Price of Gold Kept Down

In the first place, relying on its substantial gold reserves, U.S. imperialism artificially kept down the price of gold in its dealings with other governments or their central banks. It is common knowledge that as early as 1934 the U.S. Government prescribed the external value of the dollar, i.e., the parity between the dollar and gold, at \$35 an ounce. But since the latter part of the 1930s and particularly since World War II, the value of the dollar has been frequently devalued internally because of inflation. In 1948, the purchasing power of the dollar was only 57.8 per cent of what it was in 1939. In 1963 it further dropped to 44 per cent. In order to stabilize the external value of the dollar by artificial means, the U.S. Government, irrespective of the frequent devaluation of the dollar internally, has always exchanged it for gold at the official rate of \$35 per ounce in its dealings with other countries. And so the external value of the dollar has long been out of tune with the extent of its internal devaluation while the price of gold has been greatly kept down.

Other capitalist countries were then suffering from a widespread "dollar shortage" and they virtually had very little or no dollars with which to buy U.S. gold. Therefore, keeping the price of gold down actually meant compelling other capitalist countries to sell gold

cheaply to the United States in order to make good their huge dollar deficits. This increased the surplus in the U.S. balance of international payments and gave it the opportunity to rake in gold at a low price from its wartime allies. The low price of gold made it difficult for the latter to relieve their "dollar shortage." And this also became a pressure under which they had to accept the Marshall Plan and other types of "aid," and thus subject themselves to enslavement by U.S. imperialism.

Another major aim of U.S. imperialism in keeping down the price of gold is to arrogate the same role as gold to the dollar, whose external value was artificially stabilized, in serving as a world currency. Since the currencies of most other capitalist countries were unstable and their foreign exchange rates were in many cases linked with the dollar, they had to accept the dollar as an important part of their foreign exchange reserves along with and in preference to the pound sterling. This facilitated U.S. imperialism's control of their currencies in one way or another and its becoming the biggest international exploiter in capitalist world finance.

Washington's Bullying Tactics

In the second place, in the early postwar years, Washington spread such false ideas as "the elimination of foreign exchange control," "the stabilization of exchange rates," and "avoidance of competitive currency depreciation." These were designed to compel other countries to abandon their foreign exchange restrictions and controls, and relatively stabilize their exchange rates in a way advantageous to the United States. It pushed this policy in order to ensure that the proceeds of American commodity exports and the remittance to the United States of profits from overseas investment may be protected from other countries' foreign exchange restrictions.

It is true that U.S. imperialism, at least on the surface, has not imposed downright control over the currencies of its "allies." In reality, however, it did all it could to achieve this purpose by bullying tactics and cajolment. As mentioned above, Washington compelled the recipients of its "aid" to accept such terms as the introduction of free convertibility within a certain period of time and the scrapping of their foreign exchange controls and restrictions. A notable example of this took place when Britain received a big U.S. loan amounting to \$3,750 million in 1945, and two years later was compelled to introduce free convertibility for the pound sterling, which lasted for only five weeks. Of greater importance is the fact that the International Monetary Fund set up in the early postwar years—a major instrument of U.S. imperialism in the international monetary field—dangled the bait of short-term loans before member states in order to induce them to accept conditions involving the loss of national sove-

reignty. These included the abolition of foreign exchange controls and restrictions, the definition of the foreign exchange value of a currency in terms of the dollar containing a specific weight of gold, and the obligation to obtain the fund's agreement to specific changes in foreign exchange rates.

The Struggle Between the Dollar and the Pound

All these measures were naturally resented by other imperialist powers. However, West Germany and Japan were then dominated by Washington, and it was on the basis of formulas prepared by the U.S. Government that the exchange rates for the West German mark and the Japanese yen were established. Inflation of considerably serious proportions and a rapid deterioration in the balance of international payments overtook France and Italy; the franc and the lira were frequently devalued; it was difficult for them to compete with the dollar. Only the pound sterling could initiate limited counter-offensives against it. Although Britain's power has declined since World War II, it still has the backing of the sterling area in international finance; the pound remains the reserve currency of sterling area countries and a number of other capitalist countries, and the world network of overseas banks, which was set up by Britain in the last century, retains considerable influence. In these circumstances, the struggle between the dollar and the pound was naturally the most prominent one in the imperialist currency warfare.

The comprehensive system of foreign exchange restrictions and controls set up by Britain in the sterling area was a powerful fulcrum strengthening British imperialist exploitation of the Commonwealth countries and checking U.S. economic penetration. And it was a serious handicap to U.S. imperialist expansion in the capitalist world. In the first few years since World War II, by means of loans, "aid" and pressure by different U.S.-controlled international organizations, Washington devised every possible means to compel Britain to open the door to the sterling area and restore the free convertibility of the pound so as to pave the way for the control of the whole sterling area, including Britain itself. For a time British imperialism refused to take orders from Washington and adopted delaying tactics. But in 1949 the pound was devalued by 30.5 per cent against the dollar, followed by a corresponding currency devaluation by 35 other capitalist countries—to a large extent the result of pressure from Washington.

Nevertheless, Britain and other imperialist powers, wherever possible, dealt Washington's high-handed policy a rebuff. The sterling area and the currency blocs of other imperialist countries—such as the franc bloc—clung stubbornly to their spheres of influence. Moreover, on the question of the price of gold, because gold produced in the sterling area makes up more than 70 per cent of the total annual production of the capi-

talist world, Britain and South Africa have more than once battled for a rise in the gold price as a countermeasure to U.S. control. They eventually succeeded in wresting some concessions from Washington and were permitted to sell their gold for industrial purpose on the free market at a higher price than the official U.S. price of \$35 per ounce. The International Monetary Fund's demand for the abolition of foreign exchange controls and for the institution of a fixed parity between the dollar and other currencies were ignored by many countries. France and Italy, for instance, did not institute fixed exchange rates until the mid-1950s. This shows that despite Washington's desperate efforts to put the capitalist world's monetary system under its control, other imperialist powers have been unwilling to accept permanent subordination; they have exerted every effort to free themselves from the claws of the dollar. With the shift in the balance of forces between the United States and other imperialist powers, both Washington's efforts at domination in the monetary field and the other imperialists' resistance are growing more intense.

No More Dollar Dominance

With the advent of the 1950s and the aggravation of the uneven development of capitalism, new changes have taken place in the balance of forces among the imperialist countries. Propped up by the United States, West Germany, Italy and Japan have recovered from their position as defeated countries. The power of France has steadily increased, enabling it gradually to speak on equal terms with the United States. Although it keeps getting weaker, Britain too has no desire to be at the mercy of Washington. U.S. dominance, which was attained during and immediately after World War II, has begun to falter.

This shift in the balance of forces which is unfavourable to U.S. imperialism is also reflected in international finance. After the war of aggression against Korea broke out in 1950, deficits began to appear in the U.S. balance of payments and outflow of gold started, because its policies of war and aggression made it increasingly difficult for its trade surplus and proceeds from overseas investment to meet its huge military expenditures, foreign "aid" commitments and private capital export. A similar situation recurred during the U.S. economic crisis of 1953-54. After 1956, taking advantage of the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt, the United States sold a large amount of oil and cotton to Western Europe, and this helped to bring about a turn for the better in the U.S. balance of payments. However, from 1950 to 1957, the U.S. gold flow to other countries amounted to \$1,700 million. Added to this were mounting short-term debts, and the annual rate of deficit in its balance of payments averaged about \$1,200 million. During the same period, the gold reserves of other capitalist countries increased by \$3,700 million and their dollar reserves by \$6,400 mil-

lion. By the 1950s, the widespread "dollar shortage" of the early postwar years had virtually become a thing of the past.

A New Stage

After 1958, a new stage was reached in the struggle between the United States and other imperialist powers to strengthen their respective positions in world finance. On the one hand, as a result of its intensified policies of war and aggression, U.S. imperialism had to spend on an average more than \$10,000 million a year for its overseas military expenditures, foreign "aid" and private capital export. This led to an increasingly serious dollar crisis which was manifested in the form of balance of payment deficits and of gold outflows. The dollar crisis and the recurrent economic crises erupted either simultaneously or alternately. Whatever methods it uses, it is impossible for U.S. imperialism to prevent a continual deterioration in the position of the dollar. On the other hand, with the rapid growth in their political and economic power, the tremendous improvement in their balance of payments and the big increase in their gold reserves, other major capitalist countries, and particularly several of the Common Market Six with France and West Germany as their nucleus, were able greatly to strengthen their currencies on the international finance market. From 1958 to 1962 the gold flowing from the United States to other countries totalled \$6,800 million. This and rises in the short-term debts owed to other countries made for an average annual rate of deficits of about \$3,000 million in the U.S. balance of payments as against \$1,200 million from 1950 to 1957. At the same time, the increases in the gold reserves of other capitalist countries amounted to \$8,700 million. If increases in foreign exchange holdings are added to this, the total increase in their gold and foreign exchange reserves during the period was \$14,500 million. Most of these increases went to West European countries. France's increases amounted to \$3,400 million, Italy's \$2,200 million and West Germany's \$1,700 million. Next came Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium.

Dollar Crisis - Incurable Disease

By 1963, the incurable disease of the dollar crisis remained serious. The deficit in the U.S. balance of payments in that year still stood at \$3,000 million. At the end of December, its gold and foreign exchange reserves totalled \$16,843 million. Gold reserves amounted to \$15,596 million, or only 37 per cent of the capitalist world's total. In contrast, West Europe's gold and foreign exchange reserves totalled \$32,179 million, of which gold accounted for \$19,790 million, or 47 per cent of the capitalist world's total. Thus, U.S. gold reserves are far below their prewar level while those of the West European countries are far above it.

(To be continued.)

ROUND THE WORLD

Sheep's Head and Dog's Meat

The Chinese saying about the shop with a sheep's head for its signboard but which sells dog's meat instead of mutton fits perfectly the doubly aligned policy of the Indian Government. The Shastri administration, as did its predecessor, professes adherence to the principle of non-alignment but is aligned with both the United States and the Soviet Union at the one time. This hypocrisy has been carried a stage further by the Indian delegation's activities inside and outside the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Cairo.

Fighting Washington's battle in the Cairo University auditorium, the Indian Prime Minister, instead of saying something about opposing imperialism, the common enemy of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which was the dominant theme at the conference, tried to turn the discussion in another direction. He advocated a brand of "peaceful coexistence" which would in effect vitiate the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. He brought out the shop-worn proposals for "nuclear disarmament" and "settlement of border disputes with no recourse to force" which are actually the wares of imperialism and revisionism have been peddling and which, in effect, are directed against China. He urged other countries "to support the United Nations in action" which could only mean to turn these countries into instruments of imperialism in its armed suppression of the national-liberation movements.

In fact Shastri's speech on October 7 made no mention at all of fighting imperialism. Taking his cue from Washington, he obsequiously suggested that a special mission be sent to "persuade China to desist from developing nuclear weapons." This met with universal opposition from the participating countries so that the Foreign Ministers' session did not even discuss the proposal.

In the next breath Shastri, unblushingly, harangued the conference on

India's non-alignment. The facts speak otherwise.

In the last few years India has become increasingly committed to U.S. imperialism. Since the large-scale attacks it mounted on the border with China in 1962, it has asked for and received from the U.S. Government vast amounts of military "aid." This year the United States has extended to Delhi military "grants" and "loans" to the tune of 110 million dollars, roughly equivalent to what was given in the two previous years. By 1968, according to American sources, the United States will have provided India with military hardware valued at 610 million dollars, in addition to massive economic "aid" and large quantities of "surplus agricultural produce" on which, Shastri said recently, India must depend to tide over its acute food shortage. Aggregate U.S. "aid" to India, according to the Press Trust of India, amounts to 5,465 million dollars. But with the jungle law of imperialism you don't get anything for nothing.

Thus India has to act as apologist for, and often as collaborator with U.S. imperialism. Take India's infamous conduct during the recent U.S. sabre-rattling in Southeast Asia. It openly spoke in defence of the Johnson Administration's aggression and intervention in Indo-China. After the U.S.-provoked "Bac Bo incident," Indian Minister of External Affairs Swaran Singh declared that the Indian Government would refrain from "sitting in judgment." Or take India's approval of the dispatch of the U.S. 7th Fleet to the Indian Ocean. Or its sympathy and support for the British-created neo-colonialist "Malaysia" which has U.S. backing. These recent events are enough to show that the Delhi government has sold out to the United States.

To refurbish its non-aligned image, the Indian Government has collaborated with the revisionist Khrushchov clique, which gloats over and joins in the U.S.-supported Indian anti-China campaign. First Nehru and now

Shastri have made great play with the military "aid" lavishly furnished by Khrushchov to cover up their threadbare non-alignment policy. The Shastri administration has moreover obtained from Moscow a "no restrictions" agreement to use the Soviet aircraft, tanks and other weapons against China (see *Peking Review*, No. 41, p.23). Thus in receiving military aid from both the United States and the Soviet Union, from the supply of weapons to the training of combat personnel, India has carried out a policy of double alignment. It is a dangerous development menacing other Asian countries, as public opinion in neighbouring Pakistan has been quick to point out. The Swiss journal *Tribune de Lausanne* has labelled the joint U.S. and Soviet collaboration with India as a tacit alliance between Moscow and Washington. No amount of sophistry by Shastri in Cairo or elsewhere can change in the slightest the fact that India is doubly aligned.

Non-Aligned Summit

Tshombe Got the Boot

Having failed to gatecrash the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at his first attempt, Moise Tshombe, Washington's hatchet man in the Congo (L), returned to Cairo the following day. When the plane landed, this imperialist agent had with him a motley crew—15 Congolese "journalists," 15 Western "journalists," three white women secretaries, a Belgian doctor and various hangers-on. He was whisked away to the Kasr El Oruba Palace outside Cairo and told to wait for a decision by the conference.

Tshombe's brazen arrival at the Cairo airport caused anger in conference circles. The U.A.R. authorities had refused him permission to land the previous day and cables sent to Leopoldville had warned that the traitor and murderer would be barred from the conference. Thus Tshombe's second attempt to sneak into Cairo was a challenge and a defiance of the Africans, Asians and Latin Americans. President Ben Bella of Algeria, reflecting the sentiments of many of his colleagues, had made it abundantly clear that he would not sit under the same

roof with this imperialist minion who has Lumumba's blood on his hands. The African Heads of State met and their decision to exclude Tshombe from the conference was conveyed to him.

In the meantime the U.A.R. and Algerian Embassies in Leopoldville were sealed off by Congolese armed forces, apparently a retaliatory measure. Nobody was allowed to go in or come out and food supplies were cut off. The ransom tactics failed. Tshombe was warned that if the siege on the two Embassies was not lifted, he would be detained. He sent one of his women "secretaries" into Cairo to the U.S. Embassy and tried to get the United States and Britain to bring pressure to bear on the U.A.R. He put on an act of hysterically threatening to "hang on trees" all those responsible for the siege of the two embassies in Leopoldville.

On the third day cables from Leopoldville confirmed that the siege had been lifted but that the embassy staffs had still not crossed over to safety in Brazzaville on the other side of the Congo River. The U.S. ambassador in Leopoldville and his friend the Indian ambassador had suggested that members of the U.A.R. and Algerian Embassies enter the U.N. headquarters in Leo-

poldville and be escorted by U.N. personnel to the riverside when word was received of Tshombe's departure. The suggestion was rejected because President Sekou Toure of Guinea said there could be no faith in U.N. protection in the Congo since Lumumba was done to death while the U.N. was responsible for his "escort." When finally Cairo learnt that the two Embassies had been evacuated to Brazzaville without further harassment Tshombe was told he could leave.

U.S. imperialism thus received another defeat in its shameful attempt to thrust this stooge into an international conference and thus win recognition for its shaky puppet regime in the Congo. It has since vented its spleen on the African Heads of States through its propaganda machine. The *New York Times* accused the conference of being "foolish." The *Washington Star* maligned as a "comic opera" the just action taken by the independent African countries to bar the U.S. lackey. And it added that the Indian and Yugoslav representatives were "highly irritated" that the conference would not accept Tshombe. The Yugoslav paper *Borba* lamented in sympathy with the U.S. imperialists. As "Premier and Foreign Minister" of the Congo (L), Tshombe, it stressed, "has the right to take part in the ministers' conference." What? The hangman of the Congolese people?

German Democratic Republic

Not for Sale

"How Much Does the G.D.R. Cost?" is the title of an article by Ernst Degener in a recent issue of *Freie Welt* (Free World) published by the Germany-U.S.S.R. Friendship Association in Berlin. The author pilloried the idea of buying out the German Democratic Republic, an idea which has gained currency since the announcement in Bonn that Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers Khrushchov would visit West Germany for talks with Chancellor Erhard. Degener said

THE PASSING SHOW

U.S. Treasury Short of Cash

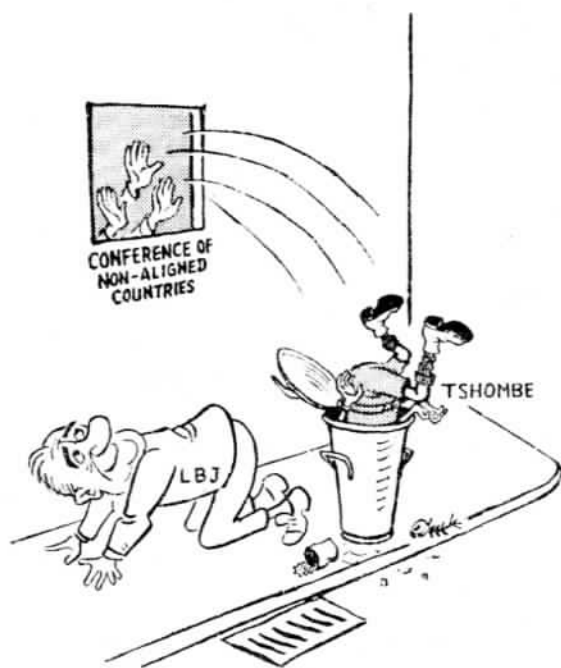
The United States which is spending over 2 million dollars a day to prosecute its "special war" in south Viet Nam alone could not find a mere million dollars to send the U.S. team to the Tokyo Olympics. Fifty-year-old Jesse Owens, the quadruple gold medallist of the 1936 Olympics, was recalled from retirement for the first lap of the "Run for the Money" cross-country race to raise the money needed for the U.S. Olympians.

the G.D.R. could never be bought like a piece of merchandise.

"If people had asked in 1949 how much does this poor, little G.D.R. cost their ignorance would have been perhaps excusable," he said. "But if the same question is asked in 1964, then the questioner must be of very inferior quality politically. There are, however, people who do ask this question." He ridiculed those naive enough to think of buying the G.D.R. in Pankow or in Moscow.

He wrote, "We are not insulting Khrushchov when we shield him from such suspicion. Besides, this in no way concerns Khrushchov personally but the political understanding of the speculators who have no moral sense worth speaking of. No man in his right mind can imagine that the head of the Government of the Soviet Union, a world power, concluded a treaty of friendship with the G.D.R. only to send his friend to the butcher at the first opportunity. But in Bonn (and not only Bonn) there are people capable of imagining this."

The author said it would be useless for anyone to hope of carving out even a corner of the G.D.R., which is part of the socialist world, whether he came by armoured car or by a Mercedes limousine. The G.D.R. has a wide range of goods for export but, he pointed out, there is "one thing which people long to buy and which we definitely shall never offer for sale, namely, ourselves."



Johnson: Are You in?
Tshombe: Yes!

Cartoon by Ke Chao-chuan

ACROSS THE LAND

New Electrostatic Generator

TWO new firsts for China in modern scientific equipment and machine-building are an electron electrostatic generator and an automatic plasmic arc cutting machine. The former, which is capable of producing several million electron volts, is an instrument used in atomic research; the latter, in heavy industry. Both were produced in Shanghai.

Among the many uses for the electrostatic generator are: serving as a radiation source, detecting cracks and other defects in metals, radiating crop seeds for wiping out insects and diseases, treating cancer, and in clinical sterilization.

Manufacture of electrostatic generators is a highly complex process, involving electrical, mechanical and chemical engineering, nuclear physics, electronics, metallurgy, high-vacuum, and welding techniques. The factory which produced the new generator was an ordinary enterprise equipped only for turning out small and medium-sized electric motors and transformers. Displaying a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, workers and technical staff built a number of new laboratories and, with the help of scientists from colleges and research institutes, grappled with a host of technical problems. Within two years, they had worked out a set of technological regulations, devised a large number of special equipment themselves and finally succeeded in building an electrostatic generator.

Another resounding triumph for the policy of self-reliance is the automatic plasmic arc cutting machine. This cutter made its world debut only recently. It cuts aluminium, copper, stainless steel and other high melting point metals. For example, it now takes only two minutes to cut copper instead of the 18 minutes needed in the older mechanical method of drilling and sawing.

Young technicians working on the new cutter made no less than 780 attempts before it was finally realized.

The machine is now being produced in quantity for China's chemical, oil and machine-building enterprises.

Cadres as Ordinary Workers

A CHUNGKING water turbine factory has gained the national limelight by working out a system whereby cadres regularly participate in physical labour as ordinary workers. The factory's experience is being effectively applied by more and more industrial, transport and commercial enterprises.

Cadres taking part in physical labour, now an established practice in China, is highly significant, helping cement ties between cadres and masses and improving the style of leadership. In addition, it enables cadres to persist in the revolution and, in the long run, tends to close the gap between mental and physical labour. But how can a cadre attend to his office duties and at the same time take part in physical labour regularly and not sporadically, as a true ordinary worker and not as a mere formality?

The Chungking factory's answer, in a few words, is for a cadre to do physical labour on a fixed day (or days) in the week, at a fixed job and with specific responsibilities. And, when he becomes skilled enough, he is called upon to fulfil an ordinary worker's quota. In this way, a number of cadres working on the same job in a workshop will by turns take the place of a regular worker. Thus, when putting in one day's physical labour during their six-day week 168 cadres at the water turbine plant are fulfilling the quotas of 28 regular workers in addition to their own office duties.

A cadre working in the shop does not merely turn out jobs but studies and investigates as well. A designer not only regularly works half a day each week but joins in assembly work when the product he has designed is being assembled. For example, designer Yeh Ying-fa improved a tool he had designed after

working in the generator shop where he discovered the defects of his original design from the angle of one who uses it.

Over 95 per cent of the staff members at the Chungking plant are taking part in labour in workshops, warehouses or the dining room. This has greatly inspired the rank and file. At the beginning of the year, it was estimated that 100 extra workers had to be taken on to meet the plant's increased tasks. However, as a result of the workers' rising enthusiasm and labour productivity, and cadres taking a direct part in production, the factory overfulfilled the state plan without employing one extra worker.

Light Industry Gains

A GOOD year on the farm is a good year for all China whose national economy is based on agriculture. Granaries are filling up. An abundance of raw material for light industry is making many enterprises feel the need to expand productive capacities.

January through August saw a tremendous rise in output for many industries using farm products as raw materials. Production shot up in the textile, sugar, paper, cigarette, distilling and brewing, canning and other industries.

Sugar production rose 150 per cent compared to the first eight months of 1963. Bumper cane and beet harvests extended the crushing season by about one month.

Output of canned food was 26 per cent above the same period in 1963. Quality and variety have set new records, and about six dozen new products are being added to an already large range of canned food.

National annual targets for condensed milk, milk powder and butter were fulfilled by the end of July, along with higher milk consumption. Output exceeded the same period last year by 50 per cent, and prices were lower.

Cotton yarn and cloth, knitwear, woollen textiles and gunny bags registered 13-60 per cent increases over the first eight months of last year.



The new Peking Synthetic Fibre Plant which specializes in *chintun*, a variety of nylon

Bigger yields of long-staple cotton last autumn have resulted in better quality products. An analysis of several hundred samples by a national conference in April showed that the overwhelming majority of cotton goods were peak quality.

The country now makes more than 2,000 kinds of woollen products and five times as much as it did 15 years ago.

The several thousand new high-quality products added to China's textile production in the last few years include fine cotton yarns of 100-150 count, woollen suiting, embossed overcoating, cashmere overcoating, and cotton-polyester and wool-polyester fabrics. Increasing amounts of viscose and synthetic fibres are being produced for mixing or interweaving with cotton, wool and silk.

Plastics also are becoming part of the scene. This summer's colourful raincoats, plastic shoes and soles, furniture, curtains and artificial leather articles all testify to the growing inroads by plastics.

Civil Aviation Expands

INAUGURATION of the Peking-Hangchow-Canton air service in August marked the tenth direct service introduced in eight months. General Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) has grown

rapidly in the last few years in pace with socialist construction. CAAC airliners now link some 70 cities. Besides transportation, CAAC also does agricultural crop dusting, aerial sowing for re-forestation, geological prospecting, mapping, artificial rain-making in drought-threatened areas and air-dropping of supplies to flood-stricken areas.

With Peking as the hub, air routes fan out to important points across the country, facilitating political, economic and cultural intercourse among different regions. The last few years have also seen the introduction of direct air service to Europe, the Middle East and several Asian countries. Pyongyang, Hanoi, Rangoon, Karachi, and Dacca can now be reached in a day. Bookings on most foreign airlines can be made in China.

CAAC planes are doing agricultural flying on a growing scale. Supplies for the farms make up an increasing part of CAAC freight: stud animals, fish fry, farm chemicals, machine parts, chemical fertilizer and seeds.

The growth of an air network has been accompanied by the installation of extensive navigation, communication and maintenance facilities. All-weather operations are increasing as more modern airports designed by Chinese engineers and installed with

up-to-date equipment from Chinese factories are opened to traffic. The two international airports at Shanghai and Canton were extended and re-equipped with modern navigation aids in four months to handle big passenger jets.

Food Is Plentiful

FOOD in China is plentiful: proteins, vegetables and fruit have been abundant in 1964.

An all-time high has been reached this year in the sale of pork, eggs and dairy products, while the general price level was lower. National consumption of pork from January to August was 94 per cent over a similar period in 1963.

For mutton eaters, especially China's several million Muslims, huge quantities were forthcoming from Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu and sold throughout the country.

In addition, more poultry was sold. In the capital alone, twice as many fowl went into the pot. Fresh milk, butter, cheese and other dairy products are being consumed as never before, and at lower prices.

Fish consumption was up 15 per cent, with more choice of freshwater and sea fish in the cities.

Freshness, variety and availability is the answer from any Chinese housewife to a query about the year's vegetable supply. At the peak season a Peking housewife had a choice of six dozen kinds. An average of 50 kinds were in regular supply from January on, in Peking, Shanghai and other big cities. Even in the August and September off-season, there was plenty to choose from: cabbages, beans, gourds, egg plants, cucumbers, peppers and root crops.

Vegetable prices tended to be lower. Average price of vegetables for the first six months was 10 cents a *jin* in southern cities and 12 cents in the north.

Good fruit harvests in all major fruit-growing areas this year sent up the supply of fruit in a dozen cities by roughly 30 per cent compared to 1963.

SPORTS

A Brief Review

Five days ago, 22-year-old Chinese high-jumper Ni Chih-chin cleared the bar at 2.21 m. in Shanghai. This makes him the second highest jumper in the world for the current year. It also marks the third successive year that Ni has been in the spotlight for his fine performance in the men's high jump. Ni Chih-chin is only one of the many sportsmen, brought up and trained in New China, who have made their mark in world sports.

Since 1949 China has come up from way behind in the world of sports to be a serious competitor for international honours. In these 15 years her young sportsmen have bettered world records on 93 occasions and captured world championship titles 8 times.

Before liberation in 1949, Chinese sportsmen seldom took part in international competitions. No Chinese ever won a world title. Then, seven years after the people of China stood up in freedom, bantam-weight Chen Ching-kai lifted 133 kgs. in the clean-and-jerk event and set a world record. In May this year he set his ninth.

Since 1956 New China has broken world records with increasing frequency. In 1956-57, there were six; eight were broken in 1958, and 45 in 1959-60. Last year Chinese speed-skaters, archers, weight-lifters and parachuters bettered world records on 12 occasions. National records have been broken at an amazing rate — over 5,400 times.

Millions of Sportsmen

Back of these successes is mass, nationwide participation in sports, encouraged and fostered by the People's Government. China's millions, increasingly healthy, fitter and stronger physically, take part regularly in over 40 sports ranging from aviation to the traditional calisthenics of *taijiquan*. In old China there were only a dozen or so organized sports. The national records set in track and field, swimming and

weightlifting were equivalent only to the standards set for Second Class Sportsmen of today. Now some of the more popular sports, such as calisthenics, track and field, weightlifting, skating, basketball, volleyball, football and table tennis, count their followers in tens of millions. Close to 10 million sportsmen have reached standards that won them the titles of Masters of Sports, or Sportsmen First, Second or Third Class.

Outdoor sports are winning more and more fans. Mountaineering, for instance, was introduced in 1955. In 1960 Chinese climbers scaled Jolmo Lungma up the difficult north face. International-rule archery was introduced only in 1959. Today Chinese archers have improved world archery records in 7 of the 20 world championship events. Skin-diving enthusiasts have set up a national aqualung association in 1961.

Sports facilities are being built in all parts of the country, at schools, farms, industrial enterprises and offices, and for the general public. Thousands of modern sports grounds, swimming pools and stadiums are scattered all over China, including Lhasa, in Tibet, on the "Roof of the World." Practically all of them were built after liberation.

Ten physical culture institutes have trained 19,000 coaches, trainers, referees and physical training teachers. Spare-time physical culture schools and classes for youth and adults have trained millions of sports activists, who teach and organize activities among the masses. Many outstanding sportsmen have come into the national and international spotlight through them. Twice-winner of the men's singles world table tennis title Chuang Tse-tung and runner-up Li Fu-jung, high-jumper Ni Chih-chin, Wu Fu-shan, the world's third best woman jumper to clear 1.79 m., and Wang Wei-chien who took



Ni Chih-chin clearing bar at 2.21 m.

four gold medals in women's gymnastics at the First GANEFO, are five of many who owe their success to their initial training in the spare-time schools.

Promising Youth

In China, where modern competitive sports are almost as young as the People's Republic, the great majority of sportsmen are extremely young. At 18, Li Shu-lan had already broken world women's archery records 7 times. So with other teenagers, who have come to the fore in large numbers in gymnastics, table tennis, swimming, and other sports. This is one reason for confidently expecting greater things in the near future. Another heartening phenomenon is the increasing number of young sportsmen who have come from the 50 and more national minorities of China. Chinese mountaineering teams which scaled Mounts Jolmo Lungma and Shisha Pangma include many Tibetans. Last year's world champion in the men's 1,500-metre speed-skating event was Lo Chih-huan, a Chinese of Korean nationality. Wei Lieh of the Olunchuns, one of the smallest nationalities in China with a population of only a few thousand, hold the national record for the men's small-bore rifle shooting at 50 metres with 40 rounds. More than half of the national equestrian records are held by members of the national minorities.

Women are taking an increasingly more important part in sports.

Parachuting, model aeroplane flying, shooting and other national defence sports, which have become widespread only after liberation, have yielded 25 women world-record breakers.

Since 1949, Chinese sportsmen have established regular friendly contacts with sports organizations in some 40 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Oceania. China was host to the 26th World Table Tennis Championships in which players from five continents took part. At the First GANEFO Chinese sportsmen won 66 first places. They were proud of this primarily as their contribution to the success of this first international sports meet free of all imperialist interference.

Military Triathlon

In Peking's specially built "August 1" Stadium on Sept. 27, flags of the 13 socialist countries flew in the autumn breeze and a crowd of several thousand cheered as army sports teams of the competing socialist countries marched in. Three huge streamers around the stadium carried the words: "Workers of all lands, unite!" "Long live Marxism-Leninism!" and "Long live the unity and friendship among the people and armed forces of the socialist countries!"

This was the opening day of the 1964 Military Triathlon Championships of the fraternal armies of socialist countries. This year, teams from Albania, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, Rumania and China competed in the three events of rifle shooting, hand grenade target throwing, and an obstacle race.

General Chang Tsung-hsun, on behalf of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence, and Polish Colonel Kazimierz Malczewski, on behalf of the Physical Culture and Sports Committee of the fraternal armies of the socialist countries, spoke and wished the championships success.

The high standard reached in the competitions—a reflection of the combat ability of the fraternal armies taking part—was evident when re-

sults of the first day's rifle shooting event were announced. Three marksmen—from Korea, Viet Nam and China—tied for first place, and four tied for second. Competitors fired 30 shots with automatic rifles at a silhouette target 200 metres out, from prone, kneeling and standing positions.

The second day's hand grenade throwing event introduced an interesting change from previous championships: competitors were required to throw accurately, instead of for distance alone. Each was given 15 throws from a distance of 40 metres at a circular target on the ground. Twenty-one-year-old Li Chung-wa from China's Inner Mongolia came first with 14 bull's-eyes out of a possible 15.

The obstacle race on the third day was most exciting for spectators. Barbed wire entanglements, ditches, two-metre-high hurdles and an army truck were some of the obstacles on the 600-metre cinder track. Li Chung-wa again came first in 2 min. 10.5 sec.

At the closing ceremony on Oct. 2, a big ovation went to the Chinese, Korean and Polish teams as first, second and third place winners, and to the six individual award winners, with Li Chung-wa in the lead.

This is the third time China has captured the individual title in the triathlon championships. The previous occasions were in 1958 and 1963.

The championships were held in Peking in accordance with the 1961-66 sports programme of the Sports Committee of fraternal armies of socialist countries. The military triathlon is one of the important events along with competitions in track and field, swimming, gymnastics, basketball, football, volleyball and other sports. Its purpose is not only to review common achievements in military training and exchange experience but also, what is more important, to enhance friendship and unity among the people and armed forces of the countries in the socialist camp.

China began preparations last year by building the new "August 1" Stadium and shooting range in Peking. The stadium, situated seven

China's Latest World Record

As we go to press, news comes that, at a sports aviation exhibition in Peking, Chinese parachutists in the 9-man 1,000 metres daylight precision landing event landed on an average just 3.014 metres off target. This beats the world record of 5 metres held by Soviet parachutists.

kilometres from the Lukouchiao Bridge, includes a cinder track, a shooting range with electrically-controlled targets, an infield with six circular targets for the throwing event and a new building with lounges, locker rooms and rest rooms.

SHORT NOTES

The October Sports Scene so far has been a very busy one.

* Table tennis teams from Cambodia, Ceylon, Nepal and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have already arrived in Peking for the forthcoming Peking International Table Tennis Invitation Tournament to be held October 18-21. Teams from Indonesia, Japan and the Korean Democratic People's Republic are on their way.

* Six national weightlifting records were broken at a Peking competition on October 10, Chen Man-lin, younger brother of the celebrated Chen Ching-kai, is among the new record-makers. He pressed 115 kgs. to beat the national record for the feather-weight class by one kg.

* There was keen competition at the 1964 National Gymnastics Championships held recently in Sian. Only fractions of a point separated the winners of the first three places in both men's and women's finals. Yu Lieh-feng and Wang Wei-chien, gold-medal winners at the First GANEFO for men's and women's events respectively, gained precarious first places with their runners-up only 0.3 and 0.368 points behind.

* Peking's fifth and biggest workers' sports meet was held October 2-3. Over 3,100 amateur workersportsmen and women competed in track and field, weightlifting, wrestling, cycling and tug-of-war.

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