

# PEKING REVIEW

13

March 26, 1965

## A COMMENT ON THE MARCH MOSCOW MEETING

By the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*  
and *Hongqi* (p. 7).

## China Mourns Late Rumanian Leader

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(p. 16).

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*How Lantian Ape-Man Fossils  
Were Found*

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京  
周  
報

# A Comment on the March Moscow Meeting

By the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*  
(People's Daily) and *Hongqi* (Red Flag)

*English Language Edition*

This commentary, first published on March 23, is divided into four parts entitled:

- What kind of meeting was it?
- What are the deeds of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.?
- Answers to some questions
- Unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and revolution

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# PEKING REVIEW

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## THE WEEK

### Among the major events of the week:

• The editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* published "A Comment on the March Moscow Meeting."

• The Chinese people mourned the death of Comrade Gheorghie Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Rumania.

The Chinese Party and government delegation led by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the C.C. of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, left for Bucharest to attend the funeral of Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej.

• Peking and other cities held meetings to mark the 15th anniversary of the Viet Nam Day Against U.S. Imperialism (March 19).

• *Renmin Ribao* published an article by Observer on March 22, exposing the Tito clique's plot to help its U.S. masters bring about a so-called "peaceful settlement" of the Viet Nam question.

• The Chinese Air Force shot down a U.S.-made RF-101 spy plane of the Chiang gang over the coastal areas of southeast China on March 18.

• Chinese Party and state leaders sent a message on March 21 to Soviet Party and state leaders, congratulating them on the successful flight and landing of the Soviet spaceship "Voskhod-2."

• Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi left Peking on March 19 on a visit to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nepal.

• A delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization arrived in Peking on March 17. It signed a joint statement with the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs on March 22.

• The Chinese press published:

— a news report on the schismatic meeting held in Moscow on March 1-5, the text of the meeting's communique, two letters from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. dated July 30, 1964 and November 24, 1964 respectively.

— comments on the Moscow meeting by its participants.

— comments on the Moscow meeting by the Western bourgeois press.

### New Zealand and Australian C.P. Leaders Leave for Home

V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, and E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Australian Communist Party (M-L), and N. Gallagher, member of the Australian C.P. (M-L) delegation led by Hill, left Peking for home on March 19. Seeing them off at Peking Airport were Teng Hsiao-ping, General Sec-

retary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee; Kang Sheng, its Alternate Member; and 2,000 working people of the capital.

During their short stay, the New Zealand and Australian Party leaders met and had cordial talks on separate occasions with Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party of China.

### **Another U.S.-Chiang Spy Plane Downed**

Another U.S.-made RF-101 spy plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang was shot down over the coastal areas of southeast China on March 18 by an air force unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. This is the third major victory scored by the Chinese Air Force this year.

Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, issued an order commending the unit responsible for this victory.

### **Chinese Leaders Greet Soviet Spaceship Flight**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai, sent a message on March 21 to Soviet leaders L.I. Brezhnev, A.I. Mikoyan and A.N. Kosygin, greeting the successful flight and landing of the Soviet spaceship "Voskhod-2."

The message reads:

"The Chinese people rejoice at the successful flight and landing of the Soviet spaceship 'Voskhod-2' piloted by Colonel Pavel Belyayev and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexei Leonov. This is a great achievement of the Soviet working people. On behalf of the Chinese people, we extend our warm congratulations to you and, through you, to the fraternal Soviet people, Soviet scientists, Comrade Pavel Belyayev, captain of the spaceship, and Comrade Alexei Leonov, cosmonaut. We sincerely wish the fraternal Soviet people still more successes in the conquest of space."

### **Support for Vietnamese People's Anti-U.S. Struggle**

In meetings and mass rallies on March 19, Chinese students in Peking, Shanghai, Canton and other major cities demonstrated their solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. im-

perialism, arch enemy of the world's people.

Fifteen years ago to the day, the people of Saigon staged a huge demonstration against the United States which was then already threatening to intervene in Viet Nam. Marching in the forefront of that demonstration was the well-known lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, now leader of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. Like a snowball, the demonstration gathered force as thousands upon thousands joined it, shouting "Down with U.S. imperialism!" and "Get out, Yankees!" In face of this opposition, the two U.S. destroyers which had sneaked into the harbour to bolster French colonial rule in Viet Nam weighed anchor and slunk away. Since that day the Vietnamese people have, every year, marked March 19 as a day against U.S. imperialism which, rapacious by nature, has stepped into the shoes of the French colonialists, blatantly violated the Geneva agreements, poured in munitions and military personnel and launched an undeclared, criminal war in Viet Nam.

Strong condemnation of U.S. imperialist aggression and firm support for the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle highlighted the speeches at the mass rally in Peking on March 19. Jointly sponsored by the All-China Students' Federation, the Peking Students' Federation and the federation of Vietnamese students studying in Peking, the rally was attended by 10,000 students from some 30 countries. Ambassador Tran Tu Binh of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Nguyen Minh Phuong, Acting Head of the Permanent Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, attended.

Speaking at the rally, Chairman of the All-China Students' Federation Wu Shao-tsu condemned U.S. imperialism for its armed aggression and war provocations in Viet Nam. He saluted the heroic Vietnamese people for their dauntless, revolutionary spirit and their determination to carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end. He castigated the modern revisionists

"who have betrayed the revolution and are frightened to death by the war blackmail of U.S. imperialism." Pledging full support for the Vietnamese people, he declared: "We Chinese students are mobilized and are well prepared. We are determined to fight alongside our Vietnamese brothers and sisters to completely defeat the U.S. imperialists."

Ho Dinh Tung, chairman of the Vietnamese students' federation in Peking, denounced U.S. imperialism for its monstrous crimes against his people. "The recent aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism," he said, "have not cowed or subjugated our people. On the contrary, they have aroused even greater hatred among us for U.S. imperialism and reinforced our determination to defeat the enemy and defend our country." He declared that the Vietnamese students were ready to take up combat duties at the call of their fatherland, and said that the great, militant friendship between the people of Viet Nam and China was a cause of deep satisfaction.

Ho Van Minh from south Viet Nam told the rally that, under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the people were resolved to deal telling blows at the U.S. aggressors and determined to liberate the whole of south Viet Nam and safeguard the northern part of the country. Declaring that the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in south Viet Nam was doomed to failure, he said: "Supported by friends all over the world, the struggle waged by the people of south Viet Nam for national liberation will ultimately triumph."

Students from Korea, Albania, Laos, Indonesia, Japan, Thailand, Algeria, Cameroon and the United States also spoke at the rally. Many of them strongly protested against the Soviet Government's brutal suppression of the students' anti-U.S. demonstration in Moscow. They denounced U.S. imperialism for its aggression in Viet Nam and demanded that it get out of that country completely. The message of

support to the students in north and south Viet Nam adopted at the rally voiced the sentiments of all. It said: "U.S. imperialism must withdraw all its troops from south Viet Nam. It must abide by the 1954 Geneva agreements and stop immediately its aggression and interference in both the southern and northern parts of Viet Nam. The Viet Nam question must be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves. If the U.S. imperialists there refuse to get out, they will be wiped out."

Foreign friends in Peking also held a meeting on March 21. Kinkazu Saionji, Japanese peace champion who presided, the American writer Anna Louise Strong, Saleh Dakhan of Yemen, Willy Hariandja of Indonesia, Rose Smith of England and Ahmed Kheir of Sudan spoke. They all denounced U.S. imperialist aggression and pledged support for the Vietnamese people.

### **Support for Cambodia**

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi in his March 17 reply to Cambodian Foreign Minister Koun Wick said that the Chinese Government fully supported the proposal for convening an international conference to check the aggression, intervention and subversion by U.S. imperialism and its stooges against Cambodia, and to guarantee Cambodia's sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

Hailing the resolutions of the Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference as one conforming to the consistent position of the Royal Government of Cambodia and reflecting the aspirations of the Cambodian and other Indo-Chinese peoples, Vice-Premier Chen said in his message: "U.S. imperialism has for a long time been trying by every means possible to undermine the 1954 Geneva agreements and carrying out aggression, intervention and subversive activities against the Kingdom of Cambodia. It has recently, in particular, redoubled its efforts to aggravate tension in Indo-China. In league with its lackeys, it has threatened the Kingdom of Cambodia with force, sent its air force to bomb the Democratic Republic of

Viet Nam wantonly and continuously, dispatched its ground forces to south Viet Nam and intensified its military intervention in Laos. All this fully shows that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the Indo-Chinese peoples."

Pledging China's support for convening an international conference, the message declared that the countries which took part in the 1954 Geneva Conference should take positive measures to promote its early convocation.

### **Pakistan's National Day**

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai in a joint message on March 22 greeted President Ayub Khan on the occasion of Pakistan's National Day (March 23) and congratulated him on reassuming the presidency following his election in January.

In Peking, Pakistan's double celebration was highlighted by a reception given by S.A.A.K. Durrani, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Pakistan Embassy. Acting Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and other guests attended.

Charge d'Affaires Durrani and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien who spoke at the reception praised the ever growing friendship between the two countries.

### **Syrian Delegation's Visit**

The visit to China by a Syrian friendship delegation headed by Foreign Minister Dr. Hassan Muraywid is continuing. Two days after being entertained at a luncheon on March 17 by Premier Chou En-lai, the Syrian guests were received by Chairman Liu Shao-chi. Fruitful talks between Dr. Hassan Muraywid and Chinese leaders had resulted in the signing on March 18 of a cultural co-operation agreement between the two countries.

There also was a rally in Peking on March 18 for the Syrian guests. The gathering reaffirmed China's firm support for the Arab people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and for

their just stand on the Palestine question.

In the evening, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Lu Ting-yi were among the Chinese leaders who attended a banquet given by Foreign Minister Muraywid in their honour.

Speaking at the banquet, Syria's Foreign Minister said that the delegation had come to acquaint itself with China's achievements in the political, economic and other fields. He praised China for its assistance and support to the national-liberation movement and pledged that the Arab people would advance together with the Chinese people along the road of freedom and opposing imperialism.

China's firm support for the Arab people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and its aggressive tool Israel and against the West German militarists was reiterated by Vice-Premier Chen Yi. Addressing the banquet, the Vice-Premier declared: "Our stand is consistent and we will never go back on our word." Pointing out that U.S. imperialism, West German militarism and Zionism had recently intensified their collusion, he said: "These aggressive forces are gravely threatening the security of the Arab states."

The Syrian delegation left Peking for Wuhan on March 22. Its short visit to the capital and the friendly talks it held with the Chinese leaders would, as Vice-Premier Chen Yi said, "help promote mutual understanding and enhance friendship between the two countries."

### **Palestine Delegation in Peking**

A delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization led by Ahmed Shukairy, its President, arrived in Peking on March 17 for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. During its stay in the capital, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi received President Shukairy and other members of the delegation and had cordial and friendly talks with them. President Shukairy discussed with Premier Chou En-lai the

Palestine question, and they had a frank exchange of views on the strengthening of solidarity between the Chinese and Arab peoples in the struggle against imperialism, the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and other important questions of common interest.

Peking held a mass rally on March 21 to welcome the distinguished guests from Palestine. Premier Chou En-lai was among those present.

Saluting the Arab people of Palestine for their struggle against imperialism and to regain their legitimate rights and return to their homeland, Liao Cheng-chih, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, sharply condemned U.S. imperialism which, in collusion with the West German militarists, had provided Israel with large quantities of arms, thereby posing a threat to the Arab countries. Referring to the Bonn government's recent announcement on terminating its so-called aid to the United Arab Republic and its decision to establish diplomatic relations with Israel, he said: "This is really going too far in bullying people." He reaffirmed the Chinese people's firm support for the Arab people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and West German militarism and against the tool of imperialism, Israel.

Pointing out that U.S. imperialism was the Arab people's arch enemy threatening the security of the Arab countries, he said: "Seventeen years ago, the United States created Israel, and evicted one million Arabs from their homes to lead a miserable life as displaced persons. This is a tragedy in contemporary history and a most glaring instance of gross violation of human rights. It is a crime committed by U.S. imperialism. Israel is a dagger thrust by the United States at the heart of the Arab world." Liao Cheng-chih denounced U.S. imperialism for committing outrageous crimes all over the world. He stressed that so long as the people of the whole world "unite and rise to struggle against it, U.S. imperialism will be defeated."

Ahmed Shukairy was warmly applauded when he addressed the rally. He pointed out that, as a result of U.S. intervention and aggression, the Arab people of Palestine had been living a life of exile for 16 years. He told the rally that his people were determined to fight for their legitimate rights until final victory.

He described the Arab, Chinese and other peace-loving peoples as comrades-in-arms on the same battlefield, for the same destiny, to achieve the same victory, because their enemy is the same U.S. imperialism. "Together with the Chinese people," he declared, "we will go forward in this battle until we wipe out imperialism and colonialism from the face of the earth."

The Palestinian delegation had fruitful talks with Chinese leaders. A joint statement was signed in Peking on March 22 by President Shukairy and Chou En-lai, Honorary President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and Chang Hsi-jo, its President. It declared that "the essence of the Palestine question is sheer aggression on the part of Zionism and imperialism headed by the United States on the one hand and the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and all the rest of the Arab people on the other." Support was expressed by the Chinese side for the Arab people in their great struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and Zionism. Both sides also expressed support for the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle of the people of Viet Nam, the Congo (L) and other countries.

Referring to the mistakes made by the United Nations in relation to the Palestine question, the statement called for its thorough reorganization. It also called upon the people of the world to wage an unremitting struggle against imperialism headed by the United States in order to realize peaceful coexistence among nations.

To strengthen the mutual cooperation between the people of China and Palestine, it was agreed that a mission of the Palestine

Liberation Organization would be set up in Peking.

### **"Renmin Ribao" Publishes Foreign Comments on Moscow Meeting**

Two full pages of participants' comments on the Moscow meeting, which took place earlier in the month, were published in *Renmin Ribao* on March 21. The meeting was illegally convoked by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

An editor's note reads in part:

"We publish below the comments on the March Moscow meeting by a number of Parties which took part. The fact that all these comments underlined the question of making preparations for an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties is worth noting. Most of the comments also dealt with the necessity of putting an end to the public polemics and so-called 'factional activities.' Some attacked the Communist Party of China and other fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism. It is our hope that readers will read the material patiently and not treat them trivially."

The comments published were: the full text of the March 12 article by the editorial department of the Soviet paper *Pravda* entitled "An Important Step Towards Unity of the World Communist Movement"; the communique of the March 16 meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; the editorials of the Czechoslovak papers *Rude Pravo* and *Prace* on March 11; the Bulgarian paper *Rabotnichesko Delo* editorial on March 12; the editorial of the Hungarian paper *Nep Szabadsag* on March 11; the editorial of the Mongolian paper *Unian* on March 16; passages from the March 17 resolution of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the report by Zenon Kliszko, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.U.W.P., at the plenum; the editorial of the Polish paper *Trybuna Ludu* on March 14; the German Democratic Republic

(Continued on p. 25.)

# A Comment on the March Moscow Meeting

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

## I. What Kind of Meeting Was It?

**T**HE schismatic meeting contrived by the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. which inherited the mantle of Khrushchov was finally held from March 1 to 5, 1965. On March 10 a statement entitled "Communique of the Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow" was issued.

After making herculean efforts and combining hard tactics with soft to knock something together, the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union finally managed to convene a fragmented meeting. The divisive meeting was quite small and most unseemly. It was a gloomy and forlorn affair.

Attending this meeting, besides the Soviet Party, were representatives and observers of 15 Parties, plus the two splinter revisionist factions of Australia and Brazil and the notorious clique of the renegade Dange, which was also dragged in to swell the total, adding up to 19 units in all.

Of the 26 Parties whose attendance was ordered by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., the seven fraternal Parties of Albania, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Rumania and Viet Nam firmly refused to take part in the divisive meeting. The fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties of Australia, Brazil and India likewise condemned and opposed the meeting.

The 19 units in attendance were rent by contradictions and disunity. Some of them wholeheartedly supported Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism; some did so half-heartedly; others, for reasons they might find it awkward to divulge, had to attend under orders to serve as a claque at the show; and still others may have temporarily fallen into the trap from naivete.

No one can deny that this meeting was the self-same illegal and schismatic meeting which Khrushchov had ordered to be held on December 15, 1964, in the C.P.S.U.'s letter of July 30, 1964.

People may ask, what grounds are there for saying so? Didn't the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. postpone the meeting? Didn't they change its name from a drafting committee meeting to a consultative meeting? Didn't they speak of unity against the enemy and other good things in the communique?

By playing tricks, in appearance the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. made some changes and a number of

Khrushchov's original aims which were based on wishful thinking have not been fulfilled. But in essence, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have taken over Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism lock, stock and barrel, and they carried out his behest for a divisive meeting very faithfully. Please consider the following facts:

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. repeatedly declared to us that the international meeting of fraternal Parties and the meeting preparatory to it must be linked with the illegal and schismatic meetings for which Khrushchov issued the order on July 30, 1964.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. reiterated Khrushchov's order in the letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party dated November 24, 1964, in the letters addressed to other fraternal Parties around that time, as well as in the "Announcement on the Convocation of the Drafting Committee for the Preparation of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties" carried in *Pravda* on December 12, 1964. They insisted that the preparatory meeting for the international meeting of fraternal Parties be held on the basis of the drafting committee which the leadership of the C.P.S.U. had decided on. They also said that they had reached the conclusion that "the fraternal Parties which have declared themselves for the convening of the drafting committee have the right to embark on practical preparations for its meeting."

They adhered to and carried out Khrushchov's order by telling only the 26 Parties—no more and no less—which had been members of the long defunct drafting committee of 1960 to attend the meeting.

They adhered to and carried out Khrushchov's order by insisting on convening the meeting no matter how many Parties refused to attend. And so they held the meeting despite the firm opposition of a number of fraternal Parties and their flat refusal to participate.

They only postponed the meeting because under the circumstances they could not do anything else. Nevertheless, in the manner of a patriarchal party they still issued orders that it be held on March 1, 1965. And so the meeting began on that date.

On the eve of the meeting they changed its name, giving it the cloak of a "consultative meeting." In fact,

this change of name did not change the nature of the divisive meeting which had been ordered by Khrushchov.

It thus became clear that despite their many tricks and conjuring feats the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. were still peddling Khrushchov's old wares. Their purpose was simply to put up a false front and inveigle people into attending the meeting, into acknowledging their status as the patriarchal party, into recognizing their right to do one thing today and another tomorrow and to wave their baton, and into following them down the blind alley of Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism.

Things could not be plainer. If the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. really wanted unity and not a continuation of Khrushchov's old practice of plotting sham unity and a genuine split, why did they not discard the order issued by Khrushchov on July 30, 1964? Why did they come out with another letter on November 24, 1964? And why could they not accept the advice of fraternal Parties, abandon this illegal schismatic meeting, change their direction and make a fresh start?

Indeed, if the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. had not been determined to carry out Khrushchov revisionism after Khrushchov's fall, they could have very well used that fine opportunity and made a start by abandoning the divisive meeting and thus shown a desire to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity on a new basis. We sincerely hoped that the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. would make use of that fine opportunity and seek new ways to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity in conjunction with us as well as the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

But what did we get instead? When the Chinese Party and Government Delegation made contact with the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. in Moscow in 1964 during the anniversary of the October Revolution, the latter explicitly stated that there was not a shade of difference between themselves and Khrushchov on the question of the international communist movement and in their attitude towards China. They obdurately held to their stand on an illegal schismatic meeting. What is more, the plan for the divisive meeting which Khrushchov had not had time to fulfil was carried through by his successors.

It is now possible for people to see more clearly that these new leaders of the C.P.S.U. had to oust Khrushchov, not because they had any difference of principle with him, but because Khrushchov had become too odious and had been too stupid in some of his practices and because Khrushchov himself had become a serious obstacle to the carrying out of Khrushchov revisionism. In replacing Khrushchov they simply changed the signboard and employed more cunning methods and subterfuges in order the better to push through and develop Khrushchovism and to carry out the general line of revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism which Khrushchov had put forward at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., system-

atized at its 22nd Congress and embodied in the Programme of the C.P.S.U.

## II. What Are the Deeds of the New Leaders of the C.P.S.U.?

OF late the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have uttered quite a few fine words, and the communique of this divisive meeting is also larded with many high-sounding hypocritical phrases, such as "oppose imperialism," "support Viet Nam against U.S. imperialism," "support the national-liberation movement," "support the people's revolutions in various countries," "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action." The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have taken over certain slogans advanced by the Marxist-Leninists in an attempt to create the illusion that they have changed somewhat and taken a stand differing from Khrushchov's revisionism and splittism.

What a striking similarity there is here to the adoption by U.S. imperialism of some of the main slogans of the leaders of the C.P.S.U.! Peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, peaceful transition, relaxation of tension, general and complete disarmament, the two-power domination of the world, joint assistance to India, joint support to the reactionaries of all countries, joint efforts to undermine the world revolutionary movements through the United Nations, joint efforts to oppose China, and so on—these slogans and schemes of Khrushchov's have all been taken over by U.S. imperialism! The leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the U.S. imperialists have joined in a love feast, exchanging information and working in common against communism, against the people, against revolution and against the national-liberation movement for the purpose of maintaining imperialism, revisionism and reaction everywhere against all revolutionaries. But we are not the United States, we are Marxist-Leninists. We shall expose the intrigues and plots of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that just as an individual must as a matter of course be judged "not by his professions, but by his actions; not by what he pretends to be, but by what he does, and what he really is,"<sup>1</sup> so must a political party. "In historical struggles one must distinguish still more the phrases and fancies of parties from their real organism and their real interests, their conception of themselves from their reality."<sup>2</sup>

If in the light of this principle we examine what the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have done since Khrushchov's fall, we shall be able to understand that all their fine words only amount to selling horse meat as beefsteak and that they are saying one thing and doing another. We shall likewise be able to understand the real meaning of certain slogans contained in the communique.

The communique says, "Divergences in the communist movement weaken its unity and thereby do



damage to the world liberation movement, to the communist cause." We would like to ask: Whence the divergences? What is actually weakening the unity of the international communist movement and doing damage to the cause of the people's revolutions in different countries? Quite plainly, it is Khrushchov revisionism, as expressed in concentrated form in the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and the Programme of the C.P.S.U. The divergence between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchov revisionism is a divergence between two roads, between defending Marxism-Leninism and opposing Marxism-Leninism; it is a divergence between two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Since the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are now following Khrushchov's whole revisionist general line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition," "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people," this only goes to prove that they are still bent on deepening the differences, wrecking unity and doing fresh damage to the international communist movement.

The communique reads. "The participants voiced their conviction that what unites the Communist Parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them." This assertion is sheer hypocrisy; it is an attempt to whitewash the actions of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. in openly splitting the international communist movement.

In the incipient stages of Khrushchov revisionism and in the course of its development, we invariably proceeded from the desire for unity and offered our advice and criticism, in the hope that Khrushchov might turn back. We indicated on many occasions that the points the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties had in common were basic while the differences among them were partial in character, and that they should seek common ground while reserving their differences. But Khrushchov and his like turned a deaf ear to these words. They kept widening the differences and going farther down the revisionist road. They formulated a revisionist general line and a whole set of revisionist internal and external policies and worked out a revisionist programme. Hence, the nature of the differences clearly became one of fundamental opposition between the Marxist-Leninist general line and the revisionist general line. In addition, Khrushchov issued his order for the convening of the divisive meetings and went a step further in setting the revisionists against the Marxist-Leninists in the organizational sphere and in splitting the international communist movement.

After Khrushchov's downfall, we hoped that the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. would proceed from the common interests of the international communist movement, abandon Khrushchov revisionism and return to a Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist stand. But the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have obstinately clung to the whole of Khrushchov's revisionist theories, general line and policies and have declared that there is not a shade of difference be-

tween Khrushchov and themselves on the question of the international communist movement and in their attitude towards China. And they have taken the serious step of convening the divisive meeting regardless of the consequences. Quite obviously, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have gone a step further in destroying the basis for the unity of the Communist Parties. In these circumstances we would like to ask: When they exclaim, "what unites the Communist Parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them," what is this if not an effort to conceal their revisionist and schismatic essence?

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. claim that we can take "concerted action against the enemy" and adopt "united action"! This is likewise a swindle. One of the important characteristics of Khrushchov revisionism is its complete reversal of enemies and friends. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are continuing to practise Khrushchov revisionism, and they regard U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the world, as their friend and all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries as their enemies. This being the case, what concerted action against the enemy or what united action can one speak of?

Let us now examine the actual policy the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have pursued towards U.S. imperialism since they came into power.

In a nutshell, they are continuing to adhere to Khrushchov's reactionary policy of Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world. They are proclaiming that there are "sufficiently broad areas for co-operation" between the Soviet Union and the United States and extolling the U.S. chieftain Johnson as being "sensible" in their efforts to prettify U.S. imperialism.

In their dealings with U.S. imperialism, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. do not make as much noise as did Khrushchov; but they are "men of action." After taking office, they hurriedly struck several bargains with the U.S. imperialists, on some of which no agreement had been reached for a long time during Khrushchov's leadership. What deserves special attention is the fact that the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. should have agreed to contribute, in the guise of a donation, to the expenses incurred by the United States in its armed intervention in the Congo in the name of the United Nations. Moreover, for the purpose of helping U.S. imperialism to suppress and stamp out the people's revolutions in various countries they have given active support to the United States in its scheme to utilize the U.N. "Special Committee for Peace-Keeping Operations" to establish a standing U.N. armed force. They have taken over Khrushchov's policy of fraternizing with, currying favour with and capitulating to U.S. imperialism.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been trying in every possible way to bring within the orbit of Soviet-U.S. talks for the "settlement of problems" all revolutionary struggles in the front line of the battle against

U.S. imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the storm-centres of world revolution. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are now loudly proclaiming their support for the revolutionary struggle of the people of southern Viet Nam, but in reality they are trying to gain political capital for their dealings with the U.S. imperialists and to carry out plots for "peace talks," in a futile attempt to extinguish the revolutionary struggle of the south Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

At a time when the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is being wantonly bombed by the U.S. gangsters, all the countries of the socialist camp and the revolutionary people throughout the world should, as a matter of course, unite and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S. aggressors. Instead, in order to serve U.S. imperialism the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. insisted on holding the schismatic meeting and took this grave divisive step. The statement against U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam which they issued in the name of this divisive meeting was itself an irony of the first magnitude. Within twenty-four hours after the statement had been issued, they dispatched troops as well as ordinary and mounted police brutally to suppress the demonstration of students in Moscow against U.S. imperialism, an action which resulted in bloodshed, and they have persecuted foreign students who took part in this struggle. At the same time, the Soviet Government made prompt and obsequious apologies to U.S. imperialism.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have exposed their fraudulence by their deeds. They have revealed themselves in their true colours to the whole world. They are directing the spearhead of their struggle not against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys but against the revolutionary people of all countries who are fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

It seems that "what unites" the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. and U.S. imperialism is becoming stronger and stronger and is making them well-nigh inseparable. Naturally, what separates them from the Marxist-Leninists will become greater and greater and "what unites" them with the Marxist-Leninists smaller and smaller the longer this goes on.

Next, let us consider the policies the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have adopted towards fraternal countries and fraternal Parties.

In a nutshell, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have persisted in Khrushchov's policies against China, Albania, the Japanese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party, the New Zealand Communist Party and all the fraternal countries and Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. still cling to the views expressed in the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of July 14, 1963, in Suslov's anti-Chinese report at the February 1964 plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and in the resolu-

tion adopted on this report. They are still energetically mobilizing the whole Soviet Party and the entire Soviet people to read these anti-Chinese documents. In other words, they have taken over all the worn-out weapons from Khrushchov's anti-Chinese and anti-Communist arsenal. Moreover, they continue to give all kinds of support to the Indian reactionaries in the latter's opposition to China.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have persisted in the entire set of erroneous policies against Albania which Khrushchov adopted at and around the period of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. continue to practise Khrushchov's great-power chauvinism towards fraternal socialist countries and to carry out a policy of exerting control over them.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. continue to follow Khrushchov's policy of unscrupulous interference in the internal affairs of the fraternal Parties and engage in disruptive and subversive activities against them. They have been colluding with Japanese Trotskyites, Right-wing Social-Democrats and renegades from the Japanese Communist Party, and have perpetrated every kind of disruption and subversion against the Japanese Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, they publish articles in their press attacking it and giving open support to a handful of renegades such as Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and Shigeo Kamiyama. They have been supporting Indonesian Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionary forces in opposing the Indonesian Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism and in disrupting the anti-imperialist national united front of Indonesia. They have been attacking the New Zealand Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism and trying to subvert its leadership. And they have been carrying on all kinds of disruption and subversion against the Communist Party of Burma and other fraternal Parties upholding Marxism-Leninism.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. continue to pursue Khrushchov's policy of strenuous support for the clique headed by Dange, that renegade from the Indian working class and running dog of the Indian big bourgeoisie, in its anti-communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary activities.

From all this people can see at whom the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are aiming when they speak of "concerted action against the enemy," and what they are actually about when they speak of "united action." People can also see that the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. do not want to strengthen what unites the fraternal Parties but ceaselessly aggravate what disunites them.

Numerous facts show that the clamour of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. against U.S. imperialism is a sham while their capitulation to U.S. imperialism is the essence, that their issuing of the statement against U.S. imperialism is a sham while their suppression of the masses struggling against U.S. imperialism is the es-

sence, that their support for revolution is a sham while their disruption of revolution is the essence, that their statements such as "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action" are a sham while their actions to undermine unity and create splits everywhere, even to the point of convening a meeting to create an open split in the international communist movement, are the essence.

To sum up, what the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been doing can be described as "three shams and three realities": sham anti-imperialism but real capitulation, sham revolution but real betrayal, sham unity but a real split. They are still doing what Khrushchov did, which can be described as "four alignments with and four alignments against": alignment *with* imperialism *against* socialism, alignment *with* the United States *against* China and the other revolutionary countries, alignment *with* the reactionaries everywhere *against* the national-liberation movements and the people's revolutions, and alignment *with* the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions *against* all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism.

### III. Answers to Some Questions

THE communique of the schismatic Moscow meeting once again strikes up the old tune about the cessation of public polemics, saying that "the Parties represented at this meeting have declared themselves in favour of discontinuing open polemics, which are in character unfriendly and degrading to the fraternal Parties." It adds that "they consider it useful to continue, in a comradely form and without mutual attacks, an exchange of opinions on the important contemporary issues of mutual interest."

The communique dare not face this basic fact: it is the leaders of the C.P.S.U. themselves who started the public polemics in complete violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and who have taken an "unfriendly" attitude towards fraternal Parties and launched "degrading" attacks on them. Nor dare it touch on the crucial matter of whether the numerous resolutions, statements and articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties, which the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their followers published, still stand or not.

We understand full well what is really meant when the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their followers call for the ending of the public polemics; it means drawing no distinction between right and wrong, showing no respect for the truth, and allowing the revisionists to slander and attack the Marxist-Leninists while forbidding the Marxist-Leninists to answer and refute the revisionists.

So far, we have published only a small number of articles in reply to the attacks and slanders levelled at us by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and their followers and are a long way from having completed our replies,

while in many cases we have not yet made any reply at all. Unless they openly announce the withdrawal of these anti-Chinese resolutions, statements and articles and publicly admit their mistakes, it will be absolutely impossible to silence us. Can the whole affair be reckoned as ended when Your Lordships go off, shrugging your shoulders, after abusing others? Can it be that you may abuse people whenever you please and then call a halt whenever you want to, while forbidding us to make a fair answer? Is there any such unequal and wholly unreasonable principle governing relations among fraternal Parties?

The Chinese Communist Party has on many occasions made clear its stand on the question of the public polemics, and we now once again announce it to the world: Since there are differences of principle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and since the modern revisionists have maligned us so much and refused to acknowledge their mistakes, it goes without saying that we have the right to refute them publicly. In these circumstances, it will not do to call for an end to the public polemics, it will not do to stop for a single day, for a month, a year, a hundred years, a thousand years, or ten thousand years. If nine thousand years are not enough to complete the refutation, then we shall take ten thousand.

The communique also declares itself "against the interference by any Party in the internal affairs of other Parties." As everyone knows, what is meant here is but another version of the "denunciation of the factional activities of the Chinese Communist Party."

For years we have heard this kind of talk about opposing "factional activities" from Khrushchov, the greatest splitter in the international communist movement. There are indeed quite a few persons who have engaged in factional activities, namely, Khrushchov and his disciples, and since his downfall, those who cling to Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov and those who want to make Communist Parties degenerate into social-democratic parties. They direct their factional activities against Marxism-Leninism, against revolution and against the proletariat and the masses of the people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the world. To oppose revolution and undermine the revolutionary unity of the proletariat they have carried out subversive activities in all the Communist and Workers' Parties by every conceivable means. Acting thus, they will inevitably be deserted by their followers and eventually become a miserable and negligible faction. And the "faction" which these gentlemen are attacking consists precisely of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries who stand with the masses of the people. It should be stressed that the small schismatic Moscow meeting was itself grave factional activity.

The Communist Party of China never conceals its views. We approve of and support all the world forces, including all the political parties, groups and individuals, that persevere in revolution and in opposi-

tion to imperialism and reaction. As Lenin taught, the only correct policy is one based on principle. We shall never barter away principle. The more the revisionists abuse us, the stronger the proof that we are right, and the more firmly shall we maintain our principled stand. In this connection, if we need to make self-criticism, we should say that, in comparison with the support given by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to the revisionist groups in many countries, we have not given enough support to the revolutionary Left in some countries and henceforth must greatly intensify our endeavours in this respect.

To put it bluntly, it will never work in the future any more than it did in the past to allow the adherents of Khrushchov revisionism to conspire with each other in opposing the Marxist-Leninists of all countries, while forbidding the Marxist-Leninists to support each other and unite in their struggle against Khrushchov revisionism and its adherents.

The communique says not a single word about whether the so-called new international meeting, which was to have been held in the middle of 1965 according to Khrushchov's order last year, has been cancelled or postponed. It equivocates by talking of "active and all-sided preparations" and of the meeting "to be held at a suitable date." At the same time, the communique advocates the holding of a so-called "Preliminary Consultative Conference of representatives of the 81 Parties that gathered at the 1960 Meeting." What does this mean? Doesn't it mean that they are desperately hanging on to the so-called drafting committee in Khrushchov's order of July 30, 1964? Or does it mean that they are insisting on the 81-Party meeting ordered by Khrushchov? Or are they up to some new trick?

We must solemnly tell the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.: In convening the illegal schismatic meeting you took a most serious step to effect an open split in the international communist movement. You must be held responsible for all the grave consequences.

In calling the divisive meeting, you have placed new and serious obstacles in the way of convening an international meeting for the unity of the fraternal Parties. We said before that in order to hold a successful meeting for unity, some four or five years of preparatory work might be required to remove the obstacles, but now it seems that a period twice as long, or even longer, will be needed.

#### **IV. Unite on the Basis of Marxism-Leninism and Revolution**

**T**HE new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have now held their schismatic meeting. They probably think that they can thereby curry favour with imperialism and somehow maintain their revisionist "legitimacy," and that they can use it for some political sleight of hand. But their action can neither intimidate nor deceive the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of the

world. They were unable to block the advance of the people's revolutionary struggles in the past, and they will be still less able to do so in the future.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us time and again that the people—including those of the Soviet Union—who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the world want to make revolution. The overwhelming majority of Communists and cadres in the international communist movement, including those in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, want to make revolution. Persons like Khrushchov, whose thinking is ossified and who obtusely pursue the revisionist road and are bent on opposing communism, the people and revolution, are a mere handful, a tiny minority. For a while some people may not see things clearly or may be hoodwinked or may commit mistakes, but so long as they want to make revolution, having once understood the true situation and seen revisionism in its true colours, they will eventually break with revisionism and come over to the side of Marxism-Leninism in the course of their revolutionary practice. The masses of the people and the revolutionary cadres, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population of the world, will certainly unite.

The number of those believing in Khrushchov revisionism was already dwindling in any case. Now, of course it is even harder to make others believe in Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. Similarly, the number of those obeying Khrushchov's baton was already decreasing. Now, of course it is even harder to make others obey the baton taken over from Khrushchov. The small divisive meeting so painstakingly contrived by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. turned out to be neither fish nor fowl; this not only shows that Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov is wrong and bankrupt, it also shows the great importance of the persistent struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism and against this divisive meeting.

All the same, we have to thank the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. for insisting on calling the divisive meeting. This bad thing can be turned into a good thing. It has helped people quickly to strip the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. of their veil of Marxism-Leninism and to expose their true revisionist features. It is helping people to see through their fine words to the essence behind the appearance. It is helping all Communists and revolutionary people the world over to realize that the emergence and development of Khrushchov revisionism is by no means a matter of a few individuals or an accidental phenomenon. It has profound social and historical causes. So long as imperialists and reactionaries exist and so long as there are classes and class struggle in the world, Khrushchov revisionism will inevitably recur in one form or another and the struggle against it will not come to an end.

The communique of the schismatic Moscow meeting states that the Communists of all countries should concentrate on what it calls "the urgent tasks." What are the urgent tasks? In our view, the most urgent

task facing the international communist movement is to unite with all the forces that can be united in order to oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, to oppose the reactionaries of all countries, and to win victories in the struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. The Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 have explicitly pointed out that modern revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement at the present time. In order to wage the struggle against imperialism and reaction successfully and further strengthen the unity of the international proletariat, it is imperative to continue to expose the true features of the modern revisionists, help those who lack an understanding of the true situation to acquire it, and help those who hesitate on the road of revolution to march ahead with the revolutionary people. It is likewise imperative to isolate to the maximum the modern revisionists, who are the accomplices of imperialism and reaction, and to carry the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism through to the very end.

The grave action of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. in calling the divisive meeting has given the Marxist-Leninist parties and the Marxist-Leninists of the world the right to take the initiative. There is all the more reason now why we should openly criticize and thoroughly expose the revisionist line of the new leaders of the C.P.S.U., give more vigorous support to the people's revolutionary movements and the revolutionary Left in different countries, and promote the speedier development of the Marxist-Leninist forces and the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and revolution.

The struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement has now entered a new stage. At this crucial juncture, we would like once again to give the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. a piece of sincere advice. Why should you put your neck into the noose left by Khrushchov? Why can't you start afresh?

In our view, it is at once difficult and not difficult for you really to take the side of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and the revolutionary people in concerted action against the enemy and in unity against imperialism. The question hinges on whether or not you will do the following:

Publicly declare that all orders for convening divisive meetings are wrong and illegal. Openly admit the error of illegally convening the schismatic meeting.

Publicly and solemnly admit before the Communists and the people of the world that Khrushchov's revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism are wrong.

Publicly admit that the revisionist line and programme adopted at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. presided over by Khrushchov are wrong.

Publicly admit that all the words and deeds of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. against China, Albania, the

Japanese Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties are wrong.

Publicly pledge yourselves to desist from the error of Khrushchov revisionism and return to the road of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

It is imperative to solve these questions of principle if the genuine elimination of the differences and genuine unity against the enemy are to be achieved. Unless these questions of principle are solved and the serious obstacles placed in the way of the unity of the international communist movement are removed, then all words about eliminating differences, strengthening unity, ending public polemics and calling an international meeting of the fraternal Parties are empty talk.

The show put on by Khrushchov was but a brief interlude in the history of the international communist movement, much briefer than the performances of the old-line revisionists, Bernstein and Kautsky. The subsequent performance of those who want Khrushchovism without Khrushchov can only be a brief interlude too, and no better than the show put on by Khrushchov himself.

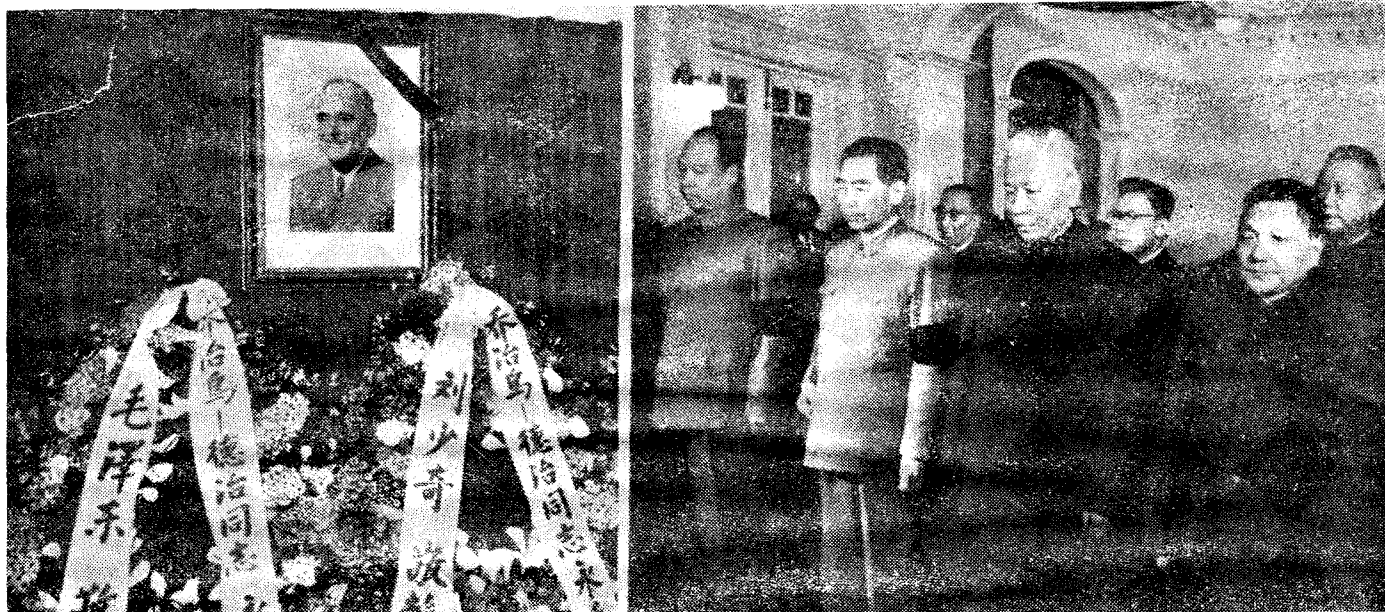
The victorious advance of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world represents the trend of history, and this trend is independent of the will of the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists. As always, they keep on exposing their reactionary features by their deeds and will thus serve as teachers by negative example for the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world. We are convinced that over 90 per cent of the people of the world will join the revolutionary front against imperialism and that over 90 per cent of the people in the ranks of the international communist movement will advance along the road of Marxism-Leninism. We are also convinced that the revolutionary people of the world, the great international communist movement, the great socialist camp and the great Chinese and Soviet peoples will finally sweep away all obstacles and unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The future is infinitely bright for the cause of world revolution. In the end monsters of every description will be completely destroyed.

Let all the parties upholding Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary people of the world unite in the great struggle against imperialism, against the reactionaries of all countries and against modern revisionism! The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of the world will undoubtedly win even greater victories in their struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism!

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Engels, *Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1933, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 272.

# China Mourns Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej



Chinese Party and state leaders at the Rumanian Embassy stand in mourning before the portrait of Gheorghiu-Dej. The two wreaths were sent by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi

**T**HE Chinese people were grief-stricken by the death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Rumania. Earlier, they had expressed great concern for the Rumanian leader's health when Chairman Mao Tse-tung had sent the Rumanian Party and Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej his most sincere and comradely regards. Then the sad news came.

A six-member delegation headed by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier, was appointed by the Party's Central Committee and the Chinese Government to attend the funeral of Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej in Bucharest. Other members of the delegation are: General Hsieh Fu-chih (deputy head), Member of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Chang Han-fu, Alternate Member of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Foreign Minister; Chao Yi-min, Alternate Member of the Party's Central Committee; Liu Fang, Chinese Ambassador to Rumania (already in Bucharest); and Lo Ching-chang, Deputy Secretary-General of the State Council. The delegation left on March 22 by air for the Rumanian capital.

The Chinese Party and government delegation were seen off at the airport by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Teng Hsiao-ping, General-

Secretary of the Party's Central Committee; Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng, Alternate Members of the Party Central Committee's Political Bureau; Li Hsueh-feng, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee; and Kuo Mo-jo and Lin Feng, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Others included leading functionaries of the various Party and government departments, high-ranking officers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, leaders of the democratic parties and people's organizations.

A message from Chinese Party and state leaders was sent to the Rumanian Party and state organs expressing their heartfelt condolences (see next page). Similar messages were sent to their Rumanian counterparts by Vice-Premier and Defence Minister Marshal Lin Piao and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi. The nation's sentiments were also expressed in other messages to Rumania from the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, democratic parties in China, and people's organizations representing workers, youth, women and others.

On the evening of March 20, Chinese leaders, including Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-

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# Message of Condolence

**To the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, the State Council of the Rumanian People's Republic, the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic:**

We are shocked to learn the sad news of the death of Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Rumania. With the most profound grief, we extend to you our heartfelt condolences.

The whole life of Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was a militant one. He was the faithful son and respected and beloved leader of the Rumanian people, a close friend of the Chinese people and an outstanding fighter in the international workers' movement. He led the Rumanian people in the August 23 armed uprising and led them to take the road of socialist construction and to outstanding victories. He made major contributions to upholding the principles guiding mutual relations among fraternal Parties and states, to preserving the unity of the socialist camp, safeguarding the unity of the international communist movement and defending world peace. His death is a great loss not only to the Rumanian people but also to the people of the other socialist

countries and the working people of the whole world.

At this sad moment, we are convinced that the Rumanian Workers' Party and people will turn their grief into strength, strengthen unity, persist in struggle and continue to advance along the road of victory. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Chinese people will, as in the past, remain united as one with the Rumanian people and strive jointly for promoting further the friendship and co-operation between our two Parties and peoples, for safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and international communist movement, and for world peace, people's democracy, national liberation and socialism.

**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 National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China**

**Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China**

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ping, called at the Rumanian Embassy in Peking to convey their condolences. They stood in silent tribute before the portrait of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, beneath which lay wreaths sent by Chairman Mao, Chairman Liu and other leaders of the Party and Government. They asked Rumanian Charge d'Affaires ad interim Agop Bezerian to convey to his country the condolences of the Chinese people, Party and Government.

For the next two days, from early morning to dusk, long queues waited quietly before the Rumanian Embassy for their turn to offer their condolences. Leading Chinese citizens, responsible members of the Chinese Party and Government, workers, civil servants, students, officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and residents of the capital, wearing white rosettes — tokens of sorrow — on their breasts, went to the Embassy and filed past the portrait of Gheorghiu-Dej in solemn homage. Among them were representatives of the China-Rumania Friendship Association and the China-Rumania Friendship People's Commune on Peking's outskirts who carried wreaths to lay at the

foot of the portrait of the deceased. Altogether, tens of thousands of people streamed into the Rumanian Embassy to express their sympathy with the Rumanian people.

On March 24, the day of his funeral, as a token of mourning, all government offices, People's Liberation Army units, factories and mines, enterprises, schools and people's organizations in large and small cities throughout the country flew the Chinese national flag at half mast, as did all Chinese ships in port.

*Renmin Ribao*, in an editorial on March 21, paid final tribute. "The industrious and talented Rumanian people," the paper said, "under the leadership of the Rumanian Workers' Party, have persisted in the policy of independent development of their national economy and, relying on the resources and strength of their own country, have marched from one victory to another along the road of socialism. In the short space of 20 years, they have built Rumania into a socialist country with a developed industry and agriculture. These great achievements are inseparable from the efforts of Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej.

"The Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic have adhered to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries as defined in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties and actively developed mutual assist-

ance and co-operation with other socialist countries and positively contributed to the preservation of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. All this is, obviously, also inseparable from the efforts of Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej."

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

# Tito Clique Working for the United States

by OBSERVER

*Following is an abridged translation of an article by Observer published in "Renmin Ribao" on March 22. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.*

**T**HE Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* on March 18 published a commentary "Tito — A U.S. Stool-Pigeon." The commentary trenchantly bared the Tito clique's plots to hawk the so-called "peaceful negotiations" on the Viet Nam question to serve U.S. imperialism. The Tito clique, which acts as a detachment of U.S. imperialism, has once again revealed its ugly features to all.

The United States is fighting a losing battle in its aggression against south Viet Nam; in desperation it is taking the adventurist step of escalating the war. It has torn to pieces the 1954 Geneva agreements, sent its own ground forces and south Korean puppet troops to south Viet Nam and carried out repeated and brutal air raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. At the same time, the Johnson Administration poses as if it wants to seek a "peaceful settlement," saying that if the D.R.V. stops the so-called "aggression" against south Viet Nam the United States is ready to conduct negotiations at any time. **Obviously the aim of the United States is to use the threat to escalate the war as a means to compel the people of south Viet Nam to lay down their arms so that it can go on playing the bully in south Viet Nam and Indo-China. What sort of "peaceful settlement" is this? This is nothing but Hitlerite war blackmail.**

Can this Johnson Administration's war blackmail really produce any result? Even the U.S. press does not believe that it can. **Washington's bigwigs are anxious that someone will step forward to lend a helping hand. And so the Tito clique seizes the opportunity and hastens to render service to its U.S. masters.**

Let us see how Belgrade has acted on Washington's orders!

Washington has shouted that the D.R.V. must stop the so-called "aggression" against south Viet Nam, other-

wise the war in south Viet Nam will become a "local war" or "a bigger war."

Belgrade immediately parroted that the expansion of the war would "involve the danger of producing unlimited consequences," and therefore it is necessary to "prevent the expansion of the conflict." Moreover Belgrade maliciously attacked China's support for the Vietnamese people in resisting U.S. aggression as "aggravating the Vietnamese crisis."

Washington let it be known that its "political channels are open" and what it seeks is a "peaceful settlement."

Belgrade lost no time in echoing Washington's voice. On March 2 Tito wrote to Johnson advocating speedy "negotiations in order to seek a political settlement." Belgrade has also sent high-ranking officials to other countries on a mission to preach and peddle this very idea.

Washington has professed that "the central object of American policy and action is peace in Southeast Asia."

Belgrade at once unctuously said that if the United States agreed to negotiations it "would demonstrate the strength of the United States," and would be "an important move in the service of peace."

This is quite enough. There is no need to waste any more ink on this. The Tito clique is dancing to the tune of the Johnson Administration. The "peaceful negotiation" fraud it tries to sell is an American article pure and simple. No wonder Johnson patted Tito on the back and expressed the hope that "in your conversations and communications with the leaders of other countries, you will reflect this understanding."

But the Tito clique's despicable tactics to serve U.S. imperialism are destined to fail.

**The United States is the aggressor in south Viet Nam. The people in south Viet Nam are waging a just**



**war of resistance against aggression.** The United States has not only been committing aggression in south Viet Nam, but is also repeatedly bombing the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in an attempt to spread the flames of war to the northern part of Viet Nam. All countries which genuinely safeguard justice and uphold the right should stand up and oppose such unbridled aggression by U.S. imperialism. But the Tito clique, far from uttering a single word against the U.S. crimes of aggression, joins the United States in demanding that the Vietnamese people accept so-called "peaceful negotiations." What "peaceful negotiations" are there to talk about at a time when the United States is more and more ferociously conducting its war of aggression? **The Tito clique is acting as a cat's-paw and what it calls "peaceful negotiations" is in reality asking the Vietnamese people to go down on their knees before U.S. war blackmail and beg for peace. This is absolutely impossible.**

Does Washington want to solve the south Viet Nam question? The channel is actually open. This is what *Nhan Dan* has solemnly and correctly pointed out: "The U.S. imperialist aggressors must cease their war of aggression and withdraw all their troops. In the absence of this condition no problem whatever can be solved." **As long as the United States does not halt its aggression and as long as American troops do not get out of south Viet Nam, the people in south Viet Nam will never give up their fight against U.S. aggression. It is the sacred right of the people in south Viet Nam to fight for complete victory in their struggle for national liberation and no one on earth can prevent the victorious development of this struggle.**

Frankly speaking, the Tito clique has no right at all to speak on the south Viet Nam question. At no time has it condemned U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam. Instead, it has consistently shielded U.S. imperialism. More than three years ago when U.S. imperialism unleashed its "special war" of aggression against south Viet Nam, the Tito clique did its utmost to justify the United States by slandering the just struggle of the south Vietnamese people against the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem group as "riots." In August 1964, the Johnson Administration aroused worldwide angry condemnation when it concocted the Bac Bo Gulf incident and launched armed aggression against the D.R.V. But the Tito clique, echoing the words of U.S. imperialism, vilified the D.R.V. for having "deliberately created" the incident, while describing the U.S. war provocation as "adequately executing its right of defence." **To beat the drums when the United States is engaging in aggression and to offer advice when it suffers setbacks in aggression — this is the role the Tito clique has been playing.**

The frantic moves of U.S. imperialism in extending the war in Indo-China have brought about an extremely grave situation in that region and Southeast Asia. It is understandable that the world's people are showing concern over developments in this area. But the activities which the Tito clique is zealously carrying out are inspired by malevolence and completely suit the needs of U.S. imperialism. **These activities jeopardize the anti-U.S. patriotic struggle of the south Vietnamese people, the cause of unity of the Asian and African people in opposing imperialism, and peace in Indo-China and the rest of Asia. This scheme must be exposed and smashed.**

## Communique of Schismatic Meeting In Moscow

*Following is the "Communique of the Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow." — Ed.*

**O**N March 1-5, 1965, a Consultative Meeting took place in Moscow of Representatives of the Communist Party of Argentina, the Communist Party of Australia, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party of India, the Italian Communist Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Syrian Communist Party. Representatives of the Communist

Party of the United States attended the Meeting in the capacity of observers.

The participants held consultations on questions of mutual interest and exchanged opinions on the ways and means of surmounting differences and strengthening the unity of the world communist movement.

The Consultative Meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternity and friendship and was imbued with the spirit of active struggle for the cohesion of the communist movement in the name of its great historic tasks. The participants expressed the firm determination of their Parties to do everything in their power to cement the world communist movement and to strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the line defined in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The representatives of the Parties agreed that consolidation of the positions of socialism, upsurge of the national liberation and the international working-class

movements, and growth of the forces advocating the maintenance and strengthening of peace, constitute the basic trend in world development under the present conditions. At the same time, it was noted that world reaction, primarily US imperialism, is becoming more active in various regions of the globe, trying to aggravate the situation and undertaking acts of aggression against the socialist countries, the newly-liberated countries and the revolutionary movement of the peoples.

In this situation it is more than ever necessary for all Communist Parties to show their sense of internationalist responsibility and to unite for the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and against the rule of monopoly capital, for active support to the liberation movement and defence of the peoples who are objects of imperialist aggression, and for the struggle for world peace based on respect for the sovereignty and integrity of all states.

In a Statement, the participants expressed their solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam and the Party of Labour of Vietnam, and issued a call for international solidarity in the struggle against the aggressive acts of the US militarists.

Cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of our time — the socialist community, the national liberation movement and the international working class — is of crucial importance for the success of the fight against imperialism. This cohesion calls insistently for the strengthening of world communist unity.

Divergences in the communist movement weaken its unity and thereby do damage to the world liberation movement, to the communist cause.

The participants voiced their conviction that what unites the Communist Parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them. Even though there are differences over the political line and many important problems of theory and tactics, it is quite possible and necessary to work for united action against imperialism, in the matter of all-round support for the liberation movement of the peoples, in the struggle for world peace and the peaceful coexistence of all countries, big and small, with different social systems, and in the fight for the vital interests and historical goals of the working class. Concerted action in the fight for these common goals is the most effective way of surmounting the existing differences.

The participants stressed that the Communist Parties must exert collective efforts to improve relations between them and to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of the observance of the democratic principles of the independence and equality of all the brother Parties.

In the struggle for the solution of tasks common to the whole of the communist movement, it is desirable to exploit all possibilities and ways, including bilateral and multilateral meetings between representatives of fraternal Parties and other forms of Party contacts and exchanges of opinion.

The participants are unanimous in the opinion that under present conditions, as is declared in the 1960 Statement, International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties are an effective means of exchanging views and experiences, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and working out united positions in the struggle for common aims. Such Meetings, held with observance of the principles of complete equality and independence of each Party, can render good service to the cause of surmounting differences and cementing the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism. Therefore, in the opinion of the participants, active and all-sided preparations for a new International Meeting, to be held at a suitable date, fully conform to the interest of the world communist movement.

To convene the new Meeting and to secure its success, it is necessary to prepare it both as to its content and as to organisation, actively to create by joint efforts favourable conditions for all fraternal Parties to participate in its preparation, and to work tirelessly for an improvement of the atmosphere in the world communist movement. The Meeting should serve the common cause of all Communists. Emphasis and concentration of efforts on the urgent tasks confronting the communist movement will, more than anything else, bring our positions on the fundamental issues of the time closer together.

The participants expressed the opinion that it is desirable to hold a Preliminary Consultative Conference of representatives of the 81 Parties that gathered at the 1960 Meeting in order to discuss the question of a new International Meeting. It is necessary to hold consultations with all these Parties to decide the question of convening this Preliminary Conference.

The Parties represented at this Meeting have declared themselves in favour of discontinuing open polemics, which are in character unfriendly and degrading to the fraternal Parties. At the same time, they consider it useful to continue, in a comradely form and without mutual attacks, an exchange of opinion on the important contemporary issues of mutual interest. The participants declare themselves in favour of the rigorous observance of the standards governing relations between Parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 Meetings, and against the interference by any Party in the internal affairs of other Parties.

In expressing their opinion on the ways of surmounting the difficulties in the world communist movement and on its further development, the representatives of the Parties were guided by the wish to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the communist ranks in the fight against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, peace, democracy, socialism and communism.

The representatives of the Parties trust that all fraternal Parties will respond favourably to this Consultative Meeting.

(As printed in *Moscow News* of March 13, 1965.)

## Order No. 1 of C.P.S.U. Leadership

(Letter of July 30, 1964, from the Central Committee of  
the C.P.S.U. 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 CPSU has sent to all the fraternal Parties its letter of June 15 addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The letter sets our positions on the basic questions connected with the existing differences in the international communist movement, and also advances concrete proposals on measures for strengthening its unity.

Up to the present, an absolute majority of the fraternal Parties have spoken out in favour of the necessity for collective action to overcome the difficulties which have sprung up in our ranks. They advocate the holding of a new international meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and, moreover, many Parties insist that the convening of the meeting must not be postponed for a long time.

The Central Committee of the CPSU sees in this position taken by the fraternal Parties new evidence of their great concern for the fate of the communist movement and of their awareness of the high responsibility which the current situation imposes on Communists.

Marxist-Leninists cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the differences which sprang up in our ranks four years ago not only have not lost their acuteness but are becoming more and more serious. Ideological differences have grown into open conflict which can lead to a split in the international communist movement if measures are not taken. All this is rather adversely affecting the activities of the Communist Parties, especially those in the capitalist countries, doing harm to the entire world communist movement and undermining the unity of the world socialist system, and it may weaken the attractive force of the ideas of socialism.

More and more facts show that our class enemy is reckoning on making every possible use of the discord in the ranks of the Communists. Imperialist reaction, especially in the U.S.A., is stepping up its activities, striving to strengthen its positions and launch an offensive against the workers' movement, the national liberation movement and the democratic movement, trying to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and intensifying the threat of war.

No genuinely Marxist-Leninist Party can remain indifferent in the face of such developments. No one else can solve the problems confronting the communist movement on behalf of us Communists. No one Party alone is able to undertake the solution of the problems affecting the interests and fate of the whole movement. Here common collective efforts are essential, by all the fraternal Parties and all Marxist-Leninists. The fraternal Parties have come precisely to these conclusions, in persistently advocating the organization of a new international meeting as the tested method for overcoming differences and working out common positions.

As is known, at the 1957 meeting the fraternal Parties unanimously adopted the following decision: "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."

Up to the present, necessary consultations have been held, the question of convening an international meeting of the Communist Parties has been discussed in a sufficiently detailed and thorough way, and the positions of all the Communist Parties have become manifest. The job now is to shift the solution of the problem to a practical basis. Taking into consideration the clearly expressed will of the absolute majority of the fraternal Parties, the CC of the CPSU considers that the time is ripe to begin preparatory work for the convening of an international meeting. We hold that, already this year, a drafting committee should be convened. In so far as it has already become clear in the process of preliminary exchange of views that the question of the composition of the drafting committee could become a new obstacle to its convening, we regard as the only reasonable way out the convening of the drafting committee with the same composition with which it worked during the preparations for the 1960 meeting, that is, comprising of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the following 26 countries: Australia, Albania, Argentina, Bulgaria, Brazil, Great Britain, Hungary, Viet Nam, the German Democratic Republic, West Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, the PRC, Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the USA, Syria, the USSR, Finland, France, Czechoslovakia and Japan.

The CC of the CPSU invites the representatives of the fraternal Parties listed above to come to Moscow

by December 15, 1964, so as to start on the practical work of preparation for an international meeting.

Undoubtedly, it would conform to the common wish if the committee could start working with its full membership from the beginning. However, in our opinion, the committee should also begin its work in the case that any of the 26 Communist Parties fails to send its representatives by the appointed time.

In accordance with the experience of past meetings, the drafting committee will prepare drafts of the principal documents to be submitted to the international meeting for discussion. The committee could discuss the whole range of questions concerning the holding of the international meeting and put forward its proposals on them. The drafting committee should send its proposals and recommendations on all these questions to all the fraternal Parties.

The CC of the CPSU expresses the conviction that, despite the complicated situation in the communist movement, there is every ground for the drafting committee to cope with its task successfully. After the committee has accomplished the necessary preparatory work, the international meeting should be convened at the time set by the committee.

On the aims and perspectives of the meeting, the CC of the CPSU has stated its views in its letter of June 15. We want to stress once again that for us the question of the meeting is inseparably linked up with the problem of preserving and strengthening the unity of the world communist movement. The meeting will be called not to condemn anybody, to "excommunicate" anybody from the communist movement and the socialist camp, to attach insulting labels, or to throw irresponsible charges at each other — this would lead only to further divisions, and not to the strengthening of unity. We consider that the meeting should concentrate its efforts on finding out the things in common which unite all the fraternal Parties, and on seeking ways to overcome the existing differences.

In the opinion of the CC of the CPSU, each fraternal Party could state its viewpoint at the meeting in a frank and matter-of-fact way, so that its viewpoint can be considered in working out the common line and joint decisions, and it should also listen to the opinions of other Parties.

Apparently, the starting point of the work of the new meeting will be the decisions of the previous meetings — the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 in which the general line of the world communist movement was laid down. At the same time, reaffirming the principles of the Declaration and the Statement, the new meeting might sum up the past stage, exchange experiences, go over the whole complex of problems confronting world communism, and, in accordance with the shifts that have taken place in the international situation, enrich and develop the ideas of the Declaration and the Statement and creatively consider and solve new problems. Collectively to analyse the new economic and socio-political phenomena and processes

which have occurred in the past four years since the last international meeting, to co-ordinate appraisals and positions and to enrich and concretize the common political line accordingly — this, in our opinion, is the most important task of the new international meeting.

Like other fraternal Parties, the CPSU fully realizes that the holding of the meeting in a situation in which there are acute differences is a difficult and complicated matter. It is possible that in the course of the meeting unanimity may not be reached on all questions at once, however hard all the consistent supporters of unity may strive to do so. Nevertheless, we are deeply convinced that this, too, would not mean the "formalization" of the split or the creation of obstacles to the further seeking of ways to unity. In that case, it should be possible to try to reach agreement that the participants of the meeting should undertake the obligation to take account of the opinions of all the fraternal Parties, conscientiously co-operate in those fields in which common positions and interests are found, and refrain in the future from any actions which aggravate the difficulties and only gladden the class enemies.

We hope that all the fraternal Parties will consider these proposals with due attention, make use of the time before the convening of the meeting to make a profound study of the situation that has arisen in the communist movement and make constructive contributions to the discussion and the search for ways to overcome the difficulties.

It is our deep conviction that there are no insurmountable obstacles to the international meeting starting its work as soon as drafts of documents are prepared by the drafting committee — about the middle of 1965. The representatives of all the 81 Parties which participated in the meeting of 1960 may take part in the international meeting. The refusal of this or that Party to join in this collective work cannot serve as a ground for further delays in carrying out measures for which the time has matured with the aim of working out ways and means of strengthening the international unity of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world.

Being convinced that the above proposals conform to the highest interests of world communism and to the interests of strengthening the solidarity of all the progressive and revolutionary forces of our times, and that these proposals express the will of the absolute majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the CC of the CPSU expects that the proposed measures will be carried out in good time and be crowned with success.

In order to enable us to keep all the fraternal Parties informed of the preparatory work for the meeting, we request you to communicate to us the composition of your delegation to take part in the work of the drafting committee.

With communist greetings,

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

July 30, 1964

# Order No. 2 of C.P.S.U. Leadership

(Letter of November 24, 1964, from the Central Committee of  
the C.P.S.U. to the Central Committee of the C.P.C.)

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

**Dear Comrades,**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would like to exchange views with you on the question of the date of calling the drafting committee, whose mission is to prepare the new international conference of the Communist Parties.

As a result of the consultations which have been conducted on this question, the data on the positions of the Parties constituting the drafting committee are as follows. Those who are for the convocation of the committee are the Communist and Workers' Parties of Australia, Argentina, Bulgaria, Brazil, Great Britain, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Germany, India, Italy, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Syria, the United States, Finland, France, Czechoslovakia, plus the CPSU, making a total of 19 Parties.

Those who have officially informed of their refusal to take part in the work of the drafting committee are the Central Committees of the Communist Party of China, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Workers' Party of Viet Nam. The leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour has declared in its press that it refuses to take part in the work of the committee. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan have requested further explanation on this question. The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Rumania did not consider it possible to take part in the drafting committee of December 15 if all the 26 Parties would not take part in the work of the committee.

It is also well known that most of the fraternal Parties have expressed agreement to the convening of an international conference.

All this provides ground for the conclusion that on the question of convening the international conference and the drafting committee, the communist movement has expressed its will with sufficient clarity and that the fraternal Parties which have declared themselves for the convening of the drafting committee have the right to embark on practical preparations for its meeting.

Like the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, the CPSU considers that the most important task of the drafting committee is to bring points of views nearer to each other and to discover things in common which unite all national detachments of the communist movement, thereby promoting their solidarity.

Taking into consideration the opinions of fraternal Parties, the drafting committee may hold consultations in advance, discuss questions relating to the preparation for the conference, prepare drafts of the principal documents and then again consult all fraternal Parties on these documents. On the basis of these consultations, the drafting committee may prepare documents which will be submitted to the conference for discussion. For this purpose it may be necessary to convene the drafting committee several times.

Some Communist Parties which are not members of the drafting committee have expressed their wish to take part in the drawing-up of the drafts of the documents in one way or another. We hold that the committee may take into account the wishes and possible proposals of all fraternal Parties.

In the talks held in Moscow recently or in their letters, representatives of a number of fraternal Parties expressed their views on the date of calling the drafting committee. They pointed out that the drafting committee was confronted with very heavy work and yet there was not much time left between then and December 15. Consequently, there arises a question, namely, that the convening of the drafting committee should be postponed a little while and the committee should hold its first session on March 1, 1965.

The CPSU on its part shares such an opinion.

Calling the drafting committee on March 1st would allow all of us to make due preparations for the meeting of the drafting committee. At the same time, it would be possible to conduct further consultations with the fraternal Parties, including those Parties which did not agree to take part in the drafting committee of December 15, despite the fact that there appeared in the past in the press of the People's Republic of China articles obstructing the exploration of paths of co-operation with other fraternal Parties on the question of the international conference.

In expressing the above views, the Central Committee of the CPSU is guided by the desire to ensure the successful conducting of the work of the drafting committee, as an important step on the road for the holding of the conference, which will unite all the socialist countries and all fraternal Parties on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Meetings, for the victory of our common cause.

Certain fraternal Parties have expressed the wish that when agreement is reached on the date of calling the drafting committee, a brief announcement on this

question should be published in the press. We on our part support this and propose to publish the following announcement:

**ANNOUNCEMENT\***

**On the Convocation of the Drafting Committee for the Preparation of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties**

On the basis of the mutual consultations already conducted between fraternal Parties, and in order to have a better preparation for the meeting of the drafting committee and the international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, the first

meeting of the drafting committee is scheduled for March 1, 1965.

Owing to the urgency of the problem, please give us a reply as early as possible.

With fraternal greetings,

**The Central Committee of the CPSU**

November 24, 1964

\* This announcement was published in the December 12, 1964, issue of *Pravda*, organ of the C.P.S.U. — P.R. Ed.

# How the Lantian Ape-Man Fossils Were Found

by LIN YANG

**T**HE fossil skull of an ape-man found by Chinese palaeontologists last year at Lantian in Shensi Province, northwest China, is probably the oldest discovered. Several well-marked features testify to its primitive character. These include the heavy brow ridges which link up over the nose, the low skull vault and the thick cranial wall. The stratum in which the skull was embedded is probably of the early Middle Pleistocene of the Quaternary Period. This evidence — the primitiveness of the skull, the soil encrusting it and the mammalian animal fossils unearthed along with it — indicates that the Lantian ape-man lived five to six hundred thousand years ago.

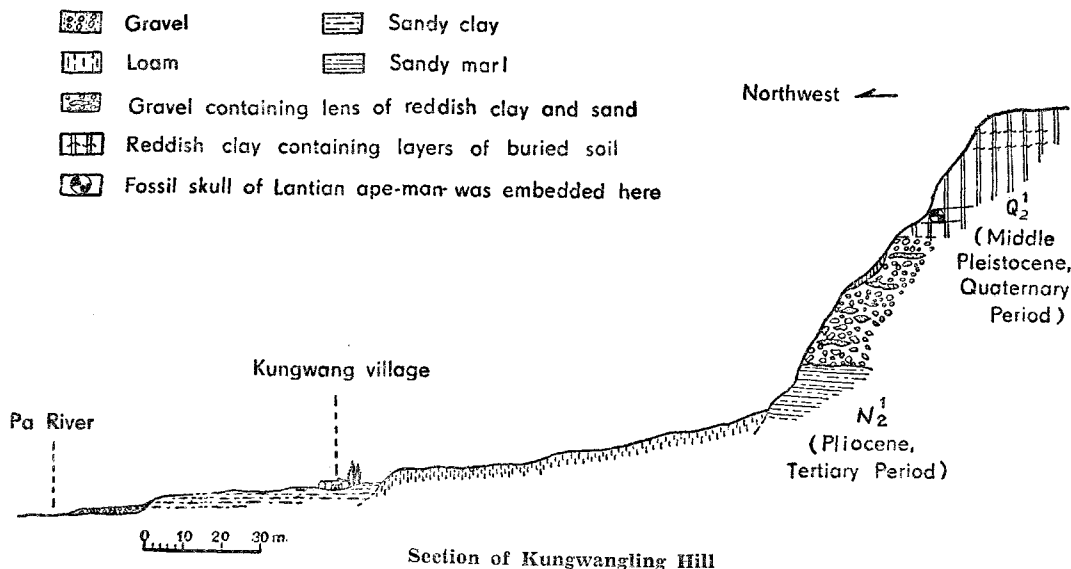
The skull cap is well preserved, the orbits of the eyes are intact and most of the nasal bones and part of the right temporal bone are there. Part of a maxilla (upper jawbone) and three teeth were found in the same deposit as the skull and have been identified as belonging to the same individual.

Ape-man remains are of key importance in studying the origin and evolution of man. But few remains of these primitive beings have been discovered and those unearthed

have usually been incomplete and badly fragmented. The first discovery of such remains was made in Java in 1891 (Java Man) and the world knows only a few other sites — in China and Africa — that have yielded ape-man remains. The new finds at Lantian not only provide valuable new data for the study of human evolution but also add a new site to the few known localities inhabited by the ape-man.

## Lantian, Rich Site for Cenozoic Era Study

Since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, the study of early man and his culture has made rapid progress in China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Many important finds of fossil



remains of early man and his artefacts have been made. Discoveries of early palaeolithic implements and mammalian fossils in Shansi and Shensi Provinces have indicated that north China, and especially the area lying to the north of the Chinling Mountains, might well yield fossil and cultural remains of the most ancient representatives of mankind.

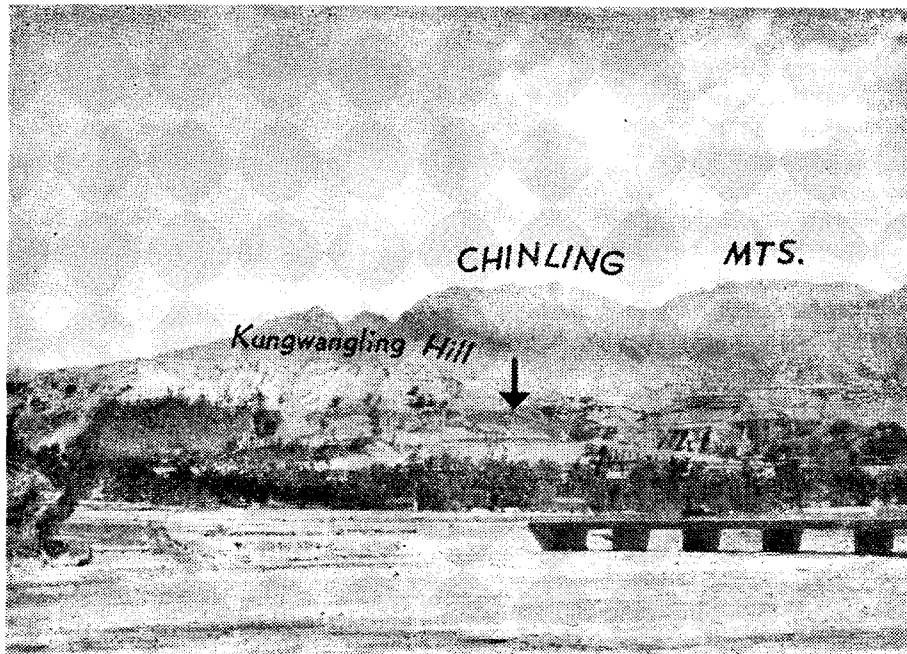
Some years ago, in fact, an extensive survey conducted by the Chinese Academy of Sciences' Institute of Geology revealed that the area of Lantian County, lying on the northern slopes of the Chinling Mountains about 45 kilometres southeast of Sian, was an ideal place for the study of the Cenozoic Era which began about 70 million years ago and extends to the present day. Deposits here form a complete stratigraphical sequence of the Cenozoic Era. Mammalian fossils are contained in almost every stratum, a rare circumstance. These finds strengthened the arguments of those who urged that a search for remains of early man should be concentrated here. For this reason, in 1963, the Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeo-anthropology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences decided to concentrate field work in the Lantian area. The main immediate purpose was to make a detailed, modern geological map of the area's Cenozoic Era. Such a map would help future studies. At the same time it was hoped that the diggings would produce fossils of ancient vertebrates and perhaps also of early man.

### Encouraging Signs

Initial results were most encouraging. The new, comprehensive stratigraphical survey of the area confirmed the general forecast of the value of Lantian for the study of the Cenozoic Era and pin-pointed a large number of localities rich in fossils. Many valuable fossils were unearthed.

On July 19, 1963, the survey team, working at the village of Chenchawo, Lantian County, found a rather well-preserved mandible of an ape-man (see *Peking Review*, No. 45, 1963, p. 31). Subsequent studies showed that though it resembled that of Peking Man, it also differed somewhat from it. The man it came from was therefore given the name Lantian Man (*Sinanthropus lantianensis*). There was an unusual circumstance to this find: human fossils have usually been associated with cave deposits, but this mandible was unearthed from clay-like deposits in open country.

But an even more important discovery came out of Lantian. Some days before this find, on July 4, the survey team set out from the county seat of Lantian



Where the fossil skull of the Lantian ape-man was unearthed

for a site near the Houchen People's Commune. Speeding southeastward along one side of the lofty Chinling Mountains and the rushing currents of the Pa River, the team ran into a storm and stopped at a little station called Chiencheng. There, the scientists struck up a conversation with local farmers and asked them if the area had yielded any "dragon bones" as the peasants call fossils. One of the older peasants pointed to the other side of the Pa River and said that there were plenty of "dragon bones" on the hill behind Kungwangling Village. On the strength of this clue, the team decided to interrupt its journey and investigate Kungwangling Hill. Guided by the local peasants, members worked there for three days and dug up five cratefuls of fossils of such long-extinct animals as the Sanmen horse, ancient small bear and hyaena. This Kungwangling site was the very place which later yielded the Lantian ape-man's fossil skull.

### Concentrating on Lantian

These important discoveries encouraged the scientists to intensify efforts in the Lantian area.

Preparations continued throughout the winter of 1963, and by the spring of 1964 a large force of more than 70 people was at work at Lantian. They came from 11 units including the Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeo-anthropology, the Institute of Botany, the Institute of Geology, and the Institute of Geography of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Geological Sciences and the Institute of Geo-Mechanics of the Ministry of Geology, Peking University, Peking Institute of Geology and the Northwest University. Among the subjects which the team studied were stratification, palaeontology, geomorphology, sedimentary environment, new tectonic move-

ments and glaciation. Some of the team members were experienced specialists but the overwhelming majority of them were young scientists trained after the liberation. The team was divided into four squads and the excavations at Kungwangling Hill were undertaken by one of them.

### Following Up Clues

The foot of the hill behind Kungwang Village is covered by a layer of over 30 metres of reddish clay which is superimposed on a layer of pebbles of about the same thickness. In early April, the squad began excavating along the bottom of the reddish clay and found many animal fossils, including the teeth of such animals as the giant deer, bison and giant macaque and some bone fragments. All of them belonged to animals which lived about five to six hundred thousand years ago and have long been extinct. The fossils were piled up very closely together in a disordered manner, indicating that they had probably been carried to their resting place by water.

On May 22, technician Wu Wen-chieh dug up a rather large piece of calcareous concretion which on being broken apart yielded a number of tooth fragments. Though only twenty-nine years old, Wu had considerable experience, having already worked fourteen years in the Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeoanthropology. He recognized at a glance that the teeth fragments did not belong to an ordinary animal. He painstakingly collected every fragment and brought them back to squad headquarters. After supper, the squad members gathered around a table and pieced all the fragments together. Sure enough, they made up the tooth of an ape-man!

Later, on the spot where the tooth was found, the scientists discovered right below it a huge pile of fossil-bearing deposits. As these might well contain the ape-man's fossil skull or other bones, the digging was conducted with minute attention. But the fragile condition of the fossils and the rainy weather made careful on-the-spot digging and examination very difficult. In consultation with palaeontologist Chia Lan-po, the head of the team, it was decided to put the large blocks of fossil-bearing deposits in crates, pack them in gypsum, and ship them to Peking where they could be examined under laboratory conditions.

### Discovery of the Skull

By the end of the year more than a hundred crates were thus shipped from Lantian to Peking. The one containing the block of deposits excavated from under the fossil tooth at Kungwangling Hill and weighing over 400 kilogrammes was thought to have the best chance of yielding important finds and was therefore sent to the laboratory in the first batch. It was assigned for examination to Chai Feng-chi, an veteran technician in the institute, and Li Kung-cho, a young technician.

Daily, from mid-August to early October, the two men sat at their table clearing the block as carefully

as though it were some delicate embroidery work. It was found to contain many pieces of hard, stone-like calcareous concretions. Each of these was gingerly broken open for examination. Among the fossils thus recovered were those of the stegodont elephant, ancient small bear, sabre-toothed cat, Sanmen horse, tapir, giant deer, bison and other extinct animals. By then, the block had been cleared to the size of a wash-basin but there was still no trace of any ape-man.

On October 9, Li Kung-cho's painstaking work brought to light another tooth. As soon as he got the news, Young Chung-chien, a well-known palaeontologist, rushed into Li's laboratory to examine the tooth. "No doubt of it: an ape-man's tooth!" he exclaimed excitedly after scrutinizing it carefully. Li was encouraged to continue his work with utmost care. It was only when the block was reduced to the size of a volleyball that he came down to a piece of rounded bone under the reddish sandy clay. Continuing to work around this, he soon recognized that it was part of a skull.

By the morning of October 12, Li's needle had reached the frontal bone of the skull, revealing very clearly the eye cavities and the huge brow ridges. Palaeontologist Pei Wen-chung identified the find as an ape-man's skull. The news spread and an excited throng of scientists hurried to the laboratory.

Shortly after this, another tooth and large parts of an upper jawbone were found in the remains of the lump.

### Then and Now

Some of the older scientists and technicians in the institute who enjoyed this notable success had also taken part in the excavation of the fossils of Peking Man at Choukoutien near Peking some two or three decades ago when China was still under the yoke of foreign imperialism. They could not help being reminded of what they had gone through then. At that time, the reactionary authorities had refused to pay for scientific work and the scientists working at Choukoutien were compelled to accept financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation in America. Under this arrangement, in spite of the mask of international co-operation, both field work and laboratory research were actually exclusively controlled by the U.S. imperialists. Between 1927 and 1937, Choukoutien yielded a total of five relatively well-preserved skulls of Peking Man and a large quantity of fossil bones. The Chinese scientists, however, were denied the right to study them. They were only allowed to study the animal fossils!

This time it was a very different story. The discovery of Lantian Man was a well-planned, smoothly executed all-Chinese effort. It was a result of the liberation of the country, the support of the Communist Party and the People's Government and the spur provided by the socialist revolution and construction to palaeontological studies in New China. Study of the Lantian fossils and the Lantian site continues. Detailed findings will be published in due course.



## For Your Reference

# Growing Ranks of Chinese Palaeontologists

CHINA began the study of modern palaeontology in the early 20s of this century. But under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, development was extremely slow. At the time of liberation there were less than 40 palaeontologists in the whole country and the scope of their researches was very limited. Several branches of the science were not even touched on.

Palaeontology may be divided into palaeobotany, invertebrate palaeontology, vertebrate palaeontology and palaeoanthropology, all of them connected chiefly with the study of fossils. These studies are of great significance to the development of geological work, as well as to investigating the history of the Earth, the evolution of species, and the origin and evolution of man.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, in order to meet the requirements of geological prospecting and other tasks in the field of science, culture and education, palaeontology has been developed in an all-round way and has branched out into many new fields. The number of palaeontologists has increased from less than 40 in 1949 to the present figure of almost 400.

More than a dozen institutes are now devoted to the study of palaeontology throughout the country. The Institute of Palaeontology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences specializes in palaeobotany, invertebrate palaeontology and stratigraphy, while the Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeoanthropology studies the fossil remains of vertebrate animals and early men, and the palaeolithic cultural remains and deposits of land facies (continental sedimentation) of the Cenozoic Era which contain mammalian fossils. The Geological Institute of the Ministry of Geology, the Petroleum Institute of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, and the Coal Institute of the Ministry of Coal Industry, as well as the geological institutes of China's six major regions (north, northeast, northwest, east, central-south and southwest China), each has a research laboratory or group dealing with palaeontology. In addition, a dozen or more institutes of higher education and several museums also do research in this field.

One of the major tasks in the development of palaeontology in China is the training of new recruits in this field. In recent years, Peking University, Nanking University, the Geological Institute of Peking and other institutes of higher education have been graduating an increasing number of qualified young personnel to the above-mentioned institutions so paving the way for the further development of palaeontological studies in China.

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## THE WEEK

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(Continued from p. 6.)

paper *Neues Deutschland* editorial on March 12; the communique of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party published by the Party organ *L'Humanite* on March 12; the resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party released by the ADN on March 17; the communique of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party published by the Party organ *L'Unita* on March 10; extracts from the speech by the head of the Italian Communist Party delegation Enrico Berlinguer at the Moscow meeting, as published by the Party weekly *Rinascita* on March 13; and the text of the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain published by its organ *Daily Worker* on March 15.

*Renmin Ribao* on March 22 turned one page over to comments by the Western bourgeois press on the same subject.

*Renmin Ribao* said in an editorial note:

"Having yesterday published comments by some of the Parties which took part in the March meeting in Moscow illegally convoked by the C.P.S.U. leadership, we today publish below extracts of comments on the meeting by bourgeois papers and journals of a number of countries.

"These papers and journals comment on the meeting from their bourgeois point of view. It can be seen from these comments that the capitalist class of these countries, especially the monopoly capitalist class of the United States, is happy about the meeting and derives malicious pleasure from it. These publications point out that the meeting convoked by the new C.P.S.U. leadership has further split the international communist movement. They are also of the opinion that the meeting held in confusion and disorder shows that the baton wielded by Khrushchov's successors has become less and less effective."

Printed are extracts of comments by the press, radio and news agencies of the United States, Britain, France, Japan, Italy, West Germany and Yugoslavia. *Renmin Ribao* has

put subheads before the comments in each of these countries:

U.S.A.: The Moscow meeting is encouraging. The easing of strained U.S.-Soviet relations still has high priority in Moscow.

Britain: The meeting is a legacy from Khrushchov and an unauthoritative and furtively held one.

France: The meeting failed even before it was held; the split in the communist camp is more profound than ever before.

Japan: The communique on the meeting is unconvincing and there is no hope today for realizing its contents. The meeting was a scene of confusion and chaos.

Italy: The failure of the meeting is part of the general failure of Khrushchov's successors in their international policy.

West Germany: C.P.S.U. leadership suffers political and ideological defeat.

Yugoslavia: The meeting failed to find a settlement and shows that there are different views towards the convocation of an international conference.

# ROUND THE WORLD

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## U.S. Aggressors in S. Viet Nam

### Get Out or Be Thrown Out

What does the United States hope to achieve in mounting and increasing the tempo of air strikes against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam? It is plain that the Johnson Administration is trying to bomb a way out of its predicament in south Viet Nam. The gamble is a desperate one. These wanton bombing raids, while touching off angry demonstrations in the world's capitals, have utterly failed to terrorize and bring the people of Viet Nam, north or south, to their knees.

From August of last year when the first U.S. air attack was launched to the latest raid on March 23, the D.R.V. army and militia have brought down as many as 60 American aircraft and have captured several American pilots into the bargain. In south Viet Nam from where some of the attackers took off, the Liberation Army and guerrillas have thoroughly trounced the aggressors and their quisling troops. In January and February alone, they knocked out 25,000 of the enemy, including 800 Americans, and shot down or damaged 157 U.S. planes. The fighting record shows that the more frenzied the United States becomes in defeat and the more violently it attacks, the more determined is the resistance.

The bombs dropped by the U.S. aircraft, be they high explosive, napalm or poison gas, merely strengthen the resolve on both sides of the 17th Parallel to drive the invaders out of Viet Nam. Far from being scared by the U.S. air raids and begging for mercy, as Washington desperately hopes they will, the 30 million Vietnamese reply by striking back hard. As *Quan Doi Nhandan* (People's Army), the Vietnamese paper, makes it plain to Johnson and his war planners, every shell fired carries with it the hatred of the Vietnamese people for U.S. im-

perialism and the fight will go on till there is not a single American soldier left on Vietnamese soil.

After every raid, Johnson himself or one of his aides, mouths that the bombing will cease if only "Hanoi stops its intervention." First these Yankee aggressors act as if the Geneva agreements did not exist and now they try to achieve their ends by deceit. If the American President is looking for signs of the Vietnamese people throwing up the sponge and ending their struggle, he can look for as long as he wishes. He will wait till the day when the sun rises in the west. For peace to reign in south Viet Nam again, the only way open to the U.S. aggressors from the other side of the earth is to get out while the getting out is good. If they do not, they will be thrown out, bag and baggage.

## U.S. Buys Soldiers

### Cannon-Fodder From Seoul

On March 16 the second batch of the 2,000 south Korean troops Washington has recruited from its hirelings in Seoul arrived in Saigon to take part in the U.S. war of aggression in Indo-China. Where pressure to get cannon-fodder elsewhere has failed, the U.S. Government has at last succeeded in purchasing south Korean troops to die in place of some of its own men.

Proclaimed non-combat units, the south Korean troops came ashore "armed and clad in full field combat gear complete with steel helmets" from U.S. warships which also carried large quantities of military equipment. Washington sources indicate that representatives of the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea are striking a deal with the Americans for the dispatch of an additional combat division of 22,000 men.

Caught in the quagmire of its aggression in south Viet Nam, the

United States has been openly complaining that its Western allies are lukewarm in coming to its support. That does not mean, however, that the Johnson Administration has given up trying to get what it calls "more flags" into south Viet Nam. According to the *New York Herald Tribune* (March 11), the U.S. Government is leaving no stone unturned to muster troops or mercenaries from Asian countries which are on its payroll, and from countries in Latin America and Europe to form a joint army of many nations on the pattern of a "U.N. force," though without the blue and white emblem.

By sending its marines and the troops of its satellites to south Viet Nam, the United States has made the situation in Indo-China highly inflammable. It is internationalizing the war, and in doing so shows that it is embarking upon the path of fighting a Korean-type war in Indo-China, with all the similar consequences for itself which this entails.

## Foreign Oil Companies

### Indonesia Takes Control

President Sukarno has put all foreign oil companies in Indonesia under government control following the take-over of the head offices of Stanvac and Caltex, the American-owned companies, by oil workers in Djakarta on the morning of March 19. Subsequently the foreign managers were summoned by the Ministry of Basic Industry and Mining and briefed on the Government's decision. They were told that while ownership may be left untouched, operation will henceforward be in Indonesian hands. They were also told that they must co-operate with the government teams set up to run the sequestered companies, in order to ensure smooth processing, distribution and transportation.

For the Americans this is not the first *coup de main*. American rubber plantations in Indonesia have already been placed under government control. The American Motion Picture Association whose chairman is branded as a C.I.A. man has met with a

similar fate. In protest against U.S. support for "Malaysia," the offspring of neo-colonialism, and U.S. aggression in Viet Nam, Indonesia has closed down all U.S. Information Service offices in the country. In Palembang, South Sumatra, and other places, thousands of reactionary books which poison the minds of Indonesian youth have been removed from the U.S.I.S. libraries and burnt in public squares.

Nor is this all. Indonesian workers have cut off light and power supplies to the U.S. Embassy and six other U.S. establishments in the capital. The Central Board of the Indonesian Posts and Telecommunications Workers Trade Union has instructed its branches throughout the country not to deliver letters and cables or make telephone connections for the U.S. imperialists. On top of all this, the demand for the expulsion of the remaining 43 members of that shady organization which Washington chooses to call the "Peace Corps" has become increasingly loud. The tide against U.S. imperialism is flowing strongly in Indonesia.

### U.S.-Bonn-Zionist Trinity

#### **Arab Demonstrations Continue**

Demonstrations against the disgraceful collusion between West Germany and Israel and the wire-pulling behind the scenes by the United States have continued in the Arab world. Public anger is directed in particular against the move to exchange diplomatic representation between West Germany and Israel and what has preceded it — the channelling of arms through Bonn to Tel Aviv.

In Taiz, in the Yemen, 7,000 students and others massed before the West German Embassy on March 17 to denounce Bonn's intrigues with Tel Aviv and U.S. imperialism as the prime mover in the deal. They besieged the embassy building and pelted it with stones. Several students climbed up to the roof to remove the West German state emblem and haul down the flag. Then they set fire to the building and three embassy cars, declaring that their action was also a warning to the United States, which stands on the side of West

Germany and Israel against the Arab people.

Palestinian Arabs, displaced by the creation of Israel in the heart of Arab land by the imperialists, have also shown their strong feelings at the turn of events following the manoeuvres by Bonn and Washington. In Kuwait they handed notes of protest to the U.S., West German and British Embassies denouncing the attitude of these three countries towards the Arab world.

In Baghdad Palestinian students went on the streets to demonstrate on March 18 and condemned West Germany's decision to institute diplomatic relations with Israel. Two days earlier, 5,000 Iraqi demonstrators had pulled down the West German flag and run up the Iraqi national standard. The British Embassy, too, was a target of the angry crowds. Similar demonstrations took place in Beirut.

The Arab people are in no mood to tolerate the conspiracies that are being hatched by the West Germans and Israelis in conjunction with the Yankee imperialists.

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### Facts on File

#### **Vietnamese People's Outstanding Victories**

**South Viet Nam:** The armed forces and people of south Viet Nam, who are locked in combat with the U.S. aggressors and their underlings, are growing stronger and stronger and have won many outstanding victories. According to a recent report from Viet Nam, from 1961 to the end of February this year, these victories accounted for:

341,000 enemy troops wiped out (killed, wounded or captured). This includes 36,000 in 1961, 150,000 in 1964, and 25,000 in Jan. and Feb. this year.

171,000 enemy troops routed.

4,366 U.S. aggressors put out of action. This includes 30 in 1961, 2,111 in 1964, and 800 in Jan. and Feb. this year.

2,079 U.S. aircraft (B-57, U-2, F-100, F-101, F-105, Skyraider and other types) destroyed or damaged. This includes 200 in 1962, 1,027 in 1964, and 157 in Jan. and Feb. this year.

Nearly 900 enemy naval vessels destroyed or damaged.

Over 2,200 enemy military vehicles destroyed or damaged.

Over 150 enemy military trains blown up.

Nearly 2,000 enemy military posts, military subsectors and training centres wiped out or overrun.

53,800 weapons captured including many 105-mm. and 155-mm. artillery pieces.

80 per cent of the enemy's "strategic hamlets" destroyed. This includes 1,625 in 1962 and 3,659 in 1964.

Over three-quarters of south Viet Nam liberated.

Over 8 million people liberated.

**North Viet Nam:** According to figures released in Hanoi, since the Bac Bo Gulf "incident" on August 5, 1964, up to March 16, 1965, the armed forces and people of north Viet Nam have inflicted the following losses on the U.S.-puppet forces:

51 invading enemy aircraft shot down and many others damaged,

4 U.S. and puppet airmen captured,

7 enemy warships destroyed or damaged.

In this period U.S. imperialism and its south Viet Nam running dogs sent aircraft and warships into the air space and territorial waters of north Viet Nam 32 times. On August 5, 1964, February 7, 8 and 11, and March 2, 14 and 15 this year the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies, in a frenzy, sent hundreds of aircraft to bomb Nghe An, Quang Binh, Thanh Hoa, Quang Ninh, Vinh Linh and other areas in north Viet Nam.

# ACROSS THE LAND

## China's First Urea-Making Equipment

EQUIPMENT for making urea, a concentrated fertilizer as well as a raw material used in the plastics and pharmaceutical industries and a cattle feed, is being produced for the first time in China. The equipment, with an annual capacity of 40,000 tons, has gone into trial operation at Shanghai's Wuching Chemical Works.

The manufacture of this highly complicated equipment only a year and a half after the 25,000-ton synthetic ammonia installation was set up is a sign of China's growing ability to supply entire sets of equipment for making chemical fertilizer.

The new urea workshop consists of more than 200 machines, which include a 36-metre-high tower for recovering carbon dioxide, and a huge compressor. The biggest machine weighs more than 120 tons.

More than 100 Shanghai factories worked together to turn out the new equipment which must be resistant to high temperatures, high pressure and corrosion. New types of stainless and alloy steel were supplied by plants in different parts of the country.

Shanghai's machine-building industry made its first advances from repairing and assembly to the making of individual machine tools during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57). Complete sets of machinery installations were being produced by the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan. Experience gained from producing the equipment for synthesizing urea will be of great help to Shanghai's machine-building industry in turning out still more up-to-date equipment for China's expanding chemical industry.

## Electric Pumping Station Network

HUNDREDS of electric pumping stations, part of a joint project by the Government and communes

around Tungting Lake in Hunan Province which is scheduled to be completed in 1965, will go into operation before this spring's high water season. The stations now under construction will form a portion of a giant network providing mechanized irrigation and drainage to 70 per cent of the communes in this vital grain area in central-south China, and will serve 3 million *mu* of farmland.

When completed, the entire project will have 1,000 electric pumping stations which will provide irrigation and drainage for nearly all 7 million *mu* of farmland in the 13 counties around Tungting Lake. With a combined capacity of 125,000 kilowatts, the sprawling network will be one of the biggest in the country.

Work on the project started in winter, 1963. Between them, the Government finances the main power transmission lines and substations, while the communes pay for most of the pumping machinery and the construction of smaller pumping stations.

The Tungting Lake area, which has a population of 3 million, produces more than one-third of the surplus grain in Hunan; it also is a cotton, hemp and fishing centre. One of the long-standing problems in this fertile region was that after heavy rains the waters of the four

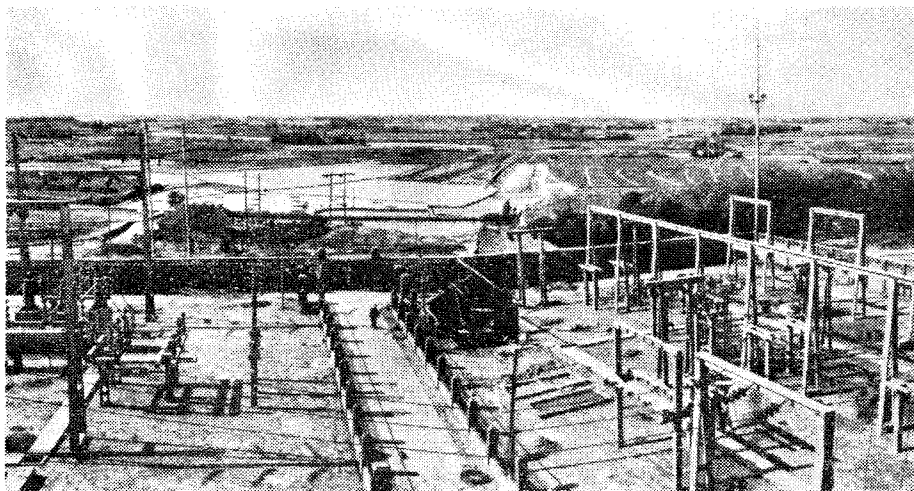
major rivers pouring into the lake caused it to overflow, and the surplus run-off on the surrounding lowlying land could not be drained off. Since liberation, the dykes around Tungting Lake have been strengthened to protect farms against flood. The new network of pumping stations will be capable of draining all surplus run-off within three days even if there were downpours of 200 millimetres a day. The power transmission web will also bring electricity into peasants' homes and supply power to grain-processing mills.

## Farm and Factory Work For Cadres

THE system of cadres taking part in actual production continues to spread. In southwest China's Szechuan Province this practice has become a regular feature in the work of the cadres.

Except for the aged and infirm, all cadres put in at least one month a year planting trees, building water conservancy projects, farming, working in factories or doing other work in the public interest.

Cadres in Communist Party and government organizations from the province down to the rural commune level work on special experimental farms. County cadres spend two-thirds of their working hours in the fields. Commune cadres do regular farm work with production teams. Members of provincial organizations



New electric power substation on south bank of Tungting Lake

helping to popularize scientific methods of cultivation have planted 15,000 *mu* of experimental fields which are producing an average yield 50 per cent greater than in nearby fields.

Industrial departments have introduced the practice of assigning office workers to productive work on fixed days in the week, at regular jobs carrying specific responsibilities. Measures covering this are in operation in all industrial, communications and construction departments in the province's largest city, Chungking. Nine out of ten full-time workers in offices here are now participating in production. When the first group of 800 cadres in the Chungking Iron and Steel Company returned to their regular jobs, after six months' labour, they not only had acquired a number of operational skills but had benefited ideologically from their close contact with workers on the factory's production line.

Cadres in the food industry and other branches catering to the consumer also leave their offices, desks and paper work. In Chungking, where sales of meat, poultry and eggs in 1964 were up 47, 150 and 300 per cent respectively over the previous year, trading organization cadres work in shops and restaurants to study market conditions at first hand. In this work, the cadres try to give customers better service, raise their managerial efficiency and help the manufacturers improve production to meet the demands of the consumer.

Szechuan has become one of the country's most advanced localities in carrying out the steeling and remoulding of cadres ideologically by having them participate in production. The aim is for cadres to maintain close and general contact with the masses by regularly sharing in production work. It is also designed to help check bureaucratic tendencies and forestall revisionism.

### New Drugs

**A**LIVE-VIRUS vaccine prepared in China and administered orally to tens of millions of children since 1960 has effectively brought

infantile paralysis under control. Now, a new remedial agent, a drug to counter the after-effects of the disease, has been developed by the Pharmaceutical Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

This drug, made from an alkaloid substance extracted from species of the lycoris plant, has proved its efficacy in the acute stage of infantile paralysis. It also has been effective in cases of muscular dystrophy and, to some extent, in restoring the function of limbs which have been paralysed by diseases of the nervous system.

Two other new drugs being produced are dl-tetrahydropalmatine, derived from *corydalis ambigua* — a drug used in traditional Chinese medicine, and a new antibiotic substance which has all the properties of nystatin. Dl-tetrahydropalmatine is used to relieve pain, allay excitement and induce sleep. It is less toxic than morphia. The new antibiotic substance which helps heal burns and has strong antibacterial

powers, is another of the many new antibiotics now being manufactured in China.

### Briefs

An 18.6 per cent price slash in petrol has been in effect throughout China since January 1. The cost of diesel oil and other China-made petroleum products has also been cut. Civilian use of petroleum products in 1964 was up 10 per cent over 1963.

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A new seedless orange is being grown in Szechuan. New varieties of oranges, including those developed by the province's horticultural experimental station over the last few years, will afford the nation's markets an almost all-year-round supply.

\* \* \*

South China's foremost grower of sugar cane, Kwangtung Province, has produced a record sugar output for one season. With 20 per cent of the cane still to be cut and brought in, refined sugar is 25 per cent above that of the 1963-64 season.

### Quarrel Over a Pig

**T**ENG Chung-hua, 50, is a former poor peasant of the Bianhe People's Commune in Hupeh Province. Although he and his wife seldom pass a harsh word, on November 24 last year they had a real quarrel.

Husband and wife had agreed to sell their prize porker to the state buyer, but didn't see eye to eye on how to sell the animal.

After his wife had loaded the pig with a huge meal, the husband calculated: "That beast must be all of 15-20 *jin* heavier. That's no good. We'll be cheating the state." When he said as much to his spouse she flew into a rage. Wasn't she doing this for the two of them and their only daughter? Wasn't this the time-honoured custom? Anyway, the pig wouldn't lose any weight.

The old man stood his ground and refused to let the pig be sold after its magnificent repast. Later, in the evening, Chung-hua took a deep draw on his pipe and tried again. "Don't you remember the year we were so strapped that we had to borrow five piculs of grain from the

landlord? Remember how he made us pay it back? The next year he took away the only pig we had and the year after that I had to work for him for a whole year. We both know how bitter life was in the old days. We have to thank the Party and the People's Government for the way we live today. We mustn't ever forget. . . ."

Hearing this, the wife lowered her head. The next day she sold the pig, honestly as her husband had wanted. Returning home, she had a packet of Chung-hua's favourite tobacco for him.



Drawing by Wang Tung-hai

# CULTURE

## **Keeper of the Lungmen Grottoes**

The Buddhist grotto-shrines at Lungmen on the banks of the Iho River in northwestern Honan Province, contain thousands of fine examples of sculptures, murals and bas-reliefs, representing the Buddha and his attendants and subjects from the Buddhist scriptures. The 4th to 6th centuries were the golden age of Buddhist art, especially sculpture, in China. Many of the stone carvings and murals of Lungmen are of this period. They provide rich material for the study of Chinese history, architecture, literature, language and calligraphy, religious worship, dress and musical instruments. Within easy reach by motor from Loyang, the grottoes have been restored by the People's Government to become one of the most important archaeological museums and tourist sights of China.

Ma Yu-ching, a former poor peasant, is now deputy head of the Institute for Preservation of the Lungmen Grottoes. Here is his story of how he became first custodian of the famous cave-temples after liberation.

\* \* \*

I HAD just conducted a foreign visitor through the Lungmen Grottoes — one of the thousands I had taken through since becoming curator — and he thanked me in a most kind way for an “interesting and informative explanation.” “You know the history of sculpture in your country well, Mr. Ma,” he said, and asked: “Were you once a teacher of history?”

Me, a teacher of history? I smiled, and shook my head. Before liberation I was an illiterate farmhand.

The village where I was born was less than an hour's walk from the Lungmen Grottoes, but never in all my 48 years before liberation did I visit them. We were poor folk. For generations we were tenant farmers without a secure roof over our heads or time to call our own. I never could find time or reason to visit these sculptured caves, but poverty

drove us to move house 36 times in 48 years.

Then Loyang was liberated in the spring of 1948 and the people took over their inheritance including the Lungmen Grottoes. I joined the Communist Party not long after. I was head of the village peasants' association at the time. One day in 1951 the district head told me that a committee for preservation of the Lungmen forests and cultural relics had been set up and I was to work for it, looking after the grottoes. I was a hale and hearty 51, and thought that tending a few caves and statues wouldn't be too difficult. I took my bedroll and came here to Lungmen that very night.

The next day, I learnt that this job would be much more than just sweeping up and showing sightseers around. A group of visitors asked me to explain texts inscribed on the rock faces; they quoted lines of ancient poetry and asked me if these were written about Lungmen and a thousand and one other questions. I could only stammer that I did not know. When this happened day after day, I felt worse and worse. It was easier hoeing the fields!

Comrades in my Party branch, however, helped me look at it differently. Did I realize the responsibility? I was asked to take care of a part of the country's priceless cultural heritage. Imperialist agents had more than once plundered it. In 1934, a U.S. imperialist with the help of traitors had stolen a number of valuable sculptures and shipped them off to the United States. Other statues had been wantonly destroyed. Now that the grottoes were in the people's hands shouldn't I care for them and really help the masses appreciate and enjoy them? “We realize you have difficulties,” they said, “but difficulties are there to be solved. Study. Learn to read and write, and rely on the masses. We working people are ruling the country now. Are we going to retreat before stone statues?”

I was persuaded. I bought myself a set of primers and began to learn to read and write, after 50 years of illiteracy.

My teacher was a forestry farm accountant. I did my studying after the day's work. The first few characters I laboriously wrote with a pencil were the size of walnuts. My arm ached with the effort and when my brain swam, I ran to the nearby Pool of King Yu to douse my head. Once the door to learning was opened I went on to study history, concentrating on the various dynasties connected with Lungmen. Step by step I learnt to read the various inscriptions, to understand something of the history of Lungmen, the meaning of the statues and the development of sculpture during these dynasties.

I got to know well the 97,306 carvings, 1,352 caves, 785 niches and 39 pagodas that still remained here even after centuries of neglect and pillaging. I also called on the people round about and got to know the local folk legends about Lungmen. From the people I learnt many things which I never saw in any books.

But being able to reel off the chronology of the caves, names, dates and some facts about this or that statue was not enough, I found, for many of the visitors. They wanted to know more than the bare history of the caves. — What was I to do?

Party comrades urged me to read Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. I studied it and found particularly helpful the part about critically absorbing that which is good from the past to enrich today. But how was I to use critically the past of Lungmen for the benefit of socialist construction? I began to pay more attention to political theory and the social background of the grottoes.

It was all very well to say this or that emperor or empress had this or that grotto or statue carved, but who did the work? The craftsmen, artisans and working people, of course. I decided to bring into my talks the role of the working people whose skill, wisdom and diligent work created these myriad statues out of the untouched rock. When I looked from this new point of view at that fierce-visaged guardian outside the Central Pingyang Cave,



The Lungmen Grottoes  
Traditional Chinese painting  
by Chien Sung-yeu

for instance, I saw that he looks forbidding, but his uplifted hand and posture are like those of a thoughtful person motioning people to maintain a respectful silence for the scripture-reading going on inside the cave. His gesture is very like what one sees people make today. This was the fruit of a folk sculptor's observant eye and skilful hand.

I mentioned this to a well-known Peking professor, an expert in cave sculptures, who visited Lungmen. "That is a very keen observation," he complimented me. "You have made stones speak." Then he went on, evidently much moved: "I studied grotto sculpture for many years in the old society, but do you think the Kuomintang cared a bit for this science? I had no place to publish my theses; I never even knew where my next meal was coming from. But today, you, a former poor farmhand, are encouraged to take up research on cave sculpture."

Revealing the past through the grotto sculptures interests and

educates my listeners and I link the past with the present, telling them about the plundering of the grottoes by the imperialists and reactionaries. I hope I have been able to add to my visitors' love for our country and the working people.

I'm 65 this year, and I feel as young as ever. I'm set on learning more so that I can be a better guide and custodian. I make a point of always asking scholars and other learned men who come to leave me their addresses. I write to them for help whenever I have a problem or a point to clear up, and I never lack for an answer.

#### SHORT NOTES

"Battle-Drums on the Equator," now being presented by a modern

drama company of the Chinese Navy, is on a theme much in Chinese minds these days. It is a play on the national-independence struggle of the Leopoldville Congolese people against U.S. and Belgian imperialist aggression. In seven scenes, *Battle-Drums* shows through the experiences of an unemployed worker's family how the Congolese (L) people take to the road of armed struggle when they see through the masquerade of the imperialists under the U.N. flag. Lumumba's murder, the imprisonment of other patriots and recent events in the Congo are the basis of the action.

**Current Exhibition.** Four hundred works of art by artists from the multi-national southwestern provinces of Yunnan, Szechuan and Kweichow and from the Tibet region are on display at the Peking Museum of Chinese Art. Of outstanding interest are the sets of starkly realistic drawings, woodcuts and other art works on the theme of class struggles in

the past, drawn from the personal experiences of former serfs and slaves. This exhibition is the fourth in the 1964 National Art Exhibition series. The north, northwest and east China areas showed their work at three previous exhibitions.

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**Books.** A handy book of answers to many questions a peasant may ask in his daily life and labours has been published in Peking. In 280 short and profusely illustrated articles, *The East Is Red* treats in popular style a wide range of problems in farming, animal husbandry, afforestation, scientific experiments, culture, health and hygiene.

*Nursing Severe Burns*, published by the Peking People's Medical Publishing House, is written by 14 young nurses of the Shanghai Kwang-tzu Hospital. In it they tell how some of them in 1958 nursed the steelworker Chiu Tsai-kang back to health. He had suffered extensive burns on 89 per cent of his body surface. Among other later cases of severe burns they successfully treated and described is the still more startling case of a patient with burns over 98 per cent of his body surface.

Another recent Peking publication in Chinese, English and Russian explains therapeutical methods of acupuncture and moxibustion, ancient Chinese treatments developed over the last 4,000 years. Divided into five sections with illustrations, it describes the basic theory of traditional Chinese medicine (covering physiology, pathology, diagnosis and therapeutics), the points for acupuncture and moxibustion, the techniques of manipulation, and their efficacy.

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**The Zoo.** The rare giant pandas at the Peking Zoo are raising a thriving family. After the birth of the male Ming Ming in 1963 — the first giant panda ever born in captivity — another baby panda was born at the end of last year. A female this time, it has been named Lin Lin.

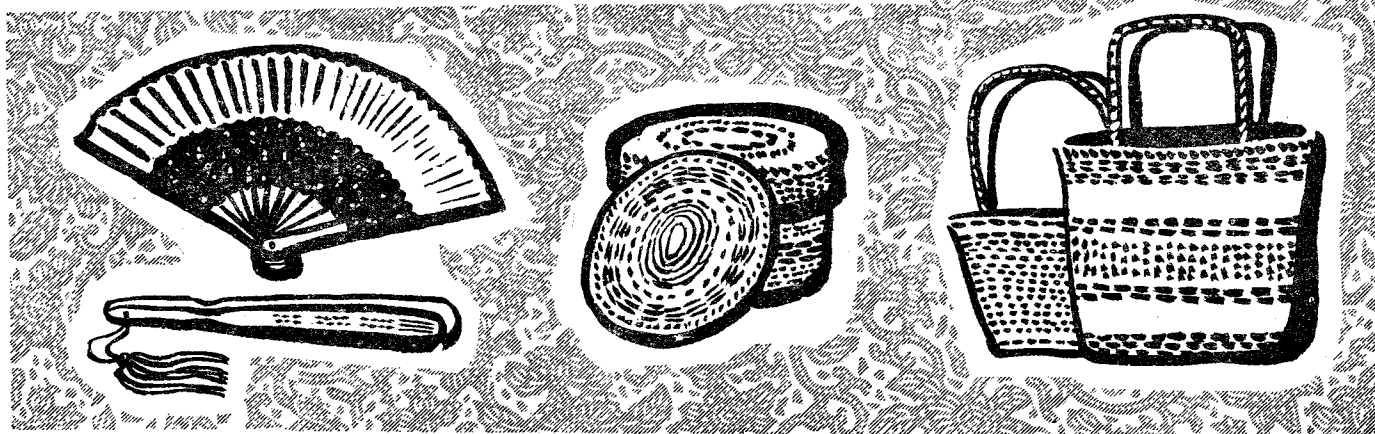
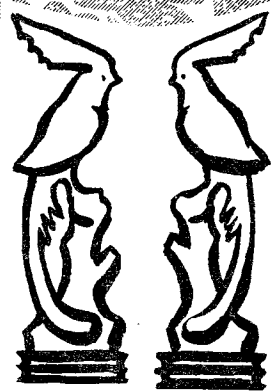
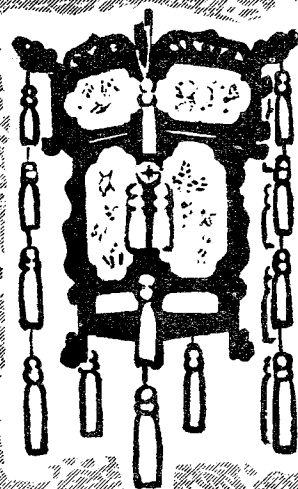
Another new star at the zoo is the first offspring of a pair of African black rhinoceros. She was born on January 26 and is now 85 cms. high and one metre long.

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