

PEKING REVIEW

31

July 31, 1964

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報

C.P.C. Central Committee Replies to June 15 Letter From C.P.S.U. Central Committee

(p. 5).

Letters From Japanese C.P. To C.P.S.U.

(p. 21).

Rumanian Journal Repudiates "Inter-State Economic Complex"

An article in *Economic Life* entitled "Concepts Contrary to the Basic Principles of Economic Relations Between Socialist Countries" (p. 28).

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

SELECTED WORKS
OF
MAO TSE-TUNG

Vol. IV

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

July 31, 1964 Vol. VII No. 31

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Chinese press published the reply of the C.P.C. Central Committee to a letter (also published) from the C.P.S.U. Central Committee dated June 15, 1964.

- A Peking mass rally celebrated the 11th anniversary of Cuba's July 26 armed uprising.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message of greetings to U.A.R. President Gamal Abdel Nasser on the eve of the United Arab Republic's National Day.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai on July 22 sent greetings to Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia on the occasion of his birthday and Ethiopia's National Day.

- The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and nine other mass organizations sent messages to their Korean counterparts greeting the 11th anniversary of victory in the Korean national-liberation war.

- The Chinese press published:

- four letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan in reply to letters of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee.

- extensive extracts of an article in the July 11 issue of *Akahata*, organ of the C.P.J., entitled "Anti-A-H-Bomb Movement and the Splitters' Theories and Practice" which is an appraisal of the 9th World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs.

- an article from the Rumanian magazine *Economic Life* (No. 24) entitled "Concepts Contrary to the Basic Principles of Economic Relations Between Socialist Countries."

- the July 27 editorial of the Korean newspaper *Rodong Shinmoon* entitled "Disruptive Activities Against the Communist Party of Japan Absolutely Cannot Be Allowed."

Chairman Mao Receives Vietnamese Delegations

On July 27, Chairman Mao Tse-tung received and had a cordial and friendly talk with members of three Vietnamese delegations. They were the delegation of the Viet Nam Committee of World Peace and the Viet Nam Committee for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity headed by Tran Huy Lieu; the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation headed by Thich Thien Hao and the Viet Nam Journalists Delegation headed by Tran Minh Tuoc.

Chairman Mao Receives Air Force Unit Which Downed U-2 Plane

On July 23 Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the Party and state received officers and men of an heroic unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Air Force that has brought down one more

U.S.-made U-2 plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang.

On the evening of the same day, Chairman Mao and other Party and state leaders saw *Spark Amid the Reeds*, a Peking opera on a modern theme—an episode of the revolutionary New Fourth Army's operations in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Both the audience and the members of the Peking Opera Theatre of Peking which performed gave Chairman Mao and other leaders a great ovation as they went on stage to congratulate the company.

N.P.C. Approves 1964 Budget

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress held its 124th meeting on July 22. After hearing a report by Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council, it examined and approved the final state accounts for 1963 and the draft

state budget for 1964 submitted by the State Council.

In its resolution approving the final 1963 accounts and 1964 state budget the N.P.C. Standing Committee notes that the final accounts of both revenue and expenditure in 1963 exceeded the estimate submitted by the State Council to the last N.P.C. plenary session. Revenue showed an even greater increase. This reflected the new situation of an all-round turn for the better that has begun in the national economy, says the resolution. It describes this as a great victory of the people of all nationalities of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, achieved by holding aloft the banner of the general line for socialist construction, by carrying through the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy, and by relying on their own efforts in building socialism.

The resolution also points out that the 1964 budget guarantees a further all-round improvement in the national economy. It describes the nation's political and economic situation as excellent and getting better and better. In such a situation, it declares, and with concerted efforts of the people of all nationalities throughout the country who are united as one, it is certain that the 1964 state budget can be successfully fulfilled.

International Science Meet In Peking

Scientists from many countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania, including a number of people of worldwide fame, are coming to attend the international scientific symposium scheduled to open in China's capital on August 20.

An academic meeting devoted to various branches of science, the 1964 Peking Symposium was conceived and decided on at a preparatory conference of scientists of 22 countries held in Peking last September. Since then, intensive preparations have been under way among the scientists

Hsinhua Refutes *Pravda's* Slanders

On July 8, the Soviet paper *Pravda* published a slanderous piece alleging that China collaborates with Portugal, that it does not deny possible establishment of diplomatic relations with that country and that China uses Macao to export opium, and so on and so forth. These calumnies were repeated on July 9 in the news bulletin of the Soviet Embassy in Ceylon. Therefore, Hsinhua News Agency has been authorized to make the following statement:

"The allegations about Sino-Portuguese relations published in *Pravda* are out-and-out fabrications copied from the imperialist press with the aim of undermining, as the imperialists are doing, the comradeship-in-arms between the Chinese people and African peoples who are waging a heroic struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. China has never considered establishment of diplomatic relations with Portugal and has always given staunch, unconditional support to the struggle of the people of Portuguese colonies against Portuguese colonial rule. It is the firm and unalterable policy of China to support resolutely all struggles, including armed struggle, of all oppressed peoples and nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America and other parts of the world against U.S. imperialism and old and new colonialism. It is the leadership of the Soviet Union, not China, that has described the anti-colonialist struggle of the people of a certain African country as the internal affair of a certain metropolitan country in Europe. It is the leadership of the Soviet Union, not China, that has described the armed struggles of the colonial peoples as sparks which can touch off a world war and thus dares not support them. Again it is the leadership of the Soviet Union, not China, that has led the troops of the United Nations which is under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism into a newly independent African country. It is ludicrous for *Pravda* to try to raise its own status and smear others by borrowing muck from imperialism. China cannot be harmed by such vilification. It is you yourselves whom you should worry about. By doing as you did, what difference is there left between you and Western imperialism?"

of these countries. On their return home the participants reported back to their respective governments or scientific institutions on the proceedings and decisions of the preparatory conference, and publicity and organizational work then got going in all countries wishing to take part.

Chinese scientific circles, in line with the principles laid down at the 22-nation preparatory conference, have worked hard to get everything in Peking ready for the symposium.

By July 25, the symposium organizers had already received 216 papers covering subjects on natural and social sciences, including engineering, agriculture and medicine. Chinese scientists are contributing 42 papers. A preliminary run through gives a certainty of fruitful discussions. A number of papers sum up the results of decades of scientific research; others present new viewpoints hitherto unrecorded in

existing international scientific literature; still others supplement and develop existing theories in certain branches of science or describe new, practical achievements that have played an important role in developing production in their respective countries. A characteristic of these papers is that most are the result of profound research which, when carried out, closely considered actual conditions in the various countries, and was undertaken in a spirit of developing science in one's own country in a self-reliant way.

The symposium will undoubtedly make useful contributions to the growing co-operation and solidarity among scientific circles in the four continents. Participants have high expectations of it in promoting academic discussion and in helping the development of the national economies, culture and science of their respective countries.

C.P.C. Central Committee's Reply to The C.P.S.U. Central Committee's Letter of June 15, 1964

July 28, 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 June 15, 1964. This letter was not delivered to us until June 20, whereas its contents had already been disclosed in the bourgeois press in the West before the 20th.

In your letter you distort and reject the reasonable proposal advanced in our letter of May 7, 1964, and turn a deaf ear to the views of the many fraternal Parties demanding unity and opposing a split. In this letter of yours, you have laid down a revisionist political programme and a divisive organizational line for an international meeting of the fraternal Parties. This shows that you are determined to prepare and call such a meeting arbitrarily, unilaterally and illegally with the aim of effecting an open split in the international communist movement.

I

On the question of convening an international meeting of the fraternal Parties, the Communist Party of China has always adhered to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and advocated a meeting of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism after full preparation and by unanimous agreement reached through consultation; it is firmly opposed to a schismatic meeting. We have invariably persisted in this stand. You say in your letter that we "make a volte-face." This is merely an attempt to substitute lies for facts.

What are the facts?

As early as the spring of 1962, that is, shortly after the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., the C.P.C. actively supported the proposal made by the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Workers' Party of Viet Nam and the Communist Party of New Zealand for the convocation of an international meeting of the fraternal Parties to eliminate the differences which you had brought into the open before the enemy. In its letter to you dated April 7, 1962, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. declared that it "wholeheartedly supports the proposal

to convene a meeting of the fraternal Parties" and pointed out that to ensure its success "many difficulties and obstacles have to be overcome beforehand and much preparatory work has to be done." You seem to have either forgotten or failed to understand these words. If you have forgotten them, it shows how bad your memory is; if you have failed to understand them, it testifies to the poverty of your comprehension. Didn't we clearly state that to make a success of the meeting "many difficulties and obstacles have to be overcome beforehand and much preparatory work has to be done"?

We took this stand with the aim of eliminating the differences and strengthening unity in the interest of the common struggle against the enemy. However, in your letter of May 31, 1962, you rejected the proposal for convening an international meeting of the fraternal Parties. You subsequently took a series of steps to worsen the relations between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and between our two countries, and at the successive congresses of five European fraternal Parties in the winter of 1962 you stirred up a fresh adverse current against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties.

Despite all this, in July 1963 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent a delegation to Moscow for the talks between our two Parties. We had hoped that these talks would yield positive results and thus make a contribution to the preparations for convening an international meeting of the fraternal Parties. However, you showed not the slightest sincerity with regard to these talks. In the midst of them you published your Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to Party Organizations and All Communists in the Soviet Union, thus widening and deepening the differences in the international communist movement and erecting further road-blocks in the way of an international meeting.

In the spring of 1964 we made another major effort to overcome the many obstacles set by you and to bring about a meeting of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Since in your letter to us dated November 29, 1963, you had merely paid lip service to unity and failed to put forward any concrete measures for convening an international meeting, we on our part made a four-point proposal in our letter to you dated February 29, 1964, for the preparation and convocation of an

July 31, 1964

international meeting of the fraternal Parties. The proposal reads as follows: (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 17 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.

On your part what have you been doing in the last few months?

On February 12 this year and behind our backs, you sent a letter directed against the C.P.C. to fraternal Parties in a plot to take "collective measures" against us. We have repeatedly asked you to send us a copy of this letter. However, to this day you refuse to do so and are still obligated to us on this score.

At the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on February 14 this year, you delivered an anti-Chinese report and adopted an anti-Chinese decision, crying that you would "come out openly and strongly against the incorrect views and dangerous actions of the C.P.C. leadership."

On April 3 you published the anti-Chinese documents of the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and proceeded to launch a new anti-Chinese campaign. According to incomplete statistics, in April alone your central press and that of the Union Republics carried more than a thousand articles and other items attacking China.

You have brought great political and organizational pressure to bear upon fraternal Parties, intensified your subversive and divisive activities within fraternal Parties, and extended your collusion with defectors, renegades, Trotskyites, the Tito clique and reactionaries of every description. For example, you staged the act of betrayal by Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and others in

order to injure the Japanese Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism. You are busy ganging up with the Indonesian reactionaries in order to injure the Communist Party of Indonesia which upholds Marxism-Leninism.

All this shows that you are actively working for an open split in the international communist movement. In order to rush a schismatic meeting, you proposed a pressing timetable in your letter of March 7, 1964, in which the holding of talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties was scheduled for May this year, that of the preparatory meeting of 26 fraternal Parties for June-July and that of the international meeting of the fraternal Parties for the autumn. This revealed the steps you wanted to take in hastening an open split.

We have given serious and repeated thought to the grave situation caused by your divisive activities and seen through your intention to hold a schismatic meeting. Therefore, we pointed out in our letter of May 7 this year that 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. For the same reason we made the proposal in that letter that it would be more appropriate to postpone the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties till some time in the first half of next year, say May, and pointed out that, judging by present circumstances, it might require perhaps four or five years, or even longer, to complete the preparations for an international meeting.

In short, in order to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity in the interest of the common struggle against the enemy, we have always stressed that "many difficulties and obstacles have to be overcome" and "much preparatory work has to be done" so as to convene a meeting of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. When you failed to make any concrete proposal for convening an international meeting, it was for the purpose of upholding unity and opposing a split that we put forward a concrete proposal for the preparation of such a meeting in our letter of February 29. When you decided to convene a schismatic meeting, it was likewise for the purpose of upholding unity and opposing a split that we called for more time to overcome the greater number of difficulties and obstacles and to make a series of preparations in our letter of May 7. We have consistently opposed a hurried meeting and the attempt to split the international communist movement, because it would be detrimental to the strengthening of unity and to the common struggle against the enemy.

In the past you too said that an international meeting could not be convened before ample preparations were made. On January 16, 1963, N.S. Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., said that if the meeting were to be held in a hurry, it would lead to "the danger of a split." Why is it that you have made a volte-face and are trying to prepare and convene an international meeting in a blitzkrieg-like manner?

Presumably you think that your so-called preparations are almost complete. But from the above-stated facts people can see clearly that what you call preparations are aimed not at the elimination of differences and the strengthening of unity but at the exacerbation of differences and the creation of a split. You are not preparing to convene a meeting of unity but preparing to convene a schismatic meeting.

Obviously, the more such preparations you make, the greater the obstacles you place in the way of a meeting of unity, the greater the necessity for more arduous and protracted preparations by the Marxist-Leninist Parties to overcome these obstacles, and the farther the date for a meeting of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism will recede.

In your letter of June 15 this year, you insist on hastily preparing and calling a schismatic meeting. This runs altogether counter to the common aspirations of all the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world for a meeting of unity.

II

Your letter demonstrates that you have prepared a revisionist political programme for an international meeting to split the world communist movement.

In your letter you say that at this meeting you will "seek for ways to unity and not to dissociation" and will concentrate on revealing what there is "in common" so as to "formulate common positions." This is a pure fraud.

You arrogantly proclaim in your letter that the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is "the symbol of . . . a new line of the entire world communist movement" and state that you "will firmly continue to follow" the line laid down by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. You also say menacingly that whoever does not approve of the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. represents "the reaction of conservative forces in the communist movement to the creative Marxism-Leninism of the modern epoch" and "is permeated with the ideology of the personality cult." This means that you flagrantly want to impose on the entire international communist movement the revisionist line which was initiated at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and rounded off into a complete system at its 22nd Congress. In asserting that it is necessary, "in keeping with the changes that have occurred in the international situation, to supplement and elaborate the ideas of the Declaration and Statement, and creatively examine and solve new problems," you actually want to substitute the revisionist line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. for the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

In the light of your views and activities over the years, one can clearly see the revisionist essence of the major theses which your letter contains and which you are trying to impose on the international meeting.

In asserting that "most of the socialist countries are completing an important period of their development and are approaching new heights in the construction of a new society," you actually want to introduce the "party of the entire people" and the "state of the whole people," change the proletarian character of the Communist Parties, abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat and open the floodgates to the restoration of capitalism.

In saying that the socialist countries need "to improve the forms of co-operation and mutual assistance" and "co-ordination of political and economic activities," you really want the fraternal countries to obey your baton and become your dependencies or colonies economically, politically and militarily.

In claiming that "there is now much that is new in the forms of organization and the methods" of struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, you are actually propagating the "parliamentary road" and the theory of "structural reform," "peaceful transition" and the liquidation of proletarian revolution.

In stating that "the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system has entered its closing stage," you really want to liquidate the struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

In reducing the external policy of the socialist countries solely to that of "preserving peace and promoting peaceful coexistence," you are actually opposed to struggling against imperialism and to supporting the revolution of the oppressed peoples and nations.

In substituting the concept that "the imperialist reactionaries led by the wild men of the U.S. and other imperialist powers" for the concept that "U.S. imperialism has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world" as stated in the Statement of 1960, you actually want to ally yourselves with the U.S. ruling clique, whom you call "wise men," and in partnership with U.S. imperialism to carve up the world and oppose the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all countries.

What you mean by "settling the differences," revealing what there is "in common" and the necessity to "attend the proposed conference . . . with a constructive programme" boils down to one thing: you really want to force the Marxist-Leninist Parties to accept the revisionist line peddled by the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U.

Your favourite trick is to try and make capital out of the sentence in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 concerning the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. But you know perfectly well that the Chinese Communist Party has always been against that sentence. At both meetings of the fraternal Parties, you made repeated requests claiming that you would face great difficulties unless the sentence was included. It was out of consideration for your difficulties that we made concessions on this point. At the meeting in 1960 the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party stated that this was the last time it would do so. It is absolutely impermissible that you should use this

sentence as a subterfuge for pushing your revisionist line or as a big stick with which to attack fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties. Why must all Parties submit to the resolutions of a single Party? Why should it be considered a great crime if they refuse to do so? May we ask, what kind of logic is this? What kind of principle for guiding the relations among fraternal Parties is this?

It must be pointed out that the revisionist line of your 20th and 22nd Congresses is the root cause of the differences in the present international communist movement. In recent years, this revisionist line of yours has met with opposition from more and more Marxist-Leninist Parties and Marxist-Leninists, and it is being increasingly discredited. A thorough criticism and repudiation of your revisionist line is imperative if the international meeting of the fraternal Parties is to be a meeting of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. You are trying hard to impose this revisionist line on the international meeting of the fraternal Parties, and this only serves to show that you are determined to call a meeting to bring about an open split.

III

The procedure and steps you advance in your letter for the illegal preparation and convocation of an international meeting constitute a comprehensive organizational plan for openly splitting the international communist movement.

You have premeditated everything: what kind of meeting it is to be, who should prepare it, who should take part in it and who should convene it—on all these questions you claim the last word. To you, all the fraternal Parties are mere puppets qualified only to move at your command. These practices of yours are permeated with the spirit of great-power chauvinism and of a “patriarchal father party.”

First, on the preparatory meeting for an international meeting of the fraternal Parties. In our letter of February 29 this year we proposed a preparatory meeting consisting of the representatives of 17 fraternal Parties, but you did not agree. In our letter of May 7 we stated that in principle we are not against increasing the number of participants in the preparatory meeting, but that first consideration should be given to those fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism. In your present letter you still refuse to consider our reasonable proposal and insist that the preparatory meeting consist of the representatives of the 26 Parties.

You cannot have forgotten that it was the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which, in its letter to you on the eve of the Bucharest meeting of 1960, proposed the formation of a committee to draft the documents for the Moscow meeting of 1960, and that the 26 members of the drafting committee were subsequently decided on through consultation among the fraternal Parties. These 26 fraternal Parties were

only members of the drafting committee for the Moscow meeting of 1960, and they have no hereditary rights; they are not the members of a permanent organization for preparing all international meetings; moreover, no such permanent organization has ever existed.

We have already said in our letter of May 7, 1964, that the situation now is vastly different from that in 1960. Two Parties now exist in some of the 26 countries and you and we differ as to which of the two should attend the meeting, while many fraternal Parties also hold differing opinions.

On the question of convening the preparatory meeting of the international meeting and its participants, it is necessary to achieve unanimity through consultation among the fraternal Parties, or otherwise no preparatory meeting of whatever kind will be legal.

Second, on the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties. The Communist Party of China and many fraternal Parties maintain that the holding of talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties is a necessary preparatory step for the convening of the international meeting. You also said so in the past. Even in your letter of March 7 this year you still talked about “the necessity of continuing the bilateral meeting of representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C., and of afterwards preparing and calling a meeting of all the Communist and Workers’ Parties.”

But in your present letter you separate the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties from the preparatory work for the international meeting of the fraternal Parties and avoid giving an answer to the concrete proposal in our letter of May 7 concerning the continuance of these bilateral talks, only mentioning vaguely that the question of these talks “can be decided at any time by agreement between the C.P.S.U. and C.P.C.” Clearly, you now regard the occurrence or non-occurrence of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties as of little import and are trying to brush them aside and to prepare and call an international meeting without attaining an agreement through consultation between our two Parties. What is this if not a resolve to call a meeting to precipitate a split?

Third, on the composition of the international meeting of the fraternal Parties. It is stated in your letter that all those Parties which took part in the meetings of 1957 and 1960 and signed their documents are entitled to attend. What is the meaning of this? Everyone is aware that the renegade Tito clique took part in the meeting of 1957 and signed the “Peace Manifesto.” Obviously, you intend to smuggle the Tito clique—a clique which the 1960 meeting unanimously condemned—into the international meeting of the fraternal Parties. We are strongly opposed to this.

On the question of new participants in the international meeting, you have put forward in your letter a most absurd criterion, according to which only those Parties supporting your revisionist “general line” should participate, while the Marxist-Leninist Parties

which have been rebuilt after breaking with revisionism would not be allowed to participate. We tell you frankly, this will never do. If the international meeting of the fraternal Parties is to be a meeting of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, these Marxist-Leninist Parties will of course be entitled to participate, and no one has any right to exclude them. If you intend to hold a schismatic meeting of revisionists, it is absolutely futile for you to expect the Marxist-Leninist Parties to join you in your scheme for splitting the international communist movement.

Fourth, on the question of the convener of an international meeting of the fraternal Parties. In your letter you say that the C.P.S.U. has a "special responsibility" in the matter of calling international meetings, and you quote the decision of the meeting of 1957 and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's speech. But the wording of the decision you quote is clear: "Entrust the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the function of convening meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in consultation with the fraternal Parties." In other words, the C.P.S.U. must hold consultations with the fraternal Parties before calling any meeting. In referring to the C.P.S.U.'s initiative in calling international meetings, Comrade Mao Tse-tung presupposed prior consultations with the fraternal Parties, and there has never been the slightest implication that you may act arbitrarily. Moreover, we wish to point out that the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation among the fraternal Parties was established at the meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1960. Therefore, it is necessary to get the unanimous approval of the fraternal Parties to call an international meeting, and in no case should some of the fraternal Parties impose their will on others and compel them to agree to the holding of a meeting. Should you dare to violate this principle by refusing to reach a unanimous agreement through consultation with all the fraternal Parties, you will have no right whatsoever to call any international meeting.

On all the above questions concerning the procedure and steps for preparing and convening an international meeting, the fraternal Parties of the world, including the old ones and those rebuilt or newly founded, may hold different views, all of which should be fully respected and given ample consideration. Unanimous agreement must be reached among the fraternal Parties on these questions in accordance with the principle of consultation on an equal footing and through bilateral or multilateral talks. It would be completely illegal for you to prepare and call a meeting by issuing commands as though you were an overlord, and to do so would likewise serve to show that you are determined to call a meeting to bring about an open split.

IV

In recent years, the forces of Marxism-Leninism in all parts of the world have rapidly grown and gained strength in the struggle against modern revisionism.

Marxist-Leninists in many countries have come out boldly against the revisionists' divisive activities and they have rebuilt Marxist-Leninist Parties or groups in a very short time. They have demonstrated the great revolutionary spirit and heroic militancy of fighters for communism and have brought about a very promising situation for the revolutionary movement in their countries. In this struggle the modern revisionists are increasingly revealing their true features in their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. The revisionist leading cliques of many Parties have been brushed aside by the revolutionary people. All this runs counter to your desires, makes you anxious and uneasy and strikes terror into your hearts.

Your letter brazenly charges us with "the intensification of factional, disruptive activities, and the utmost exacerbation of polemics." This only serves to show that you are so terrified by the mighty forces of Marxism-Leninism that you have taken leave of your senses and are talking nonsense.

The splits that have occurred in the Communist Parties of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Ceylon and many other countries are the result of your own pursuit of a revisionist and divisive line and of your own frenzied subversive and factional activities. It is you yourselves who, by waving the baton, have imposed the revisionist line on a number of fraternal Parties, directed their revisionist leaders arbitrarily to push aside and persecute Marxist-Leninists and even to expel them, and thus precipitated the splits in these Parties. Because the Marxist-Leninists in these Parties are deprived of their right to wage inner-Party struggle against revisionism, they are compelled to rebuild revolutionary parties of the proletariat in order to continue the anti-revisionist struggle. The more you persist in your revisionist and divisive line, the greater will be the number of Marxist-Leninists who will rebuild revolutionary parties of the proletariat and wage struggle against you. This is the inexorable logic of the struggle.

You set yourselves up as the supreme arbiter of the international communist movement, saying that the Marxist-Leninist groups and Parties which have been rebuilt or newly founded "are outside the communist movement, and no power on earth can drag them into its ranks." It seems as though nothing may exist on earth without your recognition or approval. This is the philosophy of all decaying forces in relation to newborn forces. All the newborn forces in the history of mankind have grown and gained strength despite the extreme reluctance of decaying forces to recognize them. Neither the refusal of the revisionists of the Second International to recognize the Bolshevik Party of Lenin nor the U.S. imperialists' non-recognition of the Soviet state in the past and of the People's Republic of China in the present succeeded in preventing their growth. The newborn forces of Marxism-Leninism will continue to exist and grow throughout the world despite your refusal to recognize them. The more vicious your vituperation, the clearer

the proof that they are doing the right thing and doing it effectively.

Contrary to your attitude, the Communist Party of China and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties show great admiration for those Marxist-Leninists who have rebuilt revolutionary parties of the proletariat. It is our unshirkable proletarian internationalist duty to maintain close ties with them and to give firm support to their revolutionary struggle. We did so before, we are doing so now, and, however you may revile us, we will continue to do so in the future and do it more and do it better.

Furthermore, we must warn you that your interference in and subversion of fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism are doomed to complete failure. Such despicable actions on your part only serve to expose your ugly features in colluding with the reactionaries and sabotaging the peoples' revolutionary struggles. Recently you unilaterally published your letters to the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party and unscrupulously launched open attacks on the valiant Japanese Party which is standing in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and domestic reaction. You work hand in glove with the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and support Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and other renegades from the Japanese Communist Party in your efforts to subvert the Japanese Party and to undermine the revolutionary movement in Japan. We resolutely oppose your criminal action which is a betrayal of proletarian internationalism. We strongly support the struggle of the Japanese Communist Party against your interference and subversion. We resolutely support the struggle of the Indonesian Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties against your disruptive activities.

Speaking of the public polemics, everybody knows that you started them yourselves. At first, you were determined to conduct public polemics, you refused to listen to any advice, and the more you were urged not to do so, the more active you became. You imagined that by keeping up the polemics you could overwhelm the Marxist-Leninists and wipe them off the face of the earth. But things have rapidly developed in a direction opposite to your wishes. In the present great debate your true features as revisionists have been rapidly exposed and in some respects thoroughly exposed, while the forces of Marxism-Leninism have grown rapidly. This great debate has become a furnace throwing off the dross of revisionism, and it portends an inevitable new upsurge in the proletarian world revolution. Today, it is no use your fearing or trying to suppress it. You kindled the fire, the flames of public polemics have spread all over the world, and how is it possible for you to wrap them up in paper now?

In your letter you charge us with "planning to carry on the public polemics endlessly." We can tell you that we have not finished replying to your Open Letter of July 14, 1963, and have not yet begun to reply

to the anti-Chinese report and anti-Chinese decision of your February Plenum this year, and we reserve the right to reply to the more than three thousand anti-Chinese articles and other items you have published over the past year. So long as you persist in your revisionist line and refuse to admit your errors publicly, we will certainly continue the great debate. Since you have put forward an out-and-out revisionist programme and persisted in imposing it on the international communist movement, it is only natural that we, as a serious Marxist-Leninist Party, should thoroughly expose and refute your revisionism. Without thoroughly clarifying such major issues of principle as the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the international communist movement, how can there be a basis for the unity of the fraternal Parties and how can an international meeting of the fraternal Parties be held successfully?

Your letter once again rejects our proposal for the publication by each side in its own press of the articles and material of the other side in the polemics. Apparently our proposal has made you tremble with fear. Your argument is that you refuse to reprint our material in order to avoid undermining the Soviet people's "feeling of friendship and fraternity" for the Communist Party and the people of China. This is indeed strange logic. Are you not undermining Sino-Soviet friendship when you publish thousands of articles and other items, slandering and vilifying the Communist Party of China and do your worst to confuse people with lies? You malign us as "pseudo-Marxists" and "modern Trotskyites"; as adherents of "petty-bourgeois Utopianism in an undisguised form," "plain anti-Sovietism," "anti-communism," "bellicose nationalism," "racism," "great-Han chauvinism" and "hegemonism"; as "Peking apostates," "modern strike-breakers of the revolution," "pseudo-revolutionaries" and "spiritual fathers of the present-day Right-wing socialists"; as "falling into the company of the forces of imperialist reaction" and "the company of inveterate colonialists," etc. Can it be that you are defending Sino-Soviet friendship by this torrent of abuse? You reject our proposal and dare not publish our articles and material which present the facts and reason matters out, because you are well aware that the broad masses of the Soviet people and of the members of the C.P.S.U. really cherish Sino-Soviet friendship and are able to distinguish between right and wrong, and because it will be still more difficult for you to keep on going once they have read our articles and know the truth.

To boost your own morale, you say in your letter that the more time passes, the more life will prove you right and us wrong. If so, why are you so jittery? Why are you shouting yourselves hoarse in cursing the newborn forces of Marxism-Leninism? Why are you so anxiously asking for a stop to the public polemics? Why are you so hastily preparing an international meeting? Isn't it best for you to let time prove that our line is wrong? To get to the root of the matter, time

is not on your side, and you have lost faith in your own future. Reality is a compelling force and your letter, which lacks reason and conviction and is characterized by a mouse-like timidity despite its air of ferocity, reflects your state of mind. But what can be done about it? All this is of your own making. You have picked up a rock only to drop it on your own toes, and who else is to blame?

V

The Communist Party of China persists in its stand for an international meeting of the fraternal Parties for unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to be held after ample preparations, and we are firmly opposed to your schismatic meeting.

The Central Committee of the C.P.C. solemnly declares: We will never take part in any international meeting, or any preparatory meeting for it, which you call for the purpose of splitting the international communist movement.

It is clear to everyone that, as the differences in the international communist movement are so serious and the dispute is so fierce, a hasty international meeting can yield only bad results and not good ones. Should you disregard our solemn warning, discard the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation and insist on calling an international meeting unilaterally and illegally, the only consequence will be an open split.

During the 14 years from the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 to 1957, there was not a single international meeting of all Communist Parties. But this did not hinder the progress of the cause of international communism. On the contrary, during those 14 years, the Chinese revolution triumphed, the revolutions of different types in a number of countries in East Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America triumphed, and the revolutionary cause in other countries made great progress. Experience has proved that the most important thing for a Communist Party is to be able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country, to adhere to a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and to carry on the revolutionary struggle independently. Wherever this is done, the people's revolutionary cause will advance step by step towards victory, and a contribution will be made to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Wherever this is not done, the revolutionary cause will suffer setbacks and defeats.

Since 1957, two international meetings of the fraternal Parties have been held. The 1957 meeting charted a common programme for the international communist movement. But soon after the meeting you abandoned the revolutionary principles of the Declaration, energetically pushed ahead with your revisionist line and tried to impose it upon fraternal Parties. At the 1960 meeting of fraternal Parties, our Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties justly criticized

your line of revisionism. However, you did not in the least repent and mend your ways but cast aside the revolutionary principles of the 1960 Statement, stuck to your anti-Marxist-Leninist stand and kept on widening and deepening the differences in the international communist movement. In these circumstances, how can a meeting of unity based on Marxism-Leninism be held?

That is why we say, "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." No harm was done but much good occurred during the 14 years when no international meeting of the fraternal Parties was held. Why should a meeting be called in such a great hurry now?

Now you want to convene a grand assembly for a split—rather it should be called a minor schismatic gathering. In relation to the total number of Communists in the world, those who really believe in revisionism constitute only a small fraction, and they are bound to come to grief. The revisionists are seriously disunited and divergent in their views. There are some who dance obediently in response to your baton, but their number is dwindling. Therefore, history will prove that the meeting you intend to call unilaterally and forcibly, without consultation with the fraternal Parties and without their agreement, can be nothing but an insignificant meeting which is against communism, against the people and against the revolution and which serves the bourgeoisie, like the "congresses" called by the Second International to oppose Leninism.

Since you have made up your minds, you will most probably call the meeting. Otherwise, by breaking your word would you not become a laughing-stock down the centuries? As the saying goes, you can't dismount from the tiger you are riding. You are caught in an insoluble dilemma. You are falling into a trap of your own making and will end by losing your skin. If you do not call the meeting, people will say that you have followed the advice of the Chinese and the Marxist-Leninist Parties, and you will lose face. If you do call the meeting, you will land yourselves in an impasse without any way out. In the present historical juncture this is a grave crisis for you modern revisionists, a crisis of your own making. Are you not aware of it? We firmly believe that the day your so-called meeting takes place will be the day you step into your grave.

Dear comrades! Once again we sincerely advise you to rein in on the brink of the precipice and not to prize such false and useless "face-saving." But if you refuse to listen and are determined to take the road to doom, well, suit yourselves! Then we will only be able to say:

Flowers fall off, do what one may;
Swallows return, no strangers they.

With fraternal greetings,

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

Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of June 15, 1964, to the Central Committee of the C.P.C.

To the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of China

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has received your letter of May 7, which contains an answer to ours of March 7 last. In your letter you not only reject all the proposals of the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties aimed at overcoming the difficulties in the communist movement, but virtually refuse to meet with representatives of parties, to hold talks and discuss with them common problems of concern to the Communists of the whole world. Never before has the CC CPC so frankly expressed its scorn of the opinion of fraternal parties, and its refusal to lend ear to them and take part in a joint search for ways of overcoming the differences. The entire content of your letter, as well as its rude tone, shows that for all the numerous CC CPC declarations to the effect that it is anxious to prevent a split and uphold unity, you do not want the differences to be overcome, and in practice oppose the unity of the world communist movement. You even make no attempt to deny that your aim is to have your hands free in order to carry on factional, splitting activities. This is the only way the Marxist-Leninist parties that are concerned about the difficulties which have arisen within our movement can interpret your letter.

In sending you its letter of March 7, the CC CPSU believed that the situation in the world communist movement called for a collective examination of the difficulties, a collective formulation of advisable ways of overcoming them, and for unity of all the fraternal parties. With these aims in view, we proposed calling a CPSU-CPC meeting and a preparatory conference of delegates from twenty-six parties as speedily as possible, and holding a world Meeting even this year, by agreement among the fraternal parties. We felt that open polemics must be discontinued and all manner of subversive, splitting activities within the socialist commonwealth and the communist movement—practices which have already done considerable harm to our cause—renounced if those measures were to succeed. We reckoned with the will of most of the fraternal parties, which insist that CPSU and CPC delegates meet and that an international Communist forum be held to discuss the problems that have arisen in a comradely atmosphere, within the fraternal family of Communists, and remove the divergencies caused by the CPC leaders' splitting activities.

The proposals put forward in the CC CPSU letter of March 7 were actively supported by the world communist movement. By now the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties have declared for convening a Meeting without delay. Some parties, while favouring a conference in principle, make certain reservations as to the specific time when it should be called, bearing in mind your opposition to a Meeting. But as far as we know no leadership of any party, except that of the CPC and the Albanian Party of Labour, rejects the necessity for collective measures to overcome the difficulties in the communist movement and promote its unity.

The CC CPC letter of May 7 proposes postponing the conference for "four or five years or more" and, moreover, declares that "it would even be better not to convene it than to convene it." Once again you put off for a long time the bilateral meeting which the CC CPC proposed a short time ago holding in October 1964, and make such reservations to your consent to it as give cause for doubt whether the Chinese side is interested in it at all.

We state, therefore, that the CC CPC is going back on its own proposals. The CPC leaders have for a long time posed as initiators of an early conference, making it appear as if the CPSU were against it. When, in the winter of 1962, the Communist parties of Indonesia, Vietnam and New Zealand proposed a conference, you supported their proposal. You wrote on April 7, 1962, that a conference would be of "topical, positive significance in overcoming the differences existing between fraternal parties today." At the end of 1962 that attitude of the CC CPC was publicly reaffirmed in the speeches made by your delegations at the congresses of the fraternal parties of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Afterwards you declared for a conference in your letters to the CC CPSU of March 9, 1963, and June 14, 1963. Lastly, your letter of February 29, 1964, said in black and white: "The Communist Party of China invariably favours a conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries, and actively supports it."

Nevertheless, the CC CPSU and other fraternal parties had only to put the question of a conference on a specific basis for you to make a volte-face. Anyone will be struck by the extremely contradictory and illogical position of the CC CPC. Until recently you enthusiastically supported the idea of a conference, and were even proud of having been the first to support the

proposal for convening it because you considered it useful. Today the CPC leaders say something different. From what they say, a conference would be untimely and would, indeed, threaten the communist movement with all sorts of calamities. That wavering seems to be due solely to the fact that you have never before thought seriously of a conference — any more than you do now — because you could not count on support for your ideological and political platform on the part of a world Communist forum. It is legitimate to presume that the CC CPC is little concerned about the problem of preserving and strengthening the unity of the communist movement and that it is turning the issue of a conference into an object for an unseemly political game to breed more difficulties.

Although you vigorously flaunt your indifference to the opinion of other parties and declare that you are unafraid of a “resolute rebuff” from them, in fact you are afraid to attend a world Communist conference because you are anxious to evade a fair and straightforward discussion, and a comparison of your erroneous platform and the line of the world communist movement.

Your objections to a conference are utterly indefensible. You contend that a world conference, like a CPC-CPSU meeting, would merely “end in a quarrel and in all parties going away without achieving any results,” and that “there will be an open split and everyone will go his own way.”

No one can pose the issue like that or predict a split as the result of a conference unless he himself has decided on a split. Indeed, if at a conference the line pursued is one of aggravating differences and if its purpose is seen as one of condemning someone, slapping on offensive labels and making irresponsible charges, the result may be further dissociation rather than greater unity.

But the CPSU and those fraternal parties which at every stage of the differences have consistently favoured a new international meeting emphatically reject such a line, the very idea of such an approach to a conference. As far as we are concerned, the issue of a conference is inseparable from the problem of maintaining and promoting the unity of our movement. We believe that in view of the differences which the Communist movement has come up against, it is necessary, first and foremost, to concentrate on revealing what the fraternal parties have in common and what unites them, on seeking ways of overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. Fraternal parties have no better method for overcoming differences and formulating common positions than a collective exchange of views at an international forum that would enable each party to fully retain its sovereignty and yet take an active part in formulating the common line of the world communist movement.

The differences and disputes which have broken out in the communist movement and are causing it considerable damage affect the interests of every single party. That is why each party is entitled and obliged

to contribute to the discussion and solution of urgent problems and to the common cause of promoting unity. It is precisely a conference that would give each party an opportunity to hear all opinions and state its point of view frankly and seriously, so that it could subsequently be taken into consideration when a common line and common decisions were formulated.

As regards the CPSU, in proposing a conference, it aims—in full accordance with the principles established within the communist movement after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960—to pursue at it a line for unity, the normalisation of the situation in our movement, and a serious discussion of disputed issues, such as will make for greater unity on the basis of principle, and not for an aggravation of differences. It is our deep conviction that there are no insurmountable obstacles to this. All that is necessary is for every participant in an international meeting to show at least a minimum of goodwill, to be willing to listen carefully to other opinions and to understand them, and seek for ways to unity and not to dissociation. If the representatives of every party show an interest in overcoming the difficulties, and if the CPC delegation attends the proposed conference with a desire to seek mutual understanding with the other participants, and with a constructive programme, which the CPSU and other parties think necessary, then the conference may become a turning point in the effort for greater unity.

The CC CPSU is perfectly aware that the divergencies between the CC CPC and other fraternal parties are very serious and have gone far. A good deal of extraneous matter, of artificialities which hinder mutual understanding, has accumulated in the relations between the two parties. A whole series of fundamental differences over highly important problems of today and of the policies of world communism have emerged and become acute. It is possible, therefore, that whatever the efforts which the Marxist-Leninist parties may make, the conference may not fully succeed in arriving at a common view on all matters. The CC CPSU is convinced, however, that even such an outcome of the conference will not amount to a split, which the CPC leaders persistently forecast. Even in a case like that, we think it possible to reach at the conference an agreement that the Communist parties commit themselves to take account of the opinions of all the conference delegates, all the Marxist-Leninist parties, to cooperate conscientiously in those fields in which their positions and interests will have turned out to be common, and refrain from any further action aggravating the difficulties and gratifying none but the class enemy. One may well ask: given this approach, why should a conference lead to a split or so much as worsen the situation in the communist movement?

We consider that the procedure for the conference proceedings suggested by us fully accords with the standards and principles of relations between Communist parties and is perfectly realistic. It is a question

of really showing elementary concern for unity, tolerance and good faith, which the communist movement has a right to expect from any one of its contingents. There can be no doubt at all as to the success of a conference provided every fraternal party and its leaders are aware of their historic responsibility for the destinies of our movement and realise the gravity of the situation and the possible consequences of a split.

In upholding the idea of a new international meeting, the CC CPSU maintains that it is indispensable not only for overcoming the differences, important as this task may be in itself. Communists should not for one moment forget their responsibility in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and national independence, for a successful advance along the road of socialism and communism.

About four years have passed since the last world conference. In this period, many important changes have taken place in the world which require study, generalisation and conclusions. The world socialist system has made notable progress in the past years. Its economic power has increased, and so has its political and ideological impact on world development. Most of the socialist countries are completing an important period of their development and are approaching new heights in the construction of a new society. Their further advance to socialism and communism makes it increasingly imperative to improve the forms of co-operation and mutual assistance, exchanges of experience, and coordination of political and economic activities.

Two opposed world policies are in evidence today, more clearly than ever before. One is directed towards preserving peace and promoting peaceful coexistence; it is pursued by the socialist countries and is supported by the majority of mankind. The other is aimed at increasing international tension and the war menace; it is pursued by the imperialist reactionaries led by the wildmen of the US and other imperialist powers. The past years have shown how very correct were the Communist parties: conclusions regarding the possibility of averting war and isolating and defeating the forces opposed to peace.

The recent period has seen even more obvious signs of an aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, of the growth of the social and political antagonisms rending the capitalist system both within bourgeois society and internationally. There is now much that is new in the forms of organisation and the methods used by the working class of the capitalist countries in fighting for its immediate and ultimate goals. The disintegration of imperialism's colonial system has entered its closing stage. The newly-free nations' irresistible desire for socialism, and their effort to take the non-capitalist road of development has become particularly evident in recent years.

The revolutionary movement, and the champions of peace and socialism now have new great opportunities, and we Communists should think of the best ways of

using these opportunities in the interests of the working class and all nations.

We are firmly convinced that a conference would be just the place to make a collective analysis of new economic and socio-political developments and processes, coordinate appraisals and positions, and enrich and specify the common political line accordingly. We state with satisfaction that the general line of the world communist movement, as defined in the 1957 and 1960 documents, has been proved by reality to be perfectly correct and has brought fraternal parties further achievements. On the other hand, there is now a pressing need to meet in order to sum up the progress made, compare notes, review the problems confronting world communism and, in keeping with the changes that have occurred in the international situation, supplement and elaborate the ideas of the Declaration and Statement, and creatively examine and solve new problems.

In the light of all these tasks, the CC CPC proposal for putting off a new world conference for a long time is particularly unacceptable. All indications are that the conference is indispensable and the question of convening it cannot be shelved.

The most important thing, however, is, as the CC CPSU sees it, for every Marxist-Leninist party to contribute even today, regardless of the specific date of a new World Meeting, to the cause which the Meeting is to serve, that is, to the unity of the Communists of the world, and to the effort towards attaining common goals. At the moment it is important for every fraternal party to fight for these goals still more actively. Every fraternal party is faced with tasks brooking no delay; it must make a thorough study of the situation that has developed in the communist movement, participate constructively in the discussion of difficulties and in the search for ways of overcoming them and subordinate its everyday activities to the interests of the international unity of our ranks. This is the practical method for proving one's loyalty to the principles and exigencies of proletarian internationalism and to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. It is also the surest way to convene and successfully carry through a world Communist forum. We are emphatically against making the issue of the date of a conference a pretext for further argument and a stumbling-block to the solution of the main tasks confronting the communist movement. However, we are emphatically against postponing a conference for "four or five years or more," which is what the CC CPC proposes.

Such is our position on the main issue raised in the latest letters which the CC CPSU and the CC CPC have exchanged concerning the aims and prospects of a new World Meeting.

The CC CPC letter of May 7 deals with a number of other problems, both concerning a world meeting and having no direct bearing on it. Among them is, for example, the question of the procedure of convening the conference.

The CC CPC asserts that in present-day conditions no one has a right to call a world conference since there is no permanent body of the Comintern type. From the point of view of the democratic principles of which the communist movement is based, it must be recognised that any party or group of parties is free to take such an initiative. In that event it is the duty of the other contingents of the communist movement to carefully examine and support that initiative, provided it benefits our common cause. As for the CPSU, it will be recalled that the fraternal parties have placed on it a special responsibility with regard to the convening of world meetings. The decision adopted by the 1957 Meeting reads: "Entrust the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the function of convening Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties in consultation with the fraternal parties." This decision was passed unanimously, with the CPC delegation participating. What is more, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who spoke at the afternoon sitting of November 14, 1957, said that "it is necessary to recognise the CPSU as the party which should take the initiative in calling Meetings."

We are citing these facts to establish the truth and prevent the issue of the initiative in calling a Meeting from being made a new object of argument and a pretext for delaying a world forum of fraternal parties, which has become urgent.

The CC CPC, raising one obstacle after another to a Meeting, writes that there is a need of "great preparatory work." Our Party has always considered that the conference has to be prepared for carefully if it is to succeed. It is with this aim in view that we have proposed again and again stopping public polemics and renouncing the methods of factional activity within the world communist movement.

Everything suggests that the CC CPC, in speaking of "preparatory work," means something that is the exact opposite of it, namely, the intensification of factional, disruptive activities, and the utmost exacerbation of polemics. Frankly speaking, that is, in effect, the true reason for the Chinese leaders' stalling. At a time when the struggle is becoming more and more acute, it counts, as everything seems to indicate, on forming a bloc of parties and groups subservient to Peking. Another fact indicating this is that you are now openly trying to secure the invitation to the Meeting of fellow-thinkers you have recruited in various countries.

Since the CC CPC is turning the question of the composition of the Meeting into another point of difference, we consider it necessary to state our attitude to it. We are of the opinion that all those parties which took part in the Meetings of 1957 and 1960 and signed their documents are entitled to attend. This is all the more so because the differences in the communist movement concern the interpretation of the Declaration and Statement. Obviously, only a forum of the parties which formulated and signed those documents are in a position to interpret them correctly. Only

the conference itself has a right to decide whether any new participants should be invited. In the years that have passed since the last world Meeting there have arisen in several countries (including some African countries) parties which agree with and implement the general line of the communist movement expressed in the Declaration and Statement and are the recognised spokesmen of the working-class movement of their countries. Naturally, those parties are entitled to expect an invitation to attend the new international meeting.

But when the CC CPC poses the question of inviting new participants to the Meeting, it is thinking not of those parties but of the anti-party factional groups which it has brought into being and which it designates by the high-sounding name of "parties." However, those groups do not represent the working-class movement of their countries but have been artificially set up from without. It is no chance coincidence that the anti-party groups in Australia, Brazil, Belgium, Ceylon and some other countries sprang up just when the CC CPC launched its factional activities within the world communist movement. Secondly, those groups do not adhere, either in theory or in practice, to the general line of the world communist movement defined in the Declaration and Statement. On the contrary, the views they advocate betray them completely as opponents of this line. Thirdly, they are made up of anti-party opposition elements expelled from Marxist-Leninist parties and fighting against lawfully elected central committees, against tested leaders of those parties who enjoy prestige. It is indicative of the political character and composition of those groups that they have been joined by Trotskyists, anarchists and all manner of renegades and apostates. It should be said in so many words that this type of adherents to the Chinese leadership's line is no credit to it. No matter how hard you try to represent those impostors as "true revolutionaries," they are outside the communist movement, and no power on earth can drag them into its ranks.

The CC CPSU cannot overlook the attempts the letter from the CC CPC of May 7 makes to defame the tested Marxist-Leninist parties of Australia, Brazil and India. We emphatically reject the unworthy methods by which the leaders of one party, the Communist Party of China, lay claim to a special position in the communist movement, to the right to pass judgement on parties as a whole and their leaders and arbitrarily decide issues that are only for the working class of the given country to decide.

If you persist in this sort of "preparatory work" for the Meeting, i.e., strive to extend factional activity, you will only confirm the established opinion that the CPC leadership is taking matters directly towards a split.

The striving of the CC CPC to aggravate the open polemics in the communist movement has long become obvious. The propaganda campaign started by it has gone beyond the framework of any ideological po-

lemics and developed into an open political struggle against Marxist-Leninist parties. It has nothing in common with an elucidation of the truth, with the working out of pressing problems of the theory and policy of our movement. The content, methods and tone of your statements show that you deliberately try to expand the range of issues, distort the real stand of the Marxist-Leninist parties, slander their leadership and turn the masses against it. It is patently clear to everybody that this is not polemics any longer but a fomenting of differences and enmity. It shatters friendship among the peoples of the socialist countries, sows confusion and distrust in the ranks of the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movement and compromises world socialism. The CPC leaders thereby bring grist to the mill of the aggressive circles of imperialism, who, as everybody knows, are eagerly helping to circulate Chinese propaganda materials.

We approach the preparations for the Meeting differently. The CC CPSU has always held that in the course of the preparations there should be a creative discussion of important problems of the communist movement on the basis of comradely exchanges of opinion as provided for by the 1960 Statement. We regard a discussion of urgent problems of Marxism-Leninism, of problems of the strategy and tactics of our movement, as normal and useful. Such discussions help to advance Marxist thinking, to bring the activity of the Communist parties closer to the requirements of reality and to work out a common policy in course of preparations for meetings and conferences. However, the CC CPC's propaganda campaign, which is hostile to the communist movement in no way serves this purpose.

You threaten that you intend answering "the more than two thousand anti-Chinese articles and materials" allegedly published in the Soviet press as well as "the numerous decisions, statements and articles of several tens of fraternal parties." In other words, you plan to carry on the public polemics endlessly. That, evidently, is your objective. You started the polemics, forced the fraternal parties to give a rebuff to your erroneous views and now, under the guise of "answers," you intend to extend the political struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties still further.

The CC CPC's proposal, contained in its letter of May 7, for concluding an agreement between the two Parties to publish materials of the other side in their press unambiguously exposes your design, which is to fan the polemics to even greater proportions.

We should like to note that while there was hope that the discussion would not go beyond a principled debate of theoretical and political issues we reprinted some Chinese materials in our press. But when it became clear that it was not a principled discussion but hostile propaganda we had to change our approach to this question. No Communist party has ever undertaken to reprint, circulate and propagate slanderous materials that are alien to socialism. No matter from

whom such materials come, they help only the reactionary circles of imperialism in their struggle against world socialism.

The reprinting of articles in which our country is accused of "plotting with US imperialism," "betraying the revolution" and "restoring" capitalist practices would have served no purpose other than to undermine our people's feeling of friendship and fraternity for the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, who, of course, cannot bear the responsibility for the present actions of their leaders. By printing a succession of such articles, the Soviet press would have had to answer each one of them. The polemics with the Chinese leadership would have thus become the prime content of our country's entire ideological life. This would have meant distracting the attention of the Party and the people from the cardinal tasks, namely communist construction, the struggle against imperialism and aid to the revolutionary working-class and national-liberation movements. It is clear that this is something our Party will not do.

It must be reiterated that all your thoughts are directed towards further aggravating the polemics, intensifying factional activity and rejecting any collective discussion of the problems facing the communist movement. On all questions worrying Communists throughout the world, the CC CPC has taken a stand that runs counter to the common interests of our movement, to the interests of strengthening the unity of its ranks.

In this light, facts gainsay the claim that the CC CPC "consistently defends unity and struggles against a split" and that it is "making unflagging efforts to remove differences." Under present conditions, as never before, the struggle for unity requires practical constructive action. However, your actions are aimed at hindering the settlement of the differences and worsening the situation in every possible way. The negative approach which runs through the CC CPC letter of May 7, and the utter unwillingness to meet the initiative of the fraternal parties half way can have only one explanation, namely, that the Chinese leaders do not wish to take into consideration the opinions and interests of the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties, that they are waging a bitter struggle against them and deliberately seeking to split the communist movement.

It is clear to all the participants in the communist movement that by postponing a world meeting to a remote date, the CC CPC hopes in that time to increase the number of its supporters, turn them into obedient tools of its policy and thereby attempt to create favourable conditions for itself at this future meeting. One does not have to be a prophet to forecast the complete failure of these calculations. We have not the least doubt that with time life will prove with increasing force the indefensibility of the ideological and political platform and tactical line that the CPC leaders are trying to impose upon the communist movement. The unseemly objective pursued by the Chinese leadership will

become increasingly clear and those who have been temporarily deluded will see the light. It goes without saying that the splitting activity of the CC CPC can inflict and has already inflicted harm on the communist movement, particularly on those of its contingents that are waging a struggle for the cause of the working class, against imperialist reaction in the capitalist countries under the difficult conditions. But each step forward in the struggle of the working class and each new success in the development of the world socialist system will deal a blow at the erroneous and unrealistic propositions of the Chinese leaders and will prove the correctness and vitality of the Leninist line of the communist movement.

In its letter the CC CPC touches upon certain points of its ideological and political differences with the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties. Our Party has repeatedly set forth its stand on these points. We therefore do not find it necessary to return to them again in this letter, especially as your letter contains nothing new. For a long time you have subsisted on outright abuse and on the slapping on of labels, substituting this for an honest discussion of questions on which the CC CPC has its own special opinion. The CC CPSU emphatically rejects as patent slander your irresponsible assertion that the CPSU "strives for an alliance with US imperialism with every fibre of its body," "opposes the national liberation movement and the proletarian revolution" and is "plotting a major conspiracy, an open split of the socialist camp and the world communist movement." Statements of this kind only discredit those who make them, those who take the liberty of making such malicious attacks against the first country of victorious socialism, a country that carries the main burden of the struggle against imperialism. Who are these clumsy fabrications intended for? Do you seriously hope to find simpletons who would believe such slander? The real purport of your assertions is that you want to delude the masses of China, set them against the Soviet people, who are the friend and brother of the Chinese workers and peasants. All this benefits only the imperialist reaction, whose cherished hope is to split the peoples of the socialist countries, sow enmity among them and bring them into conflict with each other.

With these acts you are trying to screen the real essence of the differences that you actually have with the present political line of the world communist movement. Throughout the world, Marxist-Leninists have long ago realised that the Chinese leaders have drifted away from the communist movement in such questions as war and peace, the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the ways of accomplishing the socialist revolution, the role and ways of furthering the national liberation movement, the struggle against the ideology and practice of the personality cult and the methods of building socialism and communism.

From all the rooftops you claim that you are irreconcilable adversaries of the ideas put forward by the

Twentieth CPSU Congress. It is in vain that you are proud of this, comrades! You must realise that more than anything else this betrays you as the people who today adhere to outdated positions, which have long been rejected by life, by the practice of the entire world liberation movement, the entire world communist movement. The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, as is recognised by the entire world communist movement and officially affirmed in the Declaration and Statement, initiated a new stage in the development of our movement. It has become the symbol of the creative spirit of Leninism, of a new line of the entire world communist movement, a symbol of the change from the ideology and practices of the Stalin personality cult to Leninist principles and norms.

This was the change that laid the foundation for further successes in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism, for an enhancement of the prestige and influence of the world communist movement, for its transition to a fresh offensive against the forces of reaction and war. The savage attacks against the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU, against the propositions and directives of the Declaration and Statement are nothing more than the reaction of conservative forces in the communist movement to the creative Marxism-Leninism of the modern epoch.

Evidently you do not even notice the extent to which the letter of the CC CPC of May 7 is permeated with the ideology of the personality cult. Your demonstrative disregard of the will of the fraternal parties, your undisguised attempt to avoid a collective discussion of the problems that have arisen and your methods of conducting polemics by piling up all sorts of political insinuations, of the most fantastic accusations, your intolerance and bitterness with regard to comrades-in-struggle bear the indelible imprint of personality cult practices.

The CC CPC tries to cover up its departure from the general line of the communist movement with the flag of revolution and struggle against imperialism, which is sacred to all Communists. But the real worth of this "revolutionary spirit" is shown by the practical deeds of the CPC leaders, by their entire activity aimed at splitting the revolutionary forces of modern times. Recently, for example, the meaning that the CPC leaders attach to their notorious theory of a so-called "intermediate zone" embracing, besides China, the imperialists of Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Britain, has become especially clear. The extent to which manifestations of a split in the communist movement, in the socialist camp, brings joy to the imperialists is seen by their attempts to find some way of effecting a rapprochement with those who are causing this split. Have the CPC leaders paid attention to the fact that namely today when Chinese propaganda is shouting loudest of all about "revolution" and a "struggle against imperialism," the ruling circles of these powers are displaying special readiness to establish closer relations with Peking. Even the US

imperialists, as can be seen from many statements by US officials, declare that despite the bellicose tone of Chinese propaganda China is behaving "moderately" and that therefore the United States must "keep the door open" should there be changes in relations with China.

Today it is becoming increasingly clear to Marxist-Leninists throughout the world that on the lips of the CPC leaders "leftist" phrases mean nothing but a screen for great-power designs and claims to hegemony which manifest themselves with growing clarity in their practical actions in the world and in the communist movement. We should like to warn you, comrades, that the road you are taking is extremely dangerous, that you are gambling with the destiny of the people of China and with their revolutionary gains.

You are trying to portray criticism of your anti-Leninist views and stand as an "anti-Chinese campaign." You know perfectly well that in all of our Party's documents special emphasis is laid on the heartfelt friendship of Soviet Communists for the Chinese people, to whom we have rendered and are prepared to continue rendering the utmost aid in the building of socialism. The CC CPSU is not engaged in stirring up among our people distrust and hostility towards China, towards its great people and towards the peoples of other countries.

It is precisely because we cherish the friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples, the unity between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China and the solidarity of the entire world liberation movement that we are not relaxing our efforts to normalise relations with the CPC despite the fact that the Chinese leadership is demonstrating with increasing clarity its unwillingness to improve these relations. Our long enduring patience and restraint are explained by the fact that we are devoted to the Leninist principles of internationalism, have our eyes on the future and believe in the ultimate triumph of these principles in the socialist community and the communist movement.

We reaffirm our stand with regard to the need for convening a World Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties as a reliable and tested method of securing the unity of Marxist-Leninist parties. We suggest that in the immediate future we should agree in principle that a Meeting must be convened and that it should not be put off for long, and that agreement on its specific date as well as on its agenda and composition should be reached through further consultations with the fraternal parties.

The CC CPSU considers that at the present stage the main effort should be concentrated on holding a preparatory conference. We reiterate our proposal that a preparatory conference should be convened and attended by representatives of the 26 Parties nominated by the World Meeting of Communist Parties as members of the Drafting Commission in 1960 and rep-

resenting the interests of Communists in all the main regions of the world. We consider it necessary to reach agreement with the fraternal parties on the specific date of such a conference in the immediate future.

As before, the CC CPSU expresses its preparedness to hold a bilateral meeting of representatives of the CPSU and CPC on any agreed date. This question can be decided at any time by agreement between the CPSU and CPC.

A collective examination of problems of the Communist movement is at present the only true method recognised by all Communist parties. Therefore no Party can, without breaking with internationalism, hinder the convocation of the Meeting or unilaterally dictate terms under which such a Meeting must be held. All Parties are equal and, on the basis of the democratic principles proclaimed in the Declaration and Statement, jointly decide questions concerning our entire movement.

In conclusion the CC CPSU considers it necessary to emphasize that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will firmly continue to follow the Leninist line laid down for it by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses and consistently implement the general line of the world communist movement as set forth in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. Our Party and the entire Soviet people are faced with the epoch-making task of building a communist society. Together with all peace-loving forces we bear the responsibility for averting a world thermonuclear war, for the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. We shall spare no effort in the struggle for the attainment of the great goals of the modern epoch.

Such, too, is the position from which we approach the matter of surmounting difficulties in the world communist movement, and strengthening the unity of its ranks. We place the interests of world communism above all else and are guided by them in our relations with the Communist Party of China as with any other Party.

The CC CPSU should like to hope that the CC CPC studies the proposals made in this letter with all seriousness, once again weighs all the possible consequences of the stand taken by it and, on its part, takes steps that would lead to unity with all Marxist-Leninist Parties rather than to a split.

With fraternal greetings,

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

June 15, 1964

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Holding Aloft the Banner of Revolution

Following is an abridged translation of the July 29 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "Hold Aloft the Banner of Revolution and Carry the Struggle Through to the End." — Ed.

THE "Declaration of Santiago de Cuba" was adopted by the Cuban people at a rally on July 26 which celebrated the 11th anniversary of their armed uprising. The Declaration strongly condemned U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in Cuba, solemnly announced rejection by the people of Cuba of the O.A.S. Foreign Ministers' Conference resolution vilifying and applying "sanctions" against Cuba, and reiterated the Cuban people's determined stand to be prepared to shed their last drop of blood in defence of their fatherland. It is a most powerful reply to the O.A.S. Foreign Ministers' Conference's counter-revolutionary resolution and statement.

Forcing the O.A.S. conference to pass a resolution on further intervention in Cuba does not indicate U.S. imperialism's strength, but, on the contrary, is a manifestation of the fact that it is at its wit's end in the face of the heroic and staunch Cuban people. In the last five years and more, U.S. imperialism has tried by hook or by crook to strangle the Cuban revolution, only to wind up in ignominious defeat. This is why it has been seeking in a thousand and one ways to line up other Latin American countries for "collective intervention" against Cuba. But this conspiracy has consistently failed. It was only after making a desperate effort that the United States succeeded in cooking up the resolution on so-called "sanctions" against Cuba. Even so, Mexico, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia still opposed this counter-revolutionary resolution when it was put to a vote.

Does U.S. imperialism think its present action can isolate Cuba? This is a vain hope pure and simple. Whether or not the United States can force all the member states of the O.A.S. to accept its order to apply "sanctions" against Cuba, revolutionary Cuba can never be isolated. No conspiracies can destroy the friendship and unity between the peoples of other Latin American countries and the Cuban people. Have not the governments of many countries in Latin America severed diplomatic relations with Cuba at Washington's orders? But the people of these countries continue to side with the Cuban people, giving resolute support to their just struggle. The shameful resolution of the O.A.S. Foreign Ministers' Conference is arousing an angry wave of protest in Latin American countries, and the movement to support and defend Cuba is unfolding more vigorously than ever. U.S. imperialism will find that it has raised a rock, only to crush its own toes.

The Washington meeting has brazenly threatened Cuba with collective or unilateral "use of force." Does

Yankee imperialism seriously believe that it can thus scare the Cuban people stiff? This is outright daydreaming. The Cuban people not only have the experience but, what is more, they are ready to repulse any armed aggression by Yankee imperialism and its flunkies. The valiant Cuban people will never cringe before Yankee imperialism threatening the use of force. "Fatherland or Death!"—this is the clarion call with which they answer the aggressors' threat. Premier Castro has restated the just position of the Cuban people to support the people's revolutionary movements in the Latin American countries. He was completely right in saying, "Support of revolutionary movements is not negotiable." He also said, "Our sympathy lies with all revolutionary movements, no matter where they arise." The Cuban people will continue to hold high the revolutionary banner of the two Declarations of Havana and the Declaration of Santiago de Cuba and press on to the end in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary policy of Yankee imperialism and its running dogs.

Employing the tactics of a thief crying "stop thief," U.S. imperialism is trying to use the pretext of checking Cuban "aggression" and "intervention" to carry out its own aggression and intervention in other Latin American countries. But do the Yankees really believe that they can thus put down the people's revolutionary movements in the Latin American countries? This also is sheer daydreaming. As the Second Declaration of Havana put it:

Revolution is inevitable in many countries of Latin America. Nobody's will determines this fact. It is determined by the frightful conditions of exploitation which afflict mankind in America. It is determined by the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, by the world crisis of imperialism and by the universal movement of struggle of the world's subjugated peoples.

Four years ago, when the O.A.S., manipulated by the United States, adopted the San Jose Declaration, the Cuban people answered it with the First Declaration of Havana. Two years ago, when the U.S.-dominated O.A.S. adopted the Punta del Este Resolution, the Cuban people's answer was the Second Declaration of Havana. And now the Cuban people have issued a new, revolutionary call to rebuff Washington's counter-revolutionary call. In this sharp struggle between the revolutionary forces represented by Cuba and the counter-revolutionary forces represented by Yankee imperialism on the American continent, the people throughout the world stand with the people of Cuba and the people of all other Latin American countries, while Yankee imperialism can only find its allies from among the most reactionary forces in these countries. This struggle will go on until Yankee imperialism is liquidated and until the American continent is resurrected.

China Acclaims Cuba's Advance

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE 11th anniversary of Cuba's July 26 armed uprising was enthusiastically celebrated in China.

On July 25, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, sent a joint message of greetings to Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the National Directorate of the United Party of Socialist Revolution of Cuba and Premier of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, and Osvaldo Dorticos, President of the Republic of Cuba.

"Eleven years ago," the message declared, "the Cuban people led by Comrade Fidel Castro hoisted the banner of armed revolution and opened an illustrious page in the annals of the revolutionary struggle of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples. Following the correct path of armed revolution blazed by the July 26th uprising and after going through protracted and arduous struggle, the Cuban people eventually overthrew the puppet regime of U.S. imperialism, won victory in the national democratic revolution and firmly took the road of socialism, establishing the first socialist country in Latin America."

Reaffirming the friendship between the Chinese and Cuban peoples who have been closely bound by the common task of opposing U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of mankind, and of building socialism, the message declared: "Whatever may happen on earth in future, the Chinese people will always work together with the fraternal Cuban people, with other Latin American peoples and the people of the whole world in the common struggle against imperialism, for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism until victory is won."

On the same day, a grand celebration of more than 1,500 people was held in the capital. Among those present were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Lin Feng. Lin Feng and Cuban Ambassador to China, Oscar Pino-Santos, addressed the meeting.

Shining Example

In his speech, Lin Feng emphasized the shining example set by the Cuban people in their struggle. He pointed out that "Cuba, a country with a population of no more than seven million, lying close to the coast of the United States, had succeeded in resisting war provocations and armed threats by U.S. imperialism because Cuba had the courage to struggle and win

victory. The struggle of the Cuban people and their victory prove to the whole world that by firm struggle the people of any country, big or small, near or far from imperialism, can defeat the imperialist lackeys, seize state power and carry the cause of the revolution to the end."

On July 26, *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial "The Cuban People Continue Their Victorious Advance."

U.S. Aggression Against Cuba

After elaborating on the significance of the Cuban revolution, the editorial noted that revolutionary Cuba and its influence have become more and more intolerable for U.S. imperialism. "Successive U.S. administrations, from Eisenhower through Kennedy to Johnson," it recalled, "have persistently pursued a criminal policy aimed at strangling the Cuban revolution. Since the beginning of this year, the Johnson Administration has intensified its aggressive activities against Cuba on many fronts. It has insisted on espionage flights over Cuba by continually sending its aircraft to invade Cuban territorial air, frequently instigated counter-revolutionary Cuban bandits to conduct piratical attacks and harassing activities against Cuba and ordered U.S. military personnel in the naval base at Guantanamo to launch military provocations. These aggressive activities have presented a constant and grave threat to the security of Cuba. What is more, the Johnson Administration is actively planning to band together with other Latin American countries for so-called "collective intervention" in Cuba. The recent O.A.S. Foreign Ministers' Conference in Washington is intended to carry out this plot."

On July 25, Washington railroaded through the conference a resolution on "sanctions" against Cuba, urging all governments of the O.A.S. member states to sever diplomatic and consular relations with Cuba and to suspend all trade and sea transportation.

But, as the *Renmin Ribao* editorial pointed out, no U.S. imperialist conspiracies, open or secret, could bring these heroic people to their knees. Cherishing no illusions about U.S. imperialism, they are always ready to cope with all forms of aggression and intervention.

Despite past efforts by U.S. imperialism, the editorial observed, revolutionary Cuba could never be isolated. It has friends all over the world. While the Cuban people's struggle has helped all revolutionary people in the world, the struggle waged by various countries against U.S. imperialism has supported Cuba. Victory is sure to go to the Cuban people who have justice on their side and enjoy support from many directions, the editorial stressed.

Japanese C.P. Central Committee Replies To C.P.S.U. Central Committee

- The Japanese Communist Party will brook no interference and sabotage by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union;
- Condemns the C.P.S.U. for supporting the renegades Yoshio Shiga and Ichizo Suzuki in engaging in anti-Party activities and undermining Japan's revolutionary movement;
- Denounces the C.P.S.U. for its being the first to provoke open polemics in the international communist movement and starting open attacks on the Japanese Communist Party.

ON July 20, *Akahata*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan carried the full text of the C.P.J. Central Committee's July 15 reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The newspaper prefaced the reply with the following note:

In its latest issue, *Party Life*, journal of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published two letters from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, dated April 18 and July 11. The contents of these letters have also been released by TASS and Radio Moscow, and reported by bourgeois papers and radio stations in Japan.

Since the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has unilaterally published these letters, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan has accordingly decided to publish its reply, dated July 15, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The reply reads in full as follows. (Boldface emphases are ours. — P.R. Ed.)

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

Comrades:

Your July 11 letter was received on July 14. We regret very much that in that letter you made a series of fresh, groundless charges against our Party.

You charged that our Party's Central Committee had not sent its delegation to Moscow till a year after your first letter was received. During that period, however, we had local elections and elections for the House of Representatives, and Chairman Nosaka and General Secretary Miyamoto were not able to go to

Moscow. That was why the talks between our two Parties were delayed. Isn't this clear from the letters exchanged between us? In view of this situation, we expressed the hope that you would manage in some way to send a delegation to Japan. You agreed in principle to send your delegation to Japan, but at the same time expressed doubt whether the Japanese Government would grant entry visas. Consequently, we sent a delegation headed by Comrade Hakamada to Moscow.

You knew all this very well, and yet you deliberately charged us with delaying for a year in sending our delegation.

You asserted that **during the talks in Moscow our Party delegation avoided a frank talk, refused to discuss questions of joint struggle against our common enemy. But this assertion obviously does not accord with the facts.**

In your letter you gave special attention to the question of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, suggesting a discussion of this treaty and other questions of common interest to both Parties. No agreement had been made beforehand at all on any discussion of the entire question of the international communist movement. Therefore the delegation of our Party went to Moscow primarily for the following mission: to conduct consultations with you mainly on those questions arising directly between our two Parties, including the partial nuclear test ban treaty. Furthermore, **our Party delegation, far from refusing to discuss questions of joint struggle against international imperialism headed by the United States, clearly stated our Party's stand and views on a series of common questions in relation to the question of the international democratic movement.** From what took place during the talks, isn't all this crystal clear?

Our Party has not only had no occasion whatsoever to evade the joint struggle against international imperialism headed by the United States, but has been

rendering vigorous support to this joint struggle. You know all this very well.

At the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, our Party proposed that in spite of the differences of opinion over the partial nuclear test ban treaty, it remained necessary to unite and develop the joint struggle in order to carry out the current common task which has been laid down in accordance with the orientation, unanimously agreed upon, to oppose U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. In this way we contributed to the success of the conference.

Moreover, on June 20, the Presidium of the Central Committee of our Party issued a statement entitled: "An International Conference of Communist Parties Should Be Convened to Achieve Genuine Unity, Not a Split." The statement put forward positive proposals on the unity of the international communist movement and of the international democratic movement. In his speech delivered at the meeting to mark the 42nd anniversary of the founding of the Japanese Communist Party on July 9, General Secretary Miyamoto made the following proposals:

"I consider that at this time even if we cannot settle the public debate on questions of principle once and for all, it is possible, on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement, to reach agreement of views on the question of achieving unity of action at the present time among Communists and the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. That is to say, if one is a Communist, he should, whoever he may be, oppose the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Laos and Vietnam. If one is a Communist, he should, whoever he may be, oppose U.S. nuclear submarines intruding into the ports of other countries with the intention of committing aggression and the danger of contaminating sea waters? If one is a Communist, he should, whoever he may be, stand for the total prohibition of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, if one is a Communist, he should, as a matter of course, whole-heartedly support the national-liberation struggle."

These proposals of our Party are also well known to you.

Our Party delegation did not fully state its views on the entire question of the international communist movement. This was because our Party leadership had not entrusted it with such a task. Considering the way in which the talks were arranged through the exchange of letters between you and us, it is only natural that we should have acted in this way. It was also because the leadership of our Party considered that it was practical to begin discussion on questions arising directly between our two Parties and solve them step by step. What is more, didn't our Party delegation indicate both at the beginning and the close of the talks that this was the first round of talks and that it was also ready to discuss the general problem of the international communist movement later? Didn't you also agree with this view of our Party delegation?

Your allegation that our Party delegation "avoided a frank talk, refused to discuss questions of joint struggle against our common enemy" can only be construed as a deliberate slander against our Party in completely distorting the facts.

You also charged that our Party delegation refused to sign a joint communique. But, **the reason why it did not agree to draft a joint communique was, as had already been told you in Moscow, that, if the contents of the talks were to be made public as they actually took place it would have exposed our differences before the enemy, while to make public what was contrary to the contents of the talks would be tantamount to deceiving the members of our Party and the Japanese labouring people. Furthermore, you attempted to impose on us a draft joint communique which had nothing to do with what actually happened at the talks; that was why our Party delegation did not agree to the issuing of any joint communique. You have no justification at all to blame our Party for not agreeing to issue any joint communique with your Party.**

You said: "After the talks between the two Parties in Moscow the Communist Party of Japan stepped up its attack on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." **But it was you who openly attacked our Party through Zhukov's article in *Pravda* as early as August 1963 and stepped up such open and unprincipled attacks afterwards.**

At the very time when our Party delegation was having talks in Moscow, **you carried out activities behind our backs and strengthened your contacts with Yoshio Shiga and others which had started earlier, aiding and abetting them in their anti-Party activities. This is now an open "secret."** When Yoshio Shiga and Ichizo Suzuki declared their sabotage activities against our Party in flagrant violation of the Leninist principle of organization, Radio Moscow and *Pravda* lost no time in giving this group of renegades unqualified support. What is more, you deliberately withheld from your readers and audience the resolution and decision explaining why the Central Committee of our Party had expelled them from our Party. Radio Moscow openly defamed the parliamentary group of our Party. Our Party refuted this, because as an independent and equal political party in the international communist movement, it could not refrain from doing so.

These clear facts are proof that after the two-Party talks, it was precisely you who launched the most brazen and unpardonable direct intervention against our Party. This shows that our delegation was entirely justified in attaching special importance during the Moscow talks to this question of your interference with our Party.

You said that we did not acquaint our Party members and organizations under its influence with the documents of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the international communist movement. But it is a well-known fact that we have extensively published your important documents including those in disagreement with our Party's position and views. On the contrary, it is you

who have long ceased to let members of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet people know about the important resolutions and documents of our Party. Isn't this a fact? What you want is, in the final analysis, that we should unilaterally publish your documents and unconditionally submit to your position and views. However, you have no right to demand this of our Party. As an independent political party adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party resolutely rejects your unreasonable and unprincipled demand.

You accused our Party of having asked the "Hauka Sha" (Science Book Company) to instruct its branch offices to destroy Soviet documents. Our Central Committee has never issued any such instructions to the "Hauka Sha." What is more, our Party has never interfered with the business transactions of the "Hauka Sha." In any case, it is entirely wrong for you to have collected "information" on the business transactions of such a Japanese company as "Hauka Sha" and used it for an attack on our Party. How would you react if our Party should censure you for the handling of Japanese documents by the "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga" (the International Book Store)?

In your latest letter you accused us of failing to reply to the C.P.S.U. letter of April 18, which was sent three months ago. Our Party delegation returned home on April 30. It was only natural for the Party leadership to wait for the return of our delegation to hear its report and also to wait for the return of General Secretary Miyamoto, who was convalescing abroad, to make a thorough study before replying to you. But, as we were busy combating U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital in the capitalist world, we could not devote all our attention to considering a reply to your letter concerning the international communist movement. Moreover, your letter dealt extensively with theoretical problems and it naturally takes time to draft a reply, for which we are now preparing. It was wholly peremptory on your part to attack our Party on the basis of your arbitrary conclusion that we would not reply to you.

You said in that letter that the Presidium of our Party's Central Committee had not discussed your letter. We would like to ask, on whose information did you base your assertion? For this was not the fact! In any case, when and how our Party's Presidium and Central Committee discuss problems of the international communist movement and its relations with the C.P.S.U., is an internal affair of our Party in which you should not interfere.

You said in your letter that you had decided to publish your letters of April 18 and July 11.

Both sides had agreed, as you are fully aware, not to publish the contents of the talks between the Communist Party of Japan and the C.P.S.U. in Moscow. According to practice in the international communist movement, there are matters in the talks that should not be published. What is your objective in unilaterally publishing your letters concerning the contents of the C.P.J.-C.P.S.U. talks in violation of the agreement

and international practice? This can only be regarded as aimed at providing the Shiga-Suzuki group and other anti-Party elements who are attacking our Party and sabotaging the Japanese revolutionary movement under the aegis of U.S. and Japanese reaction, with libellous material to attack our Party, and also aimed at undermining it.

In your letter you once again tried to give the impression that you had always defended the principles of the Moscow Statement and worked for the unity of the international communist movement. This, however, ran diametrically counter to historical facts.

A statement was unanimously adopted by the fraternal Parties at the 1960 Moscow meeting after frank and comradely discussions. Was it not you who, at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. less than a year afterwards, provoked open polemics in violation of the Moscow Statement? Was this not obviously the gravest beginning of the present anxious situation in the international communist movement and the socialist camp?

It was also you who started the open attack on our Party. It was you who by publishing Comrade Zhukov's article in *Pravda* on August 25 last year, began attacking it by name. You also notified us that you would unilaterally publish the classified documents that you had sent us.

These facts alone show that the gravest responsibility for violating the principles of the Moscow Statement and creating disunity in the international communist movement rests on you. You alleged that our Party had departed from the unanimously adopted resolution of the Moscow meeting. But it is you who have departed from the principles of the Moscow Statement. Instead of making self-criticism of your own arrogant attitude, you have intensified attacks on other fraternal Parties and countries. This line of action, whatever the pretext, eventually will only further split the international communist movement.

As you are aware, the Presidium of our Party's Central Committee put forward positive proposals for strengthening the principled unity of the international communist movement and the international democratic movement in its June 20 statement entitled "An International Conference of Communist Parties Should Be Convened to Achieve Genuine Unity. Not a Split."

Our Party has abided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement, and the principles governing relations among fraternal Parties unanimously adopted at the Moscow meeting; it will continue to work unremittingly to oppose a split in the international communist movement and to realize genuine unity. At the same time, we will resolutely reject any unjustifiable interference with our Party, no matter from which Party it may come.

With communist greetings,

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Japan

July 15, 1964

Japanese C.P. Severely Denounces Fallacies About Tripartite Treaty

Japanese C.P. Central Committee's Three Replies to C.P.S.U. Central Committee Prior to the Talks Between the Two Parties

AKAHATA, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, published on its front-page on July 22, together with an editor's note, three replies sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before the talks between the two Parties took place.

The editor's note and replies, dated March 6, and October 22, 1963, and January 10, 1964, read in full as follows. (Boldface emphases are ours. — P.R. Ed.)

Akahata Editor's Note

Since the Communist Party of the Soviet Union unilaterally published its Central Committee's letter of April 18 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, the C.P.J. accordingly published on July 19 its Central Committee's July 15 reply. As is pointed out in that reply, the two letters unilaterally published by the C.P.S.U. contain nothing but a series of groundless charges against the C.P.J. The C.P.J. is ready to make the necessary replies. The replies from the Central Committee of the C.P.J. to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated March 6, and October 22, 1963, and January 10, 1964, are now published first of all to refute the unjustified charges made by the C.P.S.U. in connection with what happened up to the time of the talks between the delegation of the C.P.J. and the C.P.S.U. Central Committee.

The Reply of March 6, 1963

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

Dear Comrades:

Your letter of February 22, 1963, has been received. The Presidium of the Central Committee of our Party has carefully studied it and arrived at the following conclusions:

(1) For the further strengthening of fraternal ties between our two Parties in accordance with the prin-

ciples of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, we are glad that you made the proposal and expressed the desire to invite a delegation of our Party to the Soviet Union for consultations on all questions of interest to both Parties. We agree to your proposal in principle.

Our country will hold elections for local self-government organs at all levels from the latter part of March to the end of April. The Liberal Democratic and Socialist Parties and all other political forces are stepping up their attacks on the Communist Party, which are also being made in connection with questions arising in the international communist movement. In these circumstances, we are devoting every effort to make some headway in these elections. In addition, we have scheduled our Ninth Party Congress in autumn this year.

In view of these urgent tasks before our Party, we are prepared to study once again, after summing up our work in the April local elections, the date of sending our Party delegation to the Soviet Union and other questions, and then give you a specific reply on this question.

(2) As is stated in the letter sent on February 27 by the Central Committee of our Party to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., **our Party holds that in restoring and strengthening the unity of the international communist movement, the most important question is to settle the differences of opinion and disunity between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.**

We sincerely hope that the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the delegation of the Communist Party of China hold talks as soon as possible, and make fundamental achievements in their talks on settling their disputes in a comradely way in accordance with the principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Moreover, we have also received your letter in which you expressed the desire to invite our Party leaders to the Soviet Union for a visit and rest. Thank you for your solicitous concern. On this matter, we

shall also inform you of our specific plan after the local elections.

With comradely greetings,

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

March 6, 1963

The Reply of October 22, 1963

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

Dear Comrades:

We have received the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated October 12. After careful study, we have decided to make the following reply:

We entirely agree with your expressed desire to continue to strengthen and develop traditional fraternal relations with our Party in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We also would like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to state once again our desire to strengthen unity with the C.P.S.U. in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

In our reply to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. dated March 6, 1963, we said that we agreed in principle with your proposal to send a delegation of our Party to the Soviet Union to discuss all questions of interest to both Parties. Our position remains unchanged today.

Considering the local elections and the Ninth Party Congress scheduled for this autumn, we indicated in that letter that when our Party delegation was sent to Moscow would be decided on another occasion. However, your letter says that we seemed to have indicated that our delegation would be sent this year. We consider this a misunderstanding on your part. Since then, the situation has changed. The House of Representatives elections will definitely be held at the end of this year. Therefore our Party postpones its Ninth Congress and is devoting all its efforts to preparations for the House of Representatives elections. You are quite aware of this.

It was decided at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee last May that preparations for the Ninth Party Congress must be made after the general elections. It is naturally impossible for Chairman Nosaka to go abroad at the time of the general elections and after that up to May-June next year when the Diet will be in session. Moreover, although General Secretary Miyamoto has been recovering recently

he is still not strong enough to embark on such a strenuous mission as a trip to Moscow.

We hope you will take into consideration that in the circumstances mentioned above it is of course difficult for our Party to send a delegation, which includes its top leaders, to Moscow. But we will of course express our welcome if you send a delegation to Japan.

In connection with the question of the partial nuclear test ban treaty, your letter expressed regret over the statement of the Presidium of our Party and the *Akahata* editorial. We consider it useful to have a full exchange of views on this question in the talks between our two Parties. However, we would like to state briefly our Party's position.

The partial nuclear test ban treaty is not only an international question but also an internal one in our country. Not only has it been negotiated and signed by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, but other governments were also asked to accede to it. The Japanese Government has therefore taken the position of supporting the treaty and is going to sign it. Moreover, it has become a subject of discussion in the Japanese Diet. The Right-wing social democrats and the anti-Party revisionists who have deserted our Party are also propagating their views on the treaty, using it as a "touch-stone" for creating a split in the mass movement.

In these circumstances, it is the responsibility and duty of our Party to make known our independent views on this question, proceeding from the fundamental stand of supporting genuine world peace and the liberation of the nations, and of opposing U.S. imperialism and Japanese reactionary forces and defending the vital interests of the Japanese working people.

Our Party admits that so far as the physical harm of nuclear testing is concerned, the question of difference of social system does not exist. But at the same time, our Party opposes the erroneous viewpoint of putting socialism on a par with imperialism on the question of war and peace. Proceeding from this stand, our Party has consistently opposed the campaign of "protest against Soviet nuclear testing" launched after the Soviet Government's resumption of nuclear tests the year before last by the Japanese Government, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Democratic Socialist Party, the Socialist Party and the anti-Party revisionists who have betrayed and deserted our Party.

We, together with the rest of the Japanese people, wish for a diminution of the contamination of the atmosphere by nuclear testing. But the burning desire of the Japanese people is to prevent a repetition of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedy.

Reflecting the aspirations of the Japanese people, our Party Programme says, "The Party fights for world peace and for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. The Party demands the

prohibition of nuclear weapons and fights for general and complete disarmament. . . . The Party fights against every preparation for aggressive and atomic wars that are being pushed forward jointly by U.S. imperialism and Japanese traitorous reactionary forces and are directed against the socialist countries and the Afro-Asian nations."

As to the question of nuclear tests, it is the consistent demand of our Party that all nuclear tests should be prohibited immediately and unconditionally. The declaration of last year's Eighth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs demanded that "all nuclear powers at once conclude unconditionally a nuclear test ban agreement." The Message to the Peoples of the World issued by the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow last year also called for the conclusion by the governments of all nuclear powers of a treaty prohibiting for ever all nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, underground and in the water. This is because only a complete prohibition of nuclear testing, including underground tests, can to a certain extent restrict the development of nuclear weapons and prevent preparations for nuclear war.

Starting from such a broad and long-term view, in spite of our understanding of the feelings of those who supported the partial nuclear test ban treaty in the belief that it would reduce contamination of the atmosphere by radioactive fall-out, **we could not support this treaty which actually does not restrict U.S. imperialism from developing nuclear weapons and preparing for nuclear war.** The U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces are now planning to "moor" U.S. nuclear submarines in Japanese ports, to introduce F-105D aircraft capable of carrying hydrogen bombs into Japan and to turn Japan into a base for stepping up preparations for nuclear war in Asia. We have to face this reality in our country squarely and **decide on our attitude towards this problem independently.**

Here we would like to discuss, in a few words, questions relating to the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. You, too, are aware that though there were hot debates on the partial nuclear test ban treaty and other questions among delegations of various countries at the international meeting of the conference, yet an "Appeal for International Common Action" based on the present common task was unanimously adopted. Taking into consideration the actual situation of the international communist movement and the international democratic movements, we give positive evaluation to this achievement of the world conference. Comrade Zhukov called at the Central Committee of our Party as soon as the world conference ended. At that time, Comrade Nosaka indicated that he could not agree with Comrade Zhukov's statement about the activity of our Party delegation at the conference and proposed that this question be discussed in the talks between the delegations of our two Parties.

Comrade Zhukov, too, expressed agreement with this proposal.

However, soon after Comrade Zhukov's return to the Soviet Union, he published an article in *Pravda* on that world conference, openly accusing our Party. In accordance with the principles of the Moscow Statement and proceeding from the position of preserving unity among fraternal Parties on the basis of independence and equality, we consider this regrettable.

Furthermore, our Party earnestly hopes that the unity of the international communist movement be realized on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the principles of the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement. Therefore, we hope that the talks between representatives of the Soviet and Chinese Parties be resumed and we also hope that a meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties takes place after full preparations have been made by all fraternal Parties.

With fraternal greetings,

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

October 22, 1963

The Reply of January 10, 1964

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

Dear Comrades:

We Have received and studied your letter dated November 26. We are only answering questions put by you.

We welcome your statement that you will send your comrades to Japan if the Japanese authorities allow them to do so.

Although the Japanese Government refused to allow the delegates of fraternal Parties to enter Japan to attend the Eighth Congress of our Party, yet your delegates were allowed to enter at the time of the Seventh Congress of our Party. Moreover, various Soviet delegations, with your comrades in them, to a large extent have been allowed into Japan recently. But in the past there were occasions in which the Japanese Government delayed granting permission to your comrades to visit Japan or refused to allow certain of your comrades to come here. For reasons mentioned in our last letter, although we are at present unable to send a delegation to Moscow led by Sanzo Nosaka and Kenji Miyamoto, we are considering the possibility of sending a delegation composed of other comrades.

You said in your letter that **the partial nuclear test ban treaty was guided by the documents adopted by all fraternal Parties at the Moscow conferences in 1957 and 1960.**

But according to our judgment, no words can be found in any part of the documents adopted at the two Moscow conferences which provide grounds for a partial nuclear test ban treaty which excludes underground testing. We hold that this was only natural. As early as 1958 the U.S. Government proposed the signing of a partial nuclear test ban treaty which excluded underground testing. But we, together with you, appealed to all the peoples in the world that "we are firmly opposed to all testing of nuclear bombs and similar devices" ("The Message to the Peoples of the World"); in other words, this is a demand for complete prohibition of all nuclear weapon tests including underground testing. Moreover, for a long time you justly persisted in this correct stand, saying that the U.S. Government proposal for a partial nuclear test ban treaty was aimed at deceiving the forces of peace.

In order to justify the partial nuclear test ban treaty, **you have stressed that it had the support of "a great majority of countries in the world."** However, if it comes to the number of countries, the following situation must be taken into consideration: **many countries today are still essentially capitalist countries and most of them follow the U.S. and other imperialist countries on a series of vital international issues. What we want you to consider is why do a number of socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties disapprove of the partial nuclear test ban treaty.**

With regard to our opinion expressed on the activities of the Right-wing social-democrats, anti-Party revisionists and all other forces who use the partial nuclear test ban treaty as a "touch-stone" for creating a split in the peace movement, you said that the question would be solved once we, the Japanese Communist Party, approve the treaty. But we are convinced that it is utterly incorrect to make support for the treaty a precondition for today's peace movement. In our view, the fact that the treaty has been used by forces representing different trends as a "touch-stone" cannot be separated from the fact that the nature of the treaty is uncertain.

Our Party has set down our views and stand on the partial nuclear test ban treaty in the resolutions of the Seventh Plenary Session of our Central Committee and in a series of articles, so we are not repeating them here.

Besides, your letter says that the article by Comrade Zhukov had not levelled charges against our Party. But this is what the article said:

"It must be noted that some members of the Japanese Communist Party who did not consider the opinion

of the broad masses in Japanese society but tried to negate . . . the positive significance in concluding the Moscow treaty were also following the instructions of the Chinese delegation."

We cannot but consider that what is meant by "some members of the Japanese Communist Party" in the article is our Party's delegation to the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

After the world conference closed, Comrade Zhukov called on our Party Central Committee and blamed us for the actions taken by our Party delegation at the conference. Comrade Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Central Committee of our Party, told him that our Party delegation to the World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs had faithfully followed the policy of the Party Central Committee and contributed to the success of the conference. Comrade Nosaka also expressed willingness to discuss the divergences of views on the partial nuclear test ban treaty at the coming talks between the two Party delegations. Despite all this, Comrade Zhukov made no mention at all of the positive significance of the "Appeal for International Common Action" unanimously adopted by the conference, including the Soviet delegation, and went so far as to accuse "some members of the Japanese Communist Party." We deem it very natural for many of our Party members and those who are familiar with the peace movement in Japan to draw the conclusion from the context of the article that what is meant by "some members of the Japanese Communist Party" is our Party delegation to the world conference.

Heated discussions on the partial nuclear test ban treaty and other questions took place at the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. The Right-wing social democrats did not take part in the discussion, withdrew from the conference and held a minority splinter rally which was participated in only by themselves. In spite of this all foreign delegates, including the Soviet delegation and the great majority of the Japanese delegates defended the unity of the conference and passed resolutions unanimously. As we have mentioned earlier, we evaluated this highly and we held that it set a good example for the international democratic movement. On this point, we believe, our Party has made a positive contribution to the success of the conference.

We are willing to discuss questions of mutual concern, including the above-mentioned question, in the spirit of putting forth the facts and reasoning things out at the forthcoming talks between the delegations of our two Parties.

With comradely greetings.

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

January 10, 1964

Concepts Contrary to the Basic Principles Of Economic Relations Between Socialist Countries

— Article from the Rumanian Magazine "Economic Life"

On July 26, "Renmin Ribao" printed a translation of an article published in the 24th issue of the Rumanian magazine, "Economic Life," under the title "Concepts Contrary to the Basic Principles Guiding Economic Relations Between Socialist Countries," and subtitled "Concerning the 'Inter-State Economic Complex' in General and Its 'Danubian' Materialization in Particular." The article repudiates the plan for an "inter-state economic complex" in the Danube regions of Rumania, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union advanced by the Soviet economist, E.B. Valev, in his paper entitled "Problems of the Economic Development of the Danube Districts of Rumania, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R." which appeared in the second issue of the Geography Series of Moscow University's bimonthly bulletin "Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta" this year.

After the Rumanian magazine published its article refuting Valev's project, the Soviet newspaper, "Izvestia," was obliged to publish an article on July 4 by O. Bogomolov under the title, "Study in Greater Depth the Problems of Co-operation Among the Socialist Countries," in which the author admitted that Valev's paper was "an example of an unsuccessful treatment of the problems of development of economic ties among the socialist countries." "It is regrettable," said the "Izvestia" article, "that works have appeared in our economic literature in which questions of economic co-operation among socialist countries are dealt with on an insufficiently high theoretical level, divorced from urgent practical needs and concrete conditions." Valev's and Bogomolov's articles were also carried in full in "Renmin Ribao" on the same day. Following is a translation of the article in the Rumanian magazine "Economic Life." Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

I

In the last few years, views have insistently been put forward in some of the friendly countries, according to which the deepening of the economic co-operation between the socialist states, who are members of the C.M.E.A., should "go beyond the national barriers," the national economies of these countries should be "liberated" from the "pressure of the national strait-jacket," while the socialist states should "widen their horizon beyond the respective frontiers."

Such theses are meant to provide a theoretical foundation for some concrete proposals made in the C.M.E.A. framework, proposals which involve most serious economic and political implications, likely to gravely harm the national independence and sovereignty of the member countries.

This refers to the well-known proposals concerning the elaboration of a single plan and the setting up of a joint planning body for all member countries, the creation of technical-productive inter-state unions in every branch and of enterprises jointly owned by several countries, the setting up of inter-state economic complexes, etc.

As is known, Rumania has firmly rejected these proposals, because — as underlined in the statement of the Enlarged Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, held in April 1964 — such forms and measures run counter to the principles underlying the relations between the socialist countries: strict observance of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, reciprocal advantage, comradely mutual assistance, non-interference in internal affairs, observance of territorial integrity.

These principles are indissolubly mutually interconnected and, together, form the unshakable law of development of the world socialist system as a whole, the guarantee of the consolidation of its economic, social and political strength, of the fulfilment of its role of decisive factor of contemporary historic development.

The world socialist economic system develops as an ensemble of independent national economies of sovereign and independent countries. Hence, the organization of the mutual relations between the socialist countries and the deepening of their co-operation, on the basis of these principles, comply with the requirements of historical reality. To ignore these requirements, to try to abolish national and state differences would not only be "an absurd dream" (as Lenin put it) but also a violation of the objective laws characteristic of the present stage of the world socialist system. No advantages for socialism can be derived from such a violation, only serious prejudices to its development as a world system and to its possibility of exerting a growing appeal to other countries and peoples.

Nevertheless, we note that in relation with the idea of a single plan and with the other ideas forming part of the former (a single planning body, inter-state unions in every branch, inter-state complexes, etc.) a vast literature propagating these ideas has developed rapidly in recent years. The above-mentioned ideas are systematically reiterated, under various forms and on the most diverse occasions, as topical problems, as proposals which the socialist countries should start putting into practice.

In this context, we note the increasing attention which is being paid to the attempts of promoting proposals concerning the setting up of the so-called "inter-state economic complexes." In order to substantiate these proposals, one often proceeds from the consideration that in certain frontier regions of two or three socialist countries, problems might arise demanding the co-operation of the respective countries. This is a real fact, but it is not by the way of "inter-state economic complexes" that such problems can be solved. Proof of this is provided by the Rumanian-Yugoslav agreement concerning the building of the "Iron Gates" hydro-power and shipping system, a system which — while solving an important problem precisely of the above-mentioned category — is being built on the basis of mutual observance of national independence and sovereignty, observance of the territorial integrity of the other party and non-interference in internal affairs. Further similar cases could be quoted.

Disregarding the necessity of a firm observance of the principles governing the relations between the socialist countries, some economists allege, however, that from the standpoint of the development of productive forces, the "reasonable" solution is the creation in the frontier regions of "inter-state economic complexes."

As is known, the inter-state economic complexes would have to be formed, according to their promoters, through the arbitrary merger of the economies of certain neighbouring territories of two or several socialist states, thus violating both their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Nevertheless, the Soviet economist G. Sorokin asserted in an article published in *Voprosy Ekonomiki* as early as 1962 that "the setting up of inter-state economic complexes is a new, higher and stable type of the socialist international division of labour," and further specified that experts in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries have already started the concrete elaboration of the projects of "inter-state frontier complexes."

Some economists appear not to be content with only several complexes and find it necessary that an entire network of such complexes should be set up. Thus G. Karhin, in an article headlined "Big and Complex Tasks," published last year in *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, claims that the development of the socialist countries is hampered by the fact that "the economic regions of these countries are fused into economic markets with strictly delimited state frontiers," and

consequently "it would be convenient already at the present moment to elaborate a network of inter-state complexes."

In view of the insistence of these pre-occupations, we deem it necessary to dwell on a scientific event which took place very recently and in the framework of which attempts were again made to give a "theoretical" substantiation to the idea of "inter-state economic complexes."

We refer to the **Fourth Congress of the U.S.S.R. Society of Geography held in Moscow between May 25 and 30, 1964**, which was also attended by delegates from a number of socialist countries (including Rumania), as well as by Prof. L. Dudley Stamp (Britain), Chairman of the Executive Committee of the 20th International Congress of Geography, which is to take place in London in July 1964.

Problems concerning the economic geography of the socialist countries, as well as their relations of economic co-operation were put up for discussion at this congress.

The symposium entitled "Geography of the Socialist Countries" also heard reports containing interesting observations, as for instance the report made by Prof. M.M. Jirmunski concerning the experience of some socialist countries in the distribution of the productive forces on their territory. In other reports as well rational standpoints can be found, such as the appreciation in the report presented by N.D. Stolpov and N.F. Ianitski, according to which "the priority development of heavy industry, which ensures the expanded reproduction at a rapid and stable rate, is a law of the socialist mode of production." The stressing of this idea seems to us the more worthy of note, as there are economists who try to contest the present-day validity, for each socialist country individually, of this Leninist thesis.

Unfortunately, the prevailing note in the main reports was the attempt of promoting, in one form or another, a system of opinions which glaringly run counter to the principles of co-operation between the socialist countries.

In the introductory report "Present-Day Problems of Economic Geography of the World Socialist System," P.M. Alampiev approaches a wide sphere of problems concerning the development and the economic geography of the socialist countries, proceeding from the thesis that **in the framework of the world socialist system "deep processes of turning this system of countries into a single economic whole" are said to take place.**

Viewing things in this light, P.M. Alampiev expresses his regret at the fact that the bulk of the works drawn up hitherto by Soviet experts are devoted to the economic geography of various countries taken separately, and he is of the opinion that the main attention should be paid "not to works dealing with countries, but with the other orientations of researches, the object of which is the economic geography of the world socialist system as a whole."

Proceeding from a fundamentally erroneous premise, since at the present historic stage there are no "deep processes" of transformation of the world socialist system from a system of countries into a "single economic whole," P.M. Alampiev, although recognizing that "the problem of the development of national economic complexes is most topical," by no means endeavours to deal with such a problem, which is truly topical and important both from the scientific and practical points of view.

Under the obsession of the erroneous premise from which he started, the author of the report focuses his attention on the contradictions which — according to his assertions — appear between the "future transition to a single world socialist economy, operating under a single plan" in which he sees the basic trend of the world socialist system, and "the development of national economic complexes within the frontiers of sovereign states, i.e. in the framework of the national economies, which have a separate balance of the national income, their own balance of payments, their own independent planning."

It is, however, obvious to anybody approaching the problems from the position of the concrete state of affairs, that in fact there is another contradiction — the contradiction between the requirements of the present historic stage, in which the world socialist economic system is developing as a system of national economies of independent and sovereign countries, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the tendency of ignoring these requirements of social development, of jumping over stages, of applying in the present conditions forms belonging to another historic stage.

While not taking into account this contradiction, P.M. Alampiev, as well as other participants in the congress, advocates some forms which glaringly run counter to the requirements of life and of development of the national economies of the socialist countries and the principles underlying their co-operation — among these forms, it is especially "the inter-state economic complexes" that have a truly fascinating appeal for their authors.

To I.M. Maergois and A.E. Probst, the authors of the report "Fundamental Problems of the Territorial Distribution of Industry in the European Socialist Countries, Who Are Members of the C.M.E.A.," the problem of the setting up of industrial complexes in the frontier districts of two to three countries would be of "great theoretical interest."

Having proclaimed the setting up of such industrial complexes an "objective process," the authors specify that this process becomes "still more accentuated because of the presence in a number of such districts of big resources of raw materials and power, whose turning to account is of great inter-state importance."

It results that, in contact with the problem of turning to account big resources of raw materials and power of various socialist countries, the notion of "industrial frontier complexes" descends from the sphere

of abstraction, turning from a problem of "great theoretical interest" into an extremely concrete and topical task.

The authors of another report (N.D. Stolpov and N.F. Ianitski) speak about the planning of some close production relations between the prospective combines built in the frontier regions and the enterprises of the neighbouring countries. In other words, the idea is launched of industrial combines, the activity of which should be conditioned mainly (if not exclusively) by their production links with enterprises in other countries and not by the overall development of the national economic complex of which they are an integral part. In this way, the relations of international co-operation between the socialist countries are replaced by direct relations between enterprises in various countries, which are thus practically detached from the unitary complex of the respective national economy.

In order to appreciate the consequences of the system of "industrial frontier complexes," let us return to I.M. Maergois and A.E. Probst. "It seems," they continue, "this inter-state co-operation in the frontier regions will in a number of instances be so close and multilateral, that a more or less unitary economic structure will start taking shape on their territory, new by its character and still unknown to science, an embryo of a *sui generis* economic district."

Hence, this is how "science" succeeds in discovering some *sui generis* economic formations which are to replace the unitary national economies of states, set up on the bases of a long-standing process of historic development.

But let us quote the authors: "It is perhaps reasonable to point, already now, when analysing the industrial enterprises in the socialist countries . . . to the enterprises which constitute the groundwork of the complexes of inter-state importance in the making."

Hence, "already now" (and not in some distant future) the socialist countries should point out the enterprises which are to constitute "the groundwork of the complexes of inter-state importance," of those "*sui generis* economic districts" just discovered by science on page 52 and which are already "in the making" two pages later.

The reader may be curious to learn how these "*sui generis*" regions are to evolve — the authors do not hesitate to satisfy our curiosity. "Along the frontiers of the socialist countries," they write, "there appears a whole strip of territories, the economic development of which today acquires a double character — it is determined, first of all, by the internal division of labour in each country and, at the same time, subject to the ever growing influence of the inter-state socialist division of labour."

Despite the labyrinth of obscure formulations facing us, the basic trend of the concept that is expounded is not lost; it is the trend of detaching from the general framework of the national economies strips

of territories directly subjected to the ever more growing considerable influence of the international division of labour. In other words, and in the last analysis, **this is an attempt of theorizing a process of dismembering the national economies and national territories of some socialist states.**

As a matter of fact, the various partisans of the "inter-state economic complexes" have long since underlined that these complexes are to develop "outside the borders" of the national territories of the state from which they originate.

In accordance with this general outlook the authors of one of the reports have emphasized the conditions in which the frontiers between the socialist countries "almost" stop playing the role of factors which "exert a negative influence on the settlement of problems of territorial distribution of the new industrial construction."

The presentation of the frontiers between the socialist countries as factors which "exert a negative influence" both on the process of the socialist distribution of industry and on other facets of the economic development of the socialist countries is most characteristic of the spirit guiding the advocates of "inter-state complexes" of the "single plan," etc. The existence of frontiers between the socialist states, which delimitate their national territories with independent national economies, is indeed an obstacle in the way of various schemes of "integration" and of violation of the national sovereignty of the countries of the world socialist system.

The thesis concerning the "negative influences of frontiers" is for the authors of such theories a launching pad of the idea of liquidating frontiers. This idea stands out particularly in the report of P.M. Alampiev, who writes: "The true role of state frontiers as economic frontiers in the economic development of various countries and of the world socialist system as a whole should be analysed. Such an analysis would help the C.M.E.A. countries to adapt the frontier regimes to the new requirements of economic development. Worthy of a most detailed study is the question of the seeds of 'wiping out of frontiers' . . . seeds which are bound to develop in the future and determine the process of the gradual transformation of the international division of labour into an inter-district division of labour within the framework of the single world socialist economy."

The conclusion inevitably reached is most obvious: **first the "adaptation" of the frontier regimes to the "new" requirements of economic development is proposed to us, and then the replacement of the international division of labour between sovereign and independent states by a division of labour between districts or "economic complexes" by means of "wiping out frontiers."**

Such concepts completely alien to Marxism were combated with an extraordinary power of foresight by the great Lenin long before the world socialist system came into being. Stressing in 1916 that the necessity

of the state, and hence of frontiers as well, until the transformation of triumphant socialism into full-scale communism is an indisputable fact for any socialist. Lenin combated those who "either think that the democratic state of triumphant socialism will exist without frontiers (as a 'complex of sensations' without any substance), or that the frontiers will be established 'only' according to production necessities." V.I. Lenin showed that in practice, after the triumph of socialism, these frontiers will be established in a democratic way, in compliance with the wishes of the respective peoples and that precisely this facilitates and speeds up enormously the rapprochement of nations.

Opposing those who, in connection with the socialist revolution, launched the slogan "down with frontiers," Lenin wrote: "What does the method of socialist revolution mean under the slogan 'down with frontiers'? We admit the necessity of the state, and the state presupposes the existence of frontiers. The state can of course comprise a bourgeois government, but we need Soviets; yet for them too the problem of frontiers arises. What does 'down with frontiers' mean? This is the beginning of anarchy."

Well known is Lenin's thesis according to which the national and state differences between peoples and countries will be maintained for a long time even after the proletarian dictatorship has been achieved on worldwide scale.

The above quotations show once more that concrete historical realities cannot be disregarded by attempting to jump over stages without disregarding Marxism-Leninism.

As we have seen, the theses concerning "the adaptation of frontier regimes" of the socialist countries to the alleged "new requirements" of economic development and concerning the "seeds of the wiping out of frontiers" have led P.M. Alampiev to the view concerning the "turning of the international division of labour into an inter-district division," an extremely grave conclusion, for it goes without saying that such a transformation can be carried through only by way of dismembering independent national economies, of disintegrating the socialist states and the socialist nations.

Certainly, the authors took the precaution to mention in several places that it would be a matter of a "gradual" transformation, of a transition in the "future," but, in the haste of getting to a single world economy governed by a single plan, these precautions finally disappear from the view of the above-quoted authors, just as they disappear from the pre-occupations of the authors of other materials that have been published of late. In this way tasks of the "future" are being "gradually" transformed, eventually becoming tasks of pressing topicality.

Faced by the conclusions flowing from the report delivered by P.M. Alampiev to a scientific congress in May 1964, we cannot help recalling an appreciation by the same P.M. Alampiev, made, it is true, last year: "Some economic geographers, tackling with insufficient thoroughness the whole complexity of the rela-

tions between peoples at present, start raising the problem of dividing the world socialist economy into districts, overlooking state frontiers. This is nothing but anticipation, losing touch with reality; the time for such a district zoning has not yet come. At present, in the economy of the world socialist system the economic units are taking shape within the territories of each socialist country, and the national state frontiers are real economic frontiers."

We find it difficult to understand what could have happened so that within one year P.M. Alampiev should have changed his concept so abruptly; what could have determined a researcher to proclaim in 1964 as a topical concern the same pre-occupation which in 1963 he considered to be "a detachment from reality," an "anticipation whose time has not yet arrived." An eloquent illustration of the grave consequences which the application of the concept of "integration," of wiping out frontiers, and of replacing national states by inter-state economic complexes, etc., would have, is also to be found in the various theses promoted at the congress in connection with "the migration" of the labour force.

In the above-mentioned paper by Maergois and Probst there appears, in a confusing and contradictory manner, the problem of utilizing the labour resources within the socialist countries. Speaking of some countries which have a surplus of labour power and recognizing the fact that, in contradistinction to the Soviet Union, in these countries "there do not seem to exist reasons to presuppose the possibility of big migrations," the authors nevertheless consider that "in the countries which have considerable labour resources the territorial redistribution of these resources is inevitable to a larger or smaller extent."

But these "considerable labour resources" which, according to the authors, socialism inevitably has to redistribute territorially, are live people and not lifeless production tools, they are part of the very people who build socialism for themselves.

We in Rumania refuse to consider as inevitable the removal of a considerable part of the population from one part of the country to another. The socialist countries have the possibility and the obligation to carry out, within the framework of socialist industrialization and of the planned development of the economy, a rational territorial distribution of the economy without the transmigration of the population.

Even more serious, however, is the way in which the problem appears in the so frequently quoted paper of P.M. Alampiev, who proclaims the thesis concerning the "possibility and utility of the seasonal and permanent migration of the population between various socialist countries."

This notion of the international "migration" of the population is incompatible with socialism. We know only too well that at the time of the bourgeoisie there were situations when the inhabitants of our country had to leave the places in which they and their forefathers had lived for centuries and generations, had to break

away from their families and to leave in order to look for jobs even beyond the Atlantic Ocean. We have seen only too well how things develop in the "common market," which has secured the "free circulation" of the labour force. We know the conditions in which "the supplementary labour force" from the less-developed countries or regions are living who have left to look for jobs in the industrially more developed countries. But we know just as well that this is a process that is typical of capitalism.

We have never imagined that a thesis could be voiced concerning "the possibility and the utility" of a similar process within the framework of the world socialist system. According to our view, to uphold such a thesis means to consider that the superiority of socialism in this field resides only in its possibility to organize the planned removal of a great mass of people from the midst of the nation to which they belong, **to plan the movement of population from one country to another, from one part of the world to another. We refuse to accept such a concept which would only lead to the disparagement of socialism, to its being discredited in the eyes of the peoples who have fought to build it.** These are the practical consequences to which the theory of "the internationalization of the labour force" is leading. The space at our disposal does not permit us to dwell on other theses emitted in the papers that were presented. We shall only mention that in these papers too we found pleas in favour of the altogether unrealistic thesis of the "zonal specialization of agriculture." In this context P.M. Alampiev's somewhat anecdotal concern deserves to be mentioned as regards "the trend to intensify the supply of many agricultural produce from one's own resources" and the fact that "the exaggerated passion for self-supplies can lead to the incomplete utilization of the advantages of the international division of labour."

In accordance with this theoretical and practical orientation, the authors of one of the papers unconditionally eulogize some tendencies of specializing agriculture in products of a high profitability. We must avow that we do not understand how this "exaggerated passion" for "self-supplies" and these advantages in specializing in products of great profitability concord with the judgement of the authors of another paper, according to which in some socialist countries the "need to import big quantities of cereals and other food products" has appeared in recent years.

Such contradictory theses and numerous other theses which, even if they do not contradict each other, taken together, contradict the needs of the development of socialism at the present historical stage, form the constituent elements of what the main rapporteur called "a unitarian theoretical concept of the economic geography of the world socialist system."

The examination of some papers presented at the Congress of the Society of Geography of the U.S.S.R. has enabled us to spotlight some fundamental aspects of the concepts regarding "inter-state economic com-

plexes." As we have seen, being very concrete in their essence—ignoring the notions of sovereignty, state frontiers and national economy—the proposals in these papers still have a general, non-individualized character. We still find ourselves, so to say, in "the sphere of ideas" and the results of their concrete application can only be foreseen—but, to tell the truth, quite easily.

The article "Problems of the Economic Development of the Danube Districts of Rumania, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R.," by E.B. Valev, published in *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta* No. 2 for 1964 is probably one of the results of the activity of elaborating the problem of the "inter-state economic complexes," an activity which as we have said at the beginning, some specialists in the friendly countries have announced for several years. At any rate, the article is a good illustration of what the application of the ideas we have dealt with above means in practice.

In this issue of *Viatza Economica* we have published the article by E.B. Valev together with the maps accompanying it, so that absolutely all our readers should be able to become acquainted with it and to judge very exactly at its very source the meaning of the proposals concerning the creation of "inter-state economic complexes." We must confess that if it did not have aspects of the greatest gravity this article might provide for any man with an average sense of reality a good occasion for amusement. If this were so, we would have been satisfied with only publishing it. Unfortunately, however, what is predominant here are exactly the aspects with the most serious implications which oblige us to take up categorical stand and to give the theses contained in the article the reply they deserve.

In order to give a systematic exposition, we shall divide it into two: First, requesting our readers to excuse us, we shall place ourselves on the terrain of the author's own argumentation and we shall make the effort of taking this argumentation seriously so as to be able to understand its scientific value. In the second part we shall state our own point of view.

II

The fundamental conclusion with which E.B. Valev winds up his article published by the Moscow University, under the authority of the Chair of Economic Geography of the People's Democracies, is the following:

"The analysis of the actual situation and of the development prospects of the economy in the Danubian districts of Rumania, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union demonstrates the existence of objective premises for the future formation of the inter-state production complex of the lower reaches of the Danube. . . ."

This is the final conclusion of the entire article. Let us have a look at the analysis made by the author

and with his help, look for the respective objective premises.

It is worth while to see, in the first place, what "the inter-state production complex" of the lower Danube will look like as imagined by the author.

According to the maps published, it results that six regions of Rumania would be detached for "the inter-state complex": Oltenia, Arges, Bucharest, Ploesti, Galati and Dobrudja. These regions represent 42 per cent of the country's total surface, inhabited by 48 per cent of our total population. The enterprises and institutions of these regions employ 48 per cent of the total wage and salary earners of Rumania. The industrial enterprises here produce 48 per cent of the country's gross industrial output; 54 per cent of its machine output; 51 per cent of chemical output; 86 per cent of crude oil and associated gas output, etc. These regions represent 44.5 per cent of the country's agricultural area and 31.8 per cent of its forestry land. Leafing through a statistical year book, E.B. Valev could have noted that here there are 49.3 per cent of our state farms, 57 per cent of our machine stations with 50.6 per cent of the country's tractors, and 46.4 per cent of our collective farms. On the fields of these regions our country gathered last year 58.5 per cent of its wheat harvest and 60 per cent of its maize harvest.

E.B. Valev writes: ". . . a concrete expression is observed of the fact that in the development process of the productive forces of some adjacent territories of the socialist countries, there appear a series of common economic problems. . . ."

We do not aim at diminishing the probable enthusiasm of other backers of the "inter-state complex," but we cannot but ask them in passing: **Is not this notion of "adjacent territories" becoming too broad the moment it includes in one breath half of a country's territory?**

Of course, those who consider that co-operation within C.M.E.A. must be developed in this way will tell us, combating the spirit of "national narrow-mindedness," that the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria would also participate with part of their state territory in the formation of the complex.

Although such arguments are of no interest to us at all, since the sovereign attributes of every socialist state include the one of disposing of its territory as it likes—and it is not of our competence to interfere in these attributes of others—let us nevertheless, only in order to understand even better the notion of "inter-state complex," examine what would be the comparative contribution of the three countries to the formation of the proposed complex.

In fact, **this means that Rumania will yield half the country; Bulgaria, its northern regions; and the U.S.S.R., a few districts near the Danube.**

We have tried to determine more exactly, in figures, what this means.

According to E.B. Valev's proposal, "the inter-state complex" of the lower Danube would have an area of

150,000 square kilometres and a population of 12 million people.

The author gives no other details: because of this, on the basis of his maps, it was we who had to calculate the contribution each of the three countries would have to make.

The difficulty of such a calculation implies that the figures we have found and to which we will refer below may have some inexactitudes of detail, which we would be glad for Professor Valev to put right. We have, however, no doubts as far as their order of size is concerned.

The result we have reached is the following:

In the area of 150,000 square kilometres of "the inter-state complex," Rumania would take part with some 100,000 square kilometres (two-thirds of the total), Bulgaria with some 38,000 square kilometres and the U.S.S.R. with 12,000 square kilometres.

As to the 12 million-strong population of the "complex," it would approximately be made up as follows: 9 million from Rumania, around 2 million from Bulgaria and some 600 to 700 thousand from the U.S.S.R.

The tasks were somewhat unequally shared out, some readers will remark. The author of this draft of "the economic inter-state complex" has, however, probably calculated that precisely such proportions were "objectively necessary" for "a more rational" use of the resources of the world socialist system. E.B. Valev also stresses that the "lower Danube district" will draw more and more steadily and more and more fully the local natural resources into the economic circuit, which he also enumerates: oil, natural gas, rock salt, reed, hydro-energetic resources, etc.

What is the repartition per country of these resources of the planned "lower Danube inter-state complex"? The oil output, which was of 10.5 million tons in 1962, has been obtained entirely from the regions of Rumania; the output of natural gas, which was of 1,000 million cubic metres, has been obtained entirely in the regions of Rumania; the rock salt deposits have limitless quantities in the regions of Rumania. We have no knowledge of such deposits in the other parts of the "complex."

"The reed expanses in the flood land, and especially in the Danube delta," mentioned by E.B. Valev are distributed as follows: on the Rumanian territory of the delta, 250 thousand hectares, of which 120,000 hectares exploitable reed area; on the territory of the U.S.S.R. 30,000 hectares, of which 19,000 are to be exploited; the contribution of the countries to power that could be obtained by the utilization of the possibilities offered by "the Danube, with its tremendous water resources" would be: Rumania — 72 per cent, Bulgaria — 21 per cent, U.S.S.R. — 7 per cent.

In order to be complete after this repartition of raw material resources per country, we should, of course, also go into the contribution of the three partners, equal in rights, to the setting up of the "material-productive funds" which, with good reason, pre-occupied the author as well, because it is precisely with them that the re-

sources of the "inter-state complex" are to be turned to account. Unfortunately, we do not have the data concerning the material productive funds at Reni, Bolgrad and Ismail, nor concerning those in northern Bulgaria, to compare them with the production capacities that exist or are under construction in the regions of Oltenia, Arges, Bucharest (including the country's capital and its biggest industrial centre), Ploesti, Galati and Dobrudja. We suppose that E.B. Valev could furnish details in this respect so that we should have a more complete picture concerning the new possibilities that would open up in the turning to account of our oil, natural gas and salt deposits, the reed and power of the Danube, Olt, etc., through the material productive funds of the other parts of the complex.

This then would be a rough outline of the pattern of the "complex," of the territorial parts and economic resources with which each of the three countries would contribute to its creation. Undoubtedly, anybody could ask hundreds of questions: How is the complex to be organized? Who will manage it and how? According to what plan would it be managed? How will this fit in with the authority of the governments of the respective countries? E.B. Valev does not breathe a single word about all this. And now: what premises, what objective conditions underlie the idea of creating this complex?

The building of the inter-state complex of the "lower Danube" relies on the fundamental findings of the author that the respective portions on the territories of the three countries "have many natural and economic particularities in common, different from those of the neighbouring territories: similar relief, climate and soil conditions, with regard to subsoil resources, a high degree of turning to account the land, a specialized agriculture, and linked to it—the close-by industrial processing of agricultural raw material." It is therefore necessary to deal first with these "particularities" by virtue of which, according to E.B. Valev's maps, the Buzau district, for instance, would no longer have any common problems with the Bacau district, which the author already sees placed somewhere "in a neighbouring territory" (it is not even on the map) and would have, on the other hand, "common problems" and "common paths" of settling them with localities in the Bulgarian part of the Timoc valley.

(A) In order to stress how false the premise of "common natural particularities" is, we do not have to refer to the entire territory which the author has combined from the territories of three countries. We will only limit ourselves to the Rumanian territory included in the "complex" and will invite the readers to follow up a little the conclusions reached, on the basis of joint studies, both by Rumanian and Soviet experts, four years ago in a work published under the aegis of the Rumanian and Soviet academies.

In the very first chapter of this work it is stressed that "the Rumanian People's Republic is situated on the lower reaches of the Danube at the meeting place of three physico-geographical provinces on the European continent: central European, east European and south

European each one of them, with different natural conditions, determines on the country's territory a complex situation of intertwining, penetration and reciprocal influence of climate, soils and vegetation which, taking into account its varied relief and geological structure, creates favourable premises for the exceptional diversity of the country's natural conditions and natural resources."

May be E.B. Valev is referring to a portion of the Rumanian territory situated in only one of the three "physico-geographical provinces"? **Error: In order to constitute "the complex" he had to take a piece of territory from all the physico-geographical provinces and to proclaim them as having "common natural particularities."** Let us take some physical-geography elements and compare scientific findings with the affirmations made by E.B. Valev.

Relief. The work of the academies: the southern Carpathians are part of the mountainous zone of the country; the sub-Carpathians, the Getic Piemont and the Dobrudja tableland are part of the medium altitude zone; the Rumanian plain and the Danube delta, of the zone with low altitude relief.

E.B. Valev, however, affirms that they are of "similar relief conditions."

Climate. The work of the academies: most of the Rumanian plain (including the lower plain of the Siret and the Covurlui plain) and Dobrudja represent different districts with particularities specific of the south-eastern area of the "plain climate"; a narrow strip of the Dobrudja belongs to the "maritime coastal climate"; the Getic Piemont, the southern sub-Carpathians and curving sub-Carpathians each have their particularities within the "hill climate"; the Carpathians come into different zones of the "mountain climate."

E.B. Valev solves everything by "similar climatic conditions." We could go on in this way with every element of physical geography. We prefer, however, to go over directly to the synthesis of all these particularities, given in the chapter of the geographical monograph of the Rumanian People's Republic concerning the physico-geographical zoning of the Rumanian territory. According to this synthesis, the sub-Carpathians, the Getic Piemont and the western part of the Rumanian plain are part of what is called the "physico-geographical province of central Europe," while the eastern part of the Rumanian plain and the Dobrudja, together with the entire tableland of Moldova, are part of "the physico-geographical province of eastern Europe." Furthermore, the influence of the "physico-geographical provinces of southern Europe" is felt in the south of the country. It results that on the Rumanian territory referred to different physico-geographical provinces meet. **The thesis of E.B. Valev with regard to "the common natural particularities," even if limited only to the Rumanian territory included in the "complex," hence represents what one might euphemistically call a scientific "untruth." A sad debut for a partisan of the "inter-state complexes."** Let us admit, however, to conclude this aspect, that E.B. Valev would not have had to

use such procedures to substantiate the "inter-state complex," and that the territories pre-occupying him in the three states really had common geographical particularities that would make them different from the "neighbouring territories" (belonging to the same countries).

Can this premise be an argument in support of constituting an "inter-state economic complex"?

To accept such a thesis would mean that we accept the anti-scientific, anti-Marxist concept of geographical determinism, it would mean that we agree with the introduction, through the back door, of geo-political elements into Marxist science. Does E.B. Valev know where this road can lead to?

(B) In this attempt to substantiate the "lower Danube inter-state economic complex" E.B. Valev **does not only distort the physico-geographical realities, but also the economic ones.**

His analysis discovers that among the premises for the setting up of a complex there are also "common economic particularities . . . subsoil resources, a high degree of turning to account the land, an agricultural specialization and linked to it—the close-by industrial processing of agricultural raw material." **Taking the above-mentioned as correct, we can discover without using spectacles, common economic peculiarities absolutely all over the globe. If we refer, for instance, to the subsoil resources and use E.B. Valev's criteria, such common economic peculiarities can be established between the region of Ploesti, the region of Kuibyshev, Venezuela and Kuwait—all having similar subsoil resources especially oil. These common peculiarities would be even more comprehensive if together with E.B. Valev we were to include the existence of the industry processing of agricultural raw material. Are there many countries in the world that could not enter into this community of territory with common economic particularities? We will no longer dwell on another common economic peculiarity discovered by E.B. Valev: the high degree of turning to account the land. . . .**

Depriving economic notions of their content even more, we can bring to a common denominator any territory and put in the pot of the common economic peculiarities the most unexpected regions, on condition that at the same time we close our eyes to what exists in reality: for instance, everything that links the Galati region with, let us say, the Jassy region. According to the text and map of the author, although "neighbouring territories" they have "different economic peculiarities." A natural question arises: Why does the author have to distort and play about with scientific notions? Patience, though, let us follow to the end his ideas, we have committed ourselves to strive to take the argument seriously.

The fact that the article published in the Moscow University Review distorts geographical and economic realities is not fortuitous. In order to understand its full meaning it has to be related to another series of inexactitudes and distortions that found their way into the article. For instance, E.B. Valev writes: "Both at present, and especially in the perspective, great displace-

ments are taking place in the industrial geography of the Danubian districts of Rumania, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. A particularly great influence on these displacements is exercised by the ever deeper economic links between the socialist countries, the drawing into the economy of new natural resources, the increased water requirements on the part of production necessitating a big volume of water. To the first factor the well-known displacement of industry towards the east is linked in the conditions of the strengthening of the links with the industrial districts of the Ukraine. Telling examples of this kind include the creation of the powerful metallurgical combine in Galati in the vicinity of the junction of sea transportation and Danube navigation." Let us take the affirmation of E.B. Valev that a known displacement of industry towards the east is taking place. We deal with Rumanian industry, since the industrial displacement of the U.S.S.R. towards the east can, in a logical way, have no link whatsoever with "the Danubian complex." This affirmation is a distortion of the policy of the Rumanian Workers' Party for the rational territorial distribution of the productive forces in the course of socialist industrialization. Within the framework of this policy, pre-occupied with raising particularly the formerly backward regions, the people's democratic system has aimed and will consistently aim at speeding up the industrial development of the lagging regions, including also Moldova, situated in the eastern part of the country. As a consequence of this policy, the industrial output of the four regions in the eastern part of the country has risen in the 1951-63 period at a high average annual rate: Suceava 10.5 per cent, Galati 13.7 per cent, Bacau 15.1 per cent and Jassy 18.4 per cent. Does this mean "a displacement towards the east" of Rumanian industry? In order to see how much one can rely on this affirmation it is sufficient to mention that in spite of this particularly high industrial rate over a period of 12 years, the share of the four above-mentioned regions in the gross industrial output of the country has risen between 1950 and 1963 only from 14.7 per cent to 15.2 per cent. How does one explain this very small shift in the share of the Moldovian regions in the gross output of Rumania? By a single fact: What has been aimed at was not the "displacement of industry towards the east" but the advancement of all lagging regions. As a consequence, industrial output has increased in the 1951-63 period at a higher average annual rate than that of the country not only in Bacau and Jassy, but also in the regions of Dobrudja (15.7 per cent) in the southeast of the country, in Arges (15 per cent) in the south, in Oltenia (15.8 per cent) in the southwest, in the Mures-Magyar Autonomous Region (15.6 per cent) in the heart of the country, in Maramures (14.6 per cent) in the northwest of the country.

The policy of industrialization did not aim at industrial displacement towards the east as affirmed by E.B. Valev, neither towards the west nor towards any other cardinal point, but at its more rational harmonious distribution on the entire territory of the Rumanian People's Republic. Does E.B. Valev distort this policy

only out of ignorance? If this were the case, the author's attention would have been drawn in the first place by the extremely important rise between 1950 and 1963 of the share of Bacau region, also situated in the eastern part of the country, in the output of some main branches of our national economy — in electric and thermo-power from 1.1 to 21.5 per cent, in fuel from 3.1 to 9.5 per cent, in chemicals from 0.5 to 11.2 per cent, in building materials from 0.4 to 11 per cent. Why did E.B. Valev not illustrate the theory of the alleged "move towards the east" of industry with the example of the Bacau region? Because the example of Bacau region proves the entire inconsistency of the thesis concerning the so-called "industrial displacement towards the east," in the conditions of "strengthening the links with the industrial districts of the Ukraine." The development of power, fuel, chemicals and building materials of Bacau can by no means be conditioned by the "strengthening of the links with the industrial districts of the Ukraine" but by an entirely different fact — close link between the industry which the people's democratic regime has developed in the eastern regions of the country and the other regions of Rumania in which all regions of the country organically merge.

For the pre-occupations guiding him, E.B. Valev thought that "the telling example" is the building of the Galati combine. It is true that in the building of this combine account was taken of Rumania's possibilities of purchasing some quantities of iron ore and coke from the U.S.S.R. But at Galati we will use iron ore also from India, from Brazil and from other countries.

Does this mean that the Galati combine is being built "in conditions of strengthening links" with certain districts of these countries? On the other hand, the iron ore imported from the U.S.S.R. is used in Resita as well as in Hunedoara, in the west of the country. Does this mean, in the logic of the author, that by powerfully developing these two big iron and steel centres we have in the last 20 years moved industry towards the west? And if so, is it not by any chance an oversight of the author that these industrial centres are not included in this "Danubian complex"? It is true, though, that their inclusion would require the extension of the "inter-state frontier complex" beyond the Carpathians as well. The Galati combine is built in conformity with the increased metal requirements of all the regions of Rumania, of her national economy. The products of the combine are destined first of all and to the greatest extent for Rumanian industrial enterprises situated in various regions of the country, which means that **its commissioning will develop production co-operation of Galati with the other towns and regions of Rumania and not of the Ukraine.**

E.B. Valev makes yet another inexact affirmation in writing: "A precise specialization is being planned between the metallurgical combines at Galati, Hunedoara and Resita (all in Rumania), Sofia (Kremikovstky) and in the Dnieper region as to the types of mass-produced rolled goods." Could the author tell us by chance who "is planning" the "precise specialization" to which

he is referring and of which Rumania has no knowledge?

It is true that in C.M.E.A., during the discussion of the iron and steel problems, the following countries were interested in studying the specialized output and the profiles of certain combines: Bulgaria (for the Kremikovtsy combine), Czechoslovakia (for the one at Kocice), the G.D.R. (for the "Ost" combine), Poland (for the one at Cracow), Hungary (for the one at Dunai Vassamiu), and the U.S.S.R. (for unspecified combines, hence not mentioning that it refers to the ones on the Dnieper). This is the framework in which specialization is being studied and not between the three Danubian districts of the three countries. **As to the Galati combine, Rumania has shown that her economic requirements impose upon her not to modify either the specialization of the envisaged output of the combine or its profile, or the term of its commissioning.** Our country agreed to co-ordinate the output of rolled goods planned by it for the Galati combine as part of the usual process of co-ordinating plans and on the basis of bilateral consultations with other countries. This is the truth the author disregards.

We consider, however, this fact of minimum importance compared with the concept which E.B. Valev holds on the whole about the Galati combine.

"In the years to come," he writes, "the machine-building industry of the lower Danube district will also get the necessary metallurgical base . . . the basis of which will be the powerful Galati combine. . . ." Hence it is not the national economy of Rumania which will have this basis but the complex made up of the three territories. However, what will happen with the enterprises in the other parts of Rumania, excluded from the inter-state complex? The author is generous enough not to let them starve of metal. "Thus," he says, "production links in iron and steel and machine-building are strengthened between the lower Danube district and the neighbouring districts of Rumania, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union."

So in the development logic of the inter-state complex the enterprises of Brasov, Bacau and Deva find themselves placed in neighbouring districts of the complex while those in Ruse and Ismail are part of the complex. It is true that the Rumanian regions not included in the complex will also be able to "strengthen" links with the iron and steel base of the lower Danube inter-state complex, the author assures us. And when are diplomatic links to be established as well? Specification and clarification are also necessary in connection with another assertion of E.B. Valev according to which in order to cover the electric power deficit in the "lower Danube district" "it is envisaged to cover scarcity of electric power in this district by bringing such power from the southwestern regions of the Soviet Union. In this connection, an important role will have to be played by the strong thermo-power station of Kuchurgan (2.4 million kw.) on the lower reaches of the Dniester."

From this text any reader of good-will may logically understand that the regions of the Rumanian People's

Republic proposed to be included in this district, would also be supplied with the respective electric power. In point of fact, however, **the Rumanian regions included by E.B. Valev in the "inter-state complex" get and will get electric power not from the lower reaches of the Dniester, but from the national grid of Rumania, supplied by all power stations of this country of which these regions form a part.**

As concerns the Kuchurgan thermo-power station, the conclusion of an agreement is envisaged between the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria with regard to supplying electric power only to Bulgaria, Rumania being requested to allow that the transmission line of this electric power passes over her territory. The way in which Bulgaria is to use this electric power—in the regions along the Danube or throughout the country's territory—is a matter concerning exclusively Bulgaria. And as E.B. Valev has mentioned the power problem, we cannot but make a further remark. As shown by his entire text, E.B. Valev pays special attention to the natural resources of the district (their location has been shown above) including its power bases. The author says that in the district's industrial development "the problems of the thermo-power bases of the Danubian territories of Rumania, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. deserve special attention. In the lower Danube region a certain structure and specialization of the fuel and power industry is taking shape."

Leaving aside the scientific value of his application of the notion of specialization in connection with raw material output (in this case in connection with fuel and power output) we should also retain another assertion of E.B. Valev's: "A particular feature (of the planned lower Danube district) is the output of liquid oil fuel in quantities exceeding the district's requirements and the scarcity of solid fuel of high caloric value."

This passage is characteristic of the way in which E.B. Valev mixes things up, seeking to mislead readers by forgetting to specify: that this "output of liquid fuel" is to be found exclusively in the Rumanian regions which he would wish to include in the district; that this output of oil constitutes the overwhelming part of the oil output of the Rumanian People's Republic; **that by relating this output of Rumania not to the needs of Rumania, but of the district invented by him, a forgery is being committed by calculating availabilities "exceeding the needs of the district."** These scientific pre-occupations of the expert are closely linked to certain practical aspects of some problems arising at present.

Indeed, although per capita power and fuel consumption in Rumania is at present considerably lower than in all the other C.M.E.A. member countries and is envisaged to continue being so in the future as well, repeated proposals have been made to the effect that the deficits of certain countries should be covered at least in part precisely by Rumania (notwithstanding the fact that our country even today exports electric power to Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, and methane gas to Hungary). In February 1964 the experts of the Moscow "Energosetiproekt" worked out, unasked by us, just as

E.B. Valev, a 13-page "study" entitled "The Rumanian Energetics" in which it is stated that "the corresponding levels of these resources (the authors bear in mind liquid fuel, gas and hydro-power in Rumania) could also ensure a partial coverage of the electric power deficit of Hungary and Bulgaria." This is the practical substratum of the author's theoretical pre-occupation.

We do not ask experts in the friendly countries to think of the way in which Rumania could be assisted in recovering her lag in the sphere of power (a lag determined first of all by the lack of bigger resources on which a higher standard of production and consumption should rely). But, taking into consideration the insistent proposals that we should export more—of what we have not enough even for ourselves in order to partially cover the deficits of others, who have reached a higher standard than ours, we would like to ask these comrades: How does this fit in with the objective tendency of levelling up economic development? How does this attitude reflect the internationalist character of co-operation between the socialist countries, mutual advantage and assistance?

We have dealt with various distortions, omissions and inexactitudes comprised in the article, because not only do they have a common denominator—the author—but they also play a precise role in the concept of the article which has to strengthen a thesis formulated by E.B. Valev: "of particular importance for the industrialization of these districts is their relative proximity to the strong districts of heavy industry in the Ukraine, Donbas and the Dnieper area and to their seaports—Odessa-Illichevsk, Nikolayev, Kherson and Zhdanov." Although we are not geographers like the author from the "Lomonosov" University, we have taken a map of the country and have intently studied it under all aspects. In spite of this we have failed to understand the objective reasons of development of the productive forces in socialism which could make it necessary that for the industrialization of Arges region, for instance, "a relative proximity" to the Donbas or Kherson should be of "particular importance" and why it should not be so for the "absolute proximity" to the adjacent Brasov region, which belongs to the same national economic complex.

Failing to discover such objective reasons or explanations we have nevertheless been able to note something else: in building up his "inter-state complex" the author completely ignores the links between the Rumanian regions that are to belong to the complex and the other regions of the country, substituting for these links a "relative proximity" to the heavy industry regions of the Ukraine and the Donbas proximity, on which stress is laid insistently. From this substitution there naturally emerges "the particular importance of the industrialization of these districts" which is attributed to the cited "relative proximity." From the scientific heights to which the author has scrambled up, he sees the following: "As early as now, the basic links are outstandingly visible of the territorial production complex taking shape on the lower Danube, its specialization in the framework of the world so-

cialist economy, and the principal production links between the Danubian territories of Rumania, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R."

As a matter of fact—readers may say—the author's visions are his personal business. That would be so indeed, if the author did not at the same time attempt to move his pencil over the map of our homeland. And this he must not be allowed to do.

III

The idea that may be traced right through the article of E.B. Valev is that in the development of the productive forces in the world socialist system, an important part is played by the setting up of inter-state complexes through tearing away entire portions of national territory from the age-old national economies of sovereign socialist countries. In what proportion such territories are taken in the case of the Danubian complex has been shown above.

In the eyes of E.B. Valev, the socialist states, as constituent parts of the world socialist economic system, as subjects of economic co-operation, begin to disappear, their place being gradually taken by inter-state complexes, and it is these latter which have to integrate themselves into the socialist international division of labour. The article of E.B. Valev most consistently serves this purpose.

The territories combined on the map by Professor E.B. Valev are viewed as if they were no-man's-lands, as if they did not belong to the national territory of sovereign states, as if state boundaries could be violated in the name of some alleged interests of the world socialist system.

We suggest that our readers look for one single line in the article, in which Valev should ask himself the way in which these inter-state complexes fit into the notion of state sovereignty, the observance of this sovereignty—and the readers will not be able to find one single line of this kind. It does not exist, not because the author has overlooked this problem, but on the contrary, because he very well realizes that between national sovereignty and the setting up of the inter-state complex there are irreconcilable contradictions. Considering that it would be unsuitable to openly ask for the sacrificing of sovereignty for the organization of the complex he disregards it by simply ignoring it.

Disregard of the Rumanian state's sovereignty is manifest with E.B. Valev not only as concerns the country's territory but also with regard to matters of our state's home policy.

This is the sole explanation of the fact that he takes the liberty to overlook the existence of the Rumanian state when, speaking of the development of certain regions belonging to Rumania, he sets tasks to the "inter-state complex." "Hence the necessity arises for a detailed study of the location of the new big industrial projects in the lower Danube region, bearing in mind the interests of the whole of the world so-

cialist economy as well as the most efficient development of the entire territorial production complex of the lower Danube"—the author writes, assigning to a still anonymous body its governing line and method in the policy of the economic construction of the complex and placing the latter in the service of "the interests of the whole of the world socialist economy." **Is it necessary to again remind the author that two-thirds of the territory to which he refers are an integral part of the territory of the Rumanian People's Republic, an independent and sovereign socialist state? On this territory nobody has anything to study, neither in detail nor in lesser detail, without authorization from the Rumanian Government,** for both the efficient use of the resources and the location of projects, as well as any other problems, big or small, are of the exclusive competence of the Rumanian Government and people. The Rumanian regions in the "district" of the lower Danube are developing within the framework of and according to the interests of Rumania's national economy and this is the sole way in which their resources may serve the interests of strengthening socialism as a world system, interests to which schemes of the kind we are now discussing cannot but cause serious prejudices.

To ignore the Rumanian state, its sovereignty, is an expression of disregard of the country and of the Rumanian people. What may be the source of such attitudes? What has this attitude in common with observance of sovereignty and territorial integrity, fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles of the relationships between socialist states?

Arming ourselves with an enormous amount of naiveness we might think that the notion of sovereignty belonging to the sphere of international law, and the author being an economist-geographer, he is not concerned with state relations but with economic relations.

In this case, we should retain another aspect completely ignored by the economist-geographer: the Rumanian regions proposed by the author to be torn away from our national economy and be "internationalized" within the framework of the inter-state complex of the lower Danube complement each other, are indissolubly linked to the other regions of our country and are fused organically into a genuine territorial production complex, into a single national economy.

Completely transported by the demand for "internationalizing the productive forces," Valev neither had the time to concern himself with the age-old history of traditional economic bonds linking the various parts of Rumania's territory nor to realize the way in which these bonds have intensified under people's power at a rate never known in the past.

The planned development of the national economy has led not only to the considerable strengthening of the old bonds between the various parts of Rumania's territory, but also to the creation of new links, to their multiplication and intensification. This historically created network of economic bonds between the various regions, districts and centres of the country becomes

closer and more profound in the conditions of socialism, facilitating the upsurge of the productive forces and the ever-ascending and balanced progress, in various branches and various areas, of the national economy as a whole, as a fully unitarian national economic complex.

And now, in the full tide of this development we meet with the proposal under which half of the country must be wrested from this process, under which this national economic complex has to be torn apart, all production relations formed within the country have to be broken and as a result Rumania's economic relations with other countries have to be deformed.

At one time we tried to believe that the disregard and contempt evinced by the author for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country were due to the fact that, being pre-occupied with economic geography he was a stranger to these notions. But how can one explain the fact that even in the field of economic relations the author, who looks so far into the future as to see even what does not exist, does not note the live reality under his very eyes—the fact that Rumania's national economy is a unitarian, organic and inviolate whole? **What gives E.B. Valev the right to propose the division of Rumania's territory into inter-state complexes, the distribution of the population on these complexes, the amputation of the national economy and the infringement of all its internal bonds built over the centuries? The author evinces the same contempt for our people as well. As far as he is concerned, on the territory of the six regions of the Rumanian People's Republic there exist only material resources, economic possibilities and lifeless productive forces.**

We propose to the readers, as before, to look for a single line in which the author speaks, if only when describing the economy of the six regions, of the work of our people for the development of the economy and the building of socialism, of the policy of the Party and the Government. Have all the combines and enterprises of Rumania, which the author enumerates with the scrupulosity of an accountant, risen by themselves? The author knows very well that each of these enterprises includes part of the sweat from the work of each citizen of Rumania, and not only of those of the six regions but from all over the country, that these "material funds of production" are the material expression of the work and creative energy of a whole people who are building socialism. It is quite true that acceptance of this truth would result in complications for the organization of the Danube complex since in the material funds of the six regions the work of those living in the Banat or Moldavia is also contained. Therefore, just as the respective regions are treated as no-man's-land the material productive forces are also anonymous, without a master, as far as the author is concerned.

What is Marxist-Leninist in this position?

We are not interested in the personal motives which made E.B. Valev write his article. But objectively,

the project of "the inter-state complex on the lower reaches of the Danube" represents more than an attempt to infringe the national sovereignty of a socialist state which has equal rights with all the other socialist states; much more than a direct interference in the internal affairs of the Rumanian People's Republic and a proposal to divest it of some of the attributes of its sovereignty. This is a plan for the violation of the territorial integrity of Rumania, for the dismemberment of its national and state unity.

But as we have mentioned at the beginning of this article, some economists of the friendly countries propose the elaboration not only of some "inter-state complexes" but of a network of complexes. We do not yet know of other similar complexes which would enter into the "network." But we ask: having proposed to include half of Rumania's territory into the "complex of the lower reaches of the Danube," which are the complexes into which the other parts of Rumania could be included?

What would the consequences be if we were to suppose, against all reason, that some men might be found, divorced from the people, from the feeling of patriotism, from loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the real interest of the socialist camp, who would accept the inclusion of the country into such a network? Rumania would be liquidated as a state and the Rumanian people as a nation, by simple administrative means, justified "economically" in the name of pseudo-Marxist-Leninist considerations.

We must be grateful to E.B. Valev that he has given us the possibility of deciphering from a concrete proposal the real meaning of the coded formula of "inter-state economic complexes." Stated simply in the case of the Danube complex, it is an attempt to transform into a single zone the whole region of the lower reaches of the Danube. History, including the history of the Rumanian people, knows of similar attempts. The fact that E.B. Valev utilizes phrases and formulations which pretend to be Marxist cannot obscure the essence of his proposal. The more projects of this kind are made in the name of deepening economic co-operation between the member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, the less public opinion will understand the relation between these proposals and the basic principles on which C.M.E.A. is founded. The more projects for such "complexes" are made, the less the superiority of socialism will be understood by the peoples who, throughout the world, are fighting for the consolidation of their national independence and their state sovereignty, against foreign interference in their internal affairs, against those who try to undermine their independence by various means, and especially by economic means. As far as Rumania is concerned, she will not participate in any "inter-state complex," in any "super-state" form of co-operation of "socialist integration," etc. . . . because these forms are contrary to Marxism-Leninism, to her national interest, to the overall interests of the world socialist system and the need of strengthening the prestige of socialism in the world.

Essential for the strengthening of friendship and fraternal co-operation among the socialist countries, for the strengthening of the power of socialism and the growth of its international prestige, for the full utilization of the advantages resulting from the transformation of socialism into a world system is that in the mutual relations of the socialist countries there should be strict observance of the principles of independence and sovereignty, of equal rights, mutual advantage and fraternal assistance, non-interference in internal affairs, of the principles of respect for territorial integrity and of the principles of socialist internationalism which we repeat, taken together, represent the inflexible and truly Marxist-Leninist laws of the development of the whole world socialist system.

A few words in conclusion: so far, all discussions concerning "inter-state complexes" have dealt with the respective notions—the article by E.B. Valev is, as far as we know, the first attempt to propose such a concrete application of the respective concepts. There is obviously nothing surprising in this. It is inevitable that the moment should come when ideas good or bad try to make their way in life. What is surprising, however, are the following elements:

(1) Although the position of our country as regards the "new super-state forms of co-operation"—the single plan, inter-state complexes—is very well known, we find that in some publications issued in the friendly countries the pleas for some of the above-mentioned measures contain direct proposals concerning the inclusion of Rumania or of some parts of her territory in such forms of "co-operation" against the official position of the Rumanian People's Republic. How can one qualify such procedures?

(2) One might say that E.B. Valev, by virtue of his freedom as a "scientist," can examine and conceive anything, even fantastic schemes of the kind of the Danube complex, leaving aside the fact that these preoccupations are, as we have seen, not at all divorced from some practical aspects. It is surprising that the economic geographic chair of the Moscow University and its bulletin should have lent their authority to the publication of an article which disregards Rumania's sovereignty, and proposes the dismemberment of its territory and of its national economy. We cannot help pointing to the similarity of concept between the article of E.B. Valev and a number of papers presented at the symposium on "the geography of the socialist countries" at the Fourth Congress of the Geographical Society of the U.S.S.R. This similarity of concept shows that the article by E.B. Valev is part of a wide front promoting the ideas of "inter-state economic complexes" and other proposals with implications of the gravest order: the violation of the independence and national sovereignty, of the territorial integrity of the socialist states. In referring to a definite territory, this article "concretizes" these very ideas which are alien to Marxism-Leninism and contrary to the basic principles of the relations among the socialist countries, to the interests of the development of the world socialist system.

ROUND THE WORLD

Second Summit Conference

Decolonize the Colonizers

Africa's spotlight was focused on Cairo for five days (July 17-21) where heads of states met for their second summit conference. In the Arab League headquarters by the Nile a galaxy of statesmen from north and south of the Sahara—presidents and premiers, kings and an emperor—deliberated on the continent's immediate problems and chartered the course of future action. Of the 34 seats around the U-shaped conference table one was conspicuously unoccupied. Africa's leaders were determined not to sully their summit conference with new Congolese "premier" Moise Tshombe, Patrice Lumumba's assassin and present lickspittle of U.S. imperialism.

Decolonization of Africa was one of the main problems taken up. Well over half the countries in Africa are independent but more than twenty have yet to free themselves from the vise of colonialism. Almost without exception every speaker indicted imperialism and colonialism, both old and new, expressing their determination to liquidate these root causes of Africa's ills. The conference urged that greater attention be paid to the armed struggle waged by the people in the countries still groaning under colonial rule. To match force for force keyed the joint memorandum submitted to the conference by some twenty national-liberation movements now surging through different parts of the continent. Armed struggle, it said, is the road to freedom and independence.

Another problem dominating the meeting was the fight against apartheid. All countries, the major trading partners in particular, were asked to co-operate in the boycott of South Africa. An appeal to all oil-producing countries to cease their supply of oil and all petroleum products to that country was made. Also called for was the release of South African nationalist leaders,

Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe and all other apartheid opponents imprisoned or detained under the repressive and arbitrary laws of the Verwoerd regime. A bureau charged with coordinating plans and action to fight apartheid was set up.

On the question of Southern Rhodesia where white fascist rule is no less abominable than in its southern neighbour, the conference made it clear that the O.A.U. member states would take vigorous and immediate steps against any unilateral declaration of independence by a European minority government. The heads of state pledged to take appropriate measures, including recognition and support of an African nationalist government in exile should such an eventuality arise. They called on Britain to convene at once a constitutional conference of all political parties in Southern Rhodesia to prepare a constitution ensuring majority rule based on one man, one vote.

The Cairo meeting condemned Portugal for its persistent refusal to recognize the right of the people of Angola, Mozambique and other territories under its domination to self-determination and independence. It will set up, as in the case of South Africa, a bureau within the O.A.U. Secretariat to co-ordinate boycott action against Portugal.

An unalterable course, to take the path of revolution to rid Africa of imperialism and colonialism, has been set for the entire continent. The people of Africa and Asia hailed the success of the African summit conference. But imperialist organs, such as the *New York Times* and the *British Daily Telegraph*, maligned the conference, even to the extent of defending hatchet man Tshombe.

Police Violence

Negroes Fight Back

Militancy describes the mood of the Negroes in New York. From

Harlem in New York City where a new outburst of struggle began on July 18 over the killing of a 15-year-old Negro youth by the police two days earlier, demonstrations against police brutality spread to Brooklyn, another district in the city where Negroes are herded together in ghetto slums, and then to Rochester, New York State's third largest city.

For days enraged Negroes kept up their demonstrations, now not only against the murder of the Negro boy James Powell but also against fresh killing and wanton arrests. Harlem was put under a state of emergency. While helicopters hovered over the area, steel-helmeted policemen fired at the demonstrators. Hundreds of Negroes were wounded by gunshot, and many more arrested. Using bricks and bottles, stones and empty cans, Negroes valiantly fought back in self-defence.

The official lash of brute force and threats of still greater violence failed to break the spirit of the freedom fighters. President Johnson then defamed the Negro struggle and alerted troops for action, besides instructing F.B.I. Director Edgar Hoover, whose forces have a long record of collaborating with the racist suppression of the Negroes, to intervene.

Not only Harlem and Brooklyn but now Rochester gave vent to their wrath against racial discrimination and oppression. On the night of July 24 more than 2,000 Negroes in that city demonstrated and courageously fought the fully armed police till the small hours of the following day. On the 25th and 26th, defying a curfew, they again engaged the police in 30 different parts of the city and 1,000 national guardsmen rushed in by Governor Rockefeller. Battling armed police, they overturned police cars and cut fire hoses.

The demonstrations showed up the phoney nature of the "civil rights bill" that has just become law in the United States. The Johnson Administration has made it out as a bonanza for the Negro people. But how much is it worth when even the lives of the Negroes are not secure?

ACROSS THE LAND

Oil Refining Equipment

THE nation's burgeoning oil industry is being backed up by an increasing amount of refining installations made in China. Production of complete sets of equipment in the first half of the year by the machine-building industry equalled the yearly total for 1963. New installations in 1964 included high-temperature coke towers for breaking down heavy oil into light petroleum and petroleum coke, an extraction column for making lubricating oil, heat exchangers and various types of oil pumps. This year has seen the trial production of a large vacuum fractionating tower by the Shanghai Boiler Factory. Weighing 290 tons, the tower stands 27 metres high and has a 6.4-metre diameter.

Some of the equipment was designed and made in this country for the first time.

New oil centres and already existing refineries in Shanghai, Fushun, Nanking and other areas are being supplied by the refining equipment upsurge.

Until recently China depended mainly on oil imports and was unable to manufacture installations and equipment for her young oil industry. Now the bulk of the nation's oil needs is being produced at home and complete sets of equipment to refine it are being manufactured.

Primary Education in A Rural County

THE national limelight has been focused on Yangyuan County in west Hopei Province where the drive to get all school-age children in the countryside into primary school has made much headway.

Universal primary education has become a reality in China's cities, and nearly every large village has its own primary school. Total enrolment in the nation is more than three times the pre-liberation peak. Nevertheless, Yangyuan's experience has aroused nationwide interest because

despite the great expansion of primary schools all over the country much remains to be done to provide a good education for every school-age child. In Yangyuan schools are located near the homes of students and flexible schedules enable youngsters to attend school (in the countryside school begins at a later age than the prevailing seven-year-old requirement in the cities) and still help their parents with farm chores.

Before liberation desolated and hilly Yangyuan County could afford only one primary school for every four or five villages; for the poor, who made up the majority of the population, there were no opportunities for sending their children to school. Today, with a population of 200,000, Yangyuan boasts 349 government- or commune-run primary schools, almost one for every village, five middle schools and one vocational school. More than 90 per cent of school-age children are in school.

Yangyuan has achieved this under the slogan: "The hilly regions should not be neglected; everything for the studies of the children of the poor and lower-middle peasants." Emphasis on the hilly regions was necessary because of their isolation from the main stream of life in the countryside, and reference to poor and lower-middle peasants, who make up about three-fourths of the rural population, was based on class status determined at the time of land reform more than a decade ago. Although these peasants have become better off economically since then as a result of farm co-operation and the advent of the people's communes, they still retain their original class status. They are the staunchest supporters of the socialist road in the countryside.

Many different types of primary schools in addition to the regular ones have been set up. Some of these are half-day or alternate day schools, others offer classes in the slack winter and spring seasons and are closed during the busy farming

months. There are also "circuit schools" that bring classes right to the doorsteps of children who live in small, out-of-the-way hamlets. These schools offer mainly language and arithmetic for the lower forms, with history, geography, science and vocational skills added in the higher forms. The use of the abacus, simple bookkeeping and the calculation of workday units are part of the arithmetic lessons.

The peasants are well satisfied with these schools, and with good reason. In the last five years the county's primary schools have graduated 30,000 pupils. While some of them are continuing school at a higher level, others have gone to work in their villages as technicians, bookkeepers, etc. This is in striking contrast to pre-liberation days when adults tied knots on a rope or sent for outside accountants to keep the books.

Millions Swim

MID-SUMMER finds the Chinese people more and more attracted to swimming—in rivers, lakes and seas. On July 24, 1,817 Peking middle school students swam Kunming Lake in the Summer Palace, a distance of 600 metres. This was followed two days later by three more mass swimming events: a similar number of college students, more than a hundred of them co-eds, made it across the Ming Tombs Reservoir on Peking's outskirts (600 metres for co-eds and 1,200 metres for men); in Wuhan, more than 100,000 watched while 700 swam 5,000 metres across the wave-swept Yangtze River; in Harbin up in the northeast, 200 swimmers bested the Sungari River. Literally millions swim in the country's rivers, lakes, reservoirs, ponds and along the seashore.

Many people use swimming pools, to be sure. But rivers, lakes and seas are preferred because the open-air and surging waves help improve the people's physique and help them develop a spirit of courage and resourcefulness. In an editorial reprinted by all national papers the *Tiyu Bao* (Sports News) called on the people to use these natural swimming areas; it termed mass swimming activities of strategic im-

portance in improving health, production and strengthening national defence. It is for these purposes that the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission on July 23 recommended four kinds of sports — swimming, shooting, signal communications and mountaineering.

The Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have always attached importance to organizing mass swimming activities. Chairman Mao himself crossed the Yangtse River several times in his late sixties, and his famous lines

Now I am crossing the thousand-mile-long river,

Looking afar at the open sky of Chu.

have inspired many a swimmer.

More Money in the Bank

BANK savings continued to rise throughout the nation during the first six months of the year. The net increase in urban savings has surpassed that for all of 1963. Figures released by the People's Bank of China underscore the national economy's continued all-round turn for the better, already palpably evident by brisk sales of consumer goods in urban and rural areas.

In Peking, deposits were up 33 million yuan; depositors rose by 180,000, bringing the total number to 1,690,000. Chungking registered 27,000 new depositors, mostly workers and miners. In the seaport city of Tientsin 55,000 new bank accounts had been opened by the end of April. In Shanghai and other cities and towns bank deposits also increased by a big margin in the first half of 1964. Deposits in Yunnan Province rose 16 per cent in the first six months of 1964. The larger amount banked this year in Hopei Province has left no doubt that this north China province has recovered from last year's serious flood.

Stone Arch Bridges

ARCH bridges of stone, first built by Chinese engineers some 2,000 years ago, are still going up today, just as beautiful but faster and in greater numbers. They are functionally suited to China because material is plentiful and there is a tradition

of excellent stone work among the people. Aesthetically, stone arch bridges blend perfectly with the Chinese landscape.

Use and time have proved that the arch ring can bear a greater load than the modern stress analysis of the arch alone would seem to justify. Many ancient stone bridges of this type are now part of highways serving heavy trucks. Stone arch bridges also are being used extensively today for new railways and highways.

Significantly, the spate of bridge building that began after liberation and is still gathering momentum accords with Chinese history. Extensive bridge and road building has always accompanied a healthy and developing economy and may help explain the quickened tempo of bridge building since 1958. Hundreds of stone arch bridges have been built in Chekiang and Kwangtung Provinces, and in the Liangshan Autonomous Chou in Szechuan Province in the past few years where modern large-scale highway construction has been going on. Many more on a smaller scale have been put up by people's communes. Other types of bridges are also built but stone arch bridges predominate in most places since they cost less and can be built by local initiative from local resources.

Building technique has also improved and bridges with longer and wider spans have appeared in many

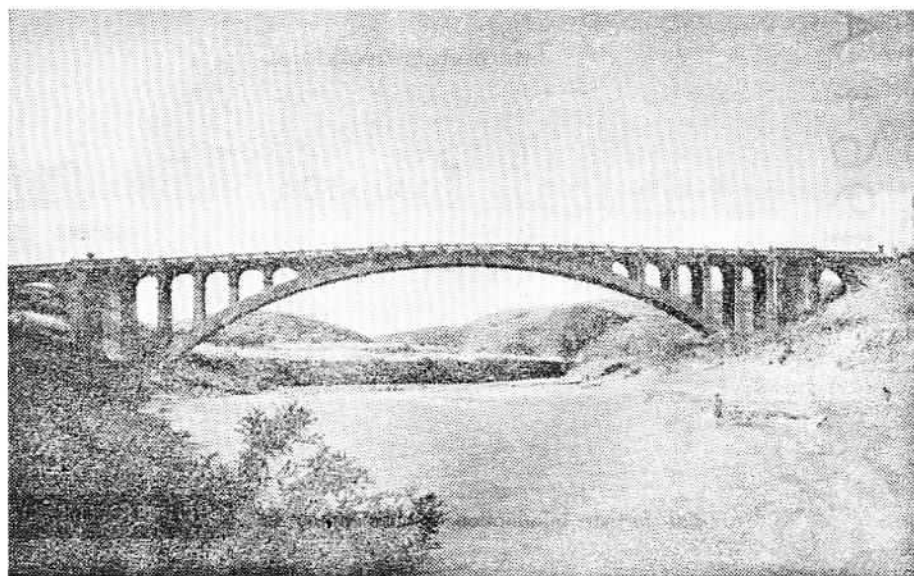
parts of the country. The stone bridge of three arches, each with a 30-metre span, erected in 1958 in Yen-an, former revolutionary centre, marked a new stage in bridges of this type. This was followed by a bridge in the central-south with a 90-metre centre span, and a 112-metre single arch bridge of stone in the southwest designed in the style of the beautiful 1,300-year-old Chaochow Bridge in Hopei Province. With a span three times as long as the famous Chaochow Bridge, this new bridge has one of the longest spans of its kind in the world.

Briefs

Tibetans bought 25 per cent more consumer goods in the first half of 1964 than in the equivalent period in 1963. Nearly a thousand additional varieties of manufactured goods are on sale and a new food store selling foodstuffs from all over the country has been opened in Lhasa.

Up to July output of consumer goods in Shanghai was 5 per cent higher than the first half of 1963. Artificial fibre fabrics increased 30 per cent, and 10 per cent more goods were sent out of Shanghai.

By July Peking's gross industrial output had risen 11.8 per cent and labour productivity 9.7 per cent compared with the corresponding period last year.



Stone arch bridge with 112-metre span

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