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北京周报

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Art and Other Features

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- **More than 200,000 Korean people in Pyongyang turned out to welcome Chairman Liu Shao-chi on a goodwill visit to the Korean Democratic People's Republic.**
- **The editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* published a second article commenting on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. The article, "On the Question of Stalin," gives a penetrating analysis of Khrushchov's complete negation of Stalin under the pretext of "combating the personality cult."**
- **In another attempt to disrupt Sino-Soviet relations the Soviet authorities persecuted and forced 92 Chinese crew members and passengers of the Chinese Peking-Ulan Bator-Moscow international train and five Chinese army officers studying in the Soviet Union to leave the Soviet Union under armed escort. On their return they received a rousing welcome home at the Peking railway station.**

  Chinese Foreign Ministry rejected a Soviet charge against the crew members and passengers of the train and protested strongly against this new move to damage the relations between the two countries.
- **Foreign Minister Chen Yi in a reply to Xuan Thuy, Foreign Minister of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, expressed the resolute support of the Chinese Government and people for the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S.-Diem clique and for the peaceful unification of Viet Nam.**
- **New tension in Laos was caused by provocations in Vientiane by U.S. imperialism and Laotian reactionaries. The Chinese Government issued a statement on September 13 expressing full support for Prince Souphanouvong's statement of September 11, and calling for an immediate end to all acts undermining the National Union Government.**
- **The Chinese press last week published excerpts from a recent article in the Japanese Communist Party organ *Akahata* and an article in the latest issue of the *Malayan Monitor*, both denouncing the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty as a fraud.**
- ***Renmin Ribao* published excerpts from the editorial of the May issue of the U.S. journal *Monthly Review* entitled "The Split in the Socialist World." The editorial declared that the journal's analysis of Sino-Soviet differences published in its December 1961 issue was incorrect and presented its re-formulated views on the differences in the international communist movement which agreed with the position of the Chinese Communist Party.**
- **The Chinese Foreign Ministry protested strongly in a note to the Indian Embassy in China on September 13 against eight Indian military personnel crossing the Lo Pass, on the line of actual control of November 7, 1959, in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border on September 1, and intruding into the vicinity of the Chinese civilian checkpost at Tamaden.**

China Supports Vietnamese People

Xuan Thuy, the Foreign Minister of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, recently wrote to Foreign Minister Chen Yi in connection with the situation in south Viet Nam. He asked the Government of the People's Republic of China to exercise all its power, as a participant in the 1954 Geneva Conference, to halt the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique's atrocious acts violating the Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, undermining the peaceful unification of the country and menacing the peace and security of Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

Expressing indignation at the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique's towering crimes of aggression in south Viet Nam and slaughter of the people there, Foreign Minister Chen Yi said in his reply of September 10: "We resolutely support the people and Buddhists of south Viet Nam and the

entire Vietnamese people in their just struggle against the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique and for the peaceful unification of their motherland. The Chinese Government and people have always held that the counter-revolutionary atrocities committed by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique must be ended, the 1954 Geneva agreements must be observed, all armed forces and military personnel of U.S. imperialism must be withdrawn from south Viet Nam and that the south Viet Nam question must be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves. Only in this way can the south Vietnamese people attain freedom and liberation and the peaceful unification of Viet Nam be realized."

New Soviet Provocations

The Soviet authorities, early this month, were guilty of two fresh provocations aimed at poisoning Sino-Soviet relations. In the first incident, 92 Chinese passengers and members of the crew of the Chinese train on the Peking-Ulan Bator-Moscow run, which entered Soviet territory on September 7, were persecuted by Soviet frontier troops at Naushki station and were later forced to leave the Soviet Union under armed escort. In the second incident, five students of military science, on their way back to the Soviet Union to continue their studies there after spending the summer vacation at home, were detained at Zabaikal and later forced to leave the Soviet Union under armed escort.

Strong Protest

In its September 16 note to the Soviet Embassy in Peking, the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged a vigorous protest with the Soviet Government against brutality which seriously violated the Agreement on International Passenger Traffic among socialist countries and further worsened Sino-Soviet relations. The note also firmly rejected the false charges made by the Soviet Foreign Ministry against the Chinese people concerned.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry's note alleged that certain Chinese citizens brought with them publications which were "barred from import" and "hostile to the U.S.S.R. in nature." "This charge," said the Chinese Foreign Ministry's note, "is totally untenable. At the Naushki frontier station, Soviet customs personnel found among 19 Chinese crew members and 73 Chinese passengers only 11 copies of the Hsinhua News Agency information bulletin in Russian carrying the September 1 Statement of the Spokesman of the Chinese Government. This figure in itself shows that these copies of the bulletin were carried by a few people for their own reading. As is well known, it is quite normal for passengers to carry books and journals for their own reading. This is also often done by Soviet citizens, and the Chinese authorities have never interfered in this matter."

The September 1 Statement of the Spokesman of the Chinese Government carried in the Hsinhua Russian bulletin was a reply to the August 21 Statement of the Soviet Government. Since the Soviet Government had wantonly distorted and vilified the Chinese Government's correct position on the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty, it was only natural that the Chinese Government should have made a reply. "In describing the news bulletin carrying the September 1 Statement of the Spokesman of the Chinese Government as a 'publication hostile to the U.S.S.R. in nature,'" said the Chinese note, "the Soviet authorities were by no means taking the sort of serious attitude expected of two socialist countries in discussing questions, but were engaging in malicious slander."

Calculated Persecution

When the Soviet customs officials and frontier troops at Naushki seized eight copies of the information bulletin of the Hsinhua News Agency and tore up three other copies on the spot, the Chinese crew members and passengers protested. But the Soviet personnel refused to return the confiscated copies; instead, they deliberately aggravated the incident and subjected the Chinese to calculated persecution. They called in large numbers of frontier troops to encircle the station and throw a cordon around the train. The Chinese train master and several students had gone to the customs and border defence offices to make representations; they were forcibly ejected from there and 42 Chinese students were detained in the customs house. The Soviet authorities also tried by every means to prevent the Chinese train master from communicating with the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. Finally, they did not even hesitate to take the unilateral decision to turn the international express back to Peking in violation of the Agreement on International Passenger Traffic among socialist countries. The train was forced to leave Soviet territory under an escort of fully armed frontier troops. These are outrageous acts unheard of among socialist countries; they are rare even in normal international relations.

Lies Exposed

The Soviet note made no mention of all these but resorted to wanton distortions. The Chinese Government refuted the wholesale falsehoods in it with facts. Referring to the Soviet allegation that, on September 7, the Chinese train master Hsiao Wen-ling, the Chinese crew members and other Chinese citizens "persistently obstructed the train from starting, gave the red signal and applied the emergency brake," the Chinese note said: "The fact was that on September 7 the locomotive was never connected with the Chinese carriages except on two occasions for shunting purposes. Use of the emergency brake was out of the question for these immobile carriages. True, at about 00:00 hours (Peking time) on September 10 the Chinese train master was forced to 'give the red signal and apply the brake,' but that was because the Soviet side arbitrarily tried to shunt and change the course of the Chinese train. Moreover, this occurred soon after the Soviet frontier troops lifted their siege of the Chinese train, when the Chinese passengers were having their meal in groups in the station restaurant, with people constantly getting off and on the train; in such an emergency, according to railway regulations, the train master had every right to apply the brake to ensure the safety of passengers. It is a shocking case of reversal of right and wrong to blame Chinese personnel for using the brake and giving the red signal, when the Soviet authorities, in violation of railway traffic regulations, played with the lives of Chinese passengers."

The Soviet note alleged that the Chinese citizens who remained at the Naushki station "committed outrages," "violated public order in the station house" and "violated the most elementary rules of sanitation and hygiene in the station house." Refut-

ing these charges, the Chinese note said: "The fact was that Soviet frontier troops besieged 42 Chinese students in the customs house, where the soldiers engaged in provocations against the students and pushed them about, forbade them to sit down to take rest and denied them food and drink. The students were thus detained by the Soviet frontier troops for more than 20 hours during which time they were completely deprived of freedom of movement. . . . Far from being ashamed of such behaviour of the Soviet border defence authorities, the Soviet Government wantonly vilified and slandered the Chinese students. This is wholly unreasonable."

The Soviet note also alleged that the Chinese citizens who remained at the Naushki station "committed outrages" in an attempt to hinder the functioning of the Soviet border defence and customs personnel and that they locked up two Soviet frontier guards and two customs personnel in a carriage for five hours. This allegation, said the Chinese note, was completely groundless. "How is it conceivable that a group of barehanded Chinese students could lock up Soviet military officers in a carriage for as long as five hours?" said the Chinese note. "In fact, it was not the Chinese citizens who detained Soviet officers but the Soviet authorities which detained the Chinese train and all the Chinese citizens from the train for more than 50 hours."

These facts show that responsibility for the Naushki incident rests fully with the Soviet authorities.

Treasuring the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, the Chinese Government has exercised self-restraint towards these serious incidents. It eagerly hopes, concluded the Chinese note, that the Soviet Government, like the Chinese Government, will uphold the unity and friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, and that the Soviet Government will not go from mistake to mistake but will turn back from the wrong path.

All the victims of these provocations returned to Peking on September 13. They were given a rousing welcome at the station by more than 2,000 people, including Acting Minister of Railways Lu Cheng-tsao, Vice-Minister of Education Chiang Nan-hsiang, and high-ranking officers of the P.L.A.

On September 16, they were received by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi who praised them for their spirit of sticking to principle and standing firm in struggle, and for the courageous way they had withstood the test.

Aidit Returns to Peking

D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, and the members of the Party delegation he is leading, returned to Peking by special train on September 16 after visiting the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Welcoming the Indonesian guests at the station were Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and other leading Party members.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi Receives Cambodian Guests

Chairman Liu Shao-chi on September 12 received the Cambodian sports delegation led by Lieutenant-Colonel Pok San An, Deputy General Commissioner of the General Commissary of Sports of Cambodia, and had a cordial talk with the delegation.

Selecting Teams for GANEFO

Beginning September 15, more than 1,000 top-flight Chinese sportsmen converged on Peking to take part in the week-long competitions to select the nation's entries for the First Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) which will take place in Djakarta in November.

At the Peking competitions, teams are being selected for 14 events—track and field, swimming, diving, weightlifting, gymnastics, table tennis, football, basketball, volleyball, badminton, tennis, cycling, shooting, and archery. Competitions are still under way, and one early good result is in the hammer throw. Li Yun-piao, a People's Liberation Armyman, smashed his own national record with a throw of 61.21 metres. Ace high-jumper Ni Chih-chin cleared 2.10 metres, but this is still 0.10 metre below his best performance.

At the opening ceremony to the competitions, Vice-Premier Ho Lung, Chairman of the China Preparatory Committee for Participation in the GANEFO, called on all Chinese sportsmen to give active support to the games. "The holding of the Games of the New Emerging Forces," he said, "is advocated by President Sukarno of Indonesia. China has warmly responded to this proposal. GANEFO is against imperialism and colonialism. U.S. imperialism is manipulating the International Olympic Committee and other international sports organizations for its own political ends. These organizations are now trying to sabotage GANEFO, but they are doomed to fail. GANEFO will be a success and will, in the years to come, find more and more countries participating."

Attending the Peking qualifying trials is a five-member Indonesian sports delegation led by Sujono Atmo, Vice-Governor of Central Java and Chairman of the Command for Sports Movement in Central Java. The delegation, which arrived in Peking at the invitation of the State Commission for Physical Culture and Sports, in addition to attending the Peking competitions, will also tour China.

Sino-Guinean Friendship

It was three years ago that the Sino-Guinean Friendship Treaty was signed in Peking, marking a new stage in the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and Guinean peoples. On September 13 this year, Bangoura Momo, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Guinean Embassy in Peking, gave a reception to celebrate its third anniversary. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among those present.

Speaking at the reception, Bangoura Momo paid high tribute to Sino-Guinean friendship. "The position taken by our two countries in opposition to the world's imperialist reactionaries shows how firmly we are set on the road of progress and human fraternity," he said.

Referring to the anti-imperialist struggles of the African people, Bangoura Momo declared that the African people had taken their destiny in their hands and "nothing can stop the irresistible current of liberation and progress on our continent."

(Continued on p. 23.)

Brilliant Chapter in Sino-Korean Friendship

by WAI SHUI

THE present Korean visit of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, marks a new chapter in Sino-Korean friendship. Chairman Liu's visit followed an invitation by Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. A great event in the political life of the Chinese and Korean Parties, the visit embodies the great friendship of the peoples of China and Korea.

Warm Send-Off

Among the Party and state leaders present at the Peking railway station on September 14 to see Chairman Liu off were: Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Chou En-lai, Premier and Vice-Chairman of the Party's Central Committee; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the Party's Central Committee; and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee.

Among those accompanying Chairman Liu on his visit are Lin Feng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Member of the Party's Central Committee; Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council and Member of the Party's Central Committee; Wu Hsiu-chuan, Member of the Party's Central Committee; Chi Peng-fei, Vice-Foreign Minister; and Wan Li, Vice-Mayor of Peking.

The Peking press, on September 15, editorially acclaimed Chairman Liu's visit to Korea, China's close ally. Emphasizing that Chairman Liu's visit will convey to the Korean people the militant comradeship and brotherhood of the 650 million Chinese people, *Renmin Ribao* declared: "May the unity between the Chinese and Korean peoples remain as firm as the Changpai Mountains! May their friendship flow as eternally as the Yalu River!"

Huge Welcome

The ardent desire for the growth of Sino-Korean friendship was graphically expressed in the welcome accorded Chairman Liu and his party when they arrived on September 15. Pyongyang, the national capital, was in a festive mood. A mass of Korean and Chinese national flags, huge red slogans and portraits of Premier Kim Il Sung, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi all were hung from the tall buildings surrounding the Pyongyang station, on People's Army Street, Stalin Street, Kim Il Sung Square, Mao Tse-tung Square and Youth Street. Streams of citizens in bright national costumes and carrying bouquets converged on the railway station and the city's thoroughfares.

Pyongyang newspapers — *Rodong Shinmoon, Minju Choson, Rodongja Shinmoon, Minju Chennen* and *Pyongyang Shinmoon* — all splashed banner headlines in both Korean and Chinese on their front pages: "Warm welcome to Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China." All papers published editorials honouring the occasion.

More than 200,000 people cheer as Chairman Liu Shao-chi, standing between Premier Kim Il Sung and President Choi Yong Kun, drives through the streets of Pyongyang

Kim Tai Heui, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Korea, personally went from Pyongyang to Sinuiju on the Chinese-Korean border to greet Chairman Liu.

Among those Korean Party and government leaders present at the Pyongyang railway station were Kim Il Sung, Premier of the Cabinet and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Su-

preme People's Assembly and Vice-Chairman of the Party's Central Committee. A mass welcome rally was held in the square in front of the station.

Following this, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, along with Kim Il Sung and Choi Yong Kun, proceeded to a guest house in an open car. En route they were cheered by 200,000 enthusiastic workers, government officials, students, housewives and distinguished guests from other fraternal countries. The car was showered with "rainbows" of confetti. Groups of gaily costumed Korean girls performed national dances to the accompaniment of native musical instruments.

On September 16, after a state banquet the preceding evening, Premier Kim Il Sung gave a luncheon in honour of Chairman Liu Shao-chi. Later in the day, accompanied by Kim Il Sung and Choi Yong Kun, Chairman Liu saw a performance of a full-length Korean dance-drama.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi (*centre*) with Premier Kim Il Sung (*left*) and President Choi Yong Kun (*right*) at Pyongyang railway station

Korean and Chinese Leaders' Speeches

The first day of Chairman Liu's Korean visit was highlighted by speeches made by the Korean President and the Chairman. Speaking at the welcome rally at the Pyongyang railway station on September 15, President Choi Yong Kun said: "The Korean and Chinese peoples are comrades-in-arms who have gone through thick and thin in their tremendous struggle against a common enemy; they are brothers who are closely united by the same ideas and goal."

At the state banquet on September 15 the Korean President declared: "Today, the ties of friendship forged between our two peoples have become more and more consolidated and are developing and showing greater and greater vitality — through the struggle to build socialism which is our common ideal, through the struggle of opposing imperialism which is our common enemy and through the struggle of preserving the purity of our common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and combating modern revisionism."

The Korean President also paid high tribute to the Chinese people who, he said, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have waged heroic struggles and scored great achievements in the socialist revolution and in socialist construction. These achievements, he emphasized, were a victory for the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and a clear manifestation of the invincible strength of the Chinese people.

He pointed out that the victory of the Chinese revolution and the growth of the might of the People's Republic of China were a powerful factor in increasing the forces of peace and socialism in the international arena and in encouraging and promoting the people's revolutionary struggles and national-liberation struggles.

President Choi Yong Kun stressed that the Parties, Governments and peoples of the two countries all upheld the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and struggled to safeguard the solidarity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement. They would hold aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and continue to wage struggles in close unity until imperialism had perished and socialism had achieved final victory on a worldwide scale, he declared.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi in his speech at the state banquet expressed his great admiration for the achievements of the Korean people in socialist construction. He viewed it as a victory for the general line for socialist construction — the Winged Steed Movement — put forward by the Korean Workers' Party, and for the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party and Comrade Kim Il Sung.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed the determined support of the Chinese people and Government for all the people of Korea in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland, and for the patriotic struggle of the south Korean people against U.S. imperialism. He said: "The U.S. aggressors must get out of south Korea and the Korean question must be settled by the Korean people themselves without any foreign interference. We are convinced that the Korean people will certainly win final victory in their sacred struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland."

The Korean people have consistently held high the banner of anti-imperialism. They performed great feats of heroism in their protracted armed struggle against Japan and in the great liberation war. Now, stubbornly safeguarding the eastern outpost of the socialist camp, with weapon in one hand and hammer and sickle in the other, they are giving U.S. imperialism blow for blow.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi declared: "The victorious struggles of the Korean people by daring to struggle and win victory have set a brilliant example for the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. The Korean people are worthy of being called a heroic people and the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea is worthy of being called a heroic state."

Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed profound respect for the Korean Workers' Party. He said:

> The Korean Workers' Party is a revolutionary party which has always held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism as well as a glorious detachment in the international communist movement. In order to oppose modern revisionism and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and uphold the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, it has conducted an unrelenting struggle. In order to preserve the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, it resolutely opposes the disruptive activities of modern revisionism bent on undermining this unity and the anti-China campaign launched by the modern revisionists. The Chinese Communist Party is proud of having the Korean Workers' Party as its comrade-in-arms.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi spoke highly of the foreign policy of peace consistently pursued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which, he said, had become "an important revolutionary force opposing imperialism and defending world peace." He conveyed deep gratitude to the Korean people and leading Korean comrades for the fraternal support the Korean people had always given to the Chinese people in their struggle to oppose imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, safeguard world peace and promote the cause of human progress.

Aware of his audience's interest in China's economic situation, Chairman Liu spoke of the beginning of an all-round turn for the better in the entire national economy. He affirmed that the socialist revolution and socialist construction being carried out in China proved that the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune — which were adhered to by the Chinese people — were correct and in accord with the realities of China.

China and Korea are as close to each other as lips and teeth. The peoples of the two countries are brothers sharing one another's difficulties. In the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and in the cause of building socialism, they have consistently encouraged and supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder. Praising the great friendship and militant unity of the two countries, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said that it was built on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and cemented in blood, and unbreakable. "In the years to come," declared the Chinese guest, "no matter what happens in the world, the Chinese people will always remain closely united with the fraternal Korean people and struggle to the end for the realization of the great revolutionary ideals we have in common."

ON THE QUESTION OF STALIN

Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (2)

by the Editorial Departments of "Renmin Ribao" and "Hongqi"*

THE question of Stalin is one of worldwide importance which has had repercussions among all classes in every country and which is still a subject of much discussion today, with different classes and their political parties and groups taking different views. It is likely that no final verdict can be reached on this question in the present century. But there is virtual agreement among the majority of the international working class and of revolutionary people, who disapprove of the complete negation of Stalin and more and more cherish his memory. This is also true of the Soviet Union. Our controversy with the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is with a section of people. We hope to persuade them in order to advance the revolutionary cause. This is our purpose in writing the present article.

Ulterior Motives in Completely Negating Stalin

The Communist Party of China has always held that when Comrade Khrushchov completely negated Stalin on the pretext of "combating the personality cult," he was quite wrong and had ulterior motives.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. pointed out in its letter of June 14 that the "combat against the personality cult" violates Lenin's integral teachings on the interrelationship of leaders, Party, class and masses, and undermines the Communist principle of democratic centralism.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. avoids making any reply to our principled arguments, but merely labels the Chinese Communists as "defenders of the personality cult and pedlars of Stalin's erroneous ideas."

When he was fighting the Mensheviks, Lenin said, "Not to reply to the principled argument of the opponent and to ascribe to him only 'excitement' — this means not to debate but to abuse." The attitude shown by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in its open letter is exactly like that of the Mensheviks.

Even though the open letter resorts to abuse in place of debate, we on our part prefer to reply to it with principled arguments and a great many facts.

* Bold-face emphases and subheads are ours. — *P.R. Editor.*

The great Soviet Union was the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the beginning, the foremost leader of the Party and the Government in this state was Lenin. After Lenin's death, it was Stalin.

After Lenin's death, Stalin became not only the leader of the Party and Government of the Soviet Union but the acknowledged leader of the international communist movement as well.

It is only 46 years since the first socialist state was inaugurated by the October Revolution. For nearly 30 of these years Stalin was the foremost leader of this state. Whether in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat or in that of the international communist movement, Stalin's activities occupy an extremely important place.

How to Evaluate Stalin and What Attitude to Take Towards Him

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently maintained that the question of how to evaluate Stalin and what attitude to take towards him is not just one of appraising Stalin himself; more important, it is a question of how to sum up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the international communist movement since Lenin's death.

Comrade Khrushchov completely negated Stalin at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. He failed to consult the fraternal Parties in advance on this question of principle which involves the whole international communist movement, and afterwards tried to impose a fait accompli on them. Whoever makes an appraisal of Stalin different from that of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. is charged with "defence of the personality cult" as well as "interference" in the internal affairs of the C.P.S.U. But no one can deny the international significance of the historical experience of the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the historical fact that Stalin was the leader of the international communist movement; consequently, no one can deny that the appraisal of Stalin is an important question of principle involving the whole international communist movement. On what ground, then, do the leaders of the C.P.S.U. forbid other fraternal Parties to make a realistic analysis and appraisal of Stalin?

The Communist Party of China has invariably insisted on an overall, objective and scientific analysis of Stalin's merits and demerits by the method of historical materialism and the presentation of history as it actually occurred, and has opposed the subjective, crude and complete negation of Stalin by the method of historical idealism and the wilful distortion and alteration of history.

The Communist Party of China has consistently held that Stalin did commit errors, which had their ideological as well as social and historical roots. It is necessary to criticize the errors Stalin actually committed, not those groundlessly attributed to him, and to do so from a correct stand and with correct methods, But we have consistently opposed improper criticism of Stalin, made from a wrong stand and with wrong methods.

Stalin's Merits

Stalin fought tsarism and propagated Marxism during Lenin's lifetime; after he became a Member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin he took part in the struggle to pave the way for the 1917 Revolution; after the October Revolution he fought to defend the fruits of the proletarian revolution.

Stalin led the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people, after Lenin's death, in resolutely fighting both internal and external foes, and in safeguarding and consolidating the first socialist state in the world.

Stalin led the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people in upholding the line of socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization and in achieving great successes in socialist transformation and socialist construction.

Stalin led the C.P.S.U., the Soviet people and the Soviet Army in an arduous and bitter struggle to the great victory of the anti-fascist war.

Stalin defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fight against various kinds of opportunism, against the enemies of Leninism, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and other bourgeois agents.

Stalin made an indelible contribution to the international communist movement in a number of theoretical writings which are immortal Marxist-Leninist works.

Stalin led the Soviet Party and Government in pursuing a foreign policy which on the whole was in keeping with proletarian internationalism and in greatly assisting the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, including the Chinese people.

Stalin stood in the forefront of the tide of history guiding the struggle, and was an irreconcilable enemy of the imperialists and all reactionaries.

Stalin's activities were intimately bound up with the struggles of the great C.P.S.U. and the great Soviet people and inseparable from the revolutionary struggles of the people of the whole world.

Stalin's life was that of a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary.

Certain Errors Committed by Stalin

It is true that while he performed meritorious deeds for the Soviet people and the international communist movement, Stalin, a great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary, also made certain mistakes. Some were errors of principle and some were errors made in the course of practical work; some could have been avoided and some were scarcely avoidable at a time when the dictatorship of the proletariat had no precedent to go by.

In his way of thinking, Stalin departed from dialectical materialism and fell into metaphysics and subjectivism on certain questions and consequently he was sometimes divorced from reality and from the masses. In struggles inside as well as outside the Party, on certain occasions and on certain questions he confused two types of contradictions which are different in nature, contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people, and also confused the different methods needed in handling them. In the work led by Stalin of suppressing the counter-revolution, many counter-revolutionaries deserving punishment were duly punished, but at the same time there were innocent peo-

ple who were wrongly convicted; and in 1937 and 1938 there occurred the error of enlarging the scope of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. In the matter of Party and government organization, he did not fully apply proletarian democratic centralism and, to some extent, violated it. In handling relations with fraternal Parties and countries, he made some mistakes. He also gave some bad counsel in the international communist movement. These mistakes caused some losses to the Soviet Union and the international communist movement.

Merits Outweigh Faults

Stalin's merits and mistakes are matters of historical, objective reality. A comparison of the two shows that his merits outweighed his faults. He was primarily correct, and his faults were secondary. In summing up Stalin's thinking and his work in their totality, surely every honest Communist with a respect for history will first observe what was primary in Stalin. Therefore, when Stalin's errors are being correctly appraised, criticized and overcome, it is necessary to safeguard what was primary in Stalin's life, to safeguard Marxism-Leninism which he defended and developed.

It would be beneficial if the errors of Stalin, which were only secondary, are taken as historical lessons so that the Communists of the Soviet Union and other countries might take warning and avoid repeating those errors or commit fewer errors. Both positive and negative historical lessons are beneficial to all Communists, provided they are drawn correctly and conform with and do not distort historical facts.

Lenin pointed out more than once that Marxists were totally different from the revisionists of the Second International in their attitude towards people like Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg, who, for all their mistakes, were great proletarian revolutionaries. Marxists did not conceal these people's mistakes but through such examples learnt "how to avoid them and live up to the more rigorous requirements of revolutionary Marxism." By contrast, the revisionists "crowed" and "cackled" over the mistakes of Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg. Ridiculing the revisionists, Lenin quoted a Russian fable in this connection. "Sometimes eagles may fly lower than hens, but hens can never rise to the height of eagles." Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg were "great Communists" and, in spite of their mistakes, remained "eagles," while the revisionists were a flock of "hens" "in the backyard of the working-class movement, among the dung heaps."

The historical role of Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg is by no means comparable to that of Stalin. Stalin was the great leader of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the international communist movement over a whole historical era, and greater care should be exercised in evaluating him.

Defending Stalin's Correct Side

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have accused the Chinese Communist Party of "defending" Stalin. Yes, we do defend Stalin. When Khrushchov distorts history and completely negates Stalin, naturally we have the inescapable duty to come forward and defend him in the interests of the international communist movement.

In defending Stalin, the Chinese Communist Party defends his correct side, defends the glorious history of struggle of the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was created by the October Revolution; it defends the glorious history of struggle of the C.P.S.U.; it defends the prestige of the international communist movement among working people throughout the world. In brief, it defends the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. It is not only the Chinese Communists who are doing this; all Communists devoted to Marxism-Leninism, all staunch revolutionaries and all fair-minded people have been doing the same thing.

While defending Stalin, we do not defend his mistakes. Long ago the Chinese Communists had first-hand experience of some of his mistakes. Of the erroneous "Left" and Right opportunist lines which emerged in the Chinese Communist Party at one time or another, some arose under the influence of certain mistakes of Stalin's, in so far as their international sources were concerned. **In the late twenties, the thirties and the early and middle forties, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists represented by Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi resisted the influence of Stalin's mistakes; they gradually overcame the erroneous lines of "Left" and Right opportunism and finally led the Chinese revolution to victory.**

But since some of the wrong ideas put forward by Stalin were accepted and applied by certain Chinese comrades, we Chinese should bear the responsibility. In its struggle against "Left" and Right opportunism, therefore, our Party criticized only its own erring comrades and never put the blame on Stalin. The purpose of our criticism was to distinguish between right and wrong, learn the appropriate lessons and advance the revolutionary cause. We merely asked the erring comrades that they should correct their mistakes. If they failed to do so, we waited until they were gradually awakened by their own practical experience, provided they did not organize secret groups for clandestine and disruptive activities. Our method was the proper method of inner-Party criticism and self-criticism; we started from the desire for unity and arrived at a new unity on a new basis through criticism and struggle, and thus good results were achieved. We held that these were contradictions among the people and not between the enemy and ourselves, and that therefore we should use the above method.

Khrushchov's Defamation of Stalin

What attitude have Comrade Khrushchov and other leaders of the C.P.S.U. taken towards Stalin since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.?

They have not made an overall historical and scientific analysis of his life and work but have completely negated him without any distinction between right and wrong.

They have treated Stalin not as a comrade but as an enemy.

They have not adopted the method of criticism and self-criticism to sum up experience but have blamed Stalin

for all errors, or ascribed to him the "mistakes" they have arbitrarily invented.

They have not presented the facts and reasoned things out but have made demagogic personal attacks on Stalin in order to poison people's minds.

Khrushchov has abused Stalin as a "murderer," a "criminal," a "bandit," a "gambler," a "despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible," "the greatest dictator in Russian history," a "fool," an "idiot," etc. When we are compelled to cite all this filthy, vulgar and malicious language, we are afraid it may soil our pen and paper.

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as "the greatest dictator in Russian history." Does not this mean that the Soviet people lived for 30 long years under the "tyranny" of "the greatest dictator in Russian history" and not under the socialist system? The great Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the whole world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a "despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible." Does not this mean that the experience the great C.P.S.U. and the great Soviet people provided over 30 years for people the world over was not the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat but that of life under the rule of a feudal "despot"? The great Soviet people, the Soviet Communists and Marxist-Leninists of the whole world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a "bandit." Does not this mean that the first socialist state in the world was for a long period headed by a "bandit"? The great Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the whole world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a "fool." Does not this mean that the C.P.S.U. which waged heroic revolutionary struggles over the past decades had a "fool" as its leader? The Soviet Communists and Marxist-Leninists of the whole world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as an "idiot." Does not this mean that the great Soviet Army which triumphed in the anti-fascist war had an "idiot" as its supreme commander? The glorious Soviet commanders and fighters and all anti-fascist fighters of the world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a "murderer." Does not this mean that the international communist movement had a "murderer" as its teacher for decades? Communists of the whole world, including the Soviet Communists, completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a "gambler." Does not this mean that the revolutionary peoples had a "gambler" as their standard-bearer in the struggles against imperialism and reaction? All revolutionary people of the world, including the Soviet people, completely disagree with this slander!

Such abuse of Stalin by Khrushchov is a gross insult to the great Soviet people, a gross insult to the C.P.S.U., to the Soviet Army, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the socialist system, to the international communist movement, to the revolutionary people the world over and to Marxism-Leninism.

"How Can They Say Such a Thing!"

In what position does Khrushchov, who participated in the leadership of the Party and the state during Stalin's period, place himself when he beats his breast, pounds the table and shouts abuse of Stalin at the top of his voice? In the position of an accomplice to a "murderer" or a "bandit"? Or in the same position as a "fool" or an "idiot"?

What difference is there between such abuse of Stalin by Khrushchov and the abuse by the imperialists, the reactionaries in various countries, and the renegades to communism? Why such inveterate hatred of Stalin? Why attack him more ferociously than you do the enemy?

In abusing Stalin, Khrushchov is in fact wildly denouncing the Soviet system and state. His language in this connection is by no means weaker but is actually stronger than that of such renegades as Kautsky, Trotsky, Tito and Djilas.

People should quote the following passage from the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and ask Khrushchov: "How can they say such a thing about the Party of the great Lenin, about the motherland of socialism, about the people who, the first in the world, accomplished a socialist revolution, upheld its great gains in the bitterest battles against international imperialism and domestic counter-revolution, and display miracles of heroism and dedication in the struggle for the building of communism, honestly fulfilling its internationalist duty to the working people of the world!"

In his article, "The Political Significance of Abuse," Lenin said, "Abuse in politics often covers up the utter lack of ideological content, the helplessness and the impotence, the annoying impotence of the abuser." Does this not apply to the leaders of the C.P.S.U. who, feeling constantly haunted by the spectre of Stalin, try to cover up their total lack of principle, their helplessness and annoying impotence by abusing Stalin?

The great majority of the Soviet people disapprove of such abuse of Stalin. They increasingly cherish the memory of Stalin. The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have seriously isolated themselves from the masses. They always feel they are being threatened by the haunting spectre of Stalin, which is in fact the broad masses' great dissatisfaction with the complete negation of Stalin. So far Khrushchov has not dared to let the Soviet people and the other people in the socialist camp see the secret report completely negating Stalin which he made to the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., because it is a report which cannot bear the light of day, a report which would seriously alienate the masses.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that while they abuse Stalin in every possible way, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. regard Eisenhower, Kennedy and the like "with respect and trust." They abuse Stalin as a "despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible" and "the greatest dictator in Russian history," but compliment both Eisenhower and

Kennedy as "having the support of the absolute majority of the American people"! They abuse Stalin as an "idiot" but praise Eisenhower and Kennedy as "sensible"! On the one hand, they viciously lash at a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary and a great leader of the international communist movement, and on the other, they laud the chieftains of imperialism to the skies. Is there any possibility that the connection between these phenomena is merely accidental and that it does not follow with inexorable logic from the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism?

Khrushchov's Complete About-Face

If his memory is not too short, Khrushchov ought to remember that at a mass rally held in Moscow in January 1937 he himself rightly condemned those who had attacked Stalin, saying, "In lifting their hand against Comrade Stalin, they lifted it against all of us, against the working class and the working people! In lifting their hand against Comrade Stalin, they lifted it against the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin!" Khrushchov himself repeatedly extolled Stalin as an "intimate friend and comrade-in-arms of the great Lenin," as "the greatest genius, teacher and leader of mankind" and "the great, ever victorious marshal," as "the sincere friend of the people" and as his "own father."

If one compares the remarks made by Khrushchov when Stalin was alive with those made after his death, one will not fail to see that Khrushchov has made a 180-degree turn in his evaluation of Stalin.

If his memory is not too short, Khrushchov should of course remember that during the period of Stalin's leadership he himself was particularly active in supporting and carrying out the then prevailing policy for suppressing counter-revolutionaries.

On June 6, 1937, at the Fifth Party Conference of Moscow Province, Khrushchov declared:

> Our Party will mercilessly crush the band of traitors and betrayers, and wipe out all the Trotskyist-Right dregs. . . . The guarantee of this is the unshakable leadership of our Central Committee, the unshakable leadership of our leader Comrade Stalin. . . . We shall totally annihilate the enemies — to the last man — and scatter their ashes to the winds.

On June 8, 1938, at the Fourth Party Conference of Kiev Province, Khrushchov declared:

> The Yakyirs, Balyitskys, Lyubchenkys, Zatonskys and other scum wanted to bring Polish landowners to the Ukraine, wanted to bring here the German fascists, landlords and capitalists. . . . We have annihilated a considerable number of enemies, but still not all. Therefore, it is necessary to keep our eyes open. We should bear firmly in mind the words of Comrade Stalin, that as long as capitalist encirclement exists, spies and saboteurs will be smuggled into our country.

Why does Khrushchov, who was in the leadership of the Party and the state in Stalin's period and who actively supported and firmly executed the policy for suppressing counter-revolutionaries, repudiate everything done during this period and shift the blame for all errors on to Stalin alone, while altogether whitewashing himself?

Khrushchov Has No Idea of What Self-Criticism Means

When Stalin did something wrong, he was capable of criticizing himself. For instance, he had given some bad counsel with regard to the Chinese revolution. After the victory of the Chinese revolution, he admitted his mistake. Stalin also admitted some of his mistakes in the work of purifying the Party ranks in his report to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B) in 1939. But what about Khrushchov? He simply does not know what self-criticism is; all he does is to shift the entire blame on to others and claim the entire credit for himself.

It is not surprising that these ugly actions of Khrushchov's should have taken place when modern revisionism is on the rampage. As Lenin said in 1915 when he criticized the revisionists of the Second International for their betrayal of Marxism, "In our time when words previously spoken are forgotten, principles are abandoned, world outlook is discarded and resolutions and solemn promises are thrown away, it is not at all surprising that such a thing should happen."

Serious Consequences of the Complete Negation of Stalin

As the train of events since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. has fully shown, the complete negation of Stalin by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. has had extremely serious consequences.

It has provided the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries with exceedingly welcome anti-Soviet and anti-communist ammunition. Shortly after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the imperialists exploited Khrushchov's secret anti-Stalin report to stir up a world-wide tidal wave against the Soviet Union and against communism. The imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, the Tito clique and opportunists of various descriptions all leapt at the chance to attack the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and various Communist Parties; thus many fraternal Parties and countries were placed in serious difficulties.

The frantic campaign against Stalin by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. enabled the Trotskyites, who had long been political corpses, to come to life again and clamour for the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky. In November 1961, at the conclusion of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., the International Secretariat of the so-called Fourth International stated in a "Letter to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. and Its New Central Committee" that in 1937 Trotsky said a monument would be erected to the honour of the victims of Stalin. "Today," it continued, "this prediction has come true. Before your Congress the First Secretary of your Party has promised the erection of this monument." In this letter the specific demand was made that the name of Trotsky be "engraved in letters of gold on the monument erected in honour of the victims of Stalin." The Trotskyites made no secret of their joy, declaring that the anti-Stalin campaign started by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. had "opened the door for Trotskyism" and would "greatly help the advance

of Trotskyism and its organization — the Fourth International."

Motives That Cannot Bear the Light of Day

In completely negating Stalin, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have motives that cannot bear the light of day.

Stalin died in 1953; three years later the leaders of the C.P.S.U. violently attacked him at the 20th Congress, and eight years after his death they again did so at the 22nd Congress, removing and burning his remains. **In repeating their violent attacks on Stalin, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. aimed at erasing the indelible influence of this great proletarian revolutionary among the people of the Soviet Union and throughout the world, and at paving the way for negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin had defended and developed, and for the all-out application of a revisionist line.** Their revisionist line began exactly with the 20th Congress and became fully systematized at the 22nd Congress. The facts have shown ever more clearly that their revision of the Marxist-Leninist theories on imperialism, war and peace, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, the proletarian party, etc., is inseparably connected with their complete negation of Stalin.

The "Combating-the-Personality-Cult" Fraud

It is under the cover of "combating the personality cult" that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. tries to negate Stalin completely.

In launching "the combat against the personality cult," the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are not out to restore what they call "the Leninist standards of Party life and principles of leadership." On the contrary, they are violating Lenin's teachings on the interrelationship of leaders, Party, class and masses and contravening the principle of democratic centralism in the Party.

Marxist-Leninists maintain that if the revolutionary party of the proletariat is genuinely to serve as the headquarters of the proletariat in struggle, it must correctly handle the interrelationship of leaders, Party, class and masses and must be organized on the principle of democratic centralism. Such a party must have a fairly stable nucleus of leadership, which should consist of a group of long-tested leaders who are good at integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution.

The leaders of the proletarian party, whether members of the Central or local committees, emerge from the masses in the course of class struggles and mass revolutionary movements. They are infinitely loyal to the masses, have close ties with them and are good at correctly concentrating the ideas of the masses and then carrying them through. Such leaders are genuine representatives of the proletariat and are acknowledged by the masses. It is a sign of the political maturity of a proletarian party for it to have such leaders, and herein lies the hope of victory for the cause of the proletariat.

Lenin was absolutely right in saying that "not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organize a movement and lead it." He also said, "The training of experienced and most influential Party leaders is a long-term and difficult task. But without this, the dictatorship of the proletariat, its 'unity of will,' will remain a phrase."

The Communist Party of China has always adhered to the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the role of the masses and the individual in history and on the interrelationship of leaders, Party, class and masses, and upheld democratic centralism in the Party. We have always maintained collective leadership; at the same time, we are against belittling the role of leaders. While we attach importance to this role, we are against dishonest and excessive eulogy of individuals and exaggeration of their role. As far back as 1949 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's suggestion, took a decision forbidding public celebrations of any kind on the birthdays of Party leaders and the naming of cities, streets or enterprises after them.

This consistent and correct approach of ours is fundamentally different from the "combat against the personality cult" advocated by the leadership of the C.P.S.U.

"Combating the Personality Cult" — A Despicable Political Intrigue

It has become increasingly clear that in advocating the "combat against the personality cult" the leaders of the C.P.S.U. do not intend, as they themselves claim, to promote democracy, practise collective leadership and oppose exaggeration of the role of the individual but have ulterior motives.

What exactly is the gist of their "combat against the personality cult"?

To put it bluntly, it is nothing but the following:

1. On the pretext of "combating the personality cult," to counterpose Stalin, the leader of the Party, to the Party organization, the proletariat and the masses of the people;

2. On the pretext of "combating the personality cult," to besmirch the proletarian party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist system;

3. On the pretext of "combating the personality cult," to build themselves up and to attack revolutionaries loyal to Marxism-Leninism so as to pave the way for revisionist schemers to usurp the Party and state leadership;

4. On the pretext of "combating the personality cult," to interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties and countries and strive to subvert their leadership to suit themselves;

5. On the pretext of "combating the personality cult," to attack fraternal Parties which adhere to Marxism-Leninism and to split the international communist movement.

The "combat against the personality cult" launched by Khrushchov is a despicable political intrigue. Like

someone described by Marx, "He is in his element as an intriguer, while a nonentity as a theorist."

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. states that "while debunking the personality cult and fighting against its consequences" they "put high the leaders who . . . enjoy deserved prestige." What does this mean? **It means that, while trampling Stalin underfoot, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. laud Khrushchov to the skies.**

They describe Khrushchov, who was not yet a Communist at the time of the October Revolution and who was a low-ranking political worker during the Civil War, as the "active builder of the Red Army."

They ascribe the great victory of the decisive battle in the Soviet Patriotic War entirely to Khrushchov, saying that in the Battle of Stalingrad "Khrushchov's voice was very frequently heard" and that he was "the soul of the Stalingraders."

They attribute the great achievements in nuclear weapons and rocketry wholly to Khrushchov, calling him "cosmic father." But as everybody knows, the success of the Soviet Union in manufacturing the atom and hydrogen bombs was a great achievement of the Soviet scientists and technicians and the Soviet people under Stalin's leadership. The foundations of rocketry were also laid in Stalin's time. How can these important historical facts be obliterated? How can all credit be given to Khrushchov?

They laud Khrushchov who has revised the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and who holds that Leninism is outmoded as the "brilliant model who creatively developed and enriched Marxist-Leninist theory."

Distortion of History

What the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are doing under the cover of "combating the personality cult" is exactly as Lenin said: "In place of the old leaders, who hold ordinary human views on ordinary matters, *new leaders* are put forth . . . who talk supernatural nonsense and confusion."

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. slanders our stand in adhering to Marxism-Leninism, asserting that we "are trying to impose upon other Parties the practices, the ideology and morals, the forms and methods of leadership which flourished in the period of the personality cult." This remark again exposes the absurdity of the "combat against the personality cult."

According to the leaders of the C.P.S.U., after the October Revolution put an end to capitalism in Russia there followed a "period of the personality cult." It would seem that the "social system" and "the ideology and morals" of that period were not socialist. In that period the Soviet working people suffered "heavy oppression," there prevailed an "atmosphere of fear, suspicion and uncertainty which poisoned the life of the people," and Soviet society was impeded in its development.

In his speech at the Soviet-Hungarian friendship rally on July 19, 1963, Khrushchov dwelt on what he called Stalin's rule of "terror," saying that Stalin "maintained his power with an axe." He described the social order of the time in the following terms: ". . . in that period a man leaving for work often did not know whether he would return home, whether he would see his wife and children again."

"The period of the personality cult" as described by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. was one when society was more "hateful" and "barbarous" than in the period of feudalism or capitalism.

According to the leadership of the C.P.S.U., the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system of society which were established as a result of the October Revolution failed to remove the oppression of the working people or accelerate the development of Soviet society for several decades; only after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. carried out the "combat against the personality cult" was the 'heavy oppression" removed from the working people and "the development of Soviet society" suddenly "speeded up."

Khrushchov said, "Ah! If only Stalin had died ten years earlier!" As everybody knows, Stalin died in 1953; ten years earlier would have been 1943, the very year when the Soviet Union began its counter-offensive in the Great Patriotic War. At that time, who wanted Stalin to die? Hitler!

It Is Nothing New

It is not a new thing in the history of the international communist movement for the enemies of Marxism-Leninism to vilify the leaders of the proletariat and try to undermine the proletarian cause by using some such slogan as "combating the personality cult." It is a dirty trick which people saw through long ago.

In the period of the First International the schemer Bakunin used similar language to rail at Marx. At first, to worm himself into Marx's confidence, he wrote him, "I am your disciple and I am proud of it." Later, when he failed in his plot to usurp the leadership of the First International, he abused Marx and said, "Being a German and a Jew, he is authoritarian from head to heels" and a "dictator."

In the period of the Second International the renegade Kautsky used similar language to rail at Lenin. He slandered Lenin, likening him to "the God of the Monotheists" who had "reduced Marxism to the status not only of a state religion but of a medieval or oriental faith."

In the period of the Third International the renegade Trotsky similarly used such language to rail at Stalin. He said that Stalin was a "despot" and that "the bureaucrat Stalin spread the base cult of the leader, attaching holiness to the leader."

The modern revisionist Tito clique also use similar words to rail at Stalin, saying that Stalin was the "dictator" "in a system of absolute personal power."

Thus it is clear that the issue of "combating the personality cult" raised by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. has come down through Bakunin, Kautsky, Trotsky and Tito, all of whom used it to attack the leaders of the proletariat and undermine the proletarian revolutionary movement.

Long Live the Revolutionary Teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

The opportunists in the history of the international communist movement were unable to negate Marx, En-

gels or Lenin by vilification, nor is Khrushchov able to negate Stalin by vilification.

As Lenin pointed out, a privileged position cannot ensure the success of vilification.

Khrushchov was able to utilize his privileged position to remove the body of Stalin from the Lenin Mausoleum, but try as he may, he can never succeed in removing the great image of Stalin from the minds of the Soviet people and of the people throughout the world.

Khrushchov can utilize his privileged position to revise Marxism-Leninism one way or another, but try as he may, he can never succeed in overthrowing Marxism-Leninism which Stalin defended and which is defended by Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.

We would like to offer a word of sincere advice to Comrade Khrushchov. We hope you will become aware of your errors and return from your wrong path to the path of Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the great revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

紅旗
HONGQI

Khrushchov's Fairy Tales About The "Ruins of Imperialism"

by WEN YI-CHU

Following is a translation of an article carried in "Hongqi," No. 17 under the title "Why Does Khrushchov Spin Fabrications About 'Ruins of Destroyed Imperialism'?" Subheads are ours. — Ed.

OF late, there is one tune sung with particular gusto in the anti-China chorus of imperialism headed by the United States, the reactionaries represented by Nehru and the modern revisionists — that China wants to bring about the worldwide victory of socialism through unleashing a world war.

The U.S. imperialists strike up the tune that China is "warlike" and "stands for the export of revolution through war."

Nehru, chieftain of Indian reaction, alleges that China is an "aggressive and expansionist" country, and has "become a menace and danger to the world."

The renegade Tito chimes in: the Chinese Communist Party places itself "in the same position as the most reactionary warmongers of the West."

Unwilling to lag behind, Khrushchov and company have struck an even shriller note in the anti-China chorus. In the recently published "Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to Party Organizations and All Communists in the Soviet Union," the leadership of the C.P.S.U. quoted the isolated phrase "on the ruins of destroyed imperialism" out of context from our article "Long Live Leninism!" and said, with a view to confusing and poisoning the minds of the people, that the Chinese leaders want to "bring about socialism through unleashing a thermonuclear war," and want the "creation 'of a thousand times higher civilization' on the corpses of hundreds of millions of people." They shamelessly describe Chinese Communists as "madmen" obsessed with a "war itch."

What Did We Really Say

What did we actually say in "Long Live Leninism!"? Let us quote the relevant passage.

Here it is:

> As long as the people of all countries enhance their awareness and are fully prepared, with the socialist camp also possessing modern weapons, it is certain that if the U.S. or other imperialists refuse to reach an agreement on the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and should dare to fly in the face of the will of all the peoples by launching a war using atomic and nuclear weapons, the result will only be the very speedy destruction of these monsters themselves encircled by the peoples of the world, and certainly not the so-called annihilation of mankind. We consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism, because imperialist war would impose enormous sacrifices upon the peoples of various countries (including the peoples of the United States and other imperialist countries). But should the imperialists impose such sacrifices on the peoples of various countries, we believe that, just as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution shows, those sacrifices would be rewarded. On the ruins of imperialism, the victorious people would very swiftly create a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves.

That is the passage in black and white, written clearly for the people of the world to refer to and examine. It is not difficult for anyone without prejudices and ulterior motives to grasp its real meaning correctly. But the passage has been utterly distorted in the hands of those who profess that they are "prepared to study carefully" the documents of others and that they have "goodwill" in settling questions.

C.P.S.U. Leadership Misquoted Us

We would also like to quote the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.:

> On the ruins of destroyed imperialism the victorious peoples — asserts the collection "Long Live Leninism!" that was approved by the C.P.C. Central Committee — will

create with tremendous speed a civilization a thousand times higher than under the capitalist system, will build their really bright future.

It is permissible to ask the Chinese comrades if they realize what sort of "ruins" would a world nuclear rocket war leave behind?

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee — and we are convinced that all our Party, the whole Soviet people unanimously support us in this — cannot share the views of the Chinese leadership about the creation "of a thousand times higher civilization" on the corpses of hundreds of millions of people. Such views are in crying contradiction with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

They added: "The Chinese comrades propose another thing. They straightforwardly say: 'on the ruins of destroyed imperialism,' in other words, as a result of the unleashing of war, 'a bright future will be built.' "

A Magician's Wand

Passages from both sides are presented here for anyone who respects facts to compare and ponder over them to find out if there is anything in common between what we said and the views they concocted and ascribed to us.

Please note that in the quotations by Khrushchov and company the important premise in our text that we consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism is truncated; and the important thesis in our text that if imperialism should launch a war the result would only be the destruction of imperialism and certainly not the annihilation of mankind is also truncated; and the "ruins of imperialism," that is, the ruins of the destroyed imperialist system, has been maliciously tampered with by them to become "the corpses of hundreds of millions of people."

The phrase "in other words" warrants special attention. It is like a magician's wand. With a touch of it our words ". . . should imperialism dare to fly in the face of the will of all the peoples by launching a war using atomic and nuclear weapons" are mysteriously changed to mean as if China wanted to launch a war. Undeterred by conscience, Khrushchov and company also said that the Chinese "suggest to build a bright future on the ruins of the old world destroyed in a thermonuclear war."

What unheard-of concoctions and fantasies!

We would like to ask whether there is a single sentence about China wanting to launch a world war in the whole of the passage quoted above from "Long Live Leninism!"? When and where have we ever advocated the creation of a civilization a thousand times higher "on the corpses of hundreds of millions of people" through the launching of a world war or a nuclear war?

How have Khrushchov and company, who hold that the imperialists also have "heads on their shoulders, and brains," gone so far as to take the people of the world to be headless and brainless puppets, not knowing how to respect facts, unable to check the documents, make comparisons, or distinguish between truth and falsehood?

Khrushchov Outdoing the Titoites

It is not difficult for the people to see through this technique of tampering. Even some bourgeois correspondents held that the "omissions" in the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. are "part of the Soviet attempt to deprive the Chinese argument of any ideological respectability" (*Guardian*, July 15, 1963); and that the allegation that China is "warlike" made by the C.P.S.U. Central Committee's open letter was copied from the fabrication of dubious origin made by Tito.

The Tito clique which harbours a mortal hatred for the Communist Party of China and which is a habitual rumourmonger has also maliciously assailed the cited passage from "Long Live Leninism!". Kardelj did so in section five of his book *Socialism and War*. He did not, however, dare openly to truncate the premise that we consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism, nor did he dare to truncate the thesis that if imperialism should launch a war the result would only be the destruction of imperialism, and certainly not the annihilation of mankind; nor did he dare to play dirty tricks with quotations as Khrushchov and company are now doing. Khrushchov and company have barred the Soviet people from reading "Long Live Leninism!" and other articles and have, at the same time, deliberately misquoted passages which they attribute to these articles. It seems that being unable to produce anything passable they can only resort to fabrication, slander, misrepresentation of facts and perversion of the truth. In this regard, the newcomers have outdone the old hands, the Titoites, in the shabbiness of their tricks. Perhaps this is their "ideological differences" with the Titoites!

Obeying the baton of the leaders of the C.P.S.U., many of their followers have also fabricated increasingly absurd charges against the Chinese Communist Party concerning the "ruins." The tune is the same — the only difference is in the way it is played. Some, for example, have alleged that the Chinese want to "set fire to the earth with an atomic 'lamp' " and declared that "nobody is willing to be roasted in thermonuclear war to amuse the Chinese leaders"; the ruins of the imperialist system which we have mentioned are sometimes described as "radioactive ruins" and at other times as "a planet in ruins," now as the "atomic graveyard of millions of people" and now as "heaps of corpses and a vast expanse of scorched land," and so on and so forth. This is indeed fantasy in abundance. It seems that they are fiercely competing in fabrications and are gloating over what they deem their creativeness, which is, in fact, irresponsible repetition of slanderous charges in obedience to the baton.

Using the Lies Invented by U.S. Imperialism

Nor can the baton-wielder himself, if it comes to that, claim any creativeness, the lies about "ruins" and the attacks against the Chinese Communist Party being all plagiarized from the U.S. imperialists.

On October 1 and then on October 8, 1960, U.S. delegate to the U.N. General Assembly, Wadsworth, quoted

the sentences in "Long Live Leninism!" concerning the ruins of imperialism out of context and slanderously asserted that China "welcomes an atomic war" and wants a world war "fought with hydrogen bombs," which "promises the conquest of the world by communism."

On December 1, 1961, U.S. delegate Stevenson, also quoted the sentences in "Long Live Leninism!" concerning the ruins of imperialism out of context at the U.N. General Assembly and vilified China as a "warrior state," "ruthless," "aggressive by nature" and "a massive and brutal threat to man's survival."

Now in 1963, less than two years after 1961 and three after 1960, Khrushchov and company have become so shameless as to pick up the spittle of U.S. imperialism and undisguisedly use the lies invented by the United States to snarl at the great, Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of China. In all the noisy barking, who can distinguish between the cries of Khrushchov and company and those of U.S. imperialism?

It Is a Marxist-Leninist Thesis

If they are not picking a quarrel for no reason and if they still have the least shred of Marxism-Leninism, they should not create confusion over the word "ruins" and keep harping on it. They should, on the contrary, pause and think over the meaning of the Marxist-Leninist proposition on the ruins of old society.

Let us cite the following:

Engels said: "The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society. . . ." (*Anti-Duhring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, p.366.)

Lenin said: The proletariat will "organize socialism on the ruins of capitalism." ("The Constitutional Assembly Elections and Dictatorship of the Proletariat" — Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. 30, p. 239.)

Referring to the tasks of construction that lay before the Soviet people, Lenin said: "The old order has been destroyed, as it deserved to be; it has been transformed into a heap of ruins, as it deserved to be. The ground has been cleared, and on this ground the young communist generation must build a communist society." ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues" — Lenin, *Selected Works* in two volumes, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. 2, part 2, p.482.)

The word "ruins" used by Engels and Lenin in these passages is most clear in meaning and permits no distortion. It signifies simply that the new society will be built on the ruins of the old. Is there anything in this Marxist-Leninist thesis that is wrong and merits criticism?

The 1957 Moscow Declaration says: ". . . should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism would doom itself to destruction, for the peoples would no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices." Is there anything inconsistent with this statement in our application of a Marxist-Leninist thesis to assert that a new society will be built on the ruins of destroyed imperialism? Why should Khrushchov and company, who glibly profess loyalty to the Moscow Declaration, launch vile attacks on us for publicizing this correct proposition of the Moscow Declaration?

What Does "Ruins" Mean on Khrushchov's Lips?

It is utterly ridiculous for Khrushchov and his partners to wantonly vilify and abuse our thesis about the ruins of imperialism, while they themselves write into the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "vigorously promote the strengthening of the sovereignty of the states rising on the ruins of colonial empires."

In his report on the Programme of the C.P.S.U., Khrushchov also said: "the national-liberation revolutions inflicted a staggering blow to the bastille of colonialism. Forty-two sovereign states have sprung up on the ruins of colonial empires."

Do not the "ruins of colonial empires" which Khrushchov and his partners have referred to mean, according to his logic, the death of hundreds of millions of people? Do they not mean the creation of "sovereign states" on the corpses of the colonial peoples? If "the ruins of colonial empires" which Khrushchov so often alludes to means "the destruction of the colonial peoples," what then are they trying to "vigorously promote" and what are they going to "strengthen"?

Those who have lost their reason invariably talk nonsense.

Forbidding Anti-Imperialism and Revolution

Khrushchov talks every day about "sensibleness" and "reasonableness," but he always unscrupulously and nonsensically attacks the Chinese Communist Party and all the people of the world who demand revolution. His "sensibleness" rests in calling all those who stand for revolution and demand revolution "maniacs" and "madmen." It is common knowledge that revolutionaries have always been called "maniacs" and "madmen" by reactionaries.

The building of a new society on the ruins of the old social system must be accomplished by the people of various countries themselves through revolutionary struggles. Marxist-Leninists maintain that the socialist countries, the Communists and peace-loving people must resolutely support the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of various countries; they must firmly support national-liberation wars and people's revolutionary wars. But no Marxist-Leninist has ever advocated promoting revolution "through the unleashing of a world war" and replacing the revolutionary struggle of the people of other countries by such a means. This allegation is merely a time-worn slander churned out by imperialism and the reactionaries of the various countries against the socialist countries and all true Marxist-Leninists.

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee stubbornly asserts in its open letter that China wants to start a world war, even a thermonuclear war. On what grounds do they make such an absurd allegation? Can it be that by actively supporting the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples, by enthusiastically endorsing their just wars against imperialist aggression and

enslavement, we are promoting a world war in order to push forward the revolution? Can it be that by doing so, we are "adding grist to the mill of the imperialist policy of 'brinkmanship'"? In order to sever the ties between the socialist countries and the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples, in order to crush the resistance of the oppressed nations and peoples and maintain reactionary rule over them, imperialism, led by the United States, and the reactionaries of the world have always branded support by the socialist countries for the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples as "subversion" on the part of the socialist countries for the purpose of advancing socialism through war. Now Khrushchov and company have gone so far as to use the reactionary phraseology of the imperialist aggressors and oppressors to slander the Communist Party of China. Are they not putting themselves in the position of accomplices of imperialism and reaction?

It is not the socialist countries but the imperialists led by the United States who are launching one aggressive war after another and intensifying their schemes for a world war. People throughout the world know that the danger of a thermonuclear war comes from the United States. The nuclear blackmail and the nuclear war preparations of U.S. imperialism constitute a serious menace to the security of the peoples; and all peace-loving countries and peoples urgently demand that nuclear weapons be completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed and that nuclear war be checked. Together with all other peoples, the Communist Party and the people of China have always conducted a resolute tit-for-tat struggle to prevent imperialism led by the United States from starting a world war, to achieve the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. They hold that through the united struggle of the peoples of the world, world war and nuclear war can be prevented.

Nevertheless, every serious-minded Marxist-Leninist must, at the same time, take fully into account the danger that the imperialist war maniacs may start a world war or a nuclear war.

Losing Confidence in Mankind

The fundamental question here is what attitude should be taken towards the nuclear blackmail of the imperialists: whether to awaken the people's consciousness by firmly exposing such blackmail and thwart it by waging struggle; or to spread nuclear terror, demoralize the people in the struggle and thus actually help the U.S. and other imperialists in their nuclear blackmail? And what attitude must the revolutionary people take should U.S. imperialism defy the universal will of the peoples and impose a nuclear war on the people of the world: should they resist imperialism resolutely and bury it, or should they kneel before imperialism and capitulate to it?

The revolutionary people can only take the stand of exposing imperialism and of struggling against it; they certainly must not adopt a stand of despair and capitulation.

The article "Long Live Leninism!" contains precisely a Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis of this question and voices the militant will of the revolutionary peoples. It correctly points out that U.S.-led imperialism can never achieve its objective of destroying mankind and civilization; that if it is bent on starting a nuclear war then it is the imperialist system that will perish and definitely not the whole of mankind; and that mankind will destroy nuclear weapons and definitely not vice versa. The future of mankind is still bright.

Obviously, it is Khrushchov and company who regard the "ruins of imperialism" as being the same as the "ruins of mankind," thus equating the destiny of imperialism with that of mankind. This boils down to an argument in defence of the imperialist system.

Obviously, it is these protagonists of the "theory of the annihilation of mankind" who really "show lack of faith in the forces of socialism" and "a fear of imperialism" and "surrender to the mood of hopelessness and defeatism." They have completely lost confidence in the bright future of mankind and the great communist ideal.

Their Words Contradict Their Logic

It is true that one can also find in the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. such words as: "if imperialism starts a war against us we shall not hesitate to use this formidable weapon against the aggressor" and "if the imperialist madmen do unleash a war, the peoples will wipe out and bury capitalism." But are not these words contradictory to their above-mentioned logic and therefore untenable? According to the views and logic of Khrushchov and company, would not the world be reduced to "the ruins of mankind" in the event of both sides using nuclear weapons? Who then would remain to "wipe out and bury capitalism"?

Either they are so confused that they themselves do not know what they are talking about, or, as they have put it, they deliberately "ascribe to us [here read: Chinese Communists — *Ed.*] absolutely groundless positions of their own invention and then accuse us and fight against us by exposing these positions."

Crude falsification turns out as self-exposure. The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. deliberately distorts the position of the Chinese Communists. The fact that the authors of the open letter racked their brains to raise a big hue and cry on the question of "ruins" shows that Khrushchov and his ilk have sunk to such depths that they do not scruple to tell lies in order to deceive the Soviet people, hoodwink world public opinion and stir up one anti-China wave after another. It throws light on their willingness to serve as volunteer publicity agents for the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. It shows as well that by publicizing the terror of nuclear weapons, scaring the peoples of the world with the threat of death, forbidding the peoples to oppose the imperialists headed by the United States and forbidding them to wage national-liberation struggles and the people's revolutionary struggles, their purpose is to serve Kennedy's "strategy of peace" and the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. It is clear then that behind the views advertised by Khrushchov and company, there "are other goals which have nothing in common with revolution."

Just as dark clouds cannot obscure the sun for long, so lies and fabrications can never obliterate the lustre of truth. The more absurd the lies, the more their inventors reveal their own ugly features.

Why I Came to China at the Age of 72

by ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Following is an article reprinted from the No. 10 (July 26, 1963) issue of "Letter From China" published by Anna Louise Strong, the noted American writer now residing in Peking. — Ed.

Dear friends,

China is called all kinds of names from all points of the compass. I shall not take the time or space to list the epithets. "Better to light one candle than to curse the darkness." I shall tell briefly, without cursing anyone, just why I came to China and what I found.

* * *

I was just over sixty when I first saw Yenan in 1946. I had known two great social systems. My first thirty years were spent in Western America where we fought for better forms of democracy, women's suffrage, labour's participation in politics, public ownership of utilities against the "Wall St. Octopus." I became a member of the Seattle School Board and later feature editor of the *Seattle Union Record*, a daily owned by the Central Labour Council. We seemed to win battles, but police attacks on "Reds" grew worse after the First World War.

In 1921 I went to Moscow, made my home there for nearly 30 years, married there, initiated and helped organize the first *Moscow Daily News*, was greatly stirred by the building of the first socialist state in the world in the five-year plans, wrote hundreds of articles about it and some 15 books. Almost every year I went to America to lecture and make contacts with publishers; on these trips I stopped in other countries on the way. Thus I wrote *Spain in Arms, 1937* and saw China in revolution in 1925-27, and later in war with Japan. In August 1946, on my fifth trip through China, bound for my Moscow home but not in haste, since my husband had died in the war, I came to Yenan.

I spent the winter in Yenan, living in a "cave," a 12-by-20-foot room dug into a cliff, with arched walls of white-washed earth, stone-flagged floor and front of lattice filled in with paper windows. Can I explain why I wanted to stay for ever? There were no luxuries and few comforts. There were people with keen minds, deep thoughts and a world view. I felt my own mind developing. I wrote later: "Never have I felt so close to the human power that builds the world as in that isolated, beleaguered Yenan."

Party officials worked long hours on meager food, in cold caves by dim lamps. But they worked without strain even under desultory bombing. Their confidence was not expressed in any boast that "the Communists will win." It was "the Chinese people will win and the Communists will lead as long as they serve the people."

The Chinese people, the people of the world, were the ultimate reference. "Go among the people." "Learn from the people" were the admonitions. Intellectuals and officials were always going off on long assignments among peasants. Lousy peasants — real lice, for I saw peasants fish them out and crack them — dropped in and stayed overnight in the caves of General Chu Teh and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. In twelve Yenan years the Chinese Communists had fitted themselves to the land, the rhythm of its seasons, the mood of its peasants. They were at home in the homes of the people, moving confidently without fear. Even when the enemy was advancing sixty miles away and Yenan was being evacuated, people took time to rejoice in the new fall of snow, "so good for the crops."

Two long talks I recall that have a meaning for today. The first was the afternoon with Mao Tse-tung on the hard earth terrace in front of the string of caves in which he lived and accommodated visiting peasants. We touched world affairs. At the time the U.S.A. had monopoly of the atom bomb and was using it to pressure Stalin with the "Baruch plan," a "United Nations control" which would have given Washington dominance over the mineral resources and industrial complex of the U.S.S.R. The third world war was supposed imminent and only to be avoided by yielding to Washington. Mao told me that "U.S. imperialism" was using the "anti-communist" slogan as a smokescreen behind which it took over the colonies and possessions of its allies. To attack the U.S.S.R. was final objective, but "not easy," and would be postponed until the U.S.A. won many lesser victories.

It was in this talk that Mao first developed the metaphor of the "paper tiger," a poetic way of stating an elementary principle of Marxism, that capitalism will inevitably disintegrate. All reactionaries, he said, are "paper tigers," terrible to look on but melting in the storms of history. He listed the Russian Tsar, the German Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek, and even the atom bomb.... All these were transient, only the people endure. Basically all power is with the people. "In the end the bomb will not destroy the people; the people will destroy the bomb." I was so impressed by these words that I used them later for a Christmas card.

"What is the strength of the imperialists?" he said. "It lies only in the unconsciousness of the people. The consciousness of the people is the basic question. Not explosives or weapons or atom bombs but the man who handles them. He is still to be educated." He doubted whether the atom bomb would again be used in warfare. Possibly "its great bursting over Hiroshima destroyed it. For the people of the world turned against it."

Learning From Mistakes

A second memorable talk was with Lu Ting-yi, head of propaganda, who gave several days to tell me the history of the Chinese Communist Party. To my surprise, much of it was a history of mistakes and what

was learnt from them. The Communists had spent two years discussing this in 1943-45 during the anti-Japanese war, in far-scattered units separated by Japanese lines. They had summed it up in April 1945 at their Seventh Party Congress, which forged the strategy for victory.

"The Chinese Communist Party was always heroic," said Lu, "but many mistakes were made by the leadership in getting experience. They were costly mistakes and they taught us to avoid such mistakes later."

What especially struck me was that the Communists took responsibility for all the mistakes, no matter by whose advice or treason they came. They did not blame the collapse of the Great Revolution in 1927, on the advice of Borodin, the Russian High Adviser, or even on the treason of Chiang Kai-shek who massacred the Communist allies. They, the Communists, were responsible if they took the wrong advice or if they failed to estimate Chiang's nature and handle him accordingly.

This entire approach was new to me. In America we were always "God's country," qualified to liberate and improve the world. In Russia there was always "the perfect system," spoiled till now by some personal devils. In China they "made mistakes," suffered by them, acknowledged and studied them, thus planned victory.

Here at last seemed credible history of the difficult advance of man.

In Russia and America

In March 1947, the Communists told me I must leave Yenan. They were evacuating their last capital and going into the hills where I was unable to go. Mao told me I might return "when we again have contact with the world." He thought it would be in about two years. He understated. In less than a year I met Chinese in Paris who told me the time was near for my return. "Events move faster than we thought." By autumn of 1948 I was in Moscow bound for China with a Chinese invitation to come to Manchuria and move south with the coming events. Five months I kept asking for my Soviet exit visa. Then, just as Chinese friends arrived who might secure my journey, the Russians arrested me as a "spy" and sent me out through Poland. Five days in jail I wondered what I had stepped on. I never knew.

Six years I lived in America; no Communists in the world would speak to me. Then Moscow "rehabilitated" me, by publishing that the charges had been "without grounds." Again an invitation came from China. This time it took three years' legal fight to get my American passport. I had it by spring of 1958. Ten years late!

I was 72 then, living in Los Angeles where I had more friends than anywhere else. I owned a town house, a summer lodge in the mountains, a winter cabin in the desert, a car and a driver's license to take myself about. I had income to live on for life. Should I go to China now?

I went to Moscow first, my second home for nearly thirty years. My husband's relatives urged me to stay. "Here you have always a home!" I was moved. I was even more moved when the Writers' Union made me their guest and sent me for a month to a rest home while they got back all the rubles I had lost at the deportation, and an order for a Moscow apartment again. "Would I care to choose it now?" I thanked them very sincerely but said: "Better wait till I return from Peking."

Could Peking have the magic Yenan had? Could I adjust to Chinese life at 72? Two months later I told my Chinese friends: "This is not a criticism of any other country, neither the U.S.A. nor the U.S.S.R. But I think the Chinese know better than anyone the way for man. I want to learn and write." They found an apartment for me in the Peace Committee's compound.

In Peking

In Peking I found the qualities that had drawn me to Yenan, but on wider scale. The keen minds and deep thoughts were operating now for a nation that held one-fourth of mankind. There was still the faith that ordinary men are greater than the powers of nature or the mechanisms of man's hands, and will master them all in the end. This was operating now to tame the rivers and rebuild the worn-out soils for one-fourth the people of earth. There was still the worldwide view. People came from a hundred nations to Peking and were received as equal partners in man's struggle to advance. They still held that victory depended not on the power of weapons but on awakening the consciousness of man.

Not much "personal adjustment" was needed. Chinese are also wise in daily details of life and work. They had planted me in a tree-grown compound, centrally located, with several buildings in which some 50 Chinese and half a dozen foreigners from five continents lived and worked on problems of world peace. None of them interfered with my work of writing what I chose, but all supplied contacts and intelligent talk. I had no housekeeping cares; a housekeeper, cook, and handy-man looked after the four apartments in one large house. A score of adorable children lived in the yard, expanding to 50 at weekends, when the full-time kindergarten contingent came home. All of them called me "grandma" but never intruded unless I invited. Thus I had social life at all levels but privacy when I chose. The only comparable life I had had in America was in Hull House or similar social centres; it was a kind of life I always liked.

I found myself growing younger, healthier, even better-tempered. I wrote four books in the first three years, a record never touched before. I went to Tibet — the only American woman who ever saw Lhasa, climbed the thirteen floors of the Potala Palace to the roof, saw the freeing of the serfs and the beginning of land reform. This increase in working ability I attribute partly to the stimulus Peking offers as a world capital, and partly to the courtesies of personal life in China, especially given to old age. I shrink now at the thought of travelling in the West, where old women are a dime a dozen, pushed about by everyone. In China "Old Lady" is a title!

"Power Is in the People"

In Peking as in Yenan, efforts are made to keep leadership close to the people, for the awakened consciousness of the people is the great source of power. New techniques are always being devised. Students from primary school through universities spend considerable periods working on farms or in factories to keep in touch with the people's life. Office workers and civil servants do

the same. My secretary takes a month each year, usually a few days at a time, to hoe corn or harvest wheat where needed. Central Committee Members and high officials too old for physical work, are expected to spend four months a year away from their offices in travelling the country.

Mao Tse-tung set the example in 1958, when he resigned as chief of state in order to be free from routine duties and have time to meet the people by travelling around the country. This is still his practice.

"Learning from mistakes" is a universal practice now. Any geological or medical team that returns from a field trip, or any other group that completes a task, at once holds discussion to criticize the work. Criticisms are basic and drastic. Nobody is supposed to take personal offence. Each person, in fact, is expected to criticize himself. Everyone, without exception, is supposed to try to improve himself towards becoming the kind of person that can live under communism. For communism is not held to depend solely on economic forms and on productivity, but on the consciousness of men.

If I ask Chinese friends today what is the chief problem, the chances are that they will not say "agriculture," or "industrialization" but "socialist education." How to keep the revolutionary spirit alive when the men who made the revolution pass? How to fight the tendency of all men and all revolutions to back-slide?

The Wider Loyalties

One becomes aware of a widening circle of loyalities, in which the greater includes and supersedes the less. An individual is judged by how he serves the community, but the community is expected to cherish the lives and talents of its individuals. The community in turn serves not only itself but the country. China herself must put the interests of the socialist camp above her own interests as a nation; this was the reason given for not exposing the details of Khrushchov's severe economic crack-down in 1960. The socialist camp, however, does not exist for its own enrichment but to serve the world's peoples. So, when questions of the peace and progress of the world's peoples are concerned, Chinese speak out, even against other members of the socialist camp.

China keeps her revolutionary spirit alive not only by contacts of leaders with workers and peasants, but also by sharing the struggles of oppressed peoples and nations the world over. From many lands they come to Peking, especially from peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America, in revolt against imperialist oppression, seeking knowledge and aid. China shares with them her own experience and learns in turn from them. China always considers this exchange a two-way street. The socialist lands, by their existence and experience, assist the colonial peoples' struggle for liberation; this struggle of colonial peoples against imperialism is a main force disintegrating imperialism and thus saving the socialist lands. They are thus equal allies in the onward march of man.

Any struggle in any part of the world that checks and defeats imperialism is seen by China as a force for world progress and a defence for world peace. This is the doctrinal point most at issue today. Are the Algerians, the south Vietnamese, the Angolans a force for world peace even if, in resisting imperialist aggression, they are driven to acts of war? China says flatly: "Yes!" Many people say the reverse and urge the "peaceful road to socialism." Others vacillate, and think the Algerians "excusable" but not a "force for peace." Many in the West fear that even a small war — some even think a strike — can escalate into world war.

Such people call China "belligerent," "against peaceful coexistence," "inciting war." Such charges are lies. The only statement Mao released for publication from his long talk with Edgar Snow two years ago said: "We do not want war. We hold that war should not be used as a means to settle disputes between nations." China developed the "Five Principles of Coexistence" before Khrushchov came to power and has followed them in her dealings with capitalist nations. Her boundary agreements with Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, Mongolia were generous; Pakistan boasted that China gave her "most of the fertile lands."

Nor is China against negotiations, even with imperialists; she has often urged an "Atom-free Zone" by negotiation with all the Asian and Pacific nations, including the United States. But Chinese do not believe that any such treaties are "guaranteed" by the signature of the imperialists or by any goodwill on their part. Only the constant pressure of the peoples will guarantee treaties; this pressure against imperialism must continue until imperialism is brought down. Only thus can world peace be finally secure.

The "peace forces" mentioned in the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declaration and Statement, include the socialist lands, the national-liberation movements, the workers' movements in capitalist lands and the general peace movements. This was jointly agreed by the Communist Parties of the world. But points at issue have come to me in letters. "Many peace movements refuse to denounce U.S. imperialism lest they alienate people," writes one. "The chief fear is that any revolution that uses arms may bring on nuclear war," writes another.

To this I reply that "any peace movement" depends on the "consciousness" of its members. Men in Britain who march against Polaris bases are marching against U.S. imperialism, but may not entirely realize it; their leaders should tell them. If the leaders deceive them into trusting Kennedy, they are going backward. China's position has been many times given, most recently in joint statement of chiefs of state of China and north Korea, June 23:

> **Today there can be no struggle for peace without a struggle against U.S. imperialism, the main force of aggression and war.**

Many people in the West think China does not realize the terrible nature of nuclear war, and treats it lightly. Mao has several times replied to foreign visitors that if he thought he could induce the imperialists to refrain from nuclear war by showing fear of it, he would at once tell the Chinese to be very much afraid; but he felt this would provoke rather than deter an imperialist strike.

In this context I recall Mao's statements in Yenan, at a time when many Western experts forecast nuclear war within ten years. Seventeen years have passed and in this time the Chinese liberated one-fourth of mankind, and Ho Chi Minh defeated the French in Indo-China and

revolutions succeeded in Korea, Cuba, Algeria. These revolutions changed the balance of world power, saved the U.S.S.R. from its long "capitalist encirclement," tripled the population of the socialist nations and opened the way for national-liberation movements in three continents.

ALL THESE REVOLUTIONS were won against an imperialism that wielded the nuclear bombs and threatened many times to use them.

Would the world be safer and more peaceful today if China had yielded in 1950 to MacArthur's atomic blackmail, and let the U.S. forces pass through Manchuria against the U.S.S.R.? Or if Ho Chi Minh had lifted the siege of Dien Bien Phu when Dulles twice offered the A-bomb to France? Or if Algerians had obeyed the French Communists who urged the "peaceful road"? Or if Cubans had feared to provoke the H-bombs only 90 miles away?

What Stopped the Use of the Bombs?

There were many "perfect targets." But a bomb dropped on Havana might have lost all Latin America to the United States. And bombs on populous Shanghai or beautiful ancient Peking or the Yellow River dykes, might well have "lost Asia." Seventeen years ago Mao said: "The people of the world turned against it." Is there not in this some truth? The people of the world are only partly conscious but they know enough to hate the nuclear bombs. When they are fully conscious, they will know how to end them. Is it not then true that "the basic question is the consciousness of the people"? To confuse the people's consciousness is the deadly sin.

Mao once said: "Humanity is only in its infancy." When it is full grown, what will it make of our world?

* * *

I myself come from the West and inherit its fears. I am never quite so confident as the Chinese. When I think of the billions of money spent for expert lying in foreign offices, general staffs and propaganda organs of imperialism, of the stockpiles of nuclear bombs that can many times **"overkill"** the population of our planet, and of men's tendencies to national and racial hates and to just plain back-sliding, I wonder if humanity will grow up fast enough to save itself from death.

But I know that the first essential to survival is to believe that you can survive. And next, to identify the enemy and to know your own mistakes and strength. And I take heart from the fact that the Pentagon, which boasts that it can "overkill" the planet, has not yet been able to take Korea or Cuba or Viet Nam or Laos, because of the complex pressures that get in the way. So the Chinese may be right in thinking that, as men grow steadily more conscious, they will master the forces of nature and the mechanisms of men's hands — even H-bombs — and the nature of man himself by the ordinary human powers of reason, courage, labour and collective struggle. At any rate the Chinese work at it. And that was why I came to China at the age of 72.

Sartre said it shorter and better when he came in 1955-56 and spoke on the Peking Radio, in words that came to me through two translations to this effect: "I come from a West that is increasingly concerned with the thought of death; I find here 650 million people entirely taken with the idea of life. This has brought something new into my own life. I shall never be the same as before." Many people can say this. I am one.

Pen Probes

New Delhi's "Great Debate"

HOWEVER helpful they may be for making large headlines at home and in the Western press New Delhi's cries of wolf — "India is about to be attacked" — cannot cover up the story of widespread corruption, and worsening economic conditions for the majority of Indians.

Last January the Indian daily, the *Statesman*, quoted a government planning commission report which admitted that "two-thirds of India's population now subsist at starvation level." More recently, according to a *Times of India* survey, the past year has seen a 40 per cent rise in living costs. It was against this background that the August meeting of Parliament, during which Nehru's 16-year rule for the first time was threatened by a no-confidence vote, took place.

Highlighting the meeting was the "Great Debate" in the Lower House between the Prime Minister and one of his bitter opponents, Dr. Lohia, a Socialist Party leader. In a wordy exchange Dr. Lohia swore that 60 per cent of the population lives on three annas (3 pence) a day. Mr. Nehru indignantly claimed 15 annas (about 1 shilling, 4 pence).

According to the London *Times*' man in New Delhi:

> What the Prime Minister had overlooked was that while the average income a head of population is about 15 annas a day (Rs. 300, about 22 pounds 10 shillings a year) about 1 per cent of the population earns nearly half of the total. That means that a huge section of India's masses must subsist on something well below 15 annas a day, and whether or not statistics support Dr. Lohia's claim that this accounts for 60 per cent of the population and that their income is about three annas a day a head, it is plain already that Dr. Lohia was more nearly right than the Prime Minister.

Evidence that Lohia was closer to the mark than Nehru turned up shortly after their exchange when the Indian Government itself officially cut the Prime Minister's figure of 15 annas in half.

There are those who would opt for a figure lower than that cited in this parliamentary quibbling. Whatever the exact amount is that most Indians have to live on, in the face of greatly increased arms expenditure and a 40 per cent cost of living rise, the old story of the poor

growing poorer and the rich growing richer (and more corrupt) is being more openly acknowledged in India.

On September 6 Dr. Lohia took up the cudgels again, armed with some lugubrious statistics. He warned that unless something was done to provide India's hungry millions with at least two square meals a day their hunger could turn into a mighty movement that would sweep away the Government. Reuters reported from the Indian capital on the same day that Lohia "maintained that 270 million Indians lived on less than four annas a day and between 100 and 150 million Indians had a daily income of less than two annas."

Meanwhile some light was being shed on corruption in high places. Reported *Newsweek* magazine on August 26: "Evidence of Congress corruption has been plentiful. The chief ministers of Kerala and Punjab have been charged with nepotism . . . the Orissa chief minister has been accused of misusing funds."

Two weeks earlier the most widely read newspaper in the country, the *Indian Express*, shook its editorial finger at some of the latest examples of blatant corruption involving officialdom:

> For ministers to preach austerity to the people while practising very little of it themselves, and to talk in virtuous indignation of tax-dodging capitalists and profiteers while many of their own near relatives . . . have waxed wealthy is nothing but hypocritical cant. . . .

The Indian Parliament is not the place where mention is made of the causes for the people's poverty — hundreds of thousands of people in Calcutta alone have only the streets for their homes. The few disclosures of widespread corruption scarcely tell the story. The gulf between the few wealthy and the abject poverty of the vast majority of the Indian people grows wider. Nevertheless, ranking members of the Establishment unashamedly quibble over the few pennies the people manage to get for their daily livelihood.

Nero fiddled while Rome burned. In the case of India, future historians may well write that Nehru quibbled.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, described the signing of the treaty as an event of great significance in the friendly relations between the two countries. The Chinese people, he added, greatly admired the firm stand taken by Guinea in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and its just attitude towards many international issues. "We treasure and value highly the friendship and support shown to our country by the Government and people of Guinea headed by President Sekou Toure," declared the Vice-Premier. He expressed the wish that the unbreakable friendship between the two countries would bear still richer fruits.

National Minority College Graduates

1963 is no ordinary year in the history of Chinese education. This summer a record number of students — 200,000 all told — graduated from China's colleges and universities. And 54 per cent of this total — the highest percentage ever recorded — were graduates of worker or peasant origin.

This summer, too, a record number of more than 7,000 college graduates were young men and women of China's minority peoples. This figure, incidentally, is more than ten times the total number of minority students trained in all the scores of years of reactionary rule before 1949. Coming from the Hui, Chuang, Uighur, Miao, Tibetan, Korean, Mongolian, Yao and 23 other minority nationalities, these new graduates went in for science, engineering, agronomy, medicine, literature, education, physical culture and the arts. Quite a number of them studied at such well-known institutes as Peking University, Tsinghua University and the Peking Medical College. Now the great majority of them are going back to their native counties to use the knowledge they have learnt to promote the advance of their peoples.

The minority peoples of China enjoy full equality in education as in every other field. All colleges and universities have thrown their doors open to them since liberation, while many institutes have been set up specially for them in areas where they live in compact communities.

There was not a single college in Inner Mongolia before the liberation of this region in 1947; today the minority peoples living there have over a dozen local institutes of higher learning. This year, some 2,500 students of these institutes have graduated; among them are Mongolians, Huis, Tahurs, Owenkes and Koreans. In Yunnan, another multinational province to the southwest, nearly 1,500 students of 16 national minorities are studying in the province's six colleges and institutes. This summer, 350 college students from the Yi, Pai, Tai, Nahsi, Lisu, Hani and other minority peoples graduated. And in Sinkiang to the far northwest, 250 students — 80 of them women — belonging to the Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tatar, Sibo and other nationalities graduated this summer from local colleges. Most of them are sons or daughters of peasants or herdsmen who, in the old society, were too poor even to dream of sending their children to school. Some of the graduates are the first of their own nationalities to become specialists in their fields. The Sibos in Sinkiang, a small minority of some 12,000 people, now have four graduates from the region's mining institute specializing in ore-dressing and mechanical and electrical engineering.

To help them in their studies, all colleges and universities give national minority students special tutoring, while many appoint special instructors to give them extra lessons. During their years in college, they receive government stipends for food and pocket money, besides special grants for clothes and books. It is under such care and help from the Communist Party and People's Government that China's emancipated minority peoples have today come into their own. They are advancing in one rank with their Han brothers and sisters, and making their contribution to the common endeavour to build China into a strong and prosperous socialist country.

ROUND THE WORLD

Laos

Behind the Vientiane Incident

Washington's dirty hands are clearly discernible in the flagrant assault which took place in Vientiane early on the morning of September 9. The troops which surrounded the Neo Lao Haksat delegation's residences and attacked its security guards with grenades, rifles and machine-guns were those of the Savannakhet forces, but the wire-pullers behind-the-scenes were the U.S. military personnel in mufti who throng the city.

To cover up their crime, Washington and its stooges are trying to claim that it was the Neo Lao Haksat security guards who fired first. But this was so obvious a lie that even the AFP reporting it on November 11 sounded unimpressed. Moreover, there was ample evidence to show that the whole incident had been carefully planned beforehand. For one thing, even before the incident took place, Nosavan had rushed up many battalions of his troops to Vientiane from Savannakhet. For another, these troops also encircled the residences of the Neo Lao Haksat ministers and even the embassies of some of the socialist countries. The Neo Lao Haksat security guards, one company strong and vastly outnumbered, did not in fact fire a single shot, even though they were wantonly attacked and one of their members was killed.

The situation in Laos has greatly worsened since Washington and its stooges launched their unprovoked attacks on units of the Neo Lao Haksat and the genuine neutralists last April. Fighting has continued despite repeated attempts by the latter to seek a solution through peaceful negotiations. Recently, after his proposal for talks with Prince Souvanna Phouma in the Plain of Jars had fallen through, Prince Souphanouvong had sent to Vientiane the Laotian Minister of Information, Publicity and Tourism and Neo Lao Haksat General Secretary Phoumi Vongvichit to negotiate with Prince Phouma and work out ways to normalize the situation in the Plain of Jars.

Washington was far from pleased with these sincere and patient efforts of the Neo Lao Haksat. Its reply to Vongvichit's peace mission was to resort to even more reckless manoeuvres. While Vongvichit was in Vientiane, Nosavan simply refused to meet him and his troops intensified their "mopping-up" campaigns against the Neo Lao Haksat units. The aim of the Vientiane incident was, therefore, to sabotage his peace mission in Vientiane, to force out of the city the Neo Lao Haksat ministers and their security guards, and finally to wreck the Laotian Government of National Union. It was, in short, part of the overall U.S. imperialist scheme to undermine the Geneva agreements and reduce Laos to a U.S. colony even at the price of full-scale civil war.

In the face of this grave development, Prince Souphanouvong has issued a statement protesting against the provocations of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and calling on the Laotian people to unite to frustrate the U.S. disruptive moves. Expressing support for this stand, the Chinese Government in its statement of September 13 has called for an immediate stop to U.S. intervention and sabotage in Laos and to all acts which endanger the freedom and safety of the Neo Lao Haksat personnel in Vientiane and which undermine the Laotian Government of National Union. As a signatory to the Geneva agreements, it declares, China cannot be indifferent to repeated U.S. violations of the agreements and to aggravation of the Laotian situation.

Japan

Justice for Matsukawa Victims

When on September 12 the Japanese Supreme Court announced under popular pressure the verdict of "not guilty" on the victims of the Matsukawa case, it was indeed a joyous victory for the 20 courageous defendants and their numerous supporters and sympathizers; and, what is more, it constituted an important victory for the larger Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The Matsukawa case was a political frame-up manufactured on the eve of the Korean war. It was a signal for the large-scale repression of the Japanese people's movement by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. Using a train derailment in Matsukawa, Fukushima Prefecture, on August 17, 1949, as their pretext, the Japanese police arrested 20 trade unionists and workers, fabricated false evidence and testimonies and resorted to torture to incriminate their victims. In December 1950, the district court of Fukushima sentenced some of the defendants to death, and some to long-term or life imprisonment. Meanwhile, the reactionary government under U.S. stooge Yoshida used the incident to launch a big anti-communist campaign — dismissing more than 100,000 national railway workers, discharging Japanese C.P. members and trade union activists from various enterprises and in many other ways persecuting the Japanese Communist Party and working class.

The Japanese people, however, were not cowed by these fascist measures. Year after year, they organized massive campaigns to expose the Matsukawa frame-up and prove the innocence of the defendants. With the Japanese C.P. in the van, the popular organizations joined forces to fight for the defendants' release and link it up with other struggles against U.S. imperialism. In all, more than three million people signed the appeal for the release of the defendants; several hundred thousand took part in demonstrations demanding their freedom; about 25,000 people participated in public investigations of the case; and more than 1,000 advocates and solicitors worked for the defence council. The defendants themselves did not only fight their case in the courts; they wrote 130,000 letters from prison to outsiders to make the truth known. A popular campaign which embraced so many people and lasted so long was unprecedented in Japan. After 14 years the defendants have finally been vindicated, despite Washington's pressure on the Japanese judicial authorities and the fresh false charges concocted against them by U.S. stooges.

Justice has triumphed after a prolonged and hard-fought struggle. It testifies to the strength and vitality of the Japanese people's movement. It is bound to give fresh impetus to their current struggle against the

entry into Japanese ports of U.S. nuclear submarines and the stationing of U.S. nuclear-capable F-105Ds.

The "Two Chinas" Plot

Where Silence Speaks Volumes

The Soviet note to the U.S. declaring that the U.S.S.R. "does not recognize" the Chiang Kai-shek gang's signature on the partial test ban treaty came rather late in the day. It was handed to the State Department on September 6 — exactly two weeks after Chiang's "ambassador" to Washington had signed the tripartite treaty on behalf of his master.

Posing as a sovereign state, the Chiang gang signed the Moscow treaty on August 23 as a "fully-fledged participant," together with the Soviet Government. Yet in the face of this political fraud the Soviet leaders chose to do nothing. This amounted to acquiescing in the U.S. "two Chinas" scheme and selling out their ally China and the interests of the whole socialist camp. It was only after the September 1 statement of the Chinese government spokesman and August 30 editorial of *Renmin Ribao* (see *Peking Review*, No. 36) had exposed and criticized this noxious act of betrayal that the Soviet leaders finally felt obliged to cover up their wrong. They issued the non-recognition note after a fortnight of silent support for the "two Chinas" scheme!

The Soviet note of September 6 reaffirms that the U.S.S.R. recognizes only one Chinese state and that only the Government of the Chinese People's Republic represents China. This is all to the good. It remains to be seen, however, whether or not the Soviet leaders will continue to help their friends in Washington to perpetrate the "two Chinas" fraud.

Red Cross Centenary

A Demarche Thwarted

Drumming up buyers for the fake peace move that is the Moscow tripartite treaty, Soviet representatives extended their publicity campaign to the Centenary Congress of the International Red Cross in Geneva (August 28-September 10). Their plans, however, were brought to grief.

On one occasion, the Soviet delegation egged on the Czechoslovak delegation to propose interpolating in a resolution the sentence that "the Red Cross should express great satisfaction with the tripartite treaty." The Yugoslav delegation jumped at the idea and seconded the proposal. The Albanian delegation spoke and showed then and there that the treaty was a smokescreen to befuddle the world's peoples. China's delegate, too, pointed out that the treaty could not bring peace and security to mankind. As a result, that odious piece of panegyrics was not included in the resolution put to the vote.

On another occasion, the Soviet delegation itself submitted a "declaration" eulogizing the tripartite treaty. The Chinese delegation, while unmasking once again the fraudulent Moscow deal, proposed a resolution for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, calling on the Red Cross of all countries to urge their governments to take steps towards that end. Thanks to the stand-up fight put up by the Korean, Albanian and Chinese delegations and the opposition of others, the Soviet scheme again fell with a thud.

Another revealing incident occurred during the centenary proceedings. The Hungarian delegation tabled a resolution singing paeans to the experience gained by the International Committee of the Red Cross (I.C.R.C.) during the Caribbean crisis last year. A French resolution also praised the I.C.R.C.'s activities during the "Cuban crisis." Both these resolutions were transparent attempts to expand the realm of activities of the I.C.R.C. to serve the political aims of a few big powers.

The Cuban delegation came out against lauding the I.C.R.C. "international inspection" agreed on by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. during the Caribbean crisis but which Cuba, as the nation chiefly concerned, had not accepted. Despite the strong opposition of Cuba, supported by China and Korea, the Soviet, Czechoslovak, G.D.R. and Hungarian delegations voted for the French draft.

THE PASSING SHOW

Toys for Big Boys . . .

The President of the United States apparently needs stronger medicine than the deal in Moscow to allay his nuclear tremors. Scarcely had the ink dried on the test ban treaty before Kennedy pleaded for a beefing up of his personal air fleet. Although he is the proud possessor of ten helicopters for his own use, Kennedy began clamouring for a brace of additional twin jet-engines "in the event of a threatened nuclear attack."

Reporting the reaction of one aghast U.S. Senator, the *Times* of London on September 2 noted that Kennedy's personal transport already consisted of the following: a Boeing 707-320 jet which had cost $8 million, three other less "sumptuous" Boeings and a Douglas DC-6B, as well as the usual fleet of limousines, a special railway car, two yachts and a racing yawl.

and Little Boys

The 19-month-old son of King Hussein of Jordan and heir to his shaky throne has acquired a new toy — a six-wheeled miniature armoured car. The latest thing for a future Middle Eastern tyrant and imperialist stooge, the camouflaged training vehicle is equipped with an electric motor, a radio transmitter and — an escape hatch.

ART

Pictures of Frontline Fighters

Twelve artists from Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai and Kiangsu Province went last spring to live and work for a time among the troops who defend the coastal front in Fukien Province. They did many sketches there and brought back much raw material for future creative work. On their return to Peking, the Union of Chinese Artists, which sponsored their trip, gave a summer exhibition of 240 of their sketches. Called "Spring on the Coastal Front," this collection of sketches of frontier life in Fukien attracted much attention both because of the interest of its subject-matter and the freshness and vitality of the sketches themselves. Below, Yu Feng, well-known woman artist, shares with you her impressions of the show. — Ed.

In the past twelve months, news kept coming in from coastal areas in Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung of how armed U.S.-Chiang agents, in groups large and small, were wiped out one after another as soon as they landed. The coastline there is thousands of kilometres long. How was it possible to catch these intruders? Who are these frontier guards who are doing so thorough a job?

The sketches at the "Spring on the Coastal Front Exhibition" give some answers to these questions.

Keen Pride in Their Work

Firstly, the frontier guards take the keenest pride in their work and the life that goes with it. This shines out in the sketches. Some of the islands were never inhabited until the frontier guards arrived. Now even these formerly desolate islets have been turned into frontline homes, immaculately kept.

Tunnels, trenches, observation posts and barracks are decorated with the greatest care. As at buildings and park entrances in famous beauty spots, there is often a wooden signboard inscribed in good calligraphy hung over the entrance of dwellings or dugouts and pebbled paths lined with flowers and grass leading up to them. "Heroes' Home" is a favourite inscription. One exhibit shows two soldiers "writing" eight Chinese characters which mean: "Defend the Island, Make the Island Like Home" with sea shells on a lawn before the barracks. Another painting shows a small house standing at the foot of a cliff against the background of the sea. In the foreground are piglets rooting around and chickens looking for food — it is a field kitchen. The artists happened to spend their Spring Festival at a post so there are several paintings showing the soldiers there making and posting up multi-coloured paper lanterns and other decorations. Many lively pencil drawings give glimpses of the daily life of the frontier guards — doing military training, doing farm or other construction work, mending clothes, rehearsing amateur shows, and so on.

The frontier guards show their love for their second homes in other ways too. Many demobbed men make trips back to their old island stations during their vacations and bring with them vegetable seeds and tree saplings from their native towns. Some have asked that their sons be sent to the same islands when it is their youngsters' turn for military service.

The frontier troops lead a busy, bustling life as well as keeping in peak readiness for an attack that may come at any time. We are reminded of this by a picture of an observation post where soldiers have their binoculars trained attentively on the enemy. A big sign "Silence!" is written on the wall, where some aspiring mural artist has also drawn a humorous-looking waterfowl. Other sketches show the frontier guards on duty; they have the faces of men determined not to let a single enemy slip through. One of the artists told me how once he and a young messenger were walking at night along the seashore. It was so dark that he himself could see nothing and hear nothing save the pounding of the breakers against the shore. Then the young messenger suddenly stopped. He had discovered something in the pitch black sky. After peering at it for a while, he said that it was a kite. Not only that: judging by the way the wind was blowing, the time and the place, he could tell from which direction it had come and where it was going. This came as something of a surprise to the artist, who had thought this quiet and rather shy companion a mere boy.

Coaching a Militiaman *Pencil sketch by Wu Yun*

"Kite Girls"

Life at the front is a heroic life. Whether it is an ordinary soldier, a fisherman, a people's militiaman or a girl who sends off propaganda kites to the enemy — all are keenly defence-conscious. Every man, woman or child seizes every possible opportunity to do propaganda work among the enemy. They all know that to win over one more enemy soldier press-ganged by the reactionaries is to save one more countryman. Many sketches in the exhibition show soldiers returning from work carrying not only tools but also a megaphone. As like as not a cannon at the front will lob not a shell but a canister of propaganda leaflets into the enemy lines. "Kite girls" fly kites carrying propaganda over to enemy-occupied islands. One traditional-style Chinese painting entitled *The Motherland Is Calling* shows a group of children launching a cluster of propaganda balloons over to the opposite side.

At the front relations between the army and the people are like those between members of one family. Here in these sketches we see tough, strong fishermen and colourfully dressed fisherwomen carrying arms while working; soldiers and peasants work together in the fields; nurses of the P.L.A. shell oysters as they talk with the old folk of a peasant family; a

Rehearsing

Pencil sketch by Ah Lao

group of girls is washing clothes for the troops by the river. . . .

Artists Welcomed

The artists were welcomed with the utmost hospitality there. The comradeship they received was an education to them. Yang Yung-ching, who often does illustrations for children's books, told me of the following incident. He caught cold at the front and the comrades insisted that he go to the hospital serving their frontier post. It was there that he became even more aware of the family-like relations between people and army. It was Spring Festival time. He was pressed to accept gifts just like the other hospitalized soldiers. This short episode impressed upon him that an artist could not remain a passive bystander in this life. "I thought then that if I were a soldier, I would certainly fight more heroically when I returned to my fighting post. I'm not a soldier, but an artist, so I made a resolution to do better drawings in the future." He was true to his word. In the short time remaining after he came out of hospital, he made quite a few pictures including a woodcut *Leaving the Hospital*. When he came back to Peking, all his colleagues said he looked much younger and fresher, that he had "brought back the spirit of the front."

This exhibition and these facts are eloquent proof of the truth of Mao Tse-tung's teachings on art and literature — that artists and writers can only improve and remould themselves by living among and serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, having close and living contacts with the people; that they must not be just passive observers of life, but really take a vital part in life as our soldiers do. Only then can they discover endless sources of fresh inspiration and sustenance for their creative work.

MUSIC

Chinese Pianist for Cuba

Li Min-chiang, 27-year-old Chinese pianist, is on his way to Cuba to give a number of recitals. Educated at the Shanghai and Central (Peking) Conservatories of Music, Li is one of the first group of fine young pianists trained in China after liberation. He made his debut on the international concert stage in 1957 in Prague where he won the third prize at the Third International Smetana Piano Competition. The next year, he won his biggest success by carrying off the first prize at the First International George Enescu Piano Competition held in Bucharest. In 1960, he placed fourth at the Sixth International Chopin Piano Contest in Warsaw.

Li Min-chiang as an executant brings out the most delicate shades of musical meaning but at all times holds great reserves of power at his command. He is at his best in large, philosophical works, especially tragic ones. On his current tour, he will play Beethoven's *Sonata No. 8 in C Minor* (Pathetique), Op. 13; Chopin's *Sonata No. 2 in B-Flat Minor*, Op. 35 and *Polonaise in A-Flat Major*, Op. 53; Ravel's *Gaspard de la nuit* (three pieces); three Rachmaninov *Preludes* (Op. 3 No. 2, Op. 23 Nos. 2 and 5); and *Danza Malaguena* by the Cuban pianist-composer Ernesto Lecuona. He will also introduce several Chinese compositions to Cuban audiences, including two delightful short pieces by Ho Lu-ting *(Soirée* and *The Shepherd's Flute)* and *Uighur Dance* by Ting Shan-teh. Ho Lu-ting is the director and Ting Shan-teh, a vice-director of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music at which Li Min-chiang is a piano instructor.

SHORT NOTES

Korean Film Week. One of the many Chinese activities in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic has been the opening of a Korean Film Week in 10 major Chinese cities starting from Sept. 8. The *Red Propagandist*, a deeply impressive film about Korea's fast-changing countryside which millions of Chinese saw during its recent first run, is showing again for those who missed it the first time or who want to see it again. Five other new features — *Woman Teacher, Triumph of the Times, The Factory Is My University, New Spring,* and *The Crew of the "Seagull"* — depict various aspects of life in Korea today. They give intimate and revealing glimpses of the new-spirited socialist people and the ordinary but heroic feats they are accomplishing under the general line for building socialism which is known as the Flying Horse Movement. Like the *Propagandist*, they have absorbing plots; the directing and acting are excellent.

* * *

Exhibitions:

The Works of Ghanaian Artist Prof. E.V. Asihene. At Zhongshan Park. Oil paintings, water-colours, gouaches, and sculpture. From Sept. 7-21.

* * *

Sketches of the Frontier by People's Liberation Army artists Liu Lun, Huang Chou, Kang Tung, and others. This exhibition, scheduled to close on Sept. 22, is showing in Beihai Park.

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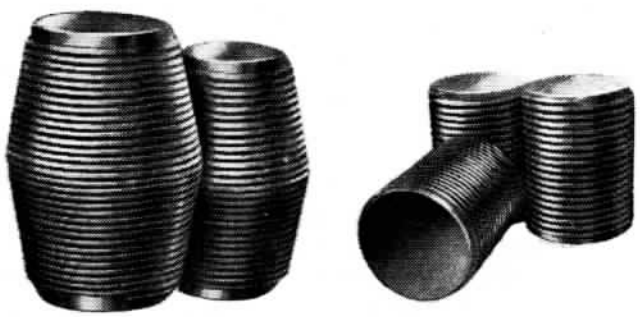

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