

PEKING REVIEW

19

May 8, 1964

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報

Seven Letters Exchanged Between Central Committees Of C.P.C. and C.P.S.U.

(p. 7).

The Nation Celebrates May Day

(p. 3).

Lessons From the Brazilian Coup

Renmin Ribao editorial on the recent reactionary
coup d'etat in Brazil (p. 29).

Highest Unclimbed Peak Conquered

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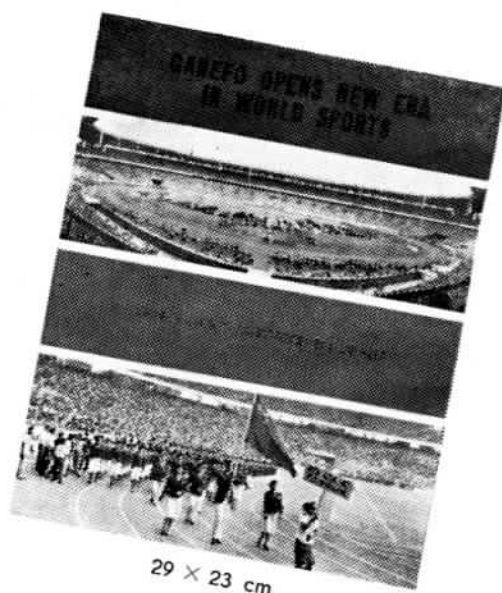
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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

May 8, 1964 Vol. VII No. 19

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| THE WEEK | 3 |
| ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS | |
| Seven Letters Exchanged Between the Central Committees of the Com- munist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union | 7 |
| No Violation of Cuba's Sovereignty! — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial | 28 |
| Lessons From the Reac- tionary Military Coup in Brazil — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial | 29 |
| U.S. Schemings in Laos | 33 |
| Letter of the Viet Nam Workers' Party to All Fraternal Parties | 34 |
| M.H. Williams on Meeting of Communist and Work- ers' Parties | 35 |
| Jacques Grippa Condemns C.P.S.U. Leadership's New Splitting Activities | 35 |
| Highest Unclimbed Peak Conquered | 37 |
| ROUND THE WORLD | 38 |

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Seven letters exchanged between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were published.

- May Day — International Labour Day — was celebrated throughout the nation.

- *Renmin Ribao* published the letter from the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam to all fraternal Parties, proposing that necessary preparations be made for a conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties.

- *Renmin Ribao* in its May 5 editorial declared that U.S. imperialism must not violate Cuba's sovereignty.

On April 30 it published the editorial "Lessons From the Reactionary Military Coup in Brazil." In its May 1 editorial it condemned new U.S. plots in Laos.

- A Chinese mountaineering expedition conquered Mt. Shisha Pangma (8,012 metres) in Tibet.

- A government delegation from Kenya is visiting China.

- The Albanian women's delegation led by Vito Kapo received a rousing welcome at a mass meeting held in the capital.

- Over 800,000 people visited the Chinese Economic and Trade Exhibition in Tokyo which closed last week after a successful 21-day run.

- The Chinese press gave reports of:

- an article appearing in the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit* on April 7, pointing out that the modern revisionists are joining up with the Social-Democrats on the road of degeneration.

- a statement by M.H. Williams, President of the Communist Party of New Zealand, saying that the cessation of polemics can now only result from a mutually acceptable agreement and that the Chinese Communist Party and other Parties have the right to complete their replies to the attacks already made.

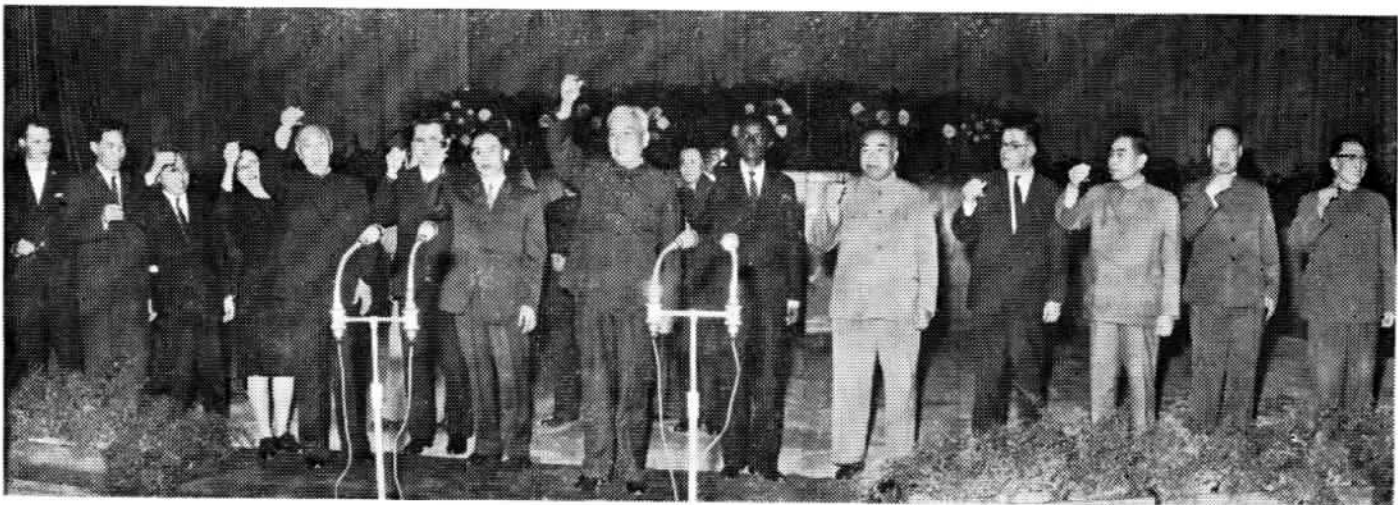
- three articles in issue No. 12 of *Rote Fahne*, a fortnightly founded by the Austrian Marxist-Leninists, repudiating Khrushchov's revisionism and pointing out that the reactionary coup in Brazil has exposed the myth-makers of "peaceful competition" and that "goulash" cannot replace socialist revolution.

May Day 1964

May Day, the day of solidarity of the international working class, was joyously celebrated throughout China. Messages of greetings were sent by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions to the World Federation of Trade Unions and trade union organizations of the socialist countries and of other lands the world over, pledging solidarity and wish-

ing them fresh successes in the cause of building socialism, and in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, against monopoly capital and for social progress.

The working people of the nation celebrated their own festival with gusto. They saw around them the great results of their past efforts and a prospering situation at home



Toasting international working-class solidarity at the May Day reception

which they had helped bring about with their hard work, their revolutionary drive and creative initiative in production. *Renmin Ribao* said in its May Day editorial: "Since the beginning of this year, the workers, peasants and other working people of our country have made new, outstanding contributions in the socialist revolution and socialist construction." The editorial praised the efforts already made by members of the rural people's communes and workers on the state farms to get a good, all-round harvest this year. Workers in industry and transport also had made a good beginning towards overall fulfilment and over-fulfilment of this year's economic plan. Noting that the first quarter of 1964 had seen a marked increase in the total value of industrial output compared to the corresponding period of last year, the editorial said that there was a general upswing in the output of all major industrial goods, coupled with a rise in quality and variety and a further reduction in costs and the consumption of raw materials. "A new upsurge in agricultural and industrial production is taking shape and developing," said the editorial.

May Day Reception

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and eleven other mass organizations gave a reception on May Day eve, in the Great Hall of the People, to celebrate the international working people's festival. Guests

from all over the world were present. Among the Chinese leaders who attended were Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier; Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee and Vice-Premier. Before the reception ended, Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee, and Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee, joined the celebration. They were given a great ovation.

Among the distinguished guests present were E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist); Thadde Siryuyumunsi, President of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Burundi; Harushige Matsushima, Member of the Presidium of the Japanese Communist Party's Central Committee; Jack Manson, Member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand; Vito Kapo, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and President of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union; R. Maladi, Indonesian Minister of Sports and President of the Council of the Games

of the New Emerging Forces; and Dr. Sudjono Pusponogoro, Indonesian Minister of National Scientific Research.

Welcoming the guests, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions Liu Ning-I spoke of the excellent international and domestic situation. On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, Government and people, Premier Chou En-lai extended a warm welcome to friends from the five continents. Said the Premier: "We are grateful to you for bringing us the deep friendship of the people of your countries. We are grateful for the great support your people have given us. A new upsurge has appeared in the struggle of the world's people against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. The united front against U.S. imperialism is steadily expanding. We should unite still more closely and continue to fight for the victory of our common cause." The Premier proposed a toast to the cause of emancipation of the international working class, the cause of the liberation of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, the friendship and solidarity of the people of all countries and world peace. The band then played the *Internationale*, while guests and hosts clinked glasses and exchanged festival greetings.

Celebrations in Peking

Three million people in the capital turned out to celebrate International

Labour Day with friends from various countries. City parks and squares that day presented colourful scenes. They resounded to the singing of revolutionary songs. The great crowds were treated to performances by workers' groups and professional troupes. Children enjoyed the exploding of rockets and the crackling bursts of firecrackers. Despite a morning drizzle the crowds began to pour into the parks at an early hour. Many came in groups carrying banners and slogans, shouting as they marched: "All forces opposing U.S. imperialism, unite!" "U.S. imperialism, get out of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and Oceania!" "We will liberate Taiwan! Yankees, get out!"

At about nine o'clock, the sky began to brighten and soon a warm May day sun shone down on the city decked for the holiday. Tien An Men Square, the heart of the capital, looked magnificent. Over its central gate was a portrait of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. On either side of the square were mounted large portraits of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, while over it floated huge red balloons carrying streamers bearing the words: "Hail International Labour Day!" "Workers of all lands, unite!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!"

The grounds of the Working People's Palace of Culture was filled with holiday-makers. Here steel, coal, engineering, textile and other industrial workers performed plays depicting their latest achievements in production and their solidarity with the workers and other people throughout the world in the struggle against imperialism. When Liu Shao-chi, Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and other leaders came and made their way through the park among the workers, thunderous applause marked their progress. Nearby Zhongshan, Jingshan and Beihai Parks were scenes of equal gaiety. A record number of amateur troupes took part in the merry-making, and tens of thousands of workers, peasants, students and office employees danced and sang together with their foreign guests to the

accompaniment of accordions and other musical instruments. Amidst the ancient cypresses and lilacs in Jingshan Park bobbed the heads of tens of thousands of cheerful children wearing red scarves and garlands of flowers. A chorus made up of several hundred children sang under trees festooned with balloons and streamers. Students of the secondary school of the Central Conservatory of Music performed throughout the morning for adult visitors and other young friends. Before a bed of variegated flowers, Young Pioneers of this school greeted Premier Chou and other leaders with a rendering of: *We Are the Successors to the Building of Communism!*

International Solidarity

Everywhere, in the parks and square, guests and trade unionists from foreign lands were cheered by the holiday-makers. Some watched the performances and other entertainments with the Chinese audiences, others joined in the singing of revolutionary songs or exchanged greetings as fellow fighters in the great cause of the emancipation of the world's toilers.

In the evening, a million Peking citizens and foreign friends took part in the carnival in the floodlit Tien An Men Square and Changan Boulevard which runs through it. Liu Shao-chi, Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders spent a happy evening with foreign guests on the rostrum atop Tien An Men, watching the people dancing and the colourful fireworks display.

On May 2, visiting trade union delegations and representatives from more than 20 countries and regions met in the Peking Hotel at a get-together. They enjoyed a rich programme of songs, dances and acrobatics. Many foreign friends also gave performances, singing the militant revolutionary songs of their people.

Chairman Liu Receives Guests

On May 2, Chairman Liu Shao-chi received the members of the Vietnamese group studying water conservancy led by Ha Ke Tan, Minister

of Water Conservancy, and members of the Vietnamese cultural delegation led by Pham Ngoc Thuan, Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

On May 3, Chairman Liu received R. Maladi, Indonesian Minister of Sports, and S. Pusponogoro, Indonesian Minister of National Scientific Research.

Earlier, on April 30, Chairman Liu had a friendly talk with Thadde Siryuyumunsi, President of the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Burundi, and members of the delegation he led. A university and a cotton mill were among the many places of interest in the capital visited by the Burundi guests.

Banquet for Indonesian Friends

Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife gave a banquet on May 2 in the Great Hall of the People in honour of the Indonesian guests now in Peking. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Nieh Jung-chen also attended.

Among the more than 130 Indonesian guests present were R. Maladi, President of the Council of the GANEFO and Minister of Sports, and his wife; Dr. Sudjono Pusponogoro, Minister of National Scientific Research, and his wife; Werdojo, Second Chairman of the Indonesian Party, and his wife; Mrs. Winoto, wife of the First Chairman of the Indonesian Party. Djawoto, Indonesian Ambassador to China, and his wife were also present.

Toasting the health of all the Indonesian friends and the friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples, Premier Chou En-lai said that this happy get-together symbolized the unity of the newly emerging forces in the world and the solidarity of the revolutionary people all over the world fighting against imperialism.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, expressed thanks to President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government and people for their warm welcome and hospitality to the Chinese delegation which at-

tended the Preparatory Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference. "The brilliant success of the Preparatory Meeting," he said, "is an important new victory for the people of Asia and Africa and another defeat for the imperialist and colonialist forces." The Vice-Premier reaffirmed that the Chinese people would continue to work with the other participating countries to ensure the success of the Second Asian-African Conference to be convened next March.

Minister Maladi spoke on behalf of all the Indonesian friends present. "The great force of unity between our two countries can never be undermined by any force or any country," he declared. Referring to the imperialists' sabotage of the newly emerging forces, he stressed the need for the Indonesian and Chinese peoples to support each other and carry forward their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Kenyan Guests Arrive

The government delegation of Kenya led by A.O. Odinga, Minister of Home Affairs, received a warm welcome on its arrival in Peking on May 3. The delegation has come for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

On the tarmac to greet the guests were Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien. More than 1,000 Peking citizens gathered at the airport, waving the national flags of China and Kenya in greeting and beating welcoming drums and cymbals.

On April 5, Premier Chou En-lai gave a banquet in honour of the Kenyan guests. That same day, Vice-Premier Chen Yi held talks with them.

Refuting New Delhi's Slanders

New Delhi is again at its old game of rumour-mongering. This time it is making slanderous charges against China in connection with the assassination of the Prime Minister of Bhutan. According to the Indian Information Service, a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said on April 15 that in any complications in border areas India

inevitably suspected a Chinese hand and that the alleged assassin of Bhutan's Prime Minister was known to have some connection with the Chinese.

Commenting on these remarks, a spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry denounced New Delhi for sinking so low in its lies about China and said that its rumour-mongering would only further expose itself. "In hastily concocting this big lie," said the spokesman, "and venomously slandering China, followed by even more absurd fabrications in the Indian press, the Indian Government obviously aims at imputing the crime to China, sowing discord and undermining the friendly relations between China and Bhutan." But, he continued, China and Bhutan have always lived together in harmony and no one can disrupt the friendly relations between them. "The Chinese Government and people," he said, "express their profound sympathy and condolences over the untimely death of His Excellency Jigme Dorji, the Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Bhutan, who was assassinated owing to his efforts to make Bhutan independent and sovereign and free his country from foreign control."

Undermining Working-Class Unity

An unheard-of action damaging to the solidarity of the international working class was taken by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union when it cancelled the invitations for an exchange of delegations for the May Day celebrations.

On April 4, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions invited the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union to send a delegation for the May Day celebrations and a friendly visit to China. It received an invitation from the Soviet trade union organization on April 7 to send a delegation to the Soviet Union. But on April 23, I.S. Scherbakov, counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in China, told the department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerned to inform the All-China Feder-

ation of Trade Unions that the Soviet side had rejected the Chinese invitation and cancelled its own invitation as well.

To safeguard the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet workers and peoples and to strengthen unity between the trade unions, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions sent a cable on April 25 to the Soviet trade union organization. The cable said: "The unexpected unilateral cancelling of the May Day invitation and severance of the traditional friendly May Day visits between the trade unions of the two countries by the Soviet trade union organization are unprecedented in the history of the relations of the trade unions of China and the Soviet Union. This runs counter to the common desire of the workers and peoples of the two countries and is harmful to the unity of the international working class." It reiterated that its April 4 invitation was still valid and that a Soviet trade union delegation would be welcome. There was, however, no reply from the Soviet side.

Sino-Pakistan Air Link

The first jet passenger plane from Pakistan touched down at Shanghai International Airport at 4:34 p.m. on April 29. Scheduled flights on the China-Pakistan air route had started.

This new air service has opened up broad prospects for closer Sino-Pakistan co-operation and Asian-African solidarity. Its inauguration has been hailed as "an event of major importance," and "a milestone in the history of friendly relations between the two countries."

Shanghai airport was decked out with the national flags of China and Pakistan to celebrate the inaugural flight. Huge streamers strung over the airport building hailed the friendship between the two countries. More than a thousand Shanghai citizens cheered the arrival of the airliner with its passengers from Pakistan. These included Air Commodore Nur Khan, Chief Administrator of Civil Aviation and Managing Director of Pakistan Inter-

(Continued on p. 36)

Seven Letters Exchanged Between the Central Committees of the C.P.C. And the C.P.S.U.

The documents of the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. published by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. on April 3 this year and the "Pravda" editorial of the same date divulged information from the letters exchanged between the Central Committees of the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. since November 1963 and distorted the facts, in an attempt to delude the members of the C.P.S.U., the Soviet people, and people everywhere else unfamiliar with the true state of affairs. In its letter of May 7, 1964, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. notified the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. that, in order to clarify matters and give the true picture, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. deemed it necessary to publish in full all the letters exchanged between the Chinese and Soviet Parties since November 1963.

The letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. of May 7, 1964, to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., its earlier letters of February 20, 27 and 29, 1964, and those of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of November 29, 1963, and February 22 and March 7, 1964, to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. are reproduced as follows.

— Peking, May 8 (Hsinhua)

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. Of May 7, 1964, to the Central Committee Of the C.P.S.U.

May 7, 1964

**The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union**

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has received the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated March 7, 1964.

In your letter you talk glibly about your desire for "the speediest possible settlement of existing differences" and "the cessation of the public polemics between Communist Parties" and about your willingness to do your utmost "to help strengthen the unity of the communist movement." But the facts show the complete falsity of your fine words. Both before and since the delivery of your letter, you have never ceased your attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. At every single meeting of the international democratic organizations in the past few months, you have energetically preached and pushed your wrong line and conducted activities

against China. Already in the middle of February this year, that is, three weeks before your letter of March 7, you made an anti-Chinese report and adopted an anti-Chinese decision at the Plenum of your Central Committee, at which 6,000 people were present, declaring that you would "publicly explain" the "mistakes" of the C.P.C. and "come out openly and strongly" against it.

All this clearly reveals that in writing the letter of March 7 you were simply playing a two-faced game. Under the guise of "deep concern for the settlement of the differences and for the unity of the international communist movement," you were diligently preparing a new onslaught against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and hatching a big plot for openly splitting the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

We have given you repeated explanations of our consistent stand on public polemics. Since you have ignored our repeated advice, obdurately provoked and extended the public polemics and made massive public attacks upon us and other fraternal Parties, we and the other fraternal Parties are of course entitled to make

May 8, 1964

public replies according to the principle of equality among fraternal Parties. It is our right to reply as much as you attack us.

Our press has not yet finished replying to your Open Letter of July 14, 1963. We have not yet started — to say nothing of completing — our reply to the more than 2,000 anti-Chinese articles and other items which you published after your Open Letter and to the great number of resolutions, statements and articles in which scores of fraternal Parties have attacked us. How can we be asked to give up our right of public reply when you have issued such a mass of resolutions, statements, articles, books and pamphlets attacking the Chinese Communist Party without ever publicly revoking them?

On many public occasions, including international meetings, you have violated the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement by spreading and pushing your general line of "peaceful transition," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful coexistence," and have set your minds on uniting with U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the whole world, to oppose the national-liberation movement, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. You have tried to impose your erroneous line on fraternal Parties and on the international democratic organizations. How can you expect us and all other Marxist-Leninists to keep silent about these foul deeds of yours and about such important questions of principle affecting the future of the world revolution and the destiny of mankind? And how can you expect us to refrain from exposing and publicly opposing your revisionist and divisive errors and from publicly stating our position and views?

You said earlier that in starting the public polemics at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. you were "acting in Lenin's manner," yet you say now in your letter that to refrain from public polemics is "the behest of V.I. Lenin." Which of your two statements is correct? If you really want a cessation of the public polemics, does that not mean your 22nd Congress was wrong? And are you ready to admit your mistake?

The anti-Chinese report and decision of the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. published on April 3, 1964, and the ensuing events make it all the more clear that your call for a cessation of the public polemics was intended solely to gag us so that you could have a free rein to push ahead with your revisionist and divisive line.

Regarding the question of talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and a meeting of representatives of all fraternal Parties, the proposal we made in our letter of February 29, 1964, was as follows: The talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties should be resumed in October so as to make preparations for a meeting of representatives of all fraternal Parties; in order to make further preparations for the meeting of representatives of all fraternal Parties, the two-

Party talks should be followed by a meeting of representatives of seventeen fraternal Parties; the meeting of representatives of all fraternal Parties should be convened after the completion of preparations, so that it will be a meeting of unity on the basis of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In your letter of March 7, 1964, you disagree with this reasonable proposal of ours and charge us with deliberate stalling. You want the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties to be held in May, the preparatory meeting of representatives of fraternal Parties in June-July and the international meeting of all fraternal Parties in autumn this year.

At first glance you are most eager and enthusiastic. But it is not for the purpose of eliminating differences and strengthening unity that you have put forward this pressing timetable. On the contrary, more and more facts testify that it is a step in your plot to accelerate an open split in the international communist movement.

On February 12 this year you sent a letter directed against the Communist Party of China to fraternal Parties and behind our backs. Your letter of February 22, 1964, to us divulged that in that anti-Chinese letter you had called for a "rebuff" to us and threatened to "take collective measures." At the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on February 14-15 this year you decided to "come out openly and strongly against the incorrect views and dangerous actions of the leadership of the C.P.C." This means that you have pushed the cartridge into the chamber and are ready to press the trigger. In such circumstances, is it not utterly hypocritical of you to suggest that Sino-Soviet talks be held in May this year for "the speediest possible settlement of existing differences"?

We would like to ask the comrades of the C.P.S.U.: Why were you in such a great hurry? Was it not your intention, upon our rejection of your proposal for holding the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties in May 1964, to use it as a pretext for brazenly and unilaterally calling an international meeting and effecting an open split?

The consistent stand of the Chinese Communist Party is to uphold unity and oppose a split. We have worked unswervingly for the elimination of differences and the restoration of unity. At the same time, we are fully aware that our difference with you is a grave one involving a whole series of fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. It began with the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and was aggravated at the 22nd Congress and later. It is obviously impossible for such long-accumulated differences of principle to be solved overnight. Time and patience are needed.

When in our letter of February 29, 1964, we proposed that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties should be resumed in October this year, our chief consideration was to have seven months for doing a number of things by way of preparation. For instance, we would have to receive a copy of the letter of February 12, 1964, which you sent to fraternal Parties

and acquaint ourselves with its contents; we would like to see the magic weapons you threatened to use, such as "stating our views openly," "publishing documents and material," giving "the most resolute rebuff" and applying "collective measures"; and we would have to answer your attacks and react to your new magic weapons. All this would take time.

It is regrettable that to date you have still groundlessly refused to give us a copy of your letter of February 12, 1964, to fraternal Parties in spite of our repeated requests. It must be understood that this is a letter attacking us, and since you have given it to many fraternal Parties, why do you particularly deny it to us? We have the right to ask you to send us a copy. Now we again request you to send us the letter. If you go on refusing, our request will stand for ten thousand years.

As for your magic weapons, at least you have produced a few beginning with April 3 this year. It seems that you have now warmed up and have a lot more to say. But we still do not know what other magic weapons you have and what your "most resolute rebuff" and "collective measures" really are.

In these circumstances, how can the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the international meeting of fraternal Parties be successful? What will there be to say except for quarrels ending up in a fruitless adjournment, or a final open split with each side going its own way? Can it be that you are resolved to have an open split?

Comrades! We are against a split. Before all your vaunted magic weapons are produced, before each side's case and intentions are made clear, and before full preparations are completed, the holding of talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and of an international meeting of fraternal Parties can only lead to a split, and to this we cannot agree.

Judging by present circumstances, not only is it impossible to hold the two-Party talks in May, but it will also be too early to hold them in October. We consider it more appropriate to postpone them till some time in the first half of next year, say May. And if either the Chinese or the Soviet Party then considers that the time is still not ripe, they can be further postponed.

The timing of the preparatory meeting for the meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties will depend on the results of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties. The composition of the preparatory meeting can be decided through consultation among fraternal Parties, but we still consider it appropriate for the preparatory meeting to consist of the seventeen fraternal Parties proposed in our letter of February 29, 1964, namely, the Parties of Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, and the Parties of Indonesia, Japan, Italy and France.

In principle we are not against increasing the number of participants in the preparatory meeting. But we cannot agree with the proposal, put forward in your letter, that it should be increased from seventeen to twenty-six fraternal Parties. For the situation now is vastly different from that in 1960. There are two Parties in some of the countries mentioned in your list. In Australia, for instance, there is a Party represented by E.F. Hill and another by L.L. Sharkey. The former is a Marxist-Leninist and the latter a revisionist Party. A similar situation obtains in Brazil. Obviously you and we differ as to which of these Parties should attend the meeting. In another case, that of India, the Dange clique have degenerated into pawns of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords and into renegades from communism. How can the Dange clique of renegades be allowed to participate in a meeting of fraternal Parties? In our opinion, if the membership of the preparatory meeting is to be increased, the first consideration should be given to those fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism and which are waging heroic revolutionary struggles.

As for the meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties, we hold that it must be a meeting of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and that it should definitely not become a meeting for a split. Therefore, ample preparations have to be made and it should not be called in a hurry. This is our consistent attitude and it is also the attitude of many other fraternal Parties, including some which have ideological differences with us. In the past you, too, approved of this attitude. In your letter to us of November 29, 1963, you agreed that conditions should be created so that the meeting "will lead not to a split in the world communist movement but to genuine unity and solidarity of all the fraternal Parties and all the forces of peace and socialism." If you do not want an immediate open split, you should not be in too much of a hurry to call the international meeting in the coming autumn. We advise you to think this over calmly: it would be better to hold the international meeting of fraternal Parties later rather than earlier, or even not to hold it, in these circumstances.

There is now no international organization like the Third International nor any body like the permanent bodies of the Third International which were entitled to call international meetings. In these circumstances, it would be wrong and impermissible for one or more Parties to make a unilateral decision to call a meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties in violation of the principles of consultation and the attainment of unity among the fraternal Parties. To do so would be illegitimate and entirely wrong and would lead to grave consequences. This is clear to you, to us and to all the other Communist and Workers' Parties. If, in arrogant disregard of the advice of our Party and of many other fraternal Parties, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. should cling to its own course, insist on hurriedly convening such a meeting by calling together those Parties that support its wrong, revisionist and divisive line, and

treat it as a meeting of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, you would then be strongly condemned by the working class, the revolutionary people and all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world, you would cast to the four winds the banner of unity which you profess to uphold, and would have to bear the responsibility for a split. Do you want to do this? Do you want to put yourselves in such an inextricable predicament? We are saying this in all sincerity and clearly pointing to where interests or dangers lie, so do not say that you have not been forewarned.

We maintain that a series of preparatory steps are necessary in order to make the international meeting of fraternal Parties a success, and that these should include the holding of talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and of bilateral or multilateral talks among fraternal Parties, the convening of a preparatory meeting by fraternal Parties and the reaching of unanimous agreement at this meeting. Judging by present circumstances, it may require perhaps four or five years, or even longer, to complete these preparations.

Our views are based on deep concern for the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. We hope that they will receive your serious and earnest consideration.

Furthermore, we would like to ask you to reconsider the proposal we made in our letter of February 27 this year, namely, that our two Parties reach an agreement, by which each side will, on an equal basis, publish in its own press the documents, articles and other material which both sides have published or will publish in criticism of each other. Although you rejected this proposal in your letter of March 7, 1964,

you failed to give any really tenable reason. You have one-sidedly published many statements vilifying the Chinese Communist Party, and yet you prevent the members of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people from reading our replies and becoming acquainted with our actual position and views; this is indeed a deliberate attempt to inflame hostility between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. If you have real faith in the members of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people as well as in yourselves, you will find no reason whatever not to reach an agreement with us on this question.

The documents of the February Plenum of your Central Committee and the *Pravda* editorial of April 3, 1964, divulged information from the letters exchanged between the Central Committees of the Chinese and Soviet Parties since November 1963 and distorted the facts, in an attempt to delude the members of the C.P.S.U., the Soviet people, and people everywhere else unfamiliar with the true state of affairs. In order to clarify matters and give the true picture, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. deems it necessary to publish in full all the letters exchanged between the Chinese and Soviet Parties since November 1963. These comprise: the letters of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated November 29, 1963, February 22 and March 7, 1964, and the letters of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. dated February 20, 27 and 29 and May 7, 1964. We hope that you will be able to do likewise and will publish the full text of this exchange of letters between our two Parties in your own press.

With fraternal greetings,

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. Of February 20, 1964, to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

February 20, 1964

The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

We have learnt from a number of quarters that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. recently sent to fraternal Parties a letter which is directed against the Communist Party of China. This letter distorts the facts of the current public polemics in the international communist movement, manufactures lies slandering the Chinese Communist Party and instigates a so-called "struggle against the great-power and Trotskyite views and the factional and disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders." This letter has not,

however, been sent to the Chinese Communist Party, from which it has been kept a secret.

It must be noted in all seriousness that, while crying for a halt to public polemics under the pretence of desiring unity, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are engineering a new campaign against the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties behind the back of the Chinese Communist Party and are unscrupulously engaging in sectarian, factional and divisive activities. Throughout the recent years the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been wearing one face in public and another in private, and saying one thing and doing another. Your vicious two-faced tactics are a gross violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties laid down in the 1960 Statement as well as of proletarian internationalism.

You have launched the present campaign against the Chinese Communist Party on the new pretext that the C.P.C. has not yet replied to your letter of November 29, 1963. But we would like to ask: Why were you free for a long time to act wilfully and refuse to accept the advice of fraternal Parties against bringing inter-Party differences into the open before the enemy and their proposal for a halt to public polemics, whereas the C.P.C. must regard the letter from the leaders of the C.P.S.U. as God's will and give an immediate and affirmative reply or else be charged with the major crime of insubordination? Why are you privileged to publish thousands of lengthy articles and other items attacking us, whereas we may not make any reply to set the facts straight and distinguish truth from falsehood? A journey has to be made step by step, and problems have to be solved one by one. Your letter will be answered in due course. Your self-important and domineering attitude in maintaining that you can attack whenever you please and that we must stop as soon as you cry halt has fully exposed your inveterate habit of great-power chauvinism and posing as the "father Party."

The present grave act of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to create a split has once again brought to light the

intrigue you have been carrying on in behalf of a sham unity and a real split.

The Communist Party of China has been consistent in its stand of firmly defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, upholding the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, and on these foundations safeguarding the unity of the international communist movement, the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and our two peoples. This stand of ours will never change. We obey the truth and the truth only and will never trade in principles.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party delegated Comrade Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, to convey our views orally to Comrade Chervonenko, the Soviet Ambassador to China, on the afternoon of February 18.

We would like in all seriousness to repeat our request that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. send us a copy of the letter directed against the C.P.C., which it has recently addressed to fraternal Parties. We shall make our reply after studying this letter.

With fraternal greetings.

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. of February 27, 1964, to the Central Committee Of the C.P.S.U.

February 27, 1964

**The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union**

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has received your letter of February 22, 1964. The characteristic feature of this letter is the prodigality of the abuse — such as "unseemly," "a clumsy attempt to lay one's own fault at somebody else's door," "rude" and "ridiculous" — with which you try to evade the questions of substance which we raised in our letter of February 20, 1964. This is really a poor performance.

You accuse us of behaving like "the real culprit crying 'stop thief.'" In fact, it is you who are playing the trick of "the real culprit crying 'stop thief'" to divert attention and steal away because you have been caught red-handed in sectarian, factional and divisive activities and confronted with irrefutable evidence. But however much you may quibble and sophisticate, you cannot deny the following facts. First, you have actually sent a letter behind our backs to fraternal Parties, a letter which is specifically directed against the Chinese Communist Party. Second, you are actually planning behind our backs to take "collective measures"

from which the Chinese Communist Party will be excluded, and to go a step further in splitting the international communist movement.

In our letter of February 20, we point out that you "are unscrupulously engaging in sectarian, factional and divisive activities," that you adopt "vicious two-faced tactics," and that you have the "inveterate habit of great-power chauvinism and posing as the 'father Party.'" Your most recent letter proves that these criticisms completely fit the facts and are entirely correct.

Have you not repeatedly professed a desire to improve relations and uphold unity? If you really have such a desire, you ought to admit that right is right and wrong is wrong. One had better be honest. This is the only way to bring about a real settlement of problems. There is no other alternative.

You begin your letter with the assertion that you have the "right not to answer at all" the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., whereas we have repeatedly made it clear that we will answer your letter of November 29, 1963, in due course. We have advised you against impatience because we have not yet completed our reply to your numerous attacks. Whereupon you

have flown into a rage as if we had committed a monstrous crime. Please think the matter over calmly: can this be described as treating fraternal Parties as equals?

Far from examining your own errors and publicly acknowledging and correcting them in all seriousness according to Lenin's teachings, you deny facts, call white black and turn on us by slanderously accusing us of factional activities. You even produced the Belishova case of June 1960 as an important piece of evidence against us. But you have lifted a rock only to crush your own toes. Our exchange of views with the responsible comrades of a fraternal Party on the international communist movement was above-board, entirely normal and beyond reproach. On the other hand, your intrigues on the question of Belishova cannot stand the light of day. You made Belishova your tool for subverting the leadership of a fraternal Party and country and for disrupting the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. The Albanian comrades have exposed your intrigues and handled the Belishova case in the proper way.

It is the leaders of the C.P.S.U. themselves who have been conducting "the most real behind-the-scenes factional activity against a fraternal Party." As early as January 1960, that is, five months before the Belishova case, you delegated Comrade Mikoyan to meet the leading comrades of Albania in an effort to engineer activities against the Chinese Communist Party. Instances of such behind-the-scenes factional activity on your part were cited by Comrade Kapo, head of the Albanian delegation, in Comrade Khrushchov's presence on June 24, 1960, at the Bucharest meeting of representatives of the fraternal Parties of the socialist countries.

Yet acting like "knights for a day," you state in your letter that you will "publish documents" and "state our views openly." Moreover, you declared on September 21, 1963, that you would give us a "most resolute rebuff." Have you not played enough of such

tricks? Have you not divulged enough information? Were these to be enumerated, we could cite a wealth of facts beginning from the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. You are well aware of this and we do not need to waste our ink. Now you are again making an empty threat, and, to be blunt, this can only frighten people with weak nerves. In our opinion, all your bluster simply reminds one of a paper tiger. It is like a pewter-pointed spear. Please produce all the magic weapons in your treasure box for our enlightenment—the "most resolute rebuff," "open statement of our views," "collective measures" against the C.P.C., documents and materials, and what not.

If you do not fear the truth and the masses and if, instead of treating them as rabble, you have faith in the political consciousness and discernment of the members of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people, we propose that our two Parties reach an agreement, by which each side will, on an equal basis, publish in its own press the documents, articles and other material both sides have published or will publish in criticism of each other.

You accuse us of committing a blunder by "demanding"* instead of "requesting" that you send us a copy of your letter of February 12. In Chinese usage, these two words do not imply as big a difference as you describe. But since you take it so seriously and even make it an excuse for refusing to give us the letter of February 12, which is directed against the C.P.C., well then, we are now complying with your wish and **request** that you send us a copy of the letter which you gave the other fraternal Parties on February 12. It is our earnest hope that you will do so.

With fraternal greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

* Following the Chinese usage this word was translated into "request" and not "demand" in the English version of the February 20 letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. — *Translator.*

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. of February 29, 1964, to the Central Committee Of the C.P.S.U.

February 29, 1964

**The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union**

Dear Comrades,

This letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is in reply to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, dated November 29, 1963.

The Chinese Communist Party has always regarded the safeguarding and cementing of the unity of the international communist movement as its sacred duty.

The unity of the Communists of all countries is not that of a club, it is the revolutionary unity of people guided by a common theory and fighting for a common ideal. The unity of the international communist movement can only be based on the revolu-

tionary teachings of Marx and Lenin. Without this basis there can be no proletarian internationalist unity.

The differences between us and the leaders of the C.P.S.U. involve a number of major problems of principle concerning Marxist-Leninist theory and the whole international communist movement. These problems of principle must be solved if our differences are to be eliminated and the unity of the Chinese and Soviet Parties is to be strengthened.

The views we have expressed in our reply of June 14, 1963, to the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., that is, our proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement, and in our articles about the international communist movement published both before and after that reply, are in full accord with Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

In this letter we would like to state our views on a number of questions raised in your letter.

1. The Question of the Sino-Soviet Boundary

The Government of the People's Republic of China has consistently held that the question of the boundary between China and the Soviet Union, which is a legacy from the past, can be settled through negotiation between the two Governments. It has also held that, pending such a settlement, the status quo on the border should be maintained. This is what we have done over the past ten years or more. Had the Soviet Government taken the same attitude, both sides could have lived in amity along the border and preserved tranquillity there.

With the stepping up of anti-Chinese activities by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. in recent years, the Soviet side has made frequent breaches of the status quo on the border, occupied Chinese territory and provoked border incidents. Still more serious, the Soviet side has flagrantly carried out large-scale subversive activities in Chinese frontier areas, trying to sow discord among China's nationalities by means of the press and wireless, inciting China's minority nationalities to break away from their motherland, and inveigling and coercing tens of thousands of Chinese citizens into going to the Soviet Union. Not only do all these acts violate the principles guiding relations between socialist countries, they are absolutely impermissible even in the relations between countries in general.

Among all our neighbours it is only the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the reactionary nationalists of India who have deliberately created border disputes with China. The Chinese Government has satisfactorily settled complicated boundary questions, which were legacies from the past, both with all its fraternal socialist neighbours except the Soviet Union, and with its nationalist neighbours such as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan, with the exception of India.

The delegations of our two Governments started boundary negotiations in Peking on February 25, 1964.

Although the old treaties relating to the Sino-Russian boundary are unequal treaties, the Chinese Government is nevertheless willing to respect them and take them as the basis for a reasonable settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question. Guided by proletarian internationalism and the principles governing relations between socialist countries, the Chinese Government will conduct friendly negotiations with the Soviet Government in the spirit of consultation on an equal footing and mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. If the Soviet side takes the same attitude as the Chinese Government, the settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question, we believe, ought not to be difficult, and the Sino-Soviet boundary will truly become one of lasting friendship.

2. The Question of Aid

We have always had a proper appreciation of the friendly Soviet aid which began under Stalin's leadership. We have always considered that the Soviet people's friendly aid has played a beneficial role in helping China to lay the preliminary foundations for her socialist industrialization. For this the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have expressed their gratitude on numerous occasions.

In recent years the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have habitually played the benefactor and frequently boasted of their "disinterested assistance." When commemorating the 14th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance in February this year, *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and other Soviet propaganda media again beat the drum to the same tune. We have not yet made a systematic reply in the press, but we must point out that, so far from being gratis, Soviet aid to China was rendered mainly in the form of trade and that it was certainly not a one-way affair. China has paid and is paying the Soviet Union in goods, gold or convertible foreign exchange for all Soviet-supplied complete sets of equipment and other goods, including those made available on credit plus interest. It is necessary to add that the prices of many of the goods we imported from the Soviet Union were much higher than those on the world market.

While China has received aid from the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union on its part has also received corresponding aid from China. No one can say that China's aid to the Soviet Union has been insignificant and not worthy of mention. Here are some examples:

Up to the end of 1962 China had furnished the Soviet Union with 2,100 million new rubles' worth of grain, edible oils and other foodstuffs. Among the most important items were 5,760,000 tons of soya beans, 2,940,000 tons of rice, 1,090,000 tons of edible oils and 900,000 tons of meat.

Over the same period, China furnished the Soviet Union with more than 1,400 million new rubles' worth of mineral products and metals. Among the most important items were: 100,000 tons of lithium concentrates, 34,000 tons of beryllium concentrates, 51,000 tons

of borax, 270,000 tons of wolfram concentrates, 32.9 tons of piezoelectric quartz, 7,730 tons of mercury, 39 tons of tantalum-niobium concentrates, 37,000 tons of molybdenum concentrates and 180,000 tons of tin. Many of these mineral products are raw materials which are indispensable for the development of the most advanced branches of science and for the manufacture of rockets and nuclear weapons.

As for the Soviet loans to China, it must be pointed out that China used them mostly for the purchase of war materiel from the Soviet Union, the greater part of which was used up in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. In the war against U.S. aggression the Korean people carried by far the heaviest burden and sustained by far the greatest losses. The Chinese people, too, made great sacrifices and incurred vast military expenses. The Chinese Communist Party has always considered that this was the Chinese people's bounden internationalist duty and that it is nothing to boast of. For many years we have been paying the principal and interest on these Soviet loans, which account for a considerable part of our yearly exports to the Soviet Union. Thus even the war materiel supplied to China in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea has not been given gratis.

3. The Question of the Soviet Experts

The Soviet experts working in China were invariably made welcome, respected and trusted by the Chinese Government and people. The overwhelming majority of them were hard working and helpful to China's socialist construction. We have always highly appreciated their conscientious work, and still miss them to this day.

You will remember that when the leaders of the C.P.S.U. unilaterally decided to recall all the Soviet experts in China, we solemnly affirmed our desire to have them continue their work in China and expressed the hope that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. would reconsider and change their decision.

But in spite of our objections you turned your backs on the principles guiding international relations and unscrupulously withdrew the 1,390 Soviet experts working in China, tore up 343 contracts and supplementary contracts concerning experts, and scrapped 257 projects of scientific and technical co-operation, all within the short span of a month.

You were well aware that the Soviet experts were posted in over 250 enterprises and establishments in the economic field and the fields of national defence, culture, education and scientific research, and that they were undertaking important tasks involving technical design, the construction of projects, the installation of equipment, trial production and scientific research. As a result of your peremptory orders to the Soviet experts to discontinue their work and return to the Soviet Union, many of our country's important designing and scientific research projects had to stop halfway, some of the construction projects in progress had to be suspended, and some of the factories and mines which

were conducting trial production could not go into production according to schedule. Your perfidious action disrupted China's original national economic plan and inflicted enormous losses upon China's socialist construction.

You were going completely against communist ethics when you took advantage of China's serious natural disasters to adopt these grave measures.

Your action fully demonstrates that you violate the principle of mutual assistance between socialist countries and use the sending of experts as an instrument for exerting political pressure on fraternal countries, butting into their internal affairs and impeding and sabotaging their socialist construction.

Now you have again suggested sending experts to China. To be frank, the Chinese people cannot trust you. They have just healed the wounds caused by your withdrawal of experts. These events are still fresh in their memory. With the leaders of the C.P.S.U. pursuing an anti-Chinese policy, the Chinese people are unwilling to be duped.

In our opinion, all the countries in the socialist camp should handle the question of sending experts in accordance with the principles of genuine equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual assistance and internationalism. It is absolutely impermissible for any country unilaterally to annul or scrap any agreement or contract concerning the sending of experts. Any country which violates such an agreement or contract should, in accordance with international practice, compensate the other side for the losses thus inflicted. Only thus can there be an interchange of experts on a basis of equality and mutual benefit between China and the Soviet Union and among countries in the socialist camp.

We would like to say in passing that, basing ourselves on the internationalist principle of mutual assistance among countries in the socialist camp, we are very much concerned about the present economic situation in the Soviet Union. If you should feel the need for the help of Chinese experts in certain fields, we would be glad to send them.

4. The Question of Sino-Soviet Trade

Nobody is in a better position than you to know the real cause for the curtailment of Sino-Soviet trade over the last few years. This curtailment was precisely the result of your extending the differences from the field of ideology to that of state relations.

Your sudden withdrawal of all the Soviet experts working in China upset the schedules of construction and the production arrangements of many of our factories, mines and other enterprises and establishments, and had a direct impact on our need for the import of complete sets of equipment. Such being the case, did you expect us to keep on buying them just for display?

Moreover, in pursuance of your policy of further imposing restrictions on and discriminating against

China in the economic and commercial fields, since 1960 you have deliberately placed obstacles in the way of economic and trade negotiations between our two countries and held up or refused supplies of important goods which China needs. You have insisted on providing large amounts of goods which we do not really need or which we do not need at all, while holding back or supplying very few of the goods which we need badly. For several years you have used the trade between our two countries as an instrument for bringing political pressure to bear on China. How could this avoid cutting down the volume of Sino-Soviet trade?

From 1959 to 1961, our country suffered extraordinary natural disasters for three years in succession and could not supply you with as large quantities of agricultural produce and processed products as before. This was the result of factors beyond human control. It is utterly unreasonable for you to attack China on this account and blame her for this reduction in trade.

Indeed, but for China's efforts the volume of Sino-Soviet trade would have decreased even more. Take this year for example. China has already put forward a list of 220 million new rubles' worth of imports from the Soviet Union and 420 million new rubles' worth of exports to the Soviet Union. But you have been procrastinating unreasonably, continuing to hold back goods we need while trying to force on us goods we do not need. You say in your letter, "In the course of the next few years the U.S.S.R. could increase its export to China of goods in which you are interested. . . ." But your deeds do not agree with your words.

You constantly accuse us of "going it alone" and claim that you stand for extensive economic ties and division of labour among the socialist countries. But what is your actual record in this respect?

You infringe the independence and sovereignty of fraternal countries and oppose their efforts to develop their economy on an independent basis in accordance with their own needs and potentialities.

You bully those fraternal countries whose economies are less advanced and oppose their policy of industrialization and try to force them to remain agricultural countries and serve as your sources of raw materials and as outlets for your goods.

You bully fraternal countries which are industrially more developed and insist that they stop manufacturing their traditional products and become accessory factories serving your industries.

Moreover, you have introduced the jungle law of the capitalist world into relations between socialist countries. You openly follow the example of the Common Market which was organized by monopoly capitalist groups.

All these actions of yours are wrong.

In the economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres, we stand for relations of co-operation of a new type, based on genuine equality and mutual benefit,

between China and the Soviet Union and among all the socialist countries.

We hold that it is necessary to transform the present Council of Mutual Economic Assistance of socialist countries to accord with the principle of proletarian internationalism and turn this organization, which is now solely controlled by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., into one based on genuine equality and mutual benefit, which the fraternal countries of the socialist camp may join of their own free will. It is hoped that you will favourably respond to our suggestion.

5. The Question of Stopping Public Polemics

The public polemics were provoked by you. We maintained that differences in the international communist movement should be settled through inter-Party discussions. But you insisted on bringing them into the open. Beginning with the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., you imposed public polemics on the entire international communist movement in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the 1960 Statement, and you asserted that to do so was to "act in Lenin's manner." What you did was a bad thing. You created difficulties for fraternal Parties and rendered a service to the imperialists and reactionaries. Now, with the extensive unfolding of the public debate, the truth is becoming clearer and clearer and Marxism-Leninism is making more and more progress. What was a bad thing is becoming a good thing.

In the course of this great debate, the Communists, proletarians, working people, revolutionary intellectuals, and other people who have an interest in opposing imperialism and reaction have become more discerning and increasingly awakened politically, and their revolutionary enthusiasm and theoretical level have been greatly enhanced. The effect of the public debate is the opposite of what you intended. It leads more and more people away from the bad influence of the baton and makes them think over problems independently. Thus, as with the other debates in the history of the international communist movement, the present debate is undoubtedly the prelude to a new revolutionary upsurge.

When you wanted to start public polemics against the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, you said that such polemics represented "the only correct and genuinely Marxist-Leninist position of principle" and were "in the interests of the whole world communist movement." Yet now that the public polemics have more and more clearly exposed your revisionist features and placed you in an increasingly disadvantageous position, you declare that they "are doing great harm to the communist movement" and that it would be "most wise" and "in the interests of the solidarity of the world communist movement" to stop them. What truth or principle is to be found in you when you say one thing one day and another the next? Which of your statements do you expect others to believe? And which do you expect others to obey?

As to the proposal for stopping the public polemics, you seem to have forgotten that it was put forward by the Workers' Party of Viet Nam as early as January 1962. Similar proposals were put forward by the Communist Parties of Indonesia and of New Zealand. They all won our immediate approval. But you turned a deaf ear to them and, far from stopping the public polemics, you kept extending them. Why must others accept your proposal the instant it is made?

You also seem to have forgotten that in our letter to you of March 9, 1963, we said, "On the suspension of public polemics, it is necessary that our two Parties and the fraternal Parties concerned should have some discussion and reach an agreement that is fair and acceptable to all." You ignored our proposal. On July 20, 1963, when the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties were drawing to a close, we proposed to write into the communique: ". . . our two Parties and the fraternal Parties concerned should make joint efforts to seek a reasonable basis for achieving a fair agreement on the cessation of public polemics, which is acceptable to all." Once again you turned down our proposal.

In your letter you state that "it would be correct not to concentrate attention on the problems on which there are differences between us but to let them wait until the heat of passion has cooled, to let time do its work." Again, you seem to have forgotten that as far back as October 10, 1960, we pointed out in our written statement at the drafting committee of the 26 fraternal Parties that "as to the questions on which unanimity cannot be achieved for the time being, it would be better to leave them open than to reach a forced solution" and that "time will help us eliminate the differences." You then categorically rejected our proposal. In your letter of November 5, 1960, to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which you circulated during the 1960 meeting of the fraternal Parties, you declared, "To wait for the 'verdict of history' would be a grave error fraught with serious consequences for the entire communist movement. . . ." But now you suddenly make a turn of 180 degrees on this question and say that we should let the differences wait. What are you up to? To put it plainly, you are merely resorting to this trick to deprive us of the right to reply, after you yourselves have heaped so much abuse on the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

While the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties were in progress in Moscow, despite our repeated sincere advice you published your Open Letter to Party organizations and all Communists in the Soviet Union on July 14, 1963, in order to curry favour with U.S. imperialism and to reach an agreement with it on the monopoly of nuclear weapons. You then launched an anti-Chinese campaign on an unprecedented scale. According to incomplete statistics, between July 15 and the end of October 1963 the Soviet press carried nearly 2,000 anti-Chinese articles and other items.

Meanwhile, under your influence the leaders of the fraternal Parties of socialist countries—the Commu-

nist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party—have also published a great number of articles and other items against China.

You say in your letter that "the differences and sharp polemics are doing great harm to the communist movement." If you really think so, don't you find you ought to reproach yourselves, to ask yourselves why you again and again insisted on attacking and slandering the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties in a big way?

You also say in your letter that the difficulties of other fraternal Parties should be taken into account. We have always given full consideration to the difficulties of other fraternal Parties. It was for this very reason that we repeatedly advised the leaders of the C.P.S.U. against bringing the controversy into the open. But following the leaders of the C.P.S.U., the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of many capitalist countries, for example, the Parties of France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Austria, West Germany, Greece, Portugal, Britain, the United States of America, Canada, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Australia, Ceylon, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Jordan and Algeria—as well as the Dange clique, who are renegades from the Indian proletariat—published many articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party, and other Marxist-Leninist parties, and some adopted resolutions, issued statements or open letters to Party members, or even unscrupulously attacked or expelled comrades adhering to the Marxist-Leninist stand. Did they ever take their own difficulties into account when they were doing all this? Did you ever take their difficulties into account when you were supporting them in all this?

These fraternal Parties have attacked us in numerous articles and other items, but we have all along exercised great restraint. We have replied to none of them except to a part of the attacks of the leaders of the Communist Parties of France, Italy and the U.S.A. We have merely reserved our right of reply. How was it possible for us to create difficulties for them when we have never disturbed them? If they have difficulties, these are of their own making.

Even after your letter of November 29, 1963, you and your followers did not stop your anti-Chinese propaganda. You attacked us by name in the *Pravda* articles, "Why Mislead?" and "The Soviet-Chinese Treaty—Fourteen Years," in the *Izvestia* article "An Important Document," in "The World in a Week" in the magazine *Za Rubezhom*, and in many other articles and items. In addition, you have recently published books against China, such as *Talks on Political Subjects, Our Leninist Party, A Treaty that Purifies the Atmosphere . . .*, *The Leninist Teaching of the Party and the Contemporary Communist Movement* and *The General Crisis of Capitalism and Foreign Policy*, in which you make comprehensive and concentrated attacks on the

Chinese Communist Party. You have also distributed pamphlets attacking China through your embassies abroad and your delegates to international mass organizations. As for the articles and other items your followers have published in the meantime, we shall not dwell on them here.

Moreover, since November 29, 1963, you have raised acute controversial questions and provoked debates at the Warsaw meeting of the World Peace Council, the Prague meeting of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Berlin meeting of the Bureau of the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Budapest meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Students, and at a number of other international meetings. At these meetings, while we, together with the delegates from other countries, were actively promoting the struggle of the people of the world for peace, supporting the national-liberation movement and calling for a united front against U.S. imperialism, you on your part extolled U.S. imperialism and created splits by insisting on adopting resolutions in support of the tripartite treaty by which you allied yourselves with the United States against China.

All this provides ample proof that you say one thing and do another and that your cry for an end to public polemics is utterly false and demagogic.

While you have published so many articles and other items against China, we have so far printed only seven articles in reply to your Open Letter. We have not yet completed our reply to the important questions you raised in the Open Letter, and have not even started to reply to the questions you raised in your other anti-Chinese articles. In all our articles we have adduced facts and used reasoned arguments. How can it be said that they are "shaking the friendship and unity of the peoples of the socialist community and weakening the anti-imperialist front"? Do not these phrases neatly fit your own voluminous and unreasonable material and your countless lies and slanders?

You have used every conceivable term of abuse in attacking the Chinese Communist Party and called us a host of names such as "dogmatists," "Left adventurists," "pseudo-revolutionaries," "newly baked Trotskyites," "nationalists," "racists," "great-power chauvinists," "sectarians," "splitters," and people "falling into the company of the forces of imperialist reaction," "having an itch for war" and "playing the role of the Right wing in the rank of the American 'maniacs,' West German revanchists and French extremists." In short, according to you the Chinese Communists are undoubtedly 100 per cent arch-reactionaries. If so, we would like to ask: How can such fine fellows as you, who call yourselves 100 per cent Marxist-Leninists, talk of unity with those bad fellows whom you consider more hateful than the enemy? How are you going to wind up the whole affair? Do you propose to come forward with a public statement admitting that all your attacks on the Chinese Communist Party are lies and slanders and removing all the labels you have stuck on it? Or

will you insist that we accept your verdict, give up the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and kowtow to your revisionist line?

It is now perfectly clear that our differences with you involve the questions of whether or not to adhere to the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and whether or not to adhere to the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, as well as a whole series of important questions of principle, such as the following:

Are the U.S. imperialists the sworn enemies of the people of the world, or are they sensible emissaries of peace? Are they overlords who determine the destiny of mankind?

What is the reliable way to prevent the imperialists from unleashing a world war and to safeguard world peace?

To defend world peace and serve the interests of revolution, should we unite the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionaries among the national bourgeoisie, and all other forces of the world that can be united, and form the broadest possible united front in a common struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys? Or should we pin all our hopes on U.S.-Soviet collaboration?

When the Indian reactionaries attack socialist China, should proletarian internationalism be observed and the Indian reactionaries' provocations be denounced, or should they be helped with arms to fight the brothers of the Soviet people?

Are the Titoites renegades or comrades? Are they a special detachment of U.S. imperialism or not? Is Yugoslavia a socialist country or not?

Is the socialist camp needed or not? On what principles is the unity of the socialist camp to be strengthened?

Should we actively support all the oppressed peoples and nations in their revolutionary and class struggles for emancipation, or should we forbid and oppose their revolutions?

Was Stalin a great Marxist-Leninist, or was he a murderer, a bandit and a gambler?

Should a socialist country maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, or should it use the so-called state of the whole people and the so-called party of the entire people to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism?

These questions admit of no equivocation but must be thoroughly straightened out. How can issues of such magnitude be evaded? If they were, there would be no distinction between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and dogmatism, between Marxism-Leninism and Trotskyism, between the Communist and the social democratic parties, or between communism and capitalism.

You frequently threaten others with a "most resolute rebuff." In fact, people have had plenty of experience of your tactics, whether hard or soft, bitter

or sweet. It was you who exerted military, economic and political pressure on Albania, severed diplomatic relations, tore up agreements and broke off trade relations with her. It was you, too, who scrapped contracts with China, withdrew experts, discontinued aid and carried out subversive activities against her. The Chinese Communist Party and all other Parties adhering to Marxism-Leninism will never be misled by honeyed words or bow under pressure or barter away principles. If you are indeed ready to deliver a "most resolute rebuff" worthy of the term, "state our views openly," "publish documents and material," take "collective measures" or what not, well then, please do whatever you intend to do.

Despite the fact that the differences have grown to their present serious proportions, the Chinese Communist Party is willing to do its best for the restoration and strengthening of unity. In your letter of November 29 you merely cry for a halt to the public polemics without putting forward any concrete measures for solving the problem. We now propose to you the following concrete measures for the solution of the problem, and we hope you will consider them and give us an answer.

(1) For the cessation of the public polemics it is necessary for the Chinese and Soviet Parties and other fraternal Parties concerned to hold various bilateral and multilateral talks in order to find through consultation a fair and reasonable formula acceptable to all and to conclude a common agreement.

(2) The Chinese Communist Party consistently advocates and actively supports the convening of a meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties. Prior to the meeting adequate preparations should be made, and difficulties and obstacles should be overcome. Together with the other fraternal Parties, we will do everything possible to ensure that this meeting will be a meeting of unity on the basis of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

(3) The resumption of talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties is a necessary preparatory step for making the meeting of the fraternal Parties a success. We propose that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties be resumed in Peking, from October 10 to 25, 1964.

(4) In order to make further preparations for the meeting of representatives of all fraternal Parties, we propose that the Sino-Soviet talks be followed by a meeting of representatives of seventeen fraternal Parties, namely, the Parties of Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, and the Parties of Indonesia, Japan, Italy and France.

Unite under the banner of Marxism-Leninism!

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of November 29, 1963, to the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

November 29, 1963

The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of China

Comrade Mao Tse-tung

Dear Comrades,

The Communist press has recently published documents in which the Marxist-Leninist parties have publicly expounded their positions on fundamental questions of the international communist movement raised in the debate that has unfolded. These documents show that there are serious differences in the communist movement, differences in the understanding and interpretation of the fundamental theses of the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings. We will not conceal the fact that, like many other fraternal Parties, irrespective of the position they are taking, we are seriously concerned over the fact that the differences which have arisen are constantly becoming deeper and the scope of the questions under

debate is constantly widening, while the sharp public polemics are assuming forms impermissible in relations among Marxist-Leninists.

Particularly disquieting is the fact that the differences on ideological questions are being transferred to inter-state relations and are manifesting themselves in the field of concrete policies, thus shaking the friendship and unity of the peoples of the socialist community and weakening the anti-imperialist front. The strength and attention of the fraternal Parties are being deflected from the solution of urgent problems of socialist construction and from the struggle against imperialism.

This situation in the communist movement grieves us greatly. We have more than once declared, and now reiterate, that the abnormal relations between the CPC and the CPSU are dividing the communist forces and benefiting only our enemies who on their part are seeking in every way to play on the contradictions and making use of the existing difficulties for their own anti-communist aims.

Of course Parties like the CPSU and the CPC, standing at the head of the world's two biggest states, can go on with their work even if the polemics continue. We agree that for our two Parties even in such circumstances, as you said to the Soviet Ambassador Comrade Chervonenko, the skies will not fall, and grass and trees will continue to grow, women to bear children and fish to swim in the water.

But we cannot fail to see that the differences and sharp polemics are doing great harm to the communist movement. We also have no right to fail to think of those detachments of the communist movement which are forced to carry on the struggle against imperialism in extremely difficult and complex circumstances. Such Parties rightly consider that they require friendship with both the CPSU and the CPC. All Marxist-Leninist parties draw strength from the unity and solidarity of the communist movement for the overcoming of difficulties.

The Communists of all countries want unity of action. And they are right—without unity of action our struggle against class enemies will be many times harder.

In the present circumstances, the most important and urgent task of the Marxist-Leninists is to prevent an undesirable development of events, and to turn the events from the zone of danger towards normalization, towards the strengthening of co-operation and unity among all the fraternal Parties and socialist countries. Timelier than ever now are Lenin's injunctions that each Party must be conscious of its high responsibility for our common cause, and be ready to give first place to the fundamental interests of the communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, firmly following the Leninist course of the world communist movement as expressed in the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings, has considered, and still considers, itself duty bound to do all it can for the strengthening of unity.

We understand, of course, that the elimination of the difficulties that have arisen in the world communist movement requires great exertion by all the Marxist-Leninist parties. In this letter, we wish to give our views on the contribution which our two Parties could make towards the solution of this problem.

As before, we hold to the position that despite existing serious differences, there is an objective basis for the improvement of relations between the CPSU and the CPC and between our countries—the basis being the common fundamental interests of our two peoples and our common tasks in the struggle for socialism and communism, the support of the revolutionary workers' movement and national liberation movement, and the struggle for peace against the aggressive schemes of the imperialists.

One cannot fail to see that, besides the questions over which differences have arisen, there are also positions on which we are fully united or at least very

close in our views. We have, objectively, a common position on such basic questions as the class struggle, the struggle against imperialism for the victory of the working class and all the working people, and the dictatorship of the proletariat which is established, as is seen from the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for the destruction of those forces which, after the victory of the proletarian revolution, offer resistance to the construction of socialism. Although our interpretations on these questions are not in all respects the same as yours, we are deeply convinced that a calm and unprejudiced understanding of our present discussion, and the elimination from it of everything that is non-essential and fortuitous, will reveal wide possibilities not only for the preservation of our co-operation along many lines but also for its growth and strengthening.

Now that the CPSU and the CPC, as well as other fraternal Parties, have stated their views on the questions in dispute, it would be correct not to concentrate attention on the problems on which there are differences between us but to let them wait until the heat of passion has cooled, to let time do its work. We are certain that life will demonstrate the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line. At the same time, we could develop our co-operation in those spheres where favourable possibilities exist. Such co-operation is in the interest not only of the Soviet Union and China but also of all the peoples of the socialist community.

Concretely speaking, we propose that notwithstanding the differences we should place at the centre of our mutual relations the development of co-operation for the sake of strengthening friendship between the Soviet Union and China and among all the socialist countries and fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, and of co-ordinating actions in the various international organizations for our common aim of defending peace and combating imperialism.

Particularly great possibilities exist for the strengthening of ties between the People's Republic of China and the USSR in the economic field and in the fields of scientific-technical co-operation and culture. In this letter, we would like to make a series of practical proposals, the realization of which could serve the cause of strengthening friendship between our countries.

The CC CPSU anticipates that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on its part, will take concrete steps in this direction, particularly since the Premier of the State Council of the PRC, Comrade Chou En-lai, is reported in the press to have declared in recent talks with foreign personalities and journalists that China intends to develop contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, that China is greatly interested in the development of trade and other economic contacts and that the PRC adheres to the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. The Premier of the PRC said that China, on her part, will resist the efforts of the imperialists to use the existing

differences for the aim of undermining the unity of the socialist community. Such a point of view coincides with the declarations which the CC CPSU and the Soviet government, on their part, have frequently made.

The interests of both sides permit one to conclude that it would already be possible today to talk of concrete steps for setting things right in Soviet-Chinese co-operation.

Specifically, it would be possible to start in the immediate future to draw up jointly agreed preliminary plans for the exchange of goods between the PRC and the Soviet Union. In the course of the next few years the USSR could increase its export to China of goods in which you are interested, and the import of goods from China into the USSR, which would be in the interest both of our economy and of yours.

As is known, the Protocol of May 13, 1962 concluded by the governments of our two countries provides for the renewal next year of negotiations concerning the delivery to the People's Republic of China of whole sets of equipment the manufacture of which was postponed for two years at the request of the Chinese side. If your side shows interest, it would be possible in our view to come to an understanding on the broadening of technical aid to the PRC in the building of industrial enterprises and specifically to discuss the possibility of aid in the development of the petroleum industry and the building of enterprises in the mining and other industries on terms beneficial to both our countries.

Once again we affirm our readiness to send Soviet specialists to the People's Republic of China should you consider it necessary.

The Soviet Union is now drawing up her Five-Year Plan for 1966-70. China too is drawing up her third Five-Year Plan. For this reason, now is a good time to discuss the possibilities of developing trade and other ties between our countries and to provide for corresponding measures in the plans for the national economies of both countries. Of course, it is never too late to start on the good work of strengthening co-operation between the USSR and the PRC, but it would be better to make a start now.

Both our countries would undoubtedly benefit from the broadening of scientific-technical co-operation and also from the development of cultural ties of many kinds. We consider that these questions could be the subject of mutual consultation and negotiation between the appropriate organs of the Soviet Union and the PRC. In making these proposals, we are naturally willing to consider attentively all your views as to the widening of the co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other fields. We understand, of course, that such ties and co-operation can develop provided you consider this beneficial to China. We on our part are convinced that it would be mutually beneficial to both China and the Soviet Union.

It is well known that economic ties are the type of co-operation in which all nations are particularly interested. Economic ties have great significance even in the relations between countries with different social systems. They create favourable conditions for implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence and help the improvement of relations among states. Extensive economic ties are all the more necessary among socialist countries, which are bound together by a common social system and common aims. Such ties are an important factor in the construction of socialism and communism and in utilizing the advantages of international socialist division of labour, and they help in strengthening the friendship among fraternal peoples, achieving new successes in the economic competition with capitalism and uniting all anti-imperialist revolutionary forces. The development of such co-operation would be a gain for China and the Soviet Union, for the socialist camp and the cause of world socialism.

We understand, of course, that each nation builds socialism and communism by relying mainly on its own forces because no one except the people of a given country will build socialism there. But it is also evident that co-operation among socialist countries facilitates and accelerates the construction of socialism by each nation. The restoration and strengthening of the economic co-operation between our countries will help not only to accelerate the growth of the national economies of the USSR and China and the economy of the entire socialist system, but also to create favourable conditions for normalizing relations in other fields.

Highly favourable pre-conditions exist for the development of co-operation between the Soviet Union and China. Our countries possess a variety of natural riches and have accumulated considerable experience in economic and scientific-technical co-operation. How beneficial was the influence of Soviet-Chinese economic co-operation on the course of socialist construction in the People's Republic of China and also on the economic growth of the Soviet Union, is well known. It is all the more to be regretted that economic co-operation and trade between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic has not only failed to grow in recent years but on the contrary has constantly shrunk.

Experience shows that the development of trading, economic and other ties improves the atmosphere in mutual relations and helps to straighten out other problems on which the relations between our countries depend. And such problems unfortunately do exist and demand solution.

You will probably agree that the situation which has arisen in recent years along different sections of the Soviet-Chinese border cannot be regarded as normal. The Soviet government has already proposed that friendly consultations take place to define accurately the boundary in different sections, considering that this will result in removal of the causes of the present misunderstanding. Recently you, too, spoke in favour of solving this question on the basis of mutual consul-

tation. In this connection, we are transmitting to you a relevant document.

Statements have recently been made in China concerning the aggressive policy of the Czarist government and the unjust treaties imposed upon China. Naturally, we will not defend the Russian Czars who permitted arbitrariness in laying down the state boundaries with neighbouring countries. We are convinced that you, too, do not intend to defend the Chinese emperors who by force of arms seized not a few territories belonging to others. But while condemning the reactionary actions of the top-strata exploiters who held power in Russia and in China at that time, we cannot disregard the fact that historically-formed boundaries between states now exist. Any attempt to ignore this can become the source of misunderstandings and conflicts; at the same time, they will not lead to the solution of the problem. It would be simply unreasonable to create territorial problems artificially at the present time, when the working class is in power and when our common aim is communism, under which state borders will gradually lose their former significance. We have all the possibilities for fully eliminating border frictions of any kind, and thus showing the peoples an example of truly friendly relations between two socialist states.

We should also create conditions favourable to the improvement of relations on the Party level and avoid anything that might aggravate the difficulties that have arisen in the communist movement. That the overcoming of the differences in the communist movement is a complex matter, demanding time and serious effort, is something we are fully aware of. But what is important is to go step by step in this direction, to show Leninist concern for the strengthening of the unity of the world communist movement on a principled Marxist basis, to bar any acts whatsoever that might undermine unity and to repulse factionalists and splitters.

We are of the opinion that even in the present complex situation there is a possibility of preventing the polemics that have spread from getting out of control, and of directing matters towards the strengthening of unity and solidarity between the CPC and the CPSU and among all the fraternal Parties. The CC CPSU has more than once advocated the cessation of public polemics. We again repeated this proposal on October 25 and November 7, 1963. The Soviet press has ceased to publish materials of a polemical character. In this letter we call once more on the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to do everything necessary for the cessation of public polemics and of other activities that harm the unity of the international communist movement and the unity of the socialist countries. We do not propose a general cessation of the exchange of views on questions of principle concerning world developments, but desire only that it should take place in the forms provided for by the Statement of the fraternal Parties in 1960 — through mutual consultation, negotiations and exchanges of letters.

May 8, 1964

In making these proposals, the CC CPSU bases itself on the consideration that they will help strengthen confidence and create more favourable conditions for the preparation of a world meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Recently, the CPSU and the CPC, like many other fraternal Parties, have more than once advocated the convening of such a meeting. We now reaffirm this position of ours. At the same time, we underline yet again that it is the duty of all Parties to help in the creation of a situation which will render such a meeting fruitful, so that it will lead not to a split in the world communist movement but to genuine unity and solidarity of all the fraternal Parties and all the forces of peace and socialism.

These are some of our views on concrete measures that could be taken with the aim of overcoming the difficulties that have arisen.

Please understand us correctly — our letter is dictated exclusively by concern for the strengthening of unity. We may differ in our understanding of this or that ideological problem, or in our estimates of specific phenomena of social development — life will correct those who are mistaken. But one must never even for a minute, under any circumstances, forget about the highest duty of Communists — to build the unity of the socialist community and of the entire front of the struggle against capital. The peoples trust the Communists. And we are called upon to justify their trust. Let us, by our common efforts, clear the way for the strengthening of co-operation, and take concrete measures to this end.

The CPSU and the Soviet people cherish friendly feelings for the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China and wish to strengthen the brotherhood built up in the struggle for socialism and communism. The CC CPSU is filled with determination to do all it can to achieve a turn of events for the better, and to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement and the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

The CPSU guides itself unswervingly by the line of the world communist movement, and firmly defends the principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960. Our Leninist party is waging a historic struggle for the building of communism in the USSR, for peace, democracy, and the national independence of peoples, for the strengthening of the world socialist community and the entire anti-imperialist revolutionary front, for the proletarian revolution and the cause of international socialism, and this accords with the interests of all the peoples.

The CC CPSU calls on the CC CPC, on its part, to undertake practical steps for the strengthening of the unity of the fraternal Parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle for the great cause of socialism.

**First Secretary of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union**
N. Khrushchov (*signed*)

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of February 22, 1964, to the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

February 22, 1964

The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of China

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the CPSU has received your letter of February 20, 1964.

The rude tone and the unworthy and insulting methods in relation to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to which you resort in this letter give us the moral right not to answer it at all. And if we have nevertheless considered it expedient to reply to you, we are doing so only in order to eliminate the possibility of any speculation or attempt to mislead the uninformed.

You express a simulated indignation at the fact that the letter of the CC CPSU dated February 12 this year, addressed to many fraternal Parties, was not sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and represent this almost as an attempt to conceal the content of this letter from you and as "sectarian" and "factional activity by the CPSU".

How do matters stand in reality? It was no accident that we did not send you the letter of February 12 this year. In the past few months alone, the CC CPSU has repeatedly approached the leadership of the CPC both verbally and in writing with proposals that measures be taken jointly for strengthening the unity of the socialist community and the international communist movement. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has not considered it necessary even to reply to our proposals. You ignored the proposals for normalizing the situation in the communist movement which the CPSU delegation advanced during the Moscow talks in July 1963. You did not reply to the letter of the CC CPSU dated November 29, 1963, which contained a concrete programme of action for eliminating the existing differences. In exactly the same way no answer was given to the repeated verbal approaches of leaders of the CPSU to the leadership of the CPC made through Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen, Liu Hsiao and Pan Tze-li.

If you care to refer to the above-mentioned documents and material, it will be easy for you to convince yourselves that they discuss the very same problems about which the CC CPSU wrote briefly to the fraternal Parties in its letter of February 12 this year.

While not answering our letters, you at the same time unfolded a widespread campaign against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties and sharply intensi-

fied the schismatic factional activity in the international communist movement and the democratic organizations. In an article on February 4 this year, the newspaper *Renmin Ribao* openly called for a split in the communist movement and demonstrated the unwillingness of the CPC leadership to reply to the positive proposals contained in the letter of the CC CPSU dated November 29, 1963.

In these circumstances the CC CPSU, in the interests of the unity of the communist movement and desirous of stating its Marxist-Leninist viewpoints which are being libellously assailed by the Chinese press, considered it necessary to discuss the question at the February Plenum of the Central Committee and thereafter to state its views openly. The CC CPSU decided to inform the fraternal Parties of this.

We had to tell them frankly that our proposals had not evoked any positive response from the leaders of the CPC and that the latter, broadening the schismatic activity, were continuing to intensify the attacks on the common course of the world communist movement. We declared that we shared the opinion of all the fraternal Parties standing genuinely on the positions of the Declaration and the Statement that it was necessary to give a rebuff to the schismatics and take collective measures for strengthening the unity of the communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism. We asserted once more the desirability of calling a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, concerning which you yourselves made repeated declarations at one time.

Our letter condemned the intention of the leadership of the CPC to create a factional bloc with a special programme under its own hegemony.

This is what was discussed in the February 12 letter of the CC CPSU.

Our principled position on all the questions contained in the February 12 letter was known to you long before we approached the fraternal Parties. Before approaching them in this letter, we tried more than once to discuss questions concerning the strengthening of the unity of the communist movement with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and it is no fault of ours that all these efforts produced no results. Insofar as you persistently failed to reply to our repeated letters and approaches and, what is more, presented them as expressions of our weakness, it was unnecessary and indeed useless to send you our letter of February 12.

After all this, one can only be surprised at your allegations that the CPSU "is engineering a new cam-

paign against the CPC" "behind the back of the CPC", adopting "two-faced tactics" and "engaging in divisive activities". It is not difficult to see that the intention of the leadership of the CPC in exaggerating the matter of the February 12 letter and distorting the real meaning of this step by the CC CPSU by every means represents yet another clumsy attempt to lay its own fault at somebody else's door and to shift to the CPSU the responsibility for the difficulties that have arisen in the communist movement exclusively through the fault of the CPC leadership.

As the saying goes among our people, this is using a well-known method, in which the real culprit cries, "Stop thief."

If one is to look for real double-dealers and schismatics acting "behind the backs of the fraternal Parties", one must speak of those who have carried on factional activity for many years, and must go to those who openly argue for the necessity of a split in the communist movement and even declare it to be "an inexorable law". How, for instance, is one to regard the following fact: as early as June 1960 Comrade Liu Shao-chi and other CPC leaders, in their talks with an Albanian delegation, slandered the CPSU, deliberately distorted the external and internal policies of our Party and tried to set the Albanian public leaders against the CPSU. These actions by the Chinese leadership evoked the just indignation of members of the Albanian delegation who openly said so to the Chinese comrades and informed the CC CPSU.

This is nothing but the most real behind-the-scenes factional activity against a fraternal Party.

One could cite innumerable facts, and if necessary publish documents, that expose the behind-the-scenes activity of the CPC leadership against the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, carried on over a number of years. Representatives of fraternal Parties already spoke about this to you directly at the Bucharest and Moscow meetings.

As for the CPSU, we do not conceal our views and activities from any fraternal Party, including the CPC to whose representatives we have repeatedly explained our views and standpoints on all the most important questions.

The CC CPSU has utilized its right, which every Communist Party has, the right to enter into consultation on whatever problems are of concern to it. Notwithstanding the fact that in your article of February 4 you permitted delirious invective against our Party and its leadership, the CC CPSU has not allowed itself to be provoked and has not taken the path of squabbling on the principle of "spearpoint against spearpoint". While considering it necessary to give a rebuff to your schismatic activity, we have decided, utilizing Party channels, to consult anew with the Central Committees of fraternal Parties and let them know the steps we plan for strengthening the unity of the communist movement. This is in full conformity with the principles and norms for relations between Marxist-Leninist par-

ties stipulated in the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings.

The approach of the CC CPSU to the fraternal Parties in its letter of February 12 was dictated by our Party's profound concern that the abnormal situation which has now arisen in the communist movement should be liquidated. It reflects the basic interests of all the Marxist-Leninist parties, the interests of the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

As for your attempts to juggle with words like "great-power chauvinism", "self-important", "domineering", "inveterate habit of posing as the 'father party'", "God's will", etc., we have to tell you that the use of such expressions only testifies to the weakness of your position and to your wish to cover up by these means your own activities, which you try to ascribe to us.

For four years the fraternal Parties of the whole world have been appealing to the CC CPSU to approach the matter from the point of view of common interests and to cease its attempts to impose its erroneous "general line" on the world communist movement. However, the leadership of the CPC has not only failed to heed the opinion of fraternal Parties but with growing ambition is posing as the sole heir of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the supreme judge as regards the theory and practice of communism. After all, it is none other than the leadership of the CPC that is attempting to dictate to the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries when they should begin the revolution and by what paths they should accomplish it. This leadership of the CPC pronounces sentence permitting no appeal on which country should be considered socialist and which not. It is that same leadership that affixes to whole Parties the labels of "correct" or "incorrect" and, depending upon whom it likes, declares some to be "outstanding Marxists" and others "modern revisionists".

Your great-power habits also appear in your last short letter when, addressing the CC CPSU, you demand that it send to you its letter of February 12. You do not request, but demand. One asks, by what right? Can it really be that you consider that anyone will take your tone seriously, become frightened and rush as fast as his legs can carry him to fulfil your every demand? This is not merely rude but simply ridiculous.

Your letter and its deliberately rude tone compels us to reflect once again: with what purpose was it sent? After all, nobody will believe that such an unseemly message was sent in the interests of the strengthening of friendship with the CPSU, of which you ceaselessly talk to your own people and the international communist movement, thus deceiving them. Anyone who acquaints himself with this letter will see that it is aimed at the aggravation of differences and the exacerbation of the situation in the communist movement.

If the leaders of the CPC genuinely cared for the solidarity and unity of the communist movement, they

would have had to leave their erroneous path, cease schismatic activity and take their stand in the same ranks as all the world's fraternal Parties.

On its part, the CC CPSU is always ready to do everything in its power for the unity of the world communist movement on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis.

Our Party, which places the interests of the unity of the world communist movement above all else, expresses its willingness to continue to make exertions for normalizing relations with the CPC.

The CC CPSU expresses its firm conviction that the world communist movement will overcome the existing difficulties, unite its ranks even more closely under the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin, and achieve new successes in the struggle for the great cause of the working class, for the victory of the national liberation movement, for the cause of peace and the security of the peoples, for the victory of communism.

With ardent fraternal greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of March 7, 1964, to the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

March 7, 1964

**The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of China**

Dear Comrades,

The CC CPSU has received your letter of February 27, 1964. We have studied it carefully. We must tell you frankly that your letter has greatly astonished us. In this letter you again lavishly employ such words as "divisive", "factional" and "sectarian", with the help of which you attempt to accuse our Party of some sort of behind-the-scenes activity against the CPC.

Recently you have been trying more and more often to place the blame for the emergence of the differences and the exacerbation of the struggle on the shoulders of the CPSU. The meaning of all these attempts is perfectly clear to us—you wish to justify your own actions and inflame the differences by shifting the responsibility to others.

We can say with a clear conscience that we have no responsibility whatsoever for the situation that has been created. The CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties have made and are making every effort to settle the differences with the Communist Party of China on the basis of the principles in the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings. In its attitude toward your Party, the CC CPSU has at all times proceeded from the position of not allowing the intensification of differences. At first we thought that the divergencies that arose several years ago were fortuitous. We did not wish to believe the information we received that the Chinese comrades were acting behind our backs and taking a line of exacerbating the struggle. We have striven at all times for mutual relations of the greatest brotherhood and confidence.

The CC CPSU is well aware of the importance of friendship between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China and between

the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, whose relations must be built on the foundation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. We have more than once written and stated to you—as we did for instance when Comrade Liu Hsiao, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the U.S.S.R., was leaving Moscow in October 1962—our sincere desire that the friendship between the CPSU and the CPC should remain as good as it was before 1958. This was what we most ardently hoped for. But now, unfortunately, we see that these hopes are not being realized.

The central point of the February 27 letter of the CC CPC is in fact a proposal for the intensification of public polemics. In proposing the conclusion of an agreement on mutual publication of critical materials directed against one another, what you desire is, in essence, that the polemics between the Parties should embrace the peoples of our countries.

You must understand, comrades, that were one to publish your articles which contain so many unjust assertions, and slanders against the internal and external policy of the Soviet Union, and which go so far as to assert that the "restoration of capitalism" is taking place in the U.S.S.R. and it has entered into "collusion with American imperialism", it would only arouse a feeling of legitimate indignation among the Soviet people. Naturally, the Soviet press would not leave such attacks unanswered. And all this would mean not taking the line of strengthening the friendship between the great peoples of the Soviet Union and China but taking the line of inflaming hostility, mistrust and unfriendliness between them.

Indeed, the polemics you are conducting have long ago gone beyond the bounds of ideological dispute and been turned by you into a weapon for the struggle against the CPSU and the entire world communist movement. You pour torrents of dirt over our Party and our country, and are in essence employing the same tactics as that of the opponents of the Soviet state, who

try to divide the people from the Party and the Party from the leadership. Such actions are impermissible, and calculations based on them are simply naive. Your attacks on the CPSU, which has rich experience of struggle against the Trotskyites, the Right opportunists and the nationalists, and against external enemies, are only promoting the even greater unity of Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people around their militant communist vanguard.

In telling the Party the truth about your subversive activities, we have always retained and continue to adhere to self-restraint and a quiet tone of voice, and never permit any insults toward the fraternal Communist Party of China, its leaders and the Chinese people. Please consider what would happen if we too were to take your path and reply to you with the same abuse that you heap on us, and call upon the Chinese people to fight against their leadership. If we took this path, what sort of Communists or leaders of Communist Parties would we be and what sort of followers of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism who are confronted with the tasks of struggle to build a communist society? Communism is not the inflaming of enmity among nations; on the contrary it is their unification into a single fraternal family, regardless of nationality, colour of skin and language, for the irreconcilable struggle against exploiters and imperialism.

Guided by these very considerations, the CC CPSU in its letter of November 29, 1963 again proposed the cessation of public polemics and put forward a constructive programme for the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations and normalization of the situation in the communist movement. At the same time, the publication of polemical material in Soviet newspapers and periodicals was discontinued. All the fraternal Parties recognized these actions as expressions of the good will of the CPSU and hopefully expected that the leadership of the CPC would support our initiative.

Unfortunately the CC CPC did the opposite. While deliberately delaying an official answer to our appeal, you replied to it in fact by inflaming the polemics, by intensifying schismatic activities in the communist movement and by directing even more slanderous accusations at the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties. This campaign culminated in the *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* article of February 4, 1964 which proclaimed that the Soviet Union, together with American imperialism, was the "arch-enemy" of People's China and contained impermissible insinuations concerning our Party and its Central Committee. The February 4 article represented an attempt to provide some kind of theoretical basis for the schismatic activities and to declare that a split in the communist movement was a phenomenon conforming to laws. This disgraceful document, like other similar material, was distributed in huge numbers and broadcast all over the world by radio in Russian and other languages.

In these circumstances, we could no longer remain silent, we had to tell the whole truth about the words and the real deeds of the Chinese leadership so that

the Plenum of the CC CPSU could discuss and appraise the situation that had arisen and say its weighty word. After discussing the question of the struggle waged by the CPSU for the unity of the communist movement, the February Plenum of the CC CPSU, at which 6,000 Party activists were present, unanimously approved the line of the Presidium of the Central Committee.

In full conformity with the accepted principles governing relations in the communist movement, the CC CPSU considered it its duty to inform fraternal Parties of our intention to publish in the press the relevant materials of the Plenum and to rebuff the schismatic activities of the CPC leadership.

It is quite understandable that there was no sense at all in sending you our letter addressed to other fraternal Parties. This would have been useless, if only because we had already repeatedly approached you with the same questions and received no answer. The February 12 letter of the CC CPSU contained no secrets, it contained nothing we had not talked about to the leadership of the CPC much earlier. Nonetheless, you decided to use this letter as a pretext for accusing the CPSU of "behind-the-scenes" "anti-Chinese" activity. It is appropriate first of all to ask: Has a Communist Party no right to address letters to whom-ever it considers necessary? Do we demand that the CC CPC give us an account of its correspondence?

But this is not the whole matter. We have already told you how absurd such accusations are, particularly when made by those who over several years have really carried on behind-the-scenes subversive activities against fraternal Parties. We can cite many examples of how the CC CPC, acting behind the backs of Marxist-Leninist parties and their leadership, is inspiring the creation of anti-Party schismatic groups and trying to unite them in opposition to the world communist movement.

Losing the sense of reality, the CC CPC attempted to present us with an ultimatum — it demanded that it be sent the CC CPSU letter of February 12. When we politely explained that no Communist Party should permit itself to talk with another in the language of ultimative demands, you alleged, obviously obscuring the issue, that there is no difference between the words "request" and "demand" in the Chinese language.

We hold a much higher opinion of the Chinese language. The Chinese are a great people with an ancient culture and understand perfectly well the shades of meaning between "request" and "demand". It may even happen that the words are the same but the music is quite different. Incidentally, the word "request" was found in the Chinese language, after all, when there was a desire to use it. We hope that from now on the language of ultimatums will be excluded forever from our relations.

Why, then, was it found necessary to permit oneself to address a fraternal Party in this way? Why was your entire letter of February 27, as were the preceding ones, written in an exceptionally rude and

impertinent tone, and studded with imprecations and insulting expressions? To irritate us, to force us to depart from principled ideological and communist positions and embark upon a "squabble at the well-mouth"? Apparently these were indeed your intentions.

Seeking political capital, you constantly deck yourselves out as "knights" of equality and at the same time try to convince people that the CPSU is clinging to the role of a "father party". We cannot avoid having the impression that all this is done solely to enable you yourselves to fill the role of a "father party". But our times are different now. Even in Stalin's lifetime this role had become obsolete, although he did take such a position. By permitting abuses of power within our Party and in relation to fraternal Parties and annihilating people who had opinions of their own, he forfeited people's confidence and destroyed his own prestige. During and after the war, it seems, Stalin himself felt that one should not order Parties about at one's own will. This, in particular, was one of the reasons for the dissolution of the Comintern.

After Stalin's death our Party, having analyzed all these things honestly and in a Marxist-Leninist way, took steps to correct the situation that had arisen. On its own initiative, the CC CPSU corrected Stalin's errors and restored the Leninist principle of equality in its relations with fraternal Parties and countries. We withdrew our troops from countries where they had previously been stationed, including the troops from Port Arthur. We liquidated the economic joint companies in China and in other countries and took a number of other measures. It is not superfluous to note that the CC CPC at one time fully approved and set a high value on these steps taken by our Party.

We still stand on the same positions. Today the situation is not what it was, for instance, in 1919: today Lenin is no longer alive, and no one living can take his place. It is only collectively that the Marxist-Leninist parties can work out a common line for the communist movement. There are no, and cannot be any, "father" or "son" parties, but there is and must be a family of fraternal Parties with equal rights and collective wisdom. Success will never attend efforts made in disregard of the opinions of others to impose one's own views on them and attach labels to all who disagree with such views. That is why, even today, we call on you yet to think over your viewpoints again, and to weigh up carefully where they can lead you. That is why, despite your incessant assaults on the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, we have exercised and are continuing to exercise patience and are ready to make every effort for normalizing the situation and strengthening the solidarity of the international communist movement.

The CC CPSU has repeatedly expressed the view that the best thing today for the interests of the working class and the revolutionary movement and the cause of world socialism would be the cessation of the public polemics between Communist Parties. Once again we propose — let us proceed in all matters from the prin-

ciples of the Declaration and the Statement, and discuss disputed questions at meetings between fraternal Parties or at international conferences among them. The discussions should proceed with tact and self-respect, with an understanding of the full responsibility we bear in our actions, so that the dispute may not lead to a split and do damage to the holy of holies — the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of socialism.

We have no right to forget the behest of V.I. Lenin, who warned that dissensions among Communists serve to benefit the imperialists. "If discussions," said V.I. Lenin, "then arguments; if arguments, then dissensions; if dissensions, it means the Communists have become weaker: then press on, seize the moment, take advantage of their weakening. This has become the slogan of the world that is hostile to us. We must not forget this for an instant." (*Collected Works, Fourth Russian ed., Vol. 32, pp.144-145*).

If you were really interested in strengthening the unity of the international communist ranks, then you should have accepted our proposals long ago, listened to the voice of reason and taken account of the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The more stubbornly you persist in your intention to inflame the polemics and in your schismatic activities, the more grounds will the Communists and all the progressive forces have to be convinced that the CC CPC is not guided by the interests of socialism at all, but by incorrectly understood national — in effect — nationalist, selfish interests.

We could refute point by point the slanderous accusations against the CPSU made off-handedly in the February 27 letter of the CC CPC, but we do not consider it necessary to do so now. What is the use of arguments, when you have no intention of seriously entering into the essence of the questions but instead simply pour yet another bucket of dirt over our Party?

We will not fall for any provocation but will proceed along Lenin's path together with the Communists of the whole world in one family. The CC CPSU again expresses confidence that the Communist Party of China will sooner or later find the correct path to unity with this family. The sooner this happens, the better. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to struggle for the unity of all fraternal Parties on Marxist-Leninist and proletarian-internationalist principles, and on the basis of the programmatic documents of the world communist movement — the Declaration and the Statement.

We have also received your letter of February 29. From this letter, which is a belated answer to ours of November 29, 1963, it is evident that you have rejected all the proposals we made for the sake of a radical improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations, of the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the USSR and the PRC and of the unity of the ranks of the world communist movement. The whole spirit of your letter demonstrates that the CC

CPC is not concerned with improving relations between our Parties and countries but instead is inventing different accusations against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. We resolutely repudiate all your libellous attacks on the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The CC CPSU will give its answer to this letter and will show the real meaning of your distortion of the ideological-political views of our Party and its practical activity; it will re-establish the truth.

But already in our present letter we deem it necessary to set forth our position on the question that worries the whole communist movement — that of ways to overcome the differences and attain unity and solidarity among the fraternal Parties.

We note that after many months of stalling and delay the CC CPC has agreed with our view concerning the necessity of continuing the bilateral meeting of representatives of the CPSU and the CPC, and afterwards of preparing and calling a meeting of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The CC CPSU takes a positive view of this fact and considers it to be its internationalist duty to do its utmost, in the course of these projected meetings and discussions, to help strengthen the unity of the communist movement and the solidarity of the fraternal Parties on a Marxist-Leninist platform.

At the same time, we do not understand your motives for delaying for a long period the taking of these measures for which the time is fully ripe. By now it is perfectly clear what harm has been done to the communist movement as a result of your exacerbation of polemics and factional activity in its midst. The questions that demand discussion have emerged fully, and the aim of the meetings is perfectly clear. Moreover, one cannot ignore the fact that the majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties are stressing ever more urgently the necessity for an international meeting.

All the more inexplicable is the delaying of the bilateral meeting between representatives of the CPSU and the CPC. Eight months have already passed since the first meeting and you propose postponing the second for another period of similar length, at a time when the speediest possible settlement of existing differences is urgently required for the improvement of the relations between our two Parties and countries, and in the interests of the unity of the international communist movement and all democratic and revolutionary forces so that they can activate their joint struggle against imperialism. It is very important that our Parties should not be diverted into endless argument but concentrate our main attention on the solution of the immense tasks confronting us in the building of socialism and communism and on the struggle against our common enemy — imperialism.

Your proposal that the meeting of representatives of the CPC and the CPSU be held as late as October 1964 means in fact that the meeting of fraternal Parties would be delayed by at least a year and that the settlement of the existing differences would thus be

further postponed and these differences would be further exacerbated. In our opinion, this would only bring harm to the fraternal Parties and the whole world communist movement.

We also fail to understand the motives by which you were guided in making the proposal that a preparatory meeting be called composed of representatives of only seventeen fraternal Parties (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Viet Nam, GDR, China, Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, USSR, Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, Japan, Italy and France).

We consider it appropriate to hold the preparatory meeting with the participation of representatives of all the fraternal Parties that were on the drafting committee of the Moscow Meeting of 1960 and that jointly prepared the Statement (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Viet Nam, GDR, China, Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, USSR, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Finland, Argentina, Brazil, Syria, India, Indonesia, U.S.A., Japan and Australia).

This composition, covering the main areas of the revolutionary movement, was approved at that time by all the fraternal Parties, and experience showed it to be helpful to the successful conduct of the 1960 Meeting and the formulation of its documents. Naturally our Party, which is charged with the duty of calling the international conference, will approach all the Parties and consult with them.

Guided by all these considerations, the CC CPSU proposes:

1. That the meeting of representatives of the CPSU and the CPC be continued in Peking in May 1964.
2. That the preparatory meeting of representatives of 26 fraternal Parties be called in June-July 1964.
3. That the international meeting be held, with the agreement of the fraternal Parties, in the autumn of 1964.

The CC CPSU emphasizes that for the successful implementation of all these measures it is necessary that there be a cessation of public polemics and an abandonment of all types of subversive and schismatic activity in the socialist community and the communist movement.

We hope that the CC CPC will agree to these proposals and will make its constructive contribution to the preparation and implementation of the projected measures. Our proposal of these measures is prompted by deep concern for the settlement of the differences and for the unity of the international communist movement, and these measures are in accord with the fundamental interests of the peoples of the socialist countries, the working class and the working people of all countries, and with the interests of communism.

With comradely greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

No Violation of Cuba's Sovereignty!

Following is an abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of May 5 entitled "Yankee Imperialism Must Not Violate Cuba's Sovereignty." — Ed.

BULLY that it is, U.S. imperialism has once more revealed its true character by brazenly threatening Cuba with intensified aggression.

Washington has not only announced that it will continue its spy flights over Cuba, but has declared menacingly that Cuba must not take any action against these flagrant violations of its air space. While President Johnson growled that "any action to stop [the flights] would be a very serious action," Pentagon officials bragged that any Cuban counter-moves would be met with massive bombing. Hundreds of U.S. jet fighter-bombers are said to have been massed in naval and air bases in Florida and on two aircraft carriers cruising near by Cuba's coasts.

Premier Fidel Castro, in his address to the May Day mass rally in Havana, has again called attention to the serious nature of these aggressive moves. He has solemnly declared that Cuba will not tolerate the U.S. air intrusions and will adopt every means to stop the Yankee imperialists from committing such acts of piracy and banditry. "If all reasoning fails," he warned, "if legal and moral arguments become ineffective, we shall consider such flights armed aggression against our sovereignty and will repel them with arms."

Since 1962 when the "October crisis" seriously jeopardized world peace, Yankee imperialism has not for one moment abated its aggression against Cuba. In a note to U.N. Secretary General U Thant, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa revealed that after October 1962, besides continuing with its economic blockade and preparations for collective intervention, the United States launched 15 armed attacks against Cuba, made more than 600 spy flights and from its base in Guantanamo staged more than 1,000 provocations and acts of sabotage. As Premier Castro has pointed out, "The policy of the Yankee imperialist government is getting more aggressive every day . . . and becoming more and more overtly reactionary and interventionist." Facts have proved that the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression is the root cause of tension in the Caribbean and that there can be no peace there unless this policy is defeated and U.S. violations of Cuba's sovereignty stopped.

The Cuban people love peace. In order to reduce tension in the Caribbean, the Cuban Revolutionary Government put forward during the "October crisis" its five demands to safeguard the country's independence and sovereignty and made them the basis for peaceful nego-

tiation with the U.S. Yankee imperialism's answer to these peaceful aspirations of the Cuban people, however, was to step up its aggressive provocations and war threats. In the vain hope of coercing the Cuban people into giving it the right to violate Cuba's sovereignty, U.S. imperialism has even used its agreement with the Soviet Union on so-called "on-site inspection" as a justification for aggression against Cuba. Revolutionary Cuba has taken a very explicit and resolute stand on this question. "We refused to accept inspection after the 'October crisis.'" In doing so, we were exercising our legitimate sovereign rights as an independent nation," declared Premier Castro. He also said: "We know where lies the demarcation line between the love of peace and submission to the enemy of peace and of our fatherland. Beyond this line, compromise means betrayal, concession means losing everything." This righteous stand of the Cuban people is greatly admired by revolutionary people everywhere.

The Cuban people are fully confident that they can defeat the aggressive moves of U.S. imperialism even though it has a mammoth military machine and all sorts of modern weapons. This is because they understand that what really counts is people, an awakened people, and not weapons. As was pointed out by Premier Castro, Cuba relies not on the protection of intercontinental rockets but on the dignity and courage of its people. In Castro's own words, "The imperialists may have more guns and aeroplanes, but they can never have more courage, for courage springs from the sense of righteousness, justice, and the rights and legitimate aspirations of the people."

The history of revolutionary Cuba in its more than five years of existence is one of opposition to U.S. imperialist aggression and defence of revolutionary gains by reliance on struggle by the people. It was by relying on the people's struggle that three years ago the Revolutionary Government of Cuba wiped out the U.S. mercenary invaders on Giron Beach; that two years ago it frustrated U.S. nuclear blackmail and upheld national sovereignty and defended the revolutionary gains; and that throughout the past five years revolutionary Cuba has been able to overcome repeated U.S. imperialist provocations and sabotage and stand firm in the Caribbean, a red flag which inspires the people of Latin America and the rest of the world.

The struggle of the Cuban people against U.S. imperialist aggression is an important contribution to the worldwide struggle against imperialism. By stubbornly insisting on its "prerogative" to make spy flights over Cuba, U.S. imperialism not only violates Cuba's sovereignty but sets a detestable precedent for

the wanton trampling underfoot of other nations' sovereign rights. This is the reason why Premier Castro has said, "Cuba is safeguarding here not only its own rights but the rights of all peoples in the world." Like

the peoples everywhere, the Chinese people look upon Cuba's struggle as their struggle and stand foursquare behind Cuba in its fight to curb the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism.

Lessons From the Reactionary Military Coup in Brazil

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on April 30, 1964. Subheads and boldface emphases are ours.—Ed.

U.S. IMPERIALISM has instructed the Brazilian reactionaries to stage a military coup d'etat and it has succeeded in subverting the legitimately constituted Joao Goulart government and placing Brazil under a military dictatorship. The group which carried out the coup d'etat and seized power has started a rabid campaign of repression throughout the country. Many persons known in the military and political world have been purged; thousands of patriots have been arrested and persecuted. The broad masses of the Brazilian people are receiving another baptism in blood.

Washington's Criminal Record in Brazil

It is obvious that Washington masterminded the coup. U.S. ruling circles never bothered to conceal their dislike for the Goulart government. What is more, they all along openly colluded with and supported the Brazilian group which staged the recent armed rebellion. As early as the end of 1962, the U.S. propaganda machine disclosed that Washington had envisaged a revolt which would "force Goulart out and put the military in." More recently, it disclosed that the coup d'etat was the result of more than a year's painstaking planning by a "secret revolutionary command" having close ties with Washington. After the armed rebellion broke out, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk lost no time in greeting and declaring their support for the Brazilian military junta, even when the latter were still far from having the situation under control. This threw further light on their eagerness to overthrow the Goulart government. U.S. imperialism, therefore, cannot possibly whitewash its crime in engineering the coup.

The Goulart government became a thorn in the side of the ruling group in the United States because, urged on by the Brazilian people, it followed certain policies which more or less reflected their national-democratic aspirations. In foreign policy, it adhered to the principles of non-interference and self-determination and maintained diplomatic relations with Cuba. At home, it took a number of measures to restrict foreign capital and safeguard the interests of the nation. For instance, it revoked the mining rights granted the Hanna Corporation of the United States,

put restrictions on the remittance abroad of profits earned by foreign capital, proclaimed a state monopoly of petrol imports, and was going to take over the private oil refineries mostly owned by U.S. capital. In addition, it took a stand in favour of agrarian and other social reforms. These measures directly affected the interests of U.S. imperialism and of the pro-U.S. comprador forces in Brazil. For this reason, on seven occasions since Joao Goulart came to power, the United States provoked cabinet crises or sponsored attempts at a coup d'etat until it finally engineered the armed rebellion which overthrew the Goulart government.

The *Washington Evening Star* carried a report from Rio de Janeiro on April 3 which said quite candidly that in relation to the United States "the two most sensitive areas [are]—on the international level—Brazilian policy on Castro Cuba, and—on the domestic level—the controversial law rammed through by Mr. Goulart controlling remittances abroad of profits earned by foreign companies here . . ." but that "competent observers believe that the new government is almost certainly disposed to end this conflict [with the United States] in both areas."

Luther Hodges, U.S. Secretary of Commerce, declared gleefully early in April that the ouster of President Joao Goulart had created an "infinitely better" atmosphere for United States trade and investment in Brazil.

These statements make it crystal clear why over the last few years U.S. imperialism has been in such deadly earnest about toppling the Goulart government.

U.S. imperialism has long intended to get Brazil, the largest country in Latin America, completely under its thumb and enslave it. U.S. monopoly capital has penetrated Brazil and invested a large amount of money in that country. By early 1960 U.S. government and private investments and loans there amounted to \$2,500 million. U.S. capital has a strong grip on Brazil's economic arteries. It controls the key banks, maintains a powerful hold over the major industries and manipulates trade in coffee and cotton, Brazil's most important agricultural products.

Statistics show that from 1947 to 1960, the United States made a profit of two dollars on every dollar it invested in Brazil.

On top of this, the United States has been shipping out large quantities of gold and diamonds from Brazil continuously, clandestinely and without compensation. To maintain and intensify its plunder of Brazil and to turn it into a tool for its policy of aggression in Latin America and in the rest of the world, the United States has been trying to establish a government in Brazil which will submit to its every dictate.

But the broad masses of the Brazilian people will not allow the U.S. imperialists to go on plundering and suppressing them. They firmly demand that the national independence be safeguarded; they resolutely demand liberation from U.S. imperialist enslavement. A sharp struggle has been going on between the patriotic democratic forces of Brazil on the one hand and the U.S. imperialists and Brazilian reactionaries on the other.

These latter have been doing their utmost to check and strangle the Brazilian people's national-democratic revolutionary movement. One government after another in Brazil which showed the slightest tinge of nationalism has been finished off by the U.S. imperialists in one way or another. Four of the six postwar presidents in Brazil were overthrown by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In 1945 the United States staged a coup d'état and overthrew the Vargas government. In August 1954 it instigated reactionary military officers to stage another coup, thus forcing President Vargas who again assumed office after his victory in the 1950 elections to commit suicide.

In August 1961 the U.S. and Brazilian reaction put the screws on President Quadros and forced him to resign.

But these criminal activities of the United States failed to achieve its desired aim of stopping the Brazilian national-democratic movement. The Goulart government at the demand of the people went on carrying out certain policies in the interests of the nation. This was why U.S. imperialism made up its mind to direct the reactionary forces in Brazil to start an armed rebellion, establish a military dictatorship and institute a fascist reign of terror, hoping to wipe out at one stroke the Brazilian people's national-democratic revolutionary movement.

U.S. imperialism has been roundly denounced by Latin American and world public opinion for stage-managing this counter-revolutionary coup. Progressives and public opinion in general in the Latin American countries have all stressed the need to draw the necessary lessons from events in Brazil.

What then are the lessons which the Latin American people and the people of the world can draw from the Brazilian events?

The First Lesson

The first lesson is that **U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Latin American peoples and that no illusions must be entertained about this most ferocious enemy.**

The Goulart government wanted no more than to safeguard the interests of the nation and effect certain social reforms. U.S. imperialism would not tolerate this; Washington's ruling group has thus determined to get rid of that government. This proves to the hilt that the interests of the Latin American countries in winning national independence are incompatible with the interests of U.S. imperialism in committing aggression. U.S. investments total more than \$10,000 million in Latin America. U.S. monopolies run big estates and industrial enterprises in every part of the continent. The profits they squeeze out of Latin America in various ways exceed \$2,000 million every year. There is hardly a Latin American country where the United States has no vested interest. The U.S. ruling circles talk glibly about assisting the Latin American countries in working out "reforms" and making "progress." But in reality, they refuse to tolerate even the slightest reform or progress in the Latin American countries. The U.S. imperialists' policy in regard to the Latin American countries is to maintain and tighten their control over them in every possible way so that they can go on plundering and exploiting this rich continent to their heart's content. That is why any Latin American country showing a desire to preserve its independence, protect its national interests, or carry out social reforms must inevitably incur the implacable hatred of U.S. imperialism. It is, indeed, difficult to keep count of the legitimately constituted governments in Latin America that have been overthrown by U.S. imperialism because they wanted to defend their national interests. The Goulart government is only the latest case in point.

What has already happened in many Latin American countries made it clear long ago that the Latin American countries face two alternatives: either they allow themselves to be ruled by lackeys of U.S. imperialism and be enslaved and exploited by the United States as in the case of Nicaragua or the Dominican Republic, or they resolutely rid themselves of the U.S. aggressive forces and oppose U.S. intervention as in the case of Cuba. There is no third possibility. The events in Brazil are fresh proof that there is no room for the people of the Latin American countries to reach a compromise with U.S. imperialism and its henchmen. The people of any Latin American country who refuse to subject themselves to enslavement and exploitation and who want to achieve real progress and emancipation, must combat U.S. imperialism and its stooges resolutely, and oppose and defeat these enemies.

The Second Lesson

The second lesson is that **the national-democratic forces in the Latin American countries, like those in all other countries controlled and enslaved by U.S. imperialism, must be fully prepared to deal with armed repression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and to strike back relentlessly, by armed force if necessary.**

U.S. imperialism has always used counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics in its interference in the Latin American countries, and aggression against

them while armed intervention, armed repression and armed subversion are its customary methods in smothering the national-democratic movements there. Apart from supporting the reactionaries of these countries and helping them to suppress the people's revolutionary movements by every conceivable means, U.S. imperialism has continuously and directly engineered and unleashed armed intervention and subversion. Since the end of World War II, it has engineered more than 30 armed rebellions or military coups in 14 Latin American countries. Any government, even one fostered by it, is overthrown by force whenever it incurs its displeasure. "Those who obey will be preserved and those who disobey will be ruined," is the policy of U.S. imperialism towards the Latin American countries. In other parts of the world, too, U.S. imperialism uses violence against the revolutionary peoples fighting for liberation. Its armed intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville) and south Viet Nam are cases in point.

The Chinese people have their own experience in this respect. After their victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1945, the whole nation longed for peace and democracy. The Chinese Communist Party worked resolutely to realize these aspirations of the people. However, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in China, the Kuomintang reactionaries, were bent on crushing with arms the Chinese people's revolutionary forces. In these circumstances, the Chinese Communist Party led the people throughout the country in the struggle for peace and democracy and at the same time, was engaged in accumulating strength, to be ready with revolutionary arms to deal with armed repression by U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out then that the revolutionary people must be prepared to take up arms to deal with oppression and massacre by the imperialists and reactionaries. He said: "When we see the other fellow holding something in his hands, we should do some investigating. What does he hold in his hands? Swords. What are swords for? For killing. Whom does he want to kill with his swords? The people. Having made these findings, investigate further—the Chinese people, too, have hands and can take up swords, they can forge a sword if there is none handy. The Chinese people have discovered this truth after long investigation and study. Warlords, landlords, local bullies and bad gentry and the imperialists all have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after the same fashion." Thanks to such preparedness, the Chinese people were able to take up their swords and resist when the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in China, the Kuomintang reactionaries, brandished their swords to suppress the Chinese people's revolution. After a protracted armed struggle, the Chinese people defeated their enemies and carried the revolution to its great victory.

The Cuban people understand this truth. After a bitter armed struggle, they overthrew the rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackey, Batista, in Cuba and achieved genuine national independence and liberation. After

the victory of the revolution, the Cuban people persisted in armed struggle against aggression by arming the whole nation and defended the fruits of the revolution by smashing, time and again, armed intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism. Influenced and inspired by the victory of the Cuban revolution, more and more Latin American people have come to understand that armed repression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys must be opposed with revolutionary armed struggle and they have thus embarked, one after another, on the path of armed struggle. This is where hope lies for the victory of the national-democratic revolution in Latin America.

The tragedy of Brazil lies in the fact that Goulart and the political forces supporting him, while trying to uphold certain national interests as urged by the people, insufficiently understood the savage nature of U.S. imperialism and its stooges and lacked vigilance. In particular, they neither had reliable armed forces under their control nor firmly relied on the people. So they failed to crush effectively armed subversion by U.S. imperialism and the Brazilian reactionaries.

The Brazilian tragedy is a fresh lesson writ in blood. While U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are intensifying their violent and ruthless activities of suppression, the modern revisionists are preaching "peaceful transition" to the oppressed nations and peoples of the world, the Brazilian and other Latin American peoples not excepted. By so doing, they are not only spreading an illusion but simply committing a crime. Counter-revolutionary violence can only be defeated with revolutionary violence. This is a universally applicable truth. The Second Havana Declaration says: "Revolution, in history, is as the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life: it does not use forceps unless it is necessary, but it will unhesitatingly use them every time labour requires them. A labour that brings the hope of a better life to the enslaved and exploited masses." The Brazilian tragedy has once again borne out the correctness of this conclusion from the converse side. It has provided fresh proof of the bankruptcy of the theory of "peaceful transition."

The Third Lesson

The third lesson from the Brazilian events is that **in order to carry out a national-democratic revolution and win national and social liberation, the oppressed nations and peoples of Latin America must form a broad national-democratic united front by rallying all patriotic domestic forces and resolutely fighting against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.**

The Second Havana Declaration correctly says: "It is possible to organize the immense majority of the people in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle for the goals of liberation which unite the efforts of the working class, the peasants, the intellectual workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the most progressive sectors of the national bourgeoisie. Together these sectors include the immense majority of the people and command great social forces which are capable of sweeping away imperialist domination and feudal reaction.

"From the old militant Marxist to the sincere Catholic who has no love for the Yankee monopolies and feudal landowners, all can and must fight side by side in this broad movement for the welfare of their nations, for the welfare of their peoples, for the welfare of America."

In the Latin American countries, as in all other countries subjected to U.S. imperialist oppression, control and enslavement, broad sections of the people oppose U.S. imperialist oppression and enslavement and want to win and uphold their national independence. Only a handful of feudal landowners and comprador bourgeois elements who make up the most reactionary forces are willing to sell out their national interests, to serve as the stooges of U.S. imperialism and oppose broad sections of their own people. It is therefore entirely possible and necessary to unite the more than 90 per cent of the patriotic people, to isolate the reactionary forces and defeat U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

A decisive factor in the consolidation and development of this united front is the extensive arousing of the masses of the people. This united front must have a strong leadership and base itself on an alliance between the workers and peasants, who form the overwhelming majority of the population. The peasant question is a key question in the national-democratic revolution of the Latin American countries. It is necessary, therefore, to make extensive efforts to develop the peasants' movement, to help them organize themselves into a main force of the national-democratic revolution. That is why in the Latin American countries a national-democratic united front cannot be consolidated, nor can it lead the national-democratic revolution to victory, if it does not have a national-democratic revolutionary programme that includes a solution to the land problem.

Brazil's national-democratic revolutionary movement has suffered a setback precisely because it did not have a broad united front with a strong leadership. It had not truly aroused and organized the broad mass of peasants and other sections of the people. Hence it could not organize a powerful counter-attack in face of the armed rebellion engineered by imperialism and its lackeys.

The Fourth Lesson

The last lesson to be learnt from the Brazilian events is that **the people of all the Latin American countries must form the broadest possible international united front to fight their common enemy — U.S. imperialism, and support each other and co-ordinate their activities in the common struggle.**

U.S. imperialism is pursuing the following policy in order to maintain its colonial rule over the Latin American peoples: it is trying everything it can to strangle the Cuban revolution while tightening its grip over other Latin American countries, consolidating its bases of aggression and turning all other Latin American countries into vassal states of the Dominican

Republic type. One of the principal purposes of U.S. imperialism in baring its aggressive fangs to suppress the Brazilian national-democratic revolutionary movement is to intimidate and force other countries pursuing a policy of non-interference towards Cuba to bow to the United States, so that it may intensify its aggression against Cuba and put down the national-democratic revolutionary movements in other Latin American countries. Having made enemies everywhere in Latin America and finding it difficult to cope with one country without losing control of another, U.S. imperialism is trying to maintain firm control over the Latin American countries by subjugating them one by one.

In the light of this U.S. imperialist tactic, the common interests of the Latin American peoples demand that they should enter into a close alliance, support each other and, in particular, regard the defence of the Cuban revolution as one of their foremost tasks. They should forcefully condemn U.S. imperialist aggression against Cuba and suppression of the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries, and frustrate the U.S. scheme of subjugating them one by one. In this way they can certainly defeat U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention and finally drive the U.S. aggressive forces off the Latin American continent.

Brazilian People's Revolutionary Movement Marches On

The incitement of the reactionary military coup in Brazil by U.S. imperialism is no demonstration of its strength. On the contrary, it indicates that it is in worsening straits in Latin America and other parts of the world. At the present time the national-democratic movement is developing vigorously in Latin America where the people's movement against U.S. imperialism is surging forward and the governments of many countries are less and less willing to submit themselves to U.S. oppression and bullying and are trying to free themselves from U.S. control. The establishment of the military dictatorship in Brazil through open U.S. incitement of an armed rebellion shows that the United States is finding it increasingly difficult to maintain "order" in its "backyard."

Though the Brazilian national-democratic revolutionary movement has suffered a temporary setback as a result of the counter-revolutionary military coup, the Brazilian people's revolutionary movement cannot be smashed by any adverse reactionary current. Quite the contrary, the Brazilian people will heighten their consciousness and see their road of advance more clearly after this terrific shock. They will accumulate political and military strength, unfold new struggles and push their revolutionary movement to new heights. The revolutionary peoples of the Latin American countries will learn from the Brazilian coup, enhance their consciousness, form a united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and ignite the flames of armed revolution with greater resolve and bravery. A second, a third and even more Cubas will undoubtedly emerge in Latin America.

U.S. Schemings in Laos

EIGHT days after the U.S.-engineered Vientiane coup, Washington came up with another scheme to usurp the Laotian National Union Government's power. The salient point in this new ruse—an "eight-point programme" put forward on April 27 by Right-wing Vice-Premier General Phoumi Nosavan—was the *calling back to Vientiane of all government ministers.*

Supported by the Johnson Administration, the rebel group continues to hold Vientiane under its armed control. Although their original plot to throw out the National Union Government (see *Peking Review*, No. 18, p.29) ran into road blocks because of opposition from Laotian patriotic forces and condemnation by world public opinion, Washington and its Savannakhet lackeys hope to accomplish the same goal by some new sleight of hand.

New Trick, Same Ambitions

Analysing the Nosavan "programme," a *Renmin Ribao* editorial stated on May 1: "Though it bears the Savannakhet trade mark, it really is made in U.S.A." and its intention is still to "do away with the National Union Government and throw the 1962 Geneva agreements overboard." The editorial pointed out: "Several ministers of the National Union Government, including both neutralists and Neo Lao Haksat members, were compelled to leave Vientiane precisely because of the situation created by the pro-U.S. Right-wing forces. Ever since April 1963, when the neutralist Minister Quinim Pholsena was assassinated by the Laotian reactionaries under U.S. imperialist direction, an atmosphere of terror has prevailed in Vientiane. Following the incident, the Right-wing forces, by stubbornly rejecting proposals for the neutralization of Vientiane and the organization of a combined police force in the city, have made it impossible for the National Union Government to function normally." The situation deteriorated when the rebel group launching the armed coup placed the Premier under custody and imprisoned many government officials. Clearly, "so long as the rebel ring-leaders go unpunished, Prince Souvanna Phouma remains under duress, the personal safety of government ministers is not guaranteed and the situation in Vientiane continues to be abnormal, the return of ministers to the capital is completely out of the question."

Renmin Ribao declared that, by threatening to replace the National Union Government by a new government if the ministers failed to return to Vientiane to "start their work again" Phoumi Nosavan had let the cat out of the bag. "The plain truth is that Phoumi Nosavan wants the Neo Lao Haksat and patriotic

neutralists to accept the Vientiane rebellion as a fait accompli and cloak the coup in legality. If the Neo Lao Haksat refuses to be taken in, then he will blame it for scuttling the National Union Government."

Changing National Union Government Illegal

Any attempt to change the Laotian Government without unanimous agreement by the three Laotian parties is in contravention of agreements previously signed by them as well as of the 1962 Geneva agreements and, therefore, is impermissible, *Renmin Ribao* pointed out.

It declared: "Whatever method the pro-U.S. Right-wing forces may adopt, it would be equally illegal, whether the National Union Government is replaced, reorganized or 'expanded.' It is well known that the National Union Government was formed according to principles laid down in the Zurich and Plain of Jars agreements which were agreed on by the three parties concerned. In the Plain of Jars agreement the distribution of cabinet portfolios and secretaries of state among the three parties is stipulated. It also laid down the principle of unanimous agreement for all major problems of the state. The Provisional National Union Government of Laos which was formed under these principles is the sole legally constituted government recognized by the three political forces in Laos and the nations participating in the 1962 Geneva conference."

Only Solution to Laotian Crisis

On behalf of the Chinese people, *Renmin Ribao* expressed full support for the April 26 statement of Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat and Vice-Premier of the National Union Government. Prince Souphanouvong had announced that "since Prince Souvanna Phouma is under duress and the strict control of the rebel clique, all moves made by him without the unanimous agreement of the three parties are completely null and void." He also said that he was firmly resolved "to defend the National Union Government on the basis of the Geneva agreements and the various agreements signed by the three parties" and that he would "never recognize any reorganization of the government." Referring to this statement, *Renmin Ribao* declared: "We hold that the only solution to the Laotian crisis lies in the disbanding of the reactionary coup junta, punishment of the principal rebels, immediate restoration of freedom to Prince Souvanna Phouma and all personnel arrested by the rebel group and, in accordance with the proposals put forward by Prince Souphanouvong, bringing about the

neutralization and demilitarization of Luang Prabang and Vientiane so as to create the necessary conditions for the normal functioning of the National Union Government.

"We hope that the participants in and Co-Chairmen of the 1962 Geneva conference will pay serious attention to the new plot of U.S. imperialism and its flunkys and take prompt and effective action to check it."

International Communist Movement

Letter of the Viet Nam Workers' Party To All Fraternal Parties

Proposing Necessary Preparations for a Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties

THE Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party has sent a letter to all fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties proposing necessary preparations for a conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, according to a VNA report on April 29.

The letter, dated April 21, 1964, reads in full:

Dear Comrades,

Together with all other Communists in the world, we are night and day concerned over the increasingly serious developments which are menacing the solidarity and unity of the socialist camp and of our international communist movement.

Like many other fraternal Parties, we have so far considered that if the differences are let to deepen further and further and to lead to a split in the socialist camp and in the international communist movement, this would constitute an immense loss for the world revolutionary movement involving incalculably harmful consequences. That is the reason why since January 10, 1962, we have made repeated proposals for the convening of a conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties with a view to resolving the differences, and strengthening solidarity and unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the face of the extremely grave situation now prevailing, we are aware that good preparations are required if such a conference is effectively to bring about the desired results. We propose that such preparations be made in two steps as follows:

First step: Resumption by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China of the talks held in 1963 with a view to working out agreed views and jointly preparing the content of the questions to be discussed at a preparatory conference of representatives of a number of fraternal Parties.

Second step: Holding of a preparatory conference of representatives of a number of fraternal Parties to discuss, and make adequate preparations for the docu-

ments of the conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

We are afraid that a conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties hastily convened without adequate preparations would not fail to bring about a deep rift in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

At present, the imperialists and their agents are attentively following at every instant the differences among our Communist and Workers' Parties. They are trying by every provocative means to deepen the divergences, and thus to weaken the international communist movement. We, Communists, must show the utmost vigilance in the face of their dangerous schemes and hostile acts.

The tasks of paramount importance now confronting us require our Parties to act with the greatest lucidity and circumspection. In any case, we must strive, first and foremost, to preserve the solidarity and unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960.

Therefore, we earnestly call upon the fraternal Parties, first of all, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, to make good preparatory work for a conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties capable of resolving the present differences, with a view to restoring and strengthening unity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

For our part, we pledge ourselves wholeheartedly to strive, together with the fraternal Parties, for the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement so as to achieve still greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

With communist greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Viet Nam Workers' Party**

M.H. Williams on Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

THE Communist Party of New Zealand supports the principle of a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties to resolve the ideological differences between them." This comment was made by M.H. Williams, President of the Communist Party of New Zealand, in Auckland on April 8.

"In fact, ours was one of the first, if not the first, Party to make this call when it became apparent that the differences were deep-seated," he said.

"Our proposal for a world meeting had this qualification—the differences must be resolved in conformity with the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 31 Parties' Statement.

"These documents stated that where differences arose between Parties they should be discussed between the Parties concerned as free and equal Parties. This principle avoids open public polemical discussion (which started with the attack, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961, on Albania).

"The cessation of polemics can now only result from mutually acceptable agreement which provided the Communist Party of China and others adequate time to complete their replies to the attacks already made.

"Failure to initiate and finalize unilateral and multilateral talks could only lead to a type of meeting where decisions would be taken on the basis of opinions

previously held and without recourse to their solution on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

"Failure to adhere strictly to the provisions of the Declaration and Statement has led to the position we now see—a proposed meeting where decisions would be taken on the basis of head-counting. It would be fortunate indeed if the proposed meeting did not widen existing rifts and create new ones. Already commentators in the daily press are speculating on the question of two world centres—Moscow or Peking.

"Unfortunately, this approach has been helped by a statement reported to have been made by Mr. Suslov: 'The Kremlin will be strong enough to surmount all difficulties and have the ranks closed behind Moscow.'

"The Comintern was dissolved in 1943. Since then some Parties, particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, have enjoyed some moral authority because of their historical records. However, this is a much different thing to the concept of an organized centre or centres and some Parties leading other Parties.

"Certainly, it is not in conformity with the principle of 'free and equal Parties' as set out in the 1960 Statement.

"Finally, whatever the outcome of the proposed meeting, if and when it is held, one thing is certain—the principles of Marxism-Leninism will eventually triumph. The people in action will ensure that," added Williams.

Jacques Grippa Condemns C.P.S.U. Leadership's New Splitting Activities

THE publication of Suslov's report constitutes a grave new step in the rabid splitting activities which the revisionists have engaged in over the years," says an editorial by Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Belgian Communist Party, in the April 10 issue of the Party's organ *La Voix du Peuple*.

Grippa was commenting on the report delivered by M.A. Suslov, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at the Central Committee's February Plenum.

The editorial entitled "Marxist-Leninist Unity" says: "Suslov's report is an out-and-out calumny and lie against Marxist-Leninists.

"It is a disgusting hodgepodge of rubbish from the old-line revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky and Trotsky.

"It is national egoism turned into great-power chauvinism which demands that the Communist Parties submit to the foreign policy serving imperialism.

"It is a cynical testimony to the economic aggression against socialist China and to the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

"In a word, Suslov has contributed, though unintentionally, to further unmasking the true colours of abject revisionism.

"The Khrushchov-type mean behaviour, ribaldry, and vulgar buffoonery show that the revisionists have the leader they deserve.

"The revisionist leaders have done their utmost to curry favour with the imperialists who, however, show no appreciation but look down upon them and become increasingly arrogant towards them.

"But the revisionist leaders have an inveterate hatred for the revolutionaries and are bent on abusing and persecuting them.

"This is the greatest betrayal in history."

Referring to calling a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties to re-establish unity in the communist movement, the editorial points out that true unity can be realized only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The editorial says: "Our Party reaffirms that a carefully prepared conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties can contribute to this.

"The conference should imply a frank exchange of experience in the class struggle of various countries, sincere criticism and self-criticism, rejection of all pre-conditions of revisionism....

"It should signify the repudiation of the lies and calumnies spread by the revisionists and their methods of coercion and blackmailing, ruthless condemnation of the despicable, counter-revolutionary and anti-communist methods used against the People's Republics of China and Albania and against the other socialist countries, and the renunciation of the tricks which have done great harm to the socialist camp and the communist movement."

The editorial notes that the revisionists "want no such an international conference.

"What they want is an assembly of robots devoted to them, who would exclude by 'collective measures' the active forces of world communism, the Parties and organizations true to Marxism-Leninism.

"Their 'unity' means the abandonment of the justification of the existence of the Communist Parties, a 'unity' with the bourgeoisie and their agents."

The editorial points out that on the very day the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties of 1960 was adopted, Khrushchov renounced its revolutionary principles.

"The working class and the toiling masses of the whole world, including the workers of the Soviet Union who are also victims, will sweep away these despicable elements everywhere. These collaborators with U.S. imperialism will suffer the same fate as other 'collaborators' whom we knew before.

"The international communist movement will be reinforced by ridding itself of the revisionists' betrayal," the editorial says.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 6)

national Airlines, and other Pakistan friends who flew to Peking the next day.

In Peking, Pakistan Ambassador Raza and Air Commodore Nur Khan gave a reception. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, who was among the guests, toasted Sino-Pakistan friendship and friendly co-operation among the peoples the world over. He described the rapid opening to service of the airline as an eloquent proof of the growth of Sino-Pakistan friendly relations. "We would like to point out," he added, "that those who tried to isolate and blockade China have failed."

On May 2, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi received Air Commodore Nur Khan and other Pakistan friends and had a friendly

talk with them. The next day, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife gave a banquet in their honour.

May 4 Movement Anniversary

The 45th anniversary of the May 4 Movement was celebrated this year. In Peking and other cities, there were meetings and other commemorative activities organized by the youth. They pledged themselves to carry forward the revolutionary tradition their forerunners had established in 1919 in the struggle against the imperialists and their feudal warlord lackeys at home.

The May 4 Movement of 1919 started with a students' demonstration in Peking's Tien An Men Square against the traitorous government which was selling out the country to imperialism. It soon developed into a nationwide revolutionary movement with tens of thousands of

students in its front ranks. With militant working-class participation, it opened a new page in the history of the Chinese people's anti-imperialist struggle. In honour of the role youth played that day, May 4 was designated China's Youth Day.

In the capital, 18,000 young people met on May 3 in the Great Hall of the People to mark the anniversary. Liu Shao-chi, Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Party and state leaders joined them in their celebrations.

Commemorating the anniversary, *Renmin Ribao* in its editorial quoted Chairman Mao's teaching that educated young people should become one with the workers and peasants. This, it said, is inspiring large numbers of educated young people to join the ranks of the labouring people in agriculture, industry, commerce and other trades.

Highest Unclimbed Peak Conquered

ON May 2, at 10:20 a.m. Peking standard time, ten members of a Chinese mountaineering expedition reached the 8,012 metres summit of Mount Shisha Pangma in Tibet. Thus the last of the fourteen 8,000-metre plus peaks in the world has been conquered.

The ten mountaineers reached the top in three groups. They remained there for 40 minutes. During this time they took group pictures and then filmed the leaving of a 5-starred Chinese flag, a sculptured bust of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their signatures on the summit. By 4:00 p.m. Peking time on the same day, they were back safe and sound at their No. 4 camp 6,900 m. above sea level.

The news was immediately flashed across the country. Hailed as another great feat of Chinese mountaineering following the conquest of Mount Jolmo Lungma, the world's highest peak, from the northern face by a Chinese expedition four years ago, it added a triumphant postscript to the nation's May Day celebrations.

Mount Shisha Pangma is also known as Gosainthan (meaning "Place of the Saints" in Tibetan). It lies in Nyenyam County, southern Tibet, 15 kilometres north of the main Himalayan crest line and 120 kilometres northwest of Mount Jolmo Lungma. Its height was previously calculated as being 8,013 metres above sea level. But scientists with the Chinese expedition using the latest altimetres found the height to be 8,012 metres. (The expedition's scientific exploration group consists of scientists from the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Peking University, Peking Institute of Geology and the State Bureau of Surveying and Cartography. Their subjects of study range from the region's glaciers, geology and geo-morphology to high altitude physiology.)

Shisha Pangma is eternally snow-bound, armoured with ice and deadly crevasses. Its longest glaciers stretch out well over a dozen kilometres in length, in some places they are more than 100 metres thick, and fields of seracs stretch from 5,300 to 5,900 metres above sea level. Even in April and May, the most favourable times for climbing, the temperature can be as low as 35° Centigrade below zero. Shisha Pangma winds can sweep a man off his feet. Steep gradients and unpredictable weather were other factors which kept it unscaled for so long.

The ten victorious climbers are: Hsu Ching, 37, leader of the expedition, who took part in the 1959



With the five-starred red flag atop Shisha Pangma. Second from right is Hsu Ching, leader of the expedition.

Photo by Chen San

Muztagh Ata expedition, and was deputy leader of the expedition that stormed up Jolmo Lungma's northern slope in 1960; Chang Chun-yen, 34, deputy leader, who also did the Muztagh Ata climb; Wang Fu-chou, 29, one of the Jolmo Lungma group that reached the top in 1960; Wu Tsung-yueh, 31, Chen San, 29, and Cheng Tien-liang, 24, all three members of the successful Jolmo Lungma expedition; Sodnam Doje, 28, Migmar Trashi, 28, Doje, 28, and Yonten, 27, all four Jolmo Lungma veterans, Tibetans and former child serfs.

The expedition reached the foot of Mount Shisha Pangma in March and pitched their base camp at 5,000 metres above sea level. Braving snow storms and bitter cold and crossing dangerous glaciers and snow-covered crevices, they set up a string of camps at 5,300 m., 5,800 m., 6,300 m., 6,900 m., 7,500 m., and 7,700 m. on their way up. Camp No. 6 at 7,700 metres was pitched on May 1 after a week's gruelling climb from the base camp.

The assault party set out for the final climb to the peak at six o'clock in the morning of May 2 and reached the top after four hours.

Ho Lung, Vice-Premier and Chairman of China's Physical Culture and Sports Commission, sent a message congratulating the expedition on its great success. He attributed their victory to the concerted efforts and close co-operation among China's different nationalities. "Your example," he added, "will inspire all sportsmen and those active in sports throughout China to excel themselves and strive to reach the highest peaks in all fields of sports."

ROUND THE WORLD

French Withdrawal

Snub to NATO

If the continuing bitter conflict between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus has torn the fabric of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the decision by France on April 27 to withdraw its 15 staff officers from NATO's naval commands has struck at the very foundations of this U.S.-dominated military bloc. By removing these officers the Elysee deprives the U.S. brass-hats at NATO headquarters of their power to give direct orders to French ships.

This is a follow-up of earlier French action. France took its Mediterranean fleet out of the NATO command in 1959, and its Atlantic fleet in January of this year. Moreover, from 1960 onwards, it has insisted on developing its *force de dissuasion* as a counterweight to the American "multilateral nuclear force"—or farce as it is known in Europe. The removal of naval officers follows logically from the series of steps which France has taken in pursuing an independent policy in foreign relations.

Such a direct "challenge" to American domination of the Western alliance would, in the past, have brought from Washington the strongest protest and denunciation, followed by scarcely concealed blackmail. But in this latest Paris-Washington confrontation the Johnson Administration has decided that discretion is the better part of valour. For once the usually voluble spokesmen of the White House and State Department are tongue-shy.

If the fury is suppressed, it does not mean Washington attaches little importance to the French move which underlines the strength of the centrifugal forces growing within NATO. American officials and top brass at the organization are having one emergency meeting after an-

other trying to think up counter measures. AP's correspondent in Washington gave some inkling of official reactions when he reported that "the United States deplored the French withdrawal . . . because it showed a further deterioration in the organization of the Atlantic alliance." The veil of silence that has descended on Washington is a measure of its frustration. It proclaims the bankruptcy of renewed U.S. attempts to keep Western Europe under its thumb.

Cracks Opening Up

CENTO Divided

Like NATO, and like SEATO which ended its last meeting amid lamentation in Manila a fortnight ago, CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) is at sixes and sevens, too. Its 12th ministerial council conference held in Washington on April 28 and 29 revealed serious differences among its members. The United States, though not formally a member, is very much the chief performer, and is deeply involved in every issue that came up—Cyprus, Kashmir, East-West relations, and the proposal to reinforce the so-called defence potential of the CENTO military bloc.

As usual, the U.S. representative conjured up a "communist threat of aggression" to get the others to toe the American line. As usual, Britain, playing the major-domo, chimed in with the same theme of being prepared to cope with so-called communist subversion and armed insurrection. With its own axe to grind, however, it did not see eye to eye with the United States on many other matters.

Press reports say the participants advanced different interpretations of the organization's role, with the United States and Britain taking one view and Pakistan, in particular, another. AP reported that "the United States has interpreted CENTO

as a defence shield against communist aggression. Pakistan considers it a pledge against any aggression which may come from its neighbour, India. . . ."

This "defence shield" theory was not only challenged inside the conference but has been denounced in the Middle East by the Arab people who censure the United States for arming Israel against them. *Al Baath*, the Syrian newspaper, said U.S. imperialism is using talk of "communist threat and subversion" as a pretext to bring Syria once again under its influence and domination. *Al Gomhouria* of Cairo refuted U.S. Secretary of State Rusk's statement that CENTO was a "shield" protecting the Middle East. What Butler, the British Foreign Secretary, and Rusk worried about, it said, were "the outbreak of a liberation war in the Middle East and the Arab people's demand for self-determination."

Behind the Yugoslav Strikes

Widespread Discontent

Economic Policy, the Yugoslav weekly, reported in its April 11 issue that strikes in Yugoslavia "have perhaps been even more frequent in the last few months than before." It said there were many "work stoppages" in Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina last year, and forty strikes in the Croatian Republic alone.

The number and scope of these strikes mirror the widespread discontent of the Yugoslav workers against falling living standards. *Rad*, a Yugoslav daily, published on April 4 the results of an inquiry into half of the factories in Zagreb, capital of Croatia. An average of 79.5 per cent of the net output value of these enterprises, it said, went to the authorities in taxes and interests, and for every five dinars earned by the "actual producers" these authorities took four away. Moreover, workers were often sacked and turned out on the streets by the managers who could, according to the Yugoslav press, insult, beat and punish the workers at will. In contrast, these

managers who are a class to themselves draw high wages, award themselves bonuses and enjoy special privileges.

Such is the state in which Yugoslav workers find themselves under the much-flaunted "workers' self-management" today. Edvard Kardelj, President of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly, was thus obliged to admit in a recent statement that "personal income has constantly been hit by rising prices" and "the fact is that our workers have shown considerable signs of dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs."

I.O.J. Meeting

Capitulation Line Challenged

As in Budapest when the International Association of Democratic Lawyers held its Eighth Congress a month ago, so it was in Algiers when the Executive Committee of the International Organization of Journalists (I.O.J.) met on April 27-29. The same battle was fought all over again between those who recognize imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, as the Number One enemy and act accordingly and those who prettify imperialism and turn a blind eye to its policies of aggression and war, between those who advocate revolution by the people to overthrow their oppressors and exploiters and those who want "the lambs to lie down peacefully with the lion." It was, in short, a sharply drawn struggle between two lines: the correct line which is unity against imperialism and the erroneous line which is division and capitulation to imperialism.

Thus when the "summary record" which the General Secretariat prepared on the basis of the erroneous line was put to the vote, one-third of the 31 delegates abstained from voting despite the manipulation and pressure of the Soviet delegation. The Korean, Indonesian, Albanian and Chinese delegates rejected the document and voted against it. They did so not only on matters of substance but also on procedural grounds. For this "summary record"

which failed to take cognizance of the criticisms made by the delegates of the report given by Jiri Meisner, General Secretary of the I.O.J., was hurriedly got up behind closed doors and hurriedly put to the vote without discussion and without letting the delegates know anything about its contents.

In order to railroad through the meeting documents reflecting its erroneous capitulationist line, the General Secretariat resorted to arbitrary and undemocratic practices of the worst kind. The Presidium did not meet even once nor was the agenda discussed beforehand. When the Chinese delegate submitted a resolution to the meeting, he was prevented from completing his speech. Then the chairman refused to read out this draft resolution as requested by the Chinese, Korean, Albanian and Indonesian delegates. There were even objections to copies of the Chinese draft being distributed among the delegates.

Why did Meisner and Hermann, the President of the I.O.J. who presided, and the Soviet delegation oppose the Chinese stand so vehemently? Why did they try with might and main to prevent the meeting from knowing what was contained in the Chinese resolution? What are the views expressed therein? In brief, they are that progressive journalists of all countries should expose and oppose all such propaganda as would cover up the fact that imperialism is the source of modern wars, advocate "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism at the expense of principle, and extol the partial nuclear test ban treaty which works to the advantage of imperialism. It urges that progressive journalists of all countries should close their ranks and oppose imperialism and new and old colonialism headed by the United States; and that the principle of equality and respect for other's sovereignty should be observed when giving aid to journalists in the newly independent countries and countries striving for independence.

All this was anathema to those who controlled the meeting, for in the lengthy report running to 90 sections which Jiri Meisner made to the opening session, there was not a single mention of U.S. imperialism. Instead, they lauded peaceful coexistence with imperialism to the skies. They singled out for attack the First Afro-Asian Journalists Conference held in Djakarta last year. For the meeting of the newspapermen from the two continents raised high the banner of revolution and struggle for emancipation in Asia and Africa. And this upset the apple-cart of those who have no stomach to combat imperialism and colonialism.

Tanganyika-Zanzibar

United Republic

By agreement between Presidents Julius Nyerere and Abeid Karume, Tanganyika and Zanzibar in East Africa have merged to form a new united republic.

Announced on April 25, the articles of union were negotiated by the two presidents and later ratified by the Tanganyikan National Assembly and Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. Among other things, they stipulate that during the interim period Tanganyika's constitution shall be the constitution of the united republic whose parliament and executive shall control external affairs, defence, police, external trade, taxes, emergency powers, etc.

In the new republic, Nyerere is President and Karume first Vice-President resident in Zanzibar. Former Tanganyikan Vice-President Kawawa becomes second Vice-President and concurrently Minister for Defence and National Service. Former Zanzibar Vice-President Hanga is Minister of Industry, Mines and Power and former Zanzibar Minister for External Affairs and Trade Babu one of three ministers to assist Nyerere in development planning. Most of the Tanganyikan ministers retain their posts.

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