Press Communique of the National People's Congress

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Declaration of Australian Marxist-Leninists

Resolutions of the National Committee Of the New Zealand C.P.

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The fourth session of the Second National People's Congress ended its work successfully on December 3.
- Peking celebrated the 19th anniversary of the liberation of Albania on November 29.
- Marking "Imperialism Quit Africa Day" on December 1, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity issued a statement pledging the Chinese people's firm support for the revolutionary struggles of the African peoples.

In its December 1 editorial, Renmin Ribao hailed the new emerging Africa that would sooner or later be completely free of both old and new colonialism.

- The Chinese press reported the session of the World Council of Peace in Warsaw. It highlighted a speech by the leader of the Chinese delegation stressing that the World Council of Peace must return to the correct path and appealing for the pooling of efforts to reinforce the struggle in defence of peace.

It also reported the meeting last month of 87 Marxist-Leninists of the Ceylonese Communist Party which decided to convene the Party's Seventh Congress to set up a revolutionary leadership and to smash revisionism.

- President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanganyika will visit China in February next year.
- The State Council promulgated regulations governing the award of prizes for inventions and technical improvements promoting the development of China's socialist construction.
- Renmin Ribao published an article entitled "A Visit to the Winged-Horse Country" by Marshal Yeh Chien-ying who accompanied Chairman Liu Shao-chi on his visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea last September.

- The Chinese press last week carried the full texts of:
  - an article published in issue No. 11 of Hoch Tap, organ of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, entitled "The Path of the Great October Revolution" by Vu Tuan.
  - the "Declaration of Australian Marxist-Leninists" issued by Comrade E.F. Hill, a leader of the Australian Communist Party, and other Marxist-Leninists in Australia on November 11.

National People's Congress Closes

The fourth session of the Second National People's Congress closed in Peking on December 3.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council; Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; and other Communist Party and government leaders attended the closing session.

The meeting adopted a resolution approving the 1963 and 1964 plans for the national economy, the 1963 state budget and the preliminary planning for the 1964 state budget. It also adopted a resolution on the number of Deputies to be elected to the Third Na-
national People's Congress and on other questions concerning the elections to the N.P.C. It endorsed the explanation on these questions given by Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The meeting approved the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the report of the Budgetary Committee on its examination of the state budget and the proposals of the Motions Examination Committee.

There was a great burst of applause after these resolutions were adopted. Then Chairman Chu Teh declared the fourth session of the Second National People's Congress closed.

Albania's Liberation Anniversary

On the eve of the 19th anniversary of the liberation of Albania, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese Communist Party and government leaders sent a joint message of congratulations to the Albanian Party of Labour and government leaders. The message, paying tribute to the heroic Albanian people and their magnificent achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction in the past 19 years, hailed Albania's role in defending world peace and promoting human progress. The message said that "the Albanian Party of Labour, staunchly upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has always been loyal to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement and made outstanding contributions in combating modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, in defending Marxism-Leninism and safeguarding the unity of the international communist movement." It expressed the profound admiration of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China "for the highly principled Marxist-Leninist stand and revolutionary militancy of the long-tested Albanian Party of Labour."

Albanian Ambassador to China Nesti Nase gave an anniversary reception in Peking on November 29. Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China Tung Pi-wu, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Teng Hsiao-ping and other Party and government leaders were among the guests. Ambassador Nesti Nase and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, who spoke at the reception, toasted Sino-Albanian friendship based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Albanian Ambassador spoke of the consistent adherence to Marxism-Leninism by the Party of Labour of Albania. "It has constantly exposed and will continue to expose the modern revisionists' plots and acts of betrayal," he said. Paying high tribute to the Chinese people's efforts in combating imperialism and modern revisionism, the Ambassador declared: "While the imperialists and modern revisionists regard the People's Republic of China as a major obstacle to the realization of their schemes and intrigues against socialism and peace, the people all over the world regard it as their sincere and faithful defender and a guarantee of genuine peace."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, in his speech, praised the tremendous efforts the Albanian people had made in advancing along the socialist path. Though surrounded by enemies, he said, they had defeated one after another the plots of imperialism and its followers. "Socialist Albania stands even firmer than ever before on the southwestern frontier of the socialist camp, defending the latter's honour and interests."

Speaking of Sino-Albanian friendship, the Vice-Premier declared: "The Chinese and Albanian peoples are affectionate brothers and reliable comrades-in-arms. Our two peoples are closely bound together by the common thinking of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the common cause of building socialism and communism and the common struggle of combating imperialism and modern revisionism. Eternal and unbreakable, the profound friendship and the great unity between us can stand the test of any storm or stress; no force on earth can destroy them."

On November 28, Peking held a mass meeting to celebrate the Albanian anniversary.

Chairman Mao Receive Cuban Poet

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on November 26 received and had a cordial and friendly talk with the poet Pita Rodriguez, head of the Literature Department of the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, and his wife.

The Cuban guests left Peking for home on November 27.

Liu Shao-chi Meets Japanese Comrades

Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on November 28 gave a banquet in honour of three visiting Japanese guests. They were: Nishizawa Tomio, Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party and a leading member of its Physical Culture Committee; Kitani Yatsuji, Member of the Physical Culture Committee of the Party's Central Committee and correspondent of Akahata; and Nishimura Isao, Member of the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth League of Japan and head of its Department of Physical Culture.

Vice-Chairman Liu and his guests had a cordial and friendly talk.

Tanganyikan President to Visit China

President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanganyika has accepted Chairman Liu Shao-chi's invitation to visit China next February. This was announced in a joint communiqué recently issued by the Chinese and Tanganyikan Governments.

Anti-Erosion Programme for Loess Plateau

A conference to study erosion control work on the loess plateau of northwest China was convened by the State Council recently. It was attended by more than 170 representatives from Shensi, Shansi, Inner Mongolia and other provinces and from the Yellow River conservancy committee, state forestry farms and state water and soil conservation experimental stations. The conference heard reports on anti-erosion measures in these easily eroded loess highlands along the middle reaches of the Yellow River. It then worked out a draft long-term (1964-80) programme for bringing soil erosion fundamentally under control in a region of about
110,000 square kilometres. This area is the focal point of water and soil conservation work in the Yellow River basin which itself is the focus of a national effort to check and conquer soil erosion.

The programme aims to build up in a planned way, step by step, fertile, relatively high-yielding farmlands able to withstand drought and excess rainfall. These lands are to be rationally and meticulously farmed and on them is to be developed a many-sided agricultural economy including forestry and animal husbandry. The programme itself emphasizes that its successful fulfilment depends mainly on the collective strength of the local people's communes.

Water and wind-borne soil from this area is responsible for about 50 per cent of the silt in the Yellow River. The crops depend on rain but each downpour, only partially soaked up, washes away huge quantities of soil, sitting up rivers, depressing crop yields and impoverishing the land.

The position has already been improved by many short-term post-liberation water and soil conservation projects. Through these the people in this area have gained much experience in fighting soil erosion by terracing hillsides, throwing check dams across gullies, building water-retaining ponds and covering vast tracts of denuded land with trees and grass. Their efforts have paid dividends in improved soil fertility, greater ability to withstand drought, and higher yields.

Linsien County in Shansi is an example of what has been accomplished in the anti-erosion struggle over the past seven or eight years. Gully erosion on 30 per cent of the county's denuded lands has been initially arrested, and the county this autumn weathered a severe drought to reap 24 per cent more grain than last year. Forestry and animal husbandry too are doing better each year.

The reports to the conference showed that serious erosion on 800 square kilometres in this part of the Yellow River basin was brought under preliminary control in 1963 alone.

More Schools for Minorities

A recent report from multi-national Yunnan Province in the southwest tells that more schools have been established there in the areas inhabited by national minorities. In most minority areas today every township has its own primary school and every county its own middle school. Since liberation the number of pupils of minority origin in primary schools has tripled to reach 300,000, while those in middle schools have increased fivefold. The first generation of university students of 17 minority nationalities including the Chingpo, Wa, Lahu and Lisu have also been trained.

Yunnan has 21 national minorities. In the days of reactionary rule, they were kept in an extremely backward state, both socially and culturally. Some had no written language of their own and had to tie knots or cut notches to make calculations. Going to school was out of the question.

Since liberation, the Party and Government have spared no effort in developing education in the minority areas. In addition to state funds for education given to these areas in the last decade amounting to 14 million yuan, linguists sent by the People's Government have helped a number of minority nationalities to devise ways of writing their languages or to improve already existing written languages. The colleges in Yunnan Province give minority students priority in entry as well as special coaching.

More and more minority students have graduated from normal schools and Han teachers have been sent to reinforce the teaching staff in minority regions. Both are warmly welcomed by the peoples there. Hu Chen-hua, a young Han woman who has worked for 11 years as a teacher in the Mengljen Tai-Lahu-Wa Autonomous County, is affectionately called by the local people "the golden pearl of Tai"; and the Lisu people held a pipa (Chinese lute) concert to welcome back their first trained teacher.

To Catch More Whales

The first big whaling vessel designed by Chinese technicians, the Yuanlong, will soon leave Shanghai shipyards to join the whaling fleet in the Yellow and East China Seas. The ship, fast and manoeuvrable, can operate for more than a month at sea and in fresh gales. It has a modern telecommunication system, power-generating equipment, electric power winches, and the crew's comfortable quarters are heated.

After trials at sea, the captain and crew declared the Yuanlong and whaling gear sea-worthy and shipshape. Yu Lien-yuan, the ship's skipper, said that this new addition to China's whaling fleet would enable his company to hunt more finbacks further out at sea, and collect more information about the movement of whales off the China coast.

Peking's Growing Textile Industry

Peking is making a new name for itself as one of the country's important textile centres. Its spinning and weaving mills are turning out high-grade textiles of many kinds and more than a thousand types of cotton, woolen and silk piece-goods. Since 1958 the city has been making an increasing amount of nylon goods and other fabrics of man-made fibres. It produces its own artificial yarns.

This diversification of the capital's textile industry is the fruit of growth since 1949 and particularly since 1958 when it began a drive for modernization. At the time of its liberation, all Peking's textile mills and workshops were small and old-fashioned. Since then old equipment has been steadily replaced with new, Chinese-made equipment. These include modern automatic looms. Old mills and workshops have been modernized; air conditioning, new flooring and other amenities have been installed.

Three big, up-to-date cotton mills were completed before 1958 on the eastern suburbs. They weave high-grade textiles and make 100-count plus yarns as well as the coarser varieties.

Since 1958 four new printing and dyeing works and three modern wool textile mills have been built. These were designed throughout by Chinese engineers. The last to be built, the Peking No. 2 Wool Textile Mill, has been partially commissioned. It specializes in the making of fabrics of mixed wool and chemical fibres and other mixed fibres. Last year, Peking's output of high-grade woollen goods was nearly three times that of 1957 while its production of woollen fabrics more than doubled.
Press Communique of National People’s Congress

Following is a translation of the press communique issued by the fourth session of the Second National People’s Congress. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

THE Second National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China held its fourth session in Peking between November 17 and December 3, 1963.

Altogether 1,012 Deputies attended the session.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Liu Shao-chi, Chairman, and Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman, of the People’s Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C.; Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council; Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Kuo Mo-jo, Huang Yen-pei, Peng Chen, Li Wei-han, Chen Shu-tung, Sai-fudin, Cheng Chien, Ho Hsiang-nung, Liu Po-cheng, and Lin Feng, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C.; Teng Tzu-hui, Ho Lung, Chen Yi, Ulafu, Li Fu-chun, Li Hsien-nien, Nieh Jung-chen, Tan Chen-Jin and Lo Jui-ching, Vice-Premiers; and Chang Ting-cheng, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People’s Procuratorate, were among the leaders of the Party and state who attended the session.

Among those who attended the session as observers were leading members of various departments of the State Council, Vice-Presidents of the Supreme People’s Court, Deputy Chief Procurators of the Supreme People’s Procuratorate, and high-ranking officers of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army.

All members of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference attending the current fourth session of the Third C.P.P.C.C. National Committee in Peking also attended the N.P.C. session as observers.

The session heard a report on the implementation of the 1963 plan for the national economy and the draft plan for the national economy for 1964, made by Li Fu-chun, Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, on behalf of the State Council, and a report on the 1963 draft state budget, the estimation of its implementation and preliminary planning for the 1964 state budget, made by Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance, on behalf of the State Council. Copies of the written report on the work of the N.P.C. Standing Committee were distributed to Deputies. In addition, the session heard an explanation on the number of Deputies to be elected to the Third N.P.C. and the election itself. Altogether 248 Deputies spoke at the session.

On December 2, Premier Chou En-lai made a speech on the present domestic and international situation and tasks and answered questions raised by N.P.C. Deputies in the discussions.

In the afternoon of December 3, the session adopted a resolution approving the 1963 plan for the national economy and the 1963 state budget, and the 1964 plan for the national economy and the preliminary planning of the 1964 state budget.

The session also approved the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C., and adopted the report of the Budgetary Committee on their examination of the state budget, and the proposals of the Motions Examination Committee.

The session adopted a resolution on the number of Deputies to be elected to the Third N.P.C. and on questions concerning the election, and endorsed the explanation given by Vice-Chairman Peng Chen on these questions.

The session pointed out with satisfaction that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and guided by the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the people of all nationalities in the country, united as one and working hard and perseveringly, have won brilliant victories on all fronts in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Under the guidance of the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, our national economy has achieved tremendous successes in the work of readjustment, consolidation, filling-out and raising standards in recent years. We have overcome the economic difficulties caused by three successive years of serious natural calamities and by the pernicious action of those who unilaterally tore up agreements and withdrew experts. We have rectified the shortcomings and mistakes in practical work and gained rich experience in building socialism. Our national economy has begun an all-round turn for the better.

The policy of relying on our own strength in building socialism has already achieved conspicuous results. The growth of our industry in scale and in output has been gratifying, and there has been a leap forward, in particular, in regard to the variety and quality of products. China has laid the initial, solid foundation for an independent industry.

Our rural people’s communes have more and more clearly demonstrated their superiority. The collective economy of the people’s communes has been further con-
solidated and developed. The situation in agricultural production was better in 1962 than in 1961 and again better in 1963 than 1962. A new upsurge in agricultural production is taking shape and gathering force.

There have been many new achievements on other fronts of China’s national economy and in the scientific, cultural and educational fields and in national defence.

The session pointed out with satisfaction that just as in domestic affairs, China has gained tremendous successes in international affairs. Our country’s international prestige is rising higher with each passing day and its influence continues to spread. All the schemes of U.S. imperialism, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists, joining together to isolate the great Chinese people, have met and will continue to meet with shameful failure. It is U.S. imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists that have become increasingly isolated. The unity of the Chinese people with the people of the countries of the socialist camp and the revolutionary peoples of the whole world grows ever closer.

We have friends and comrades all over the world. The whole international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to the Chinese people and the people throughout the world.

The session emphatically pointed out the important significance of China’s persisting in the policy of relying on its own efforts in socialist construction. Now, the strength of China’s economy has been further increased. Our strength to build socialism independently and by relying on our own efforts has never been so great as today.

The growth of China’s strength to build itself up by its own efforts finds concentrated expression in the fact that we have built many important projects of construction entirely by ourselves. In the First Five-Year Plan period, 413 big and medium-sized industrial projects, designed and equipped with installations made by ourselves were completed or partially completed and put into operation. In the Second Five-Year Plan period, the number rose to 1,013.

China is now capable of designing quite a number of big, modern industrial enterprises, including iron and steel plants, coal mines and oil refineries each with an annual capacity of more than a million tons, hydroelectric power stations of more than 600,000 kilowatts, chemical fertilizer plants with an annual output of 100,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizer, etc.

There has been a great increase in the variety of raw and other materials and fuels, and in the capacity to produce heavy and precision equipment. In 1962, compared with 1957, the varieties of steel, rolled steel and non-ferrous metals produced in the country were more than doubled, varieties of petroleum products increased by nearly 200 per cent, and varieties of machine tools increased by nearly 150 per cent. China can now produce the following equipment in complete sets and by lots: equipment for big blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces, big synthetic ammonia plants, shaft mines and hydro-electric and thermo-power stations, precision machine tools, etc. Formerly, China had to import the great bulk of the petroleum products it needed; now it is in the main self-sufficient.

An army of red and expert scientists and technicians is coming into being in our country. By the end of 1962, the number of scientists and technicians in various fields increased by 70 per cent as compared with the figure for 1957.

These important achievements of our country testify to the complete correctness of the policy of self-reliance in building socialism. This policy embodies both patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It helps to increase the economic strength and defence capabilities of one’s own country and to bring about a continuous extension of mutual support and assistance between the countries of the socialist camp, enabling them to fulfil their internationalist duties in an even better way.

The session pointed out that the implementation of the 1963 national economic plan and state budget has been good.

Some provinces and regions in north and south China suffered from exceptionally heavy floods or serious, prolonged drought this year. However, because of the efforts of the entire nation and the mighty role played by the people’s communes, the country as a whole has gathered a relatively good harvest, with a new increase in the output of food grains compared with last year and a fairly big growth in that of major industrial crops.

This year’s plan for industrial production will be overfulfilled in all respects. Outputs of steel, crude oil, chemical fertilizer, insecticides, tractors, nitrogenous fertilizer equipment, power equipment, automobiles, bicycles, cotton yarn, chemical fibre, cigarettes and other products will show a considerable increase over 1962 and many of the increases will exceed 20 per cent. The quality of industrial products has been further raised and their variety increased.

There has also been development in transport and communications, and posts and telecommunications. Capital construction has been carried out on a scale greater than in 1962.

1963 has seen a marked improvement in the domestic market, an increase in the supply of commodities and a downward movement of prices. The plan for the total amount of retail sales of commodities will be surpassed. The plan for foreign trade will be overfulfilled, too.

Forty per cent of the workers and staff received wage increases in 1963 and the amount paid in awards also increased.

Growth is also recorded in the fields of science, culture, education, public health and sports and physical culture.

Both revenue and expenditure in the state budget for 1963 will exceed the planned amounts and a modest favourable balance will be achieved.

In 1963, our country has continued to pay off the debts and the interest owed to the Soviet Union. We have now paid off most of the debts incurred to the Soviet Union since 1950 and the interest due. The remaining small portion will be cleared by the end of 1965 in accordance with the agreements reached.

The fact that our national economy has begun an all-round turn for the better has exploded such nonsensical
statements of the imperialists and reactionaries as that “China more and more appears to be caught in a remorselessly descending economic spiral.”

The session discussed the 1964 plan for the national economy and the preliminary planning of the 1964 state budget. The session held that in 1964, the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor for the development of the national economy should be thoroughly carried out and that efforts should be made, in conformity with the task of putting the entire national economy on the basis of self-reliance, to work well in all fields in order to achieve a further all-round improvement in the national economy.

The tasks for developing the national economy in 1964 are:

First, strive for a still better harvest; while ensuring a continued increase in grain output, strive for comparatively big increases in the output of cotton, oil-bearing and sugar crops, cured tobacco, hemp, silk cocoons, tea and other industrial crops and side-line products; while developing agricultural production, strive for an appropriate development in forestry, livestock breeding, fishery and side-line production.

Second, strive for a continued, steady rise in industrial production on the basis of raising technical levels, improving quality and increasing variety.

Third, strengthen the building of basic industries, farm irrigation projects and national defence industries.

Fourth, make efforts to improve the management of enterprises, raise labour productivity, reduce the consumption of materials, lower the cost of production and reduce expenditure.

Fifth, increase the interflow of goods between the urban and rural areas, and continued to improve appropriately the living standards of the urban and rural people.

Sixth, strengthen scientific research, make efforts to raise the quality of cultural, educational and health work and achieve a steady increase in quantity in accordance with priorities based on needs and possibilities.

Seventh, do the work of finance and banking well, strengthen the management of finance and credit, and further exploit potentialities and increase income on the basis of the development of production to increase socialist accumulation; continue to work hard and thriftily and calculate with the greatest care, spending money thriftily and in accordance with priorities so as to ensure a modest favourable balance in the budgeted income and expenditure for the year.

The specific tasks and major quotas for the various branches of the national economy were set at the session.

The session held that in order to develop socialist construction still further in the country, the socialist education movement and the movement to increase production and practise economy should be carried on throughout the country.

It pointed out that the socialist education movement is of extreme importance. Throughout the historical period of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism, there is class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: “Class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment are three great revolutionary movements in building up a strong socialist country.” Class struggle must not be ignored during the struggle for production and scientific experiment. It is essential to educate and arm the working people continuously with proletarian ideology and, in the political and economic fronts and in literature, art and all ideological spheres, overcome and guard against erosion by capitalist ideologies.

The session stressed the importance of persisting in the system of cadres’ participation in work in collective production, of keeping alive the fine working style of investigation and study and adhering fully to the mass line. As far as any important work is concerned, the working method of using selected spots for trial experiments before gradual popularization should be adopted so as to overcome shortcomings and mistakes in such work, carry out the Party’s line and policies correctly and get the work done even more meticulously and steadily.

The session pointed out that every enterprise, every undertaking and every people’s commune must carry forward in a thoroughgoing way the movement to increase production and practise economy. The staffs of all enterprises, undertakings, people’s communes, government offices, organizations and schools must strengthen the good practice of building up the country, running enterprises, undertakings, communes and family affairs industriously and thriftily. By carrying forward this practice, we can carry out still better the policy of plain living and hard struggle, of building up the country with industry and thrift, of relying on our own strength and working hard for the prosperity of the country. Our cause will develop still more rapidly and our country will become still more prosperous.

The session decided that the number of Deputies to be elected to the Third National People’s Congress shall be more than double the number elected to the Second N.P.C. This was decided in view of the size and vast population of our country and the big development of the country’s socialist construction in recent years. It will reflect the daily consolidation and growth of the people’s democratic united front led by the working class and founded on the worker-peasant alliance. It will enable large numbers of outstanding people of all nationalities, now emerging on all fronts, to be elected to the National People’s Congress.

With the increased number of Deputies to the Third National People’s Congress, the supreme organ of state power will be better able to reflect the new features of the people of all nationalities of the country in socialist revolution and socialist construction. It will be better able to develop democracy in the country’s political life, strengthen democratic centralism, consolidate the people’s democratic dictatorship, unite the people of all nationalities, and mobilize all positive factors in the striving for new victories for the cause of socialism.

The resolution adopted at the session lays down regulations for increasing the number of Deputies from various groupings. It requires that the election of Dep-
Building an Independent, Comprehensive And Modern National Economic System

Following is a translation of the December 4 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "Carrying on the Struggle for Building an Independent, Comprehensive and Modern National Economic System." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

The fourth session of the Second National People's Congress has successfully concluded. Members of the fourth session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which was held simultaneously with the N.P.C. session were present as observers.

The session took place under circumstances which found the economic situation in our country beginning to show an all-round improvement. It noted with satisfaction that under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, guided by the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the people of all nationalities in the country have greatly enhanced their socialist consciousness, fully displayed their political initiative and labour enthusiasm, and, in the years of the Second Five-Year Plan [1958-62] and 1963, made brilliant achievements in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. During this period, China has leapt a big step forward in building up an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system. Our ability to build socialism independently and by relying on our own efforts has never been so great as today.

Building the Country by Our Own Efforts

This increased ability of our country to build itself up by its own efforts finds concentrated expression in the fact that we can build many important construction projects already entirely on our own. During the First Five-Year Plan, there were 413 large and medium-sized industrial establishments built or partially built according to our own designs with all equipment made in our own country; the number of such establishments, however, increased to 1,013 during the Second Five-Year Plan.

We have been able to construct large numbers of major industrial enterprises by relying on our own efforts because our designing level and technical level in industrial production have been greatly raised.

The elevating of our designing level is mainly manifested by the fact that we are now able to design many large, modern industrial enterprises ourselves. That was impossible during the First Five-Year Plan. It marks a considerable improvement in our scientific and technical levels.

The main expression of improvement in our technical level in industrial production is that there is a much greater variety of raw and other materials and fuel as well as a greatly increased ability to build heavy and precision equipment. Quantity is an important yardstick in judging a country's industrial level but variety and quality is still more important. In building an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system, the variety of major industrial products is a decisive link. Compared with 1957, in 1962 our country more than doubled the variety in steel, steel products, non-ferrous metals and machine tools, nearly trebled the variety in petroleum products; these included a number of high-grade alloy steel, high-grade petroleum products and precision machine tools. In the synthetic materials industry, which was practically unknown in our country in the past, there are today already many kinds being manufactured by lots. China is now capable of making some kinds of heavy and precision equipment in complete sets, something she could not produce in the past.

With the growth in the capacity of industrial production and the rise in technical level, Chinese industry is now in a position of providing agriculture and other branches of the national economy with comparatively more modern technical equipment, raw and other materials and fuel. The rate of self-sufficiency in steel products and major equipment needed in this country are now much higher than before. What is worth pointing out in particular is that while formerly China had to import the great bulk of the petroleum products she needed, now her needs can be mainly met by domestic production.

One of the fundamental causes for the big rise in our technical level in industry since 1958 is that there has been a considerable growth of the nation's technical force. There has been a constant rise in the scientific and technical level of the masses of workers and employees. An army of scientists and technicians, both red and expert, is
being formed. By the end of 1962, the number of scientific and technical personnel in various branches increased by 70 per cent compared with 1957; moreover, they have also raised their scientific and technical standards by a considerable extent. Among them, many are scientists and technicians belonging to new scientific branches, whom we did not have at all in the past.

Numerous facts show that since 1958, Chinese industry has progressed satisfactorily both in the scale of production and in quantity; there has been a leap forward development especially in the variety and quality of products. China has already laid the initial, solid foundation for an independent industry.

**Overcoming Difficulties**

However, the great achievements gained since 1958 was not plain sailing. As a result of the serious natural calamities in the three consecutive years between 1959 and 1961, there was a great decline in grain and industrial crop output, which brought on very great difficulties. During the few preceding years, because of the lack of experience in construction and in the absence of comprehensive, specific policies, and because some of the work was not done in the spirit of the general line, some shortcomings and mistakes occurred in our practical work; this, too, made difficulties for our economic construction. During that period, we also encountered an unexpected difficulty. In July 1960, the Soviet authorities actually took this opportunity to bring pressure to bear upon us and extended ideological differences between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties to state relations; they suddenly and unilaterally decided on a complete withdrawal of the 1,390 experts who were in China to help in our work, they tore up 343 contracts for experts and the supplements to these contracts and abolished 257 items for scientific and technical co-operation and since then, they have reduced in large numbers the supplies of complete sets of equipment and key sections of various other equipment. This has caused our construction to suffer huge losses, thereby upsetting our original plan for the development of our national economy and greatly aggravating our difficulties.

But all difficulties and pressures have failed to stop us from marching on victoriously, they only evoked our determination to build the country by our own efforts and work energetically for its prosperity; they have also tempered our ability to build up an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system.

To overcome these difficulties, our people, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have taken a series of effective measures, which have quickly yielded remarkable results.

In only a little more than two years the Chinese people have overcome the difficulties created by three years of serious natural calamities. Following the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, we have formulated and implemented the various related specific policies and measures. On the one hand we have made use of the tremendous advantages of the rural people's communes and waged stubborn struggles against serious calamities from drought and flood by relying on the strength of the collective economy of the people's communes; on the other hand we have mobilized the entire Party and nation as well as all trades and professions to support agriculture and have strengthened the agricultural production front in manpower, materials, finance and techniques. In the last few years considerable achievements have been made in the construction of water conservancy works and other capital construction works on the farms while industrial products in support of agriculture have greatly increased. The rural people's communes have become still more consolidated and have further developed. Last year's agricultural production was better than the year before; it is still better in 1963 than it was last year. A new agricultural production upsurge is taking shape and growing.

The Chinese people have greatly raised their consciousness of building socialism by their own efforts. The broad masses of workers, peasants, scientific and technical personnel and other working people are dedicating their strength and wisdom with still higher enthusiasm; they have greatly raised the nation's productive capacity and technical level by making full use of the Chinese people's own experience and simultaneously absorbing useful experience from the countries of the socialist camp and all other countries. We are now able to do many things that we could not undertake before; we are now able to do many things well that we could not handle well previously. We have overcome the difficulties created by the Soviet authorities' tearing up agreements, withdrawing experts and other pernicious acts. During this period we have not only not borrowed a penny from foreign countries, but have paid off on time the debts and the interest owed to the Soviet Union. These few years were our most difficult years, but they were also the years in which we paid the largest amount of our foreign debt. We have now paid off most of the debts incurred to the Soviet Union since 1950 and the interest due; the remaining small portion will be cleared by the end of 1965 according to agreements. We have withheld the test and we have enormously increased our ability to build socialism independently. Contrary to the wish of the imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists, the economic situation in our country has been becoming better with each passing year and each passing day.

**Enriching Experience in Building Socialism**

In the course of our struggle to overcome difficulties, we have also corrected the shortcomings and mistakes in our actual work, and our experience of building socialism has been further enriched. Experience in building socialism cannot come from out of the blue, nor can it be transplanted from somewhere without any modifications. Experience in building socialism in any given socialist country depends mainly on the constant summing up and gradual accumulating of experience by its people in the course of practice. Building socialism in a country like ours with a big population and complicated conditions is a brand-new and great cause. We must learn while we work, practise and sum up, and practise again and sum up again. Only thus can we increasingly enrich our experience and make it more and more mature. During
these few years we have cited outstanding models and examples and summed up and popularized successful experiences. On the other hand, we have adopted the method of criticism and self-criticism, learnt the lessons and corrected the shortcomings and mistakes in actual work. Thus, we have rapidly raised the ideological level and understanding of the cadres and the masses, improved the style and methods of work of the cadres, and further enriched the experience of building socialism.

We have now taken another big step forward in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of our socialist revolution and construction. We have a correct general line for building socialism and have gradually worked out a series of specific policies necessary for carrying it out. The experience in these few years has become a valuable treasure of the whole Party and all the people and a most important positive factor propelling the progress of the socialist cause in our country.

A Great Revolutionary Task

The building of an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system is a great revolutionary task for fundamentally transforming China's economic features; it is not an easy task. On our way forward, we will still encounter difficulties of one kind or another and shortcomings and mistakes of some sort will crop up. But there are many favourable factors. We have 650 million industrious and courageous people; we have the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung who firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism; we have the general line for building socialism and the general policy for developing the national economy which have been tested and proved completely correct; and we have various policies and measures for carrying on the socialist revolution and socialist construction which have become daily more perfected through repeated practice. China's national economy has begun an all-round turn for the better. The economy based on ownership by the entire people has become still more powerful, the collective economy of the people's communes has developed and become still more consolidated, and the productive forces have grown tremendously. The great unity among people of all nationalities in China has grown increasingly stronger. All this shows that it is entirely possible for us to build an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system within a not too long historical period.

The resolutions adopted by the fourth session of the Second National People's Congress express the will and confidence of people throughout the country in a concentrated form. The Chinese people are determined and will certainly be able to bring their energy into fuller play in 1964 and work for a further all-round turn for the better in China's economic situation; they will further consolidate and develop the victory won on the political and ideological fronts.

We shall continue to develop the movement to increase production and practise economy and among all people in enterprises, undertakings, rural people's communes, government offices, people's organizations and schools further carry forward the good practice of building the country, running enterprises, undertakings, people's communes and managing household affairs industriously and thriftily. This is of great significance for the step by step building of an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system at a relatively high speed.

Mass Movement of Socialist Education

Today a mass movement of socialist education is unfolding throughout the country on a large scale. In this movement, the broad masses of cadres and working people must be educated in proletarian ideology, and bourgeois ideological corrosion must be overcome and prevented on the political and economic fronts and in all literary, art and ideological spheres. It is a struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, a profound, systematic and extensive socialist revolutionary movement. It is a movement to re-educate men, a revolutionary movement that closely combines the class struggle with the struggle for production and scientific experiments. Successful development of this movement provides a sure guarantee against bureaucratism, revisionism and dogmatism so that we shall always remain invincible. In this movement cadres at all levels should, in accordance with the regulations, take part in collective productive labour, persist in the fine style of work which carries out investigation and study, and follow the mass line. In all important work, the working method of spending some time in a certain place, making experiments and popularizing the experience thus gained step by step should be applied. In actual work in different fields, the Party's line and policies should be implemented correctly, shortcomings and mistakes discovered and overcome in good time and work done in a more discreet and practical way. Speaking of the great historic significance of the socialist education movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that "a state of prosperity will emerge throughout the country after the completion of this education movement. The emergence of such a state of affairs among nearly one-quarter of mankind on earth will enable us to make still greater internationalist contributions."

In order to fulfill successfully the great, glorious tasks confronting us, the fourth session of the Second National People's Congress resolution calls upon workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people of all nationalities, democratic parties, non-party democrats, patriotic national bourgeois elements and patriotic overseas compatriots to unite more closely around the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government. It calls upon them to work more vigorously, relying on their own strength, to build China into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology, and to strive for the great cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

We are convinced that socialism will rise and imperialism will fall; Marxism-Leninism will triumph and modern revisionism will fail. People throughout the country, united and working hard, will certainly succeed in building step by step in China an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system within a not too long historical period and achieve an all-round big leap forward in the national economy; they will also surely succeed in making still greater contributions to the world proletarian revolution.

December 6, 1963

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The World Council of Peace Must Return to the Correct Path — Liao Cheng-chih’s Speech at the Warsaw Session of the W.C.P. —

Following is the full text of the speech made by Liao Cheng-chih, leader of the Chinese delegation, at the Warsaw session of the World Council of Peace on November 28. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

Dear Friends,

Permit me, in the name of the Chinese delegation and on behalf of the Chinese people, to greet the fraternal people of Poland and Warsaw where our meeting is taking place, to greet all old and new friends attending this meeting, and to salute the people of the world who are striving to defend world peace.

At this Warsaw session of the World Council of Peace which will discuss important questions concerning the defence of world peace, the Chinese delegation would like, together with friends from various countries, to exchange views on the question which most concerns us — the way to defend world peace.

U.S. Imperialism Must Be Opposed and Not Pretified

The present international situation is very favourable to the people defending world peace and unfavourable to the imperialists forces of war. The people of the world over have launched a series of great struggles against the imperialists’ arms drive, war preparations and nuclear blackmail, against old and new colonialism and racial discrimination, against the plundering of the people and trampling upon democracy by the monopoly groups, against foreign military bases and the stationing of troops on foreign soil, etc. All these struggles for world peace, national independence, democracy and social progress have dealt telling blows to the imperialists forces of war headed by the United States and have made great contributions to the cause of world peace.

The Chinese people resolutely oppose a world war and staunchly defend world peace. We have always believed that since the international balance of forces of our time has undergone a fundamental change, a world war can be prevented and world peace maintained. Like the people of other countries, the Chinese people always hold that the true way to defend world peace is to rely on the struggle of the people of the world and the united struggle of the peace forces of our time and to resolutely fight against the policies of aggression and war of imperialism which is led by the United States.

What causes our deep concern is that, contrary to the sincere desire of the peoples for peace, certain persons are bent on applying their erroneous line in the world peace movement; they do not oppose the enemy of world peace, support the national-independence movement, and rely on the struggle of the masses of the people, etc. All those who do not agree with this erroneous line are viciously assailed and labelled by them as “warlike,” “splitting the peace movement” and “secretarian.” Recently, these persons have gone so far as to raise a rumpus by using the name of the Secretariat of the W.C.P., the W.C.P. bulletin, the International Institute for Peace, the W.C.P. delegations, and even of a forged letter allegedly from the Chinese People’s Committee for World Peace in an all-out assault on the Chinese people’s correct stand in defending world peace.

These persons have either forgotten or abandoned the fundamental task of exposing and combating the enemy of peace. They never want nor dare to condemn U.S. imperialism, which pursues policies of aggression and war, but keep on praising it as having become “sensible,” “sober” and “restrained.”

How can that be? If there were no longer an enemy of peace, nor the need to oppose such an enemy, what then would be the raison d’etre of the peace movement?

In reality, a vicious enemy of peace stands right before us, that is, imperialism headed by the United States. Facts have shown that the U.S. imperialists, while not in the least giving up their ambition of dominating the world, are on the contrary stepping up their reactionary dual tactics which are more cunning and more adventurous than ever. In the name of peace, they are, on the one hand, engaged in frenzied arms drive for war, preparing for both nuclear and conventional war, and on the other hand, using armed forces as a prop, they are cunningly pushing ahead with the “strategy of peace” in an attempt to disrupt the socialist camp, undermine the national-liberation movement and the people’s struggles for progress, and split the forces defending world peace.

In their recent speeches, they have not U.S. government leaders, while talking glibly about “peace,” “freedom,” “self-determination” and “co-operation,” blatantly revealed their real intentions of stepping up their policies of aggression and war?

They have shouted about “maintaining strategic deterrents,” doing their best to carry on counter-revolutionary wars to suppress national-independence struggles, strangling socialist Cuba, continuing and “winning” the “special war” in south Viet Nam, “unifying” Germany according to U.S. designs, marshalling all reactionary forces to “contain” China, subverting East European socialist countries, and using their position of strength to compel the Soviet Union to renounce communism.

They have also boasted about the achievements of the U.S. arms drive: that the number of nuclear weapons available in its strategic alert forces had increased by 100 per cent; the number of combat-ready army divisions by 45 per cent, the procurement of its airlift planes by 175 per cent and its special guerrilla and counter insurgency forces by 600 per cent.

How can we relax our vigilance in the face of such a vicious enemy of world peace? How can we refrain from
exposing and opposing such an enemy? All statesmen and prominent public figures who really cherish world peace and are in close contact with the masses will maintain that the people must keep up their vigilance against the enemy of peace, never stop exposing such an enemy and still less embellish U.S. imperialism. Otherwise, it would only confuse the people of the world and serve imperialism.

**General Disarmament Calls for Condemnation of U.S. Arms Drive**

In the past few years, some people in the peace movement have consistently advocated general and complete disarmament as the sole magic wand for the defence of world peace, and insisted on channeling the various struggles of the world's people against the enemy of peace into a single course, i.e., general and complete disarmament.

By so doing what good can they bring to the cause of defending world peace?

The Chinese people have always favoured general disarmament and have made consistent efforts to this end. They have always held that disarmament is an important task of the peace movement and that the mobilization of the people to struggle for disarmament is of great importance in exposing and opposing the arms drive and war preparations policy of imperialism, and that only by broad and penetrating mass struggles will it be possible to compel the imperialists to accept certain disarmament agreements.

Strange, enough, those who volubly talk at W.C.P. meetings about general and complete disarmament and "a world without armies and without arms" are the very ones who do not want to denounce U.S. imperialism as the chief culprit in the arms drive and war preparations. Not one word of condemnation of U.S. imperialism can be found in the "Message to the Peoples of the World" adopted at the Moscow Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in 1962. Without opposing the chief culprit of the arms drive and war preparations, how can disarmament be arrived at?

It must also be pointed out that those who advocate general and complete disarmament, while preaching that the imperialists may completely, thoroughly and totally disarm and voluntarily lay down their arms also want the oppressed countries and nations to dispose of arms used for resistance and defence against imperialist aggression. Should they really agree to sign and implement an agreement for general and complete disarmament, wholly disarming their forces, they would no longer be imperialists as such. This is simple common sense. It is also a plain fact that the imperialists headed by the United States are carrying on a general and complete armament expansion, and there is not the least indication that they will disarm completely and thoroughly. At the same time, to urge all oppressed countries and nations to dispose of their arms which are used for resistance and defence against foreign aggression while the imperialists headed by the United States are stepping up their arms drive and aggression, would actually mean liquidating their anti-imperialist struggle, and compelling them to submit to the imperialists' aggression. Therefore, to publicize that the imperialists can accept general and complete disarmament while wanting the oppressed countries and nations to disarm can only be a fraud which has no aim other than to make the peoples and the world peace movement abandon their task of fighting imperialism.

**Against Praising Tripartite Treaty Which Suits U.S. Imperialists' Needs**

The complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons is the common desire of people all over the world as well as an important task for the world peace movement. The Chinese Government and people firmly stand for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and have proposed effective means to achieve this end step by step. These include the dismantling of all nuclear bases and withdrawal of all nuclear weapons on foreign soil, the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone of the Asian and Pacific Region including the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan, an undertaking by all countries possessing nuclear weapons to refrain from exporting, using, and manufacturing nuclear weapons, and the stopping of all nuclear tests, including underground tests. The banning of nuclear weapons and prevention of a nuclear war concerns the people of all countries and must be settled by the governments and peoples of the world together. In common with the people of other countries, the Chinese people have consistently waged an unremitting struggle against the imperialists' threats of nuclear war and to force them to accept the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

We have to point out here that the tripartite treaty concluded in Moscow a few months ago runs counter to the peoples' desire for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and serves the interests of U.S. imperialist nuclear arms expansion. Some of the initiators of this treaty were originally opposed to the partial ban of nuclear tests, but they suddenly changed their stand and were active in cooking up this treaty. What is more, they have concealed the truth of the matter, lauded the treaty to the skies and wanted the World Council of Peace to strike up the same refrain, saying that the treaty represented a first step towards complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and relaxation of international tension.

Contrary to the hopes of all people of goodwill, this treaty is not a first step towards peace, but a step towards increasing the danger of nuclear war.

Diverging the banning of nuclear tests completely from the prohibition of nuclear weapons, this treaty actually allows the nuclear powers to continue stockpiling and manufacturing large quantities of nuclear weapons, much to the advantage of their nuclear monopoly and blackmail.

The treaty completely legalizes underground nuclear tests. This precisely meets the needs of the United States for an all-out development of tactical nuclear weapons.

This treaty stipulates that any nuclear power has the right to withdraw from it at any time, which means that even the partial ban is devoid of any guarantee.

This treaty tends to mislead the people by creating the illusion that the nuclear powers have taken steps which could eliminate nuclear war threats. This would cause the people to lose their vigilance and slacken their struggle against the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war preparations.

It is common knowledge that since the conclusion of this treaty the United States has made 11 underground
tests and is doing its best to push its so-called multilateral nuclear force plan which includes West Germany.

Has not all this actually proved that this treaty suits the needs of U.S. imperialist “global strategy?”

The harmful nature of the tripartite treaty must be exposed. If, instead of exposing the treaty as being advantageous to the forces of war headed by the United States, one goes on singing its praises, this can only serve to obscure the people’s understanding about the imperialist forces of war and slacken their vigilance against the nuclear war maniacs. This would actually help the imperialist forces of war and endanger world peace.

National-Independence Movement Should Not Be Diverted to Disarmament

Friends, as we have mentioned above, the correct way to defend world peace can only be to rely on the united struggles of all peace forces of our times. That is to say, we must greatly increase the strength of the socialist camp, develop the liberation movements of the oppressed nations, the struggle for progress of the working people of the world and the strength of all peace-loving people and countries; we must rally these forces, supporting and coordinating with each other, and wage a common struggle. Only in this way can the forces of war be defeated, the power of the imperialists weakened and their ability to launch a world war restrained and fettered.

Here, I would like to talk especially about the relationship between the national-independence movement and the peace movement in the united struggles of the peace forces.

Following World War II, there emerged a vigorous national-independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which has not only dealt heavy blows to the forces of imperialist aggression and war but also weakened the very foundations of its rule. While different from the peace movement, the national-independence movement in the role it plays is a very great force of our time in defence of world peace. This important role played by the national-independence movement sets forth a serious demand to all fighters for peace. That is to say, to defend world peace, it is necessary to support the national-independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, honestly and not hypocritically, by deeds and not by words.

The W.C.P. did issue a number of documents in support of the national-independence movement, but we must point out that in recent years whenever it was about to issue any such document, it always met with strong opposition. Sometimes some documents in support of national-independence were adopted, but they were used as trimmings or adopted as appendices or recommendations, and then were pigeon-holed.

It has been shown that there actually are people in the world peace movement who would always set the national-independence movement against the peace movement. They hold that the spread of the national-independence movement would endanger world peace, and they try by every means to suppress it.

These people, however, do not want to admit this. Allow me then, friends, to cite a few facts for your impartial judgement.

The colonialist ruthless armed suppression inevitably gives rise to the just armed resistance of the oppressed nations. But, instead of condemning and halting imperialist aggression, instead of denouncing and opposing the counter-revolutionary wars by the colonialists, some people have always shrieked that a tiny spark of the national-liberation struggle would ignite a world conflagration, and that the spark must be put out. If this is not setting the national-independence movement against the defence of world peace, what is it?

It was on the basis of the above-mentioned point of view that the intolerable phenomenon of cursing the national-independence movement as a “movement of corpses” made its appearance at the Stockholm session of the W.C.P. in 1961. Those involved have since been trying desperately to deny it, but how can public utterances be so easily denied? Please listen now. Are these people not continuing to describe support for the national-independence movement as “promising the people freedom after death?”

It was also at the Stockholm session that some people stubbornly opposed adding “national independence” to the name of the World Congress held in Moscow in July 1962.

At the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace in Moscow the organizers arbitrarily refused to give expression to the just demand to oppose imperialism and colonialism and support national independence in the Message to the Peoples of the World,” the only official document issued by the congress.

There are also those in the peace movement who try to divert the national-independence movement into the channel of general and complete disarmament in order to achieve their aim of doing away with the national-independence movement.

A document distributed in the name of the W.C.P. observers’ delegation to the Third Afro-Asian People’s Solidarity Conference held in Moshi last February stressed that only by general and complete disarmament could the people of different countries be assured the strength to wage the liberation struggle. It is not difficult to see that this is intended to eliminate the fundamental task of the Afro-Asian people’s solidarity movement in opposing imperialism and colonialism, and to ask the people of Asia and Africa to give up their national-independence struggle and go all out for the kind of disarmament campaign they advocate, which would do away with the anti-imperialist struggle.

When the erroneous line of “disarmament above all” was firmly rejected, some people went so far as to charge this correct action as “splitting the anti-imperialist forces” and “racist.” How could one engage in this sort of mud-slinging? The truth is that those who want to impose disarmament as the “over-riding task” on the oppressed nations fighting for their national independence are the very ones who are morally and materially disarming the people in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. These are really splitting activities aimed at disrupting the anti-imperialist forces. These are manifestations of European and North American national chauvinism which give aid and comfort to U.S. imperialism in advancing its neo-colonialism.

There are people in the peace movement who are bent on advocating the liquidation of colonialism through the United Nations. Numerous facts have proved that the United States has again and again used the United Nations as its tool to further its neo-colonialism. A strik-
ing example of this is events in the Congo. Recently, U.S. government leaders started to talk profusely again about using the United Nations to pacify the national-liberation movement. To advocate the bestowing of independence by the U.N., therefore, would simply mean liquidating the national-independence movement and helping U.S. imperialism in advancing its neo-colonialist policy.

Relying on World People’s Struggle and Not Begging Peace From Imperialism

Friends, we are happy to see the continuous upsurge of the Japanese people’s mass struggle against U.S. imperialism, the broad struggles waged by the masses in West Europe, North America and Oceania for the improvement of living conditions, democracy and social progress as well as the powerful struggle of the American Negro people against racial discrimination and for equal rights. In their struggle for the defence of peace, the people of these areas put forward various concrete demands in accordance with specific conditions in their respective countries and create a great variety of forms of struggle. Our peace movement should associate itself with these struggles. However, we must say frankly that the development of these magnificent movements has nothing to do with the world peace movement in capital letters as some people in the W.C.P. would like to so describe it. On the contrary, they have consistently ignored the broad mass movements in these areas and insisted on replacing them with a single and vague campaign for general and complete disarmament. What result can be produced by this course of action except making W.C.P. activities lag far behind the mass movements of these countries?

The struggle for the defence of world peace is a mass struggle which calls for the mobilization of all the forces that can be mobilized to form a very broad united front against imperialism headed by the United States and isolate U.S. imperialism to the greatest extent.

Some people also declare themselves in favour of broadening the peace movement, but in fact they despise the masses of the people. Instead of placing their main hopes for winning peace on the people’s struggle, they pin them on agreements between the heads of great powers.

The time has long passed when major international problems were disposed of by two or three great powers. To ignore the aspirations and struggles of the people of the world, to defy the principle of equality between all nations, big or small, powerful or weak, and to sacrifice the sovereignty and interests of other countries are power politics of days gone by and an imperialist policy. This can only lead to international disputes and aggravate international tension. Not to rely on the unity and struggle of the masses, but to advocate co-operation between two or three great powers as the solution to the problem of world peace means in substance begging peace from imperialism. This can only increase the danger of war, certainly not safeguard world peace.

Against Deviating From World Peace Movement’s Original Orientation

Friends, the way to defend world peace as we have explained above is a reliable and effective one. It is the one to which the Chinese people as well as many people in the world who love peace and uphold justice have consistently adhered. It is in conformity with the orientation originally adopted by the world peace movement. But some people have arbitrarily accused us of having departed from our original stand. Actually it is not us but they who have departed from the original stand. Let us look at some facts.

At the time of its founding, the W.C.P. went on record as being determined to expose the aggressors and stood for no intervention in the internal affairs of other countries under any pretext. Today, however, some people deliberately avoid mentioning the enemy of world peace and are even trying to embellish it.

During the U.S. aggression in Korea, the W.C.P. condemned the aggressive acts of the United States. The documents adopted at the 1952 Vienna Congress of the Peoples for Peace stressed that the national independence of all states constituted the essential condition for peace and that the safeguarding of national independence was the basic condition for the defence of peace. Today, however, some people are misinterpreting willfully relations between national independence and peace and try hard to liquidate the national-independence movement under the pretext of defending peace.

The famous Stockholm Appeal demanded the absolute banning of the atomic bomb, and at many other peace gatherings organized by the W.C.P. it was time and again emphasized that nuclear weapons must be destroyed. But, today, some people laud the recently concluded tripartite treaty to the skies, notwithstanding the fact that the contents of this treaty violate completely the spirit of the Stockholm Appeal.

Since its inception, the W.C.P. has pointed out many times that influenced by certain forces, the U.N. has not fulfilled the people’s hopes. It condemned the U.N. for covering up violence and oppression. It denounced the United States for making use of the U.N. to wage a war of aggression in Korea. But today some people not only are afraid of condemning the U.S.-manipulated U.N. for its criminal activities, but they go on advocating the liquidation of colonialism through the U.N.

The W.C.P. once adhered to the principle of seeking unanimity through free exchange of opinion in its discussions and work. In one of its resolutions adopted at the 1951 W.C.P. meeting in Vienna, it warned the U.N. not to resort to its voting machine. But today some people simply refuse to listen to any opinion different from their own, being used to imposing their erroneous views on others at W.C.P. meetings. They arbitrarily suppress opposing views and do not permit full discussion among delegates from the various countries. They even resort to the voting machine by following the U.S. example of controlling the U.N.

We have cited here only a few facts. From these it is not difficult to see that there are some people who have departed from the original orientation of the world peace movement and that they are still leading the W.C.P. further away from it.

W.C.P. Mustn’t Be a Diplomatic Tool of This or That Country

Together with other friends, we have repeatedly pointed out that the W.C.P., being an international mass
organization, must not let itself become a diplomatic tool of this or that country and fall in line with every step the foreign policy this or that country takes. We maintain that failure to uphold this principle will detach the W.C.P. from the practical struggles of the peoples for world peace, and from the masses of all countries. It will wreck its internal unity and bring discredit to the organization. To our regret, however, those who are bent on making the W.C.P. an instrument of their own have turned a deaf ear to all our advices and have even gone a step further to make use of this organization to carry out anti-China activities.

The Chinese people have approved the aims for which the W.C.P. was founded and have participated actively in all its activities which are in the interest of defending peace. It indeed grieves us to see that the W.C.P., following somebody’s baton, is going further and further along a wrong path. The imperialists are actively preparing nuclear war and intensifying their activities to disrupt the unity of the peace forces. There is every reason to hope that the W.C.P. takes steps without delay to return to the correct path and contributes its share to the defence of world peace.

Friends, it is the ardent desire of the peoples of the world to prevent a world war. To live up to the hope of the peoples, we need to pool our wisdom and efforts, overcome all difficulties and obstacles and in our future struggle strengthen our activities along the following lines:

—To expose the enemy of peace continuously, to make it clear that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy today and to resolutely oppose the policies of war and aggression of imperialism headed by the United States;
—To strongly condemn and resolutely oppose U.S. imperialist aggression, subversion and armed intervention against other countries;
—To oppose resolutely colonialism, old and new, and racial discrimination and firmly support the national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America;
—To support actively the demands of the peoples for the defence of their national sovereignty and dignity;
—To oppose resolutely the imperialist arms drive and war preparations, to oppose militarism and to strive for the realization of general disarmament;
—To bring about the total banning and complete destruction of nuclear weapons and to oppose the policies of nuclear blackmail and nuclear intimidation;
—To support the proposals for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone of the Asian and Pacific Region, including the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan; and the establishment, step by step, of other nuclear-weapon-free zones. The countries possessing nuclear weapons shall undertake stipulated obligations with regard to each nuclear-weapon-free zone;
—To demand the liquidation of all military bases on foreign soil, the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and the dissolution of aggressive military blocs;
—To strive for the realization of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles — mutual respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence — and for the development of friendly exchanges between peoples;
—To settle international disputes through negotiation in accordance with the principle of respecting and safeguarding the interests of the peoples without resorting to force or threat of force;
—To support the people of all countries in their struggle to oppose persecution and the violation of human rights and to attain democracy and freedom;
—To achieve a broad unity of all those who oppose the imperialist policies of war and aggression and to strengthen the co-operation between various peace forces.

Friends, the history of mankind is made by the people. So long as the people of all countries are united and carry on the struggle, world peace will certainly be safeguarded. The Chinese people who cherish peace share a common destiny with all the people of the world in weal and woe. Let us unite closely and struggle for the defence of world peace till final victory.

Thank you.

Africa Will Be Free

On December 1, “Imperialism Quit Africa Day,” “Renmin Ribao” marked the occasion with an editorial entitled “Old and New Colonialism Will Eventually Have to Quit Africa.” Following is a translation of the editorial. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

Today is “Imperialism Quit Africa Day,” which comes once every year. The Chinese people, who are concerned about the national-liberation struggle of the African people, rejoice over all glad tidings of the national-liberation struggle from Africa; they are enraged by every sanguinary crime committed by imperialism and old and new colonialism in suppressing the popular struggle there. It can be said that the pulse of the Chinese people beats in unison with that of the fighting African people. So, on this day of historic significance, we pledge the Chinese people’s deepest sympathy and staunchest support to the heroic African people in their fight for national liberation and pay great militant tribute to them.

Favourable Revolutionary Situation in Africa

The current revolutionary situation in Africa is extremely good. Among the continent’s 59 countries and regions, already there are more than 30 independent countries which, embracing over 67 per cent of the total population, cover more than 80 per cent of the total area of Africa. Elsewhere on the continent where colonial rule remains, the flames of the national-liberation movement are raging.
The Algerian people, after seven and a half years of heroic armed struggle, have finally defeated the French colonial troops backed by U.S. imperialism and the aggressive North Atlantic bloc and have won great victory for the national-liberation struggle. The birth of the independent Democratic and People’s Republic of Algeria is a great historic event in contemporary Africa. It has set a glorious example of daring to fight and daring to win victory in the African revolution and will exert tremendous influence on the development of the national-liberation movement in Africa.

Brutally oppressed by imperialism and colonialism, people in many parts of Africa have been forced to take up arms and embark on the path of armed revolution.

The armed forces of the Angolan people, which grow and expand daily, are now in control of one-sixth of the country’s territory. The armed struggle of the people in Portuguese Guinea, having developed on a nationwide scale, is striking ever heavier blows at Portuguese colonial rule. In Mozambique, as in other Portuguese African colonies, people’s armed struggles also are brewing. People in South Africa have made new advances in their struggle against the system of racial discrimination, and organized and guided armed struggle has begun to appear.

The stormy movement of national revolution has also swept both East and Central Africa. In recent years a number of countries in East Africa have gained independent status. After protracted struggles waged by their people, countries in this part of Africa like Kenya and Zanzibar will soon formally declare their independence.

As is demonstrated by the objective situation, the 250 million African people have awakened and have stood up. They are determined to smash the shackles of imperialism and colonialism and strive for the liberation of the nations of Africa. The colonial system established by imperialism in Africa is fast crumbling. All this is the trend of history which no reactionary force in the world can check.

Neo-Colonialism: A More Dangerous Enemy

But the fall of the old colonial rule does not mean that the African people’s historical task of fighting imperialism and colonialism has in the main been accomplished. On the contrary, imperialism will never pull out of Africa of its own accord. At a time when it is impossible for them to retain the old colonial rule, or when it is about to be destroyed, imperialism now continues its plunder, control and enslavement of the African people mainly by neo-colonialism. Peoples of different African countries are now under the increasingly serious menace of neo-colonialism. U.S. neo-colonialism in particular, feigning sympathy for the African people’s cause of independence, is taking advantage of the collapse of the old colonial rule to push its neo-colonialist expansion in various African countries in a big way. The United States has established military bases in a number of independent African countries; it tries every means to buy over people, foster its own agents and plots for subversion; it commits aggression against the independent African countries under the cover of the United Nations flag; step by step it extends its political, military and economic control over the African countries and infiltrates culturally and ideologically through the export of capital and “aid.”

What happened in the Congo is a great exposure of U.S. neo-colonialism in Africa; there in the Congo, it made concentrated use of all kinds of vicious and sinister tactics. The Congolese people won their independence only through many years of struggle. After that they suffered military attacks from the Belgian colonialists. Then U.S. neo-colonialism encouraged and supported the Belgian colonialists to stamp out the rising Congolese national-liberation movement. Later on, the United States, pretending to be sympathetic with the Congo’s cause for independence, used “United Nations forces” to carry out aggression and intervention in the Congo under the pretext of “preserving order.” U.S. neo-colonialism bought over some people in the Congo and fostered its own agents; it murdered Lumumba and other Congolese national leaders and subverted the legitimate government in the Congo. In reality, the Congo has been placed rapidly under the rule of U.S. neo-colonialism. Just as the African Solidarity Party (P.S.A.) pointed out in its letter to the Congolese people in June this year, the one time independent Congo has sunk back into a colonial system much more dangerous than before. U.S. neo-colonialism, the letter says, has already infiltrated into the country and made itself the administering authority exercising trusteeship over the Congo.

From the development of events in the Congo, as well as the reality throughout Africa, people in African countries have come to see more and more clearly that neo-colonialism, U.S. neo-colonialism in particular, is becoming the most turbulent enemy of the African national-liberation movement. Because it is more crafty and more vicious than old colonialism, neo-colonialism is more dangerous to the African national-liberation movement. The African people are daily more aware of the fact that to bring this movement to complete victory, they must, while grappling with old colonialism, double their vigilance in dealing with neo-colonialism, resolutely expose and oppose neo-colonialist aggression and intervention, and also unremittingly expose and oppose United Nations’ aggression and intervention which is managed by U.S. neo-colonialism.

Political Independence Is Only the Beginning of Complete Emancipation

For the people of those African countries which have achieved independent status, the proclamation of political independence is only the first step towards complete national emancipation. Thus they are continuing to fight imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, working hard to consolidate their independence, develop their national economy and culture so as to strive for their complete and genuine independence.

In the face of the serious menace posed by imperialism, old and new colonialism, the African people are daily strengthening their unity, sharpening their vigilance and persevering in struggle. The fight of the African people for national liberation is now becoming deeper and deeper.

Together with national-liberation struggles of the peoples of the Asian and Latin American countries, the African people’s national-liberation struggle has formed

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an irresistible historical tide storming the last bulwarks of imperialism and colonialism and effectively weakening and hitting hard at the imperialist forces of war. The national-liberation struggles of the three continents have become a powerful force in the world people’s fight against imperialism and in defence of world peace.

However desperately imperialism and colonialism may want to put up a fight, however cunning and sinister neo-colonialism may be, the African people, with the support of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world, are sure to win final, complete victory in their national-liberation struggle. Imperialism and all colonialists, old and new, will have to get out of Africa. A completely independent and free new Africa is bound to appear on the horizon. That day of great significance is bound to come.

Grave Distortions of Korean History
By “World History”

The Korean “Rodong Shinmoon” published on September 20 a treatise entitled “On Grave Errors in Description of Korea in ‘World History’ (Compiled by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences).” Written by Professor Kim Suk Hyung, Doctor of History, and historians Kim Hi Il and Sohn Yung Jong, the article was published in full translation in “Renmin Ribao” on October 18. We print below the excerpts of the treatise as released in English by the Korean Central News Agency, with our subheads. — Ed.

In the treatise the authors give a deep-going analysis of the grave errors committed by the compilers of World History in their description of Korean history, errors which are at variance with the fundamental requirements of Marxist-Leninist historiology, as well as of the many distortions, falsifications and fabrications caused by their prejudice and ignorance of Korean history. For the correct understanding of the readers the authors present pertinent historical data and argumentation.

Ignoring Ancient Korean History

The treatise consists of four parts. In the first part the Korean historians analyse the serious error made by the compilers who dealt with Korean history in World History in ignoring the ancient history of Korea.

Pointing to the fact that our ancient states which existed for at least four to five centuries before Christ are arbitrarily negated, the authors express their astonishment at such crude and arbitrary treatment of history.

The authors prove with historical data recorded in foreign documents and archaeological finds the fact that the Kochoan State (one of the ancient states of Korea) was already in existence in the fifth to fourth century B.C. and Puyo, Chinkook, etc., in the third century B.C.

While negating the ancient history of our country without any ground, World History merely wrote that one called “Wiman” came to Korea from the land of Yen, China, and seized power in the Korean kingdom at the beginning of the second century B.C. This is a hasty conclusion drawn before carefully studying the historical material.

The existence of the ancient states cannot be deleted from our history by the subjective views of certain ignorant foreign historians, because history is something which cannot be created or deleted by the subjective views of men, the authors note, and go on:

Nothing can be more fantastic than the assertion made in World History that the first confederacy of tribes was established in Korea in the 12th century B.C. by Kija, a nobleman exiled from the land of Yin, China, and other Chinese exiles who followed him. The authors prove, citing old records of China, that the story about Kija is nothing but a legend.

They refute the allegation of the authors of World History that the natives of Korea learnt sericulture and handicraft from Chinese immigrants and introduced “black beans,” “broom corn,” “buckwheat” and bronze goods and ironware from China. Particularly, they write, the assertion about the “black beans” cannot be found even in miscellaneous Chinese books of the 15th century. Evidently, it is a “new invention” of the authors of World History.

Distortions of Medieval History

In the second part, the authors of the treatise analyse the grave mistake committed by the writers of World History in its account of Korean medieval history as follows:

In describing Korean medieval history following the founding of the three kingdoms — Kokuryu, Paikje and Silla — World History omits first several hundred years of the history. It not only ignores important facts in the foreign relations of Korea but, in some cases, even perverts the facts. Typical cases can be found in setting late the period of the formation of the three kingdoms, in the description of the relations of our country with Japan in the first few centuries A.D., in the relations of Koryu with Mongolia in the 13th and 14th centuries, and in our people’s war against aggression in the medieval age.
By setting the period of the formation of the three kingdoms belatedly in the fourth century, *World History* replaces our history following the fall of Kogosun at the end of the second century B.C. with the history of Chinese regions.

Noting that *World History* utterly disregards the historical course of the formation of the three kingdoms and sets the year of the founding of Kokuryu at 313, that of Paikje at 346 and that of Silla at 356, the authors of the treatise say:

As for Kokuryu, even the venal scholars of Japanese imperialism who tried hard to pare down Korean history did not dare set the year of its formation later than the first century.

The years of the formation of Paikje and Silla set by *World History* completely tally with those advanced by Japanese bourgeois historians.

By not only disregarding the ancient states of Korea but also alleging that the Korean people had no state for centuries, *World History* leaves nearly one thousand years of our history in blank.

The treatise dwells on the mistake of the authors of *World History* on the question of the relations of Korea with Japan around the beginning of the first century.

Noting that the authors of *World History* write about the occupation of some areas of south Korea by the Japanese in the fourth and fifth centuries on the basis of the “Mimanas Miyake” theory cooked up by Japanese reptile scholars to justify by history the occupation of Korea by Japan, the treatise refutes its preposterous nature. (According to the “Mimanas Miyake” theory, Japan had its ruling organ “Miyake” in Karak, a small feudal state of Korea in the region of the present Raktong River.)

Quoting the materials in *Chronicles of Japan, Legendary Stories of Old Japan, Newly Edited Records of Family Names* and the history of Japanese culture by the Japanese scholar Tsuji, the treatise stresses: All these books prove that the Japanese did not advance to the Korean peninsula around the beginning of the first century but, on the contrary, the Koreans advanced to the Japanese islands.

Referring to the relations between Koryu and Mongolia in the 13th and 14th centuries, the treatise points out that *World History* misrepresents the relations of “peace” between Koryu and Mongolia as the relations of bondage of Koryu to Mongolia.

Condemning this as an unwarranted conclusion which is drawn with no study of the history of that period, the treatise says: This is caused by the confusion of the relations between Koryu and Mongolia with that between Europe and Mongolia, for instance, between Mongolia and the Russian dukedoms.

The treatise stresses:

The general mistake made by the authors of *World History* in writing the medieval history of Korea is that they recorded the history of the aggressors and the history of the ruling circles while totally ignoring or harshly belittling the brilliant exploits of the people who fought against enemies at home and abroad.

The authors led themselves to this mistake by relying on old books of colonialist-serving scholars and merely copying them.

The medieval popular history of Korea cannot be written apart from the exploits of our people in the struggle against the enemies at home and abroad. The principle of Marxism — the principle of partisanship and the principle of historicism — must be applied to the histories of all countries, whether it be the history of one’s own country or the history of others.

We Marxist historians must not reconcile ourselves to such crude authoring as deflecting from these principles in writing others’ histories and arbitrarily distorting history in contravention of facts without serious study or mechanically copying a dynastic history or historical books of colonialists, thus ignoring the history of the people.

**Erroneous Treatment of Modern History**

The third part of the treatise analyses the mistakes made by the authors of *World History* in writing Korea’s modern history.

The authors of *World History* open the modern history with the distortion that the Kapsin coup (1884), the first attempt of bourgeois reform in Korea, was organized and carried out by the Japanese. They label all the participants of this bourgeois reform movement in Korea as running dogs of the Japanese aggressors and as pro-Japanese elements. This is also a big mistake turning facts upside down.

Was the Kapsin coup really masterminded by the Japanese aggressors and was Kim Ok Kyoung a pro-Japanese element? None of the Koreans who know their own history better than anyone else think so. This is, indeed, a preposterous argument. Only those who observe historical phenomena metaphysically, separating them from the social and economic foundation, and only those who approach history rashly, without any knowledge about the historical material of the relevant age, can draw such a ridiculous conclusion as that the Kapsin coup was masterminded by the Japanese and the leaders of the reformist group were pro-Japanese.

The treatise then points to the fact that *World History* completely ignores the history of the struggle for national and social liberation waged by the Korean people in the 1920s and 30s under the leadership of the working class.

It says: This is an intolerable and the gravest mistake viewed both from the stand of historically systematizing the part of Korea in world history and from the stand of compiling world history as a whole in that period.

The history of our country in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle in the 1930s marked the highest stage of development in the history of the revolutionary movement of the Korean people; it was a period of enormous historical significance in which the experiences
In describing the March 1st popular uprising of 1919, World History played down the influence of the October Revolution with only a few words, while one-sidedly exaggerating the role of bourgeois nationalists who betrayed the nation from the outset, the authors point out.

Concluding their treatise the authors say: How can all these numerous errors be explained? It is because the compilers of World History, who are ignorant of Korean history, relied upon books written by the Japanese aggressors and historical records of the colonialists of the past, instead of relying upon authentic books, and because they mechanically copied them. Therefore, many historical facts are distorted grossly.

It is to be deeply regretted that World History published by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences contains such grave errors. We are also concerned about the dissemination of such incorrect views on the history of Korea in many countries of the world by World History.

We think that the Soviet historians should have held fast to the stand of the people, the stand of approaching the history of all peoples with genuine sincerity inasmuch as distortions and fabrications of the history of many peoples by the imperialists and paid historians were prevalent in the past. Only by so doing is it possible for our historical science, like all other branches of the social sciences, to become a science combating bourgeois historiography, a powerful weapon in the ideological struggle for exposing and smashing all its distortions and fabrications.

We hope that the compilers of World History would heed with sincerity and responsibility our views on their grave errors in their description of Korean history.

We hope that the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences will take practical measures to prevent the possible ill effects on the readers of World History.

**International Communist Movement**

**Declaration of Australian Marxist-Leninists**

On November 11, Comrade E. F. Hill, a leader of the Australian Communist Party, and other Marxist-Leninists issued a declaration which was reprinted in the "Renmin Ribao" of November 28 with the following editor's note:

"In its July 14 open letter to Party organizations at all levels and to all Party members, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. wildly slandered the Communist Party of China, saying that it 'organizes and supports various anti-Party groups of renegades who have come out against Communist Parties' in a number of countries. The open letter attacked by name Comrade E. F. Hill, alleging that 'the C.P.C. Central Committee tried to organize splitting activities against the (Australian) Communist Party and its leadership with the help of a former member of the leadership E. Hill.' The 'Declaration of Australian Marxist-Leninists,' which we publish, is the reply by Hill and other comrades to the attack and vilification in the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. From this reply it can be seen clearly that it is none other than the C.P.S.U. leaders who have actually violated the principles guiding relations of fraternal Parties and who have adopted extremely foul methods in imposing a revisionist line on a fraternal Party, interfering in its internal affairs as well as attacking Marxist-Leninists within the Party and creating an internal split."

The full text of the declaration follows.—Ed.

**Introduction**

In July this year the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published an attack on E. F. Hill for his uncompromising stand against the betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by the leadership of the Communist Party of Australia.
E. F. Hill refused to follow the baton of N. S. Khrushchov who stands at the head of the modern revisionists.

Many others in the Communist Party of Australia also refused to follow the baton.

For this they are being called “renegades.”

The following is a declaration of these genuine Marxist-Leninists, which throw further light on the deep-seated plot to subvert the Communist Party of Australia to the line of the modern revisionists.

**Declaration of Australian Marxist-Leninists**

The open letter of the C.P.S.U. published on July 14, 1963 contained this passage:

“The Chinese leaders are undermining the unity not only of the socialist camp but also of the entire world Communist movement, trampling under foot the principles of proletarian internationalism and grossly violating the norms of relations between fraternal parties.

“The C.P.C. leadership organises and supports various anti-Party groups of renegades who come out against the Communist Parties in the United States, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia, India...”

“In Australia the C.P.C. Central Committee tried to organise splitting activities against the Communist Party and its leadership with the help of a former member of the leadership, E. Hill. Having visited the Chinese People’s Republic at one time, E. Hill came out publicly against the Communist Party of Australia and tried to organise a group of like thinking men. After the Communist Party of Australia expelled Hill from the Central Committee of that Party he demonstratively went to Peking”.

**A Travesty of the Facts**

This statement is a travesty of the facts. In addition, the open letter of the C.P.S.U. contained no real political analysis of the great problems facing the world revolutionary movement.

It made no attempt critically to assess the practice of the C.P.S.U. leaders since the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Moscow Statement.

Practice is the test of theory.

But the Soviet Party leaders do not test their theory by practice for to do so would be to reveal the great damage their “theory” and practice has done to Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and practice. It would reveal that they have been the pioneers of attacks on Marxism-Leninism.

It would reveal that their relations with Tito are a direct betrayal of the theory and practice set out in the Moscow Statement, their relations with many other parties similarly, indeed that on all current questions—peace and war, transition to socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat, this position holds.

Far from the leaders of the Communist Party of China trampling underfoot the principles of proletarian internationalism and grossly violating the norms of relations between fraternal Parties, it is precisely the C.P.S.U. leaders who have done this.

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**Flattery and Open Bribes**

The C.P.S.U. leaders know better than anyone else the extraordinary and disgraceful lengths to which they went, alternately to intimidate, to attempt to bribe and to flatter the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia. And these facts were reported to the leading committees of the Communist Party of Australia. They were not knowledge confined to the participants.

Moreover they are facts well known to the leaders of certain other Communist parties. Sharkey weakened under all this but nonetheless in the main remained within the grouping of genuine Marxist-Leninists.

A position of support for genuine Marxist-Leninist principles was affirmed in the Political and Central Committees on his return to Australia early in 1961.

What did the leaders of the Soviet Party do? They had already nurtured a revisionist group in the Australian Party headed by L. Aarons and members of which had been put in key positions in the Communist Party of Australia.

Now in co-operation with this group the C.P.S.U. leaders ordered, “persuaded” or whatever other term you like to use in such sordid business, the Australian Party
leaders to transfer the late E. Robertson to Sydney to work with the Central Committee Secretariat.

Subsequently he became a Secretariat member.

They decreed that L. Aarons himself be brought forward more; they decreed that another Party functionary who was then spending some 15 months in the Soviet Union be transferred to Sydney.

They decreed that W. Brown, a well-known revisionist, be promoted; they made special arrangements to maintain contact with persons favorable to their standpoint in the Australian Party.

In fact L. Aarons and Robertson and more latterly Brown, maintained very close contact with the Soviet Party.

Sharkey Begins to Surrender

Throughout 1961, the revisionist element in the Political and Central Committees gradually made headway. Sharkey was surrendering to them: many changes on one pretext or another were made in leading personnel.

At the end of 1961, an Australian delegation to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., consisting of Sharkey, Bacon (close revisionist associate of L. Aarons) and E. Ross was appointed.

Again this delegation was subjected in Moscow alternately to pressure, attempted bribery, flattery and all the weapons used by people who have no principle.

On the day before his departure from the Soviet Union to return to Australia, Sharkey spent many hours with Soviet Party leaders. What happened Sharkey and they both know but Sharkey returned to Australia and completed his desertion of Marxism-Leninism.

Now he expressed full support for the policy of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. He maintained in justification of his switch that he “had not changed but the leaders of the Communist Party of China had”.

His new view was upheld by a majority of the Central Committee. It was vigorously supported by the core of revisionists headed by L. Aarons and including Roberton, E. Aarons, Bacon, Sendy and Gollan.

The real views of this latter group, hitherto minority views, and concealed at that now became majority views. It was adopted despite its conflict with all previous Central Committee decisions, the decisions of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of Australia and the 81 Parties’ Statement.

The previous views of the Central Committee, the decisions of the 19th National Congress and the 81 Parties’ Statement were defended in the Central Committee by E. F. Hill, F. Russell, K. C. Miller and P. Malone.

Repudiated Previous Position

After that meeting, the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia in consultation with the Soviet Party leaders, proceeded to repudiate publicly step by step their previous decisions and the 81 Parties’ Statement.

Contrary to the principles of the 81 Parties’ Statement, they publicly attacked the Communist Parties of China and Albania, they repudiated the 81 Parties’ proposition that revisionism is the main danger to the working-class movement and contrary to the 81 Parties’ Statement they began to preach reconciliation with Yugoslav revisionism.

Flowing from this they seriously compromised the theory of the peace struggle, urging that it be stripped of any partisanship; in the name of unity, they urged reconciliation with the social-democratic ideology of the A.L.P. both in relations with that Party and in the trade unions; they proceeded to interfere in the women’s and youth movements to try to deprive them of partisanship—in short, they threw overboard Marxism-Leninism.

In all this, they had the assistance and advice of the Soviet Party leaders.

Each step along this road was opposed by an ever increasing number of Comrades including E. F. Hill, F. Russell, K. C. Miller, P. Malone and many others, who under intensifying abuse and the circulation of lies and slanders steadfastly upheld Marxist-Leninist principles.

Who then interfered in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Australia? Will the Soviet Party leaders and the Australian Party leaders deny the truth of this? Of course they will because they do not respect the truth. But unfortunately for them too many people know the truth and too many people are determined that the truth will be known.

Moreover the history of this matter goes back much further.

Serious Differences in 1956

In 1956, there were very serious differences between the leaders (including E. F. Hill) of the Communist Party of Australia and the leaders of the C.P.S.U. Both in Moscow and in Peking (in a discussion with the Soviet delegation to the 8th Congress of the Chinese Party) these differences were discussed.

In the latter case it was an acrimonious discussion headed on the Australian side by L. L. Sharkey.

The matters discussed arose precisely from the capitulationist, appeasing policy of the Soviet Party leaders. True enough after long discussions and despite their obstinacy, the Soviet Party leaders changed their position.

Will they deny this discussion took place? Will L.L. Sharkey, R. Dixon and L. Aarons deny it? Of course they will, because they do not respect the truth.

Thereafter the Soviet Party leaders set out to woo particularly E. F. Hill. He was flattered, praised, spoken of as the next leader of the Communist Party of Australia—again a direct attempted interference in the affairs of the Communist Party of Australia.
Within the Communist Party of Australia differences appeared in 1956. These were precipitated by the 20th Congress C.P.S.U. and the Hungarian events but they had their roots long before in that there was a strong revisionist element already latent in the Communist Party of Australia.

This revisionist element had arisen through the corrupting influence of capitalism, low standards of recruiting to the Party, weakness in ideology, penetration of the Party by the secret police and so on.

In 1956, in the Central Committee a revisionist position was then taken up openly by J. D. Blake, E. Aarons and W. Brown. This was defeated under the leadership of L. L. Sharkey, R. Dixon and E. F. Hill. W. Brown was removed from editorship of the Tribune and J. D. Blake ceased to be a member of the Central Committee.

But the revisionists were not to accept this defeat. They lay low, re-grouped. They were strengthened by the return to Australia from China of L. Aarons, E. Bacon, B. Taft, H. Stanistreet. B. Taft had a background of Trotskyism in the late thirties and more latterly, logically enough, association with Tito's views.

They proceeded to urge a now covert, now overt struggle for revisionism against the leadership of Sharkey, Dixon and Hill. W. Brown openly in the Communist Review stated that there had been tendencies to a cult of the individual around Sharkey and previous General Secretary Miles.

When the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia assert that the differences with Hill preceded the 22nd Congress C.P.S.U. they are quite correct.

The differences go back to 1956 but they were differences between him and the revisionists and the revisionists were defeated.

These differences did not raise the whole range of Marxism-Leninism but took place on the character of the Party (should it be a Party of quality or should it be a mass amorphous Party fulfilling certain arbitrary quotas of recruiting); on questions of Marxist-Leninist education (should the basis of it be Marxist-Leninist classics or what E. Aarons said was Marxian economics and L. Aarons said was the theory of the Marxist-Leninist Party); on the peace struggle (should it observe a partisan character or be non partisan); on the A.L.P. (what is its nature and its ideology) and many other questions. On all these questions, the minority opinion in the Political Committee was that of L. Aarons.

Nonetheless L. Aarons continued his underground revisionist activities.

**Secret Contact With C.P.S.U.**

By intrigue, lies, underhand methods, discussions outside the regular committees of the Party, contact with the Soviet Party leaders he organised to subvert or defeat the leadership of Sharkey, Dixon and Hill.

He got the Party education system into his own hands. He wooed E. Robertson and J. Sendy in South Australia, E. Bacon (his close supporter) was already Queensland Secretary and he set out to woo C. Jones, Queensland President. By exploiting the weaknesses of Sharkey he strengthened his own position.

But he could not get his men into the leadership in Victoria. In 1960, the members of his group there—Taft, Stanistreet, Mortimer (with all of whom he had many discussions and meetings outside Party committees)—launched an open struggle against the leadership, aimed nominally at the staunch Marxist-Leninist Vida Little but really at all the Marxist-Leninists in the Victorian Party leadership.

The struggle ended in defeat for the revisionists who were, with the participation of L. L. Sharkey, condemned as such.

Again they pressed on with their underground activities and played upon Sharkey's fear of struggle.

Now what happened?

In 1960 Sharkey and Dixon went to Moscow to attend the 81 Parties' Conference and early in 1961 Hill was sent by Party decision to Moscow for medical treatment. At that time the C.P.S.U. leaders had a very adverse estimate of Dixon. He was kept in Moscow for almost twelve months, having suffered a heart attack. Sharkey's political firmness was weakened by the Soviet Party leaders: Hill was kept out of Australia until July, 1961.

In that time the revisionists had worked very hard to further their cause. They renewed the struggle in Victoria with greater success this time.

Now the Political Committee reversed the views on the Party, on education, on peace, on China, on the C.P.S.U. leaders, that it previously had held and began to assert that they were minority views—the minority being Hill and F. Johnson, Political Committee member and Victorian President.

On Dixon's return to Australia in 1961 the revisionists were very unsure of his position and kept him isolated for a long time. They spread in the Party the story that Dixon and Hill were too sick ever to play any further part in the Party.

Sharkey went to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. at the end of 1961 and his conversion to the C.P.S.U. line was completed.

On his return he spent a long time with Dixon and at the February 1962 Central Committee meeting Dixon committed himself (although then with many qualifications) to the C.P.S.U. line.

**So the revisionists had subverted the Communist Party of Australia.**

The C.P.S.U. leaders had played a big part in it.

Sharkey lent himself and his prestige to the revisionists—became their tool and now shares the fate of all such tools—to be cast aside.
Who then created the split? Who was responsible? Who interfered?

Will the leaders of the C.P.S.U. deny their attempted use of impermissible “persuasion” on Hill? Will the Australian leaders deny that Hill reported this to them? And if they attempted to “persuade” Hill without success, who else did they attempt to “persuade” and with what success?

**Alien to Marxism-Leninism**

Such methods are completely alien to Marxism-Leninism. It ill behoves the exponents of such methods to talk about renegades and anti-Party conduct. Their conduct is the complete rejection of Marxism-Leninism.

And what of the allegation of interference by the Communist Party of China?

Foremost amongst the champions of the methods of work of the Communist Party of China was L. L. Sharkey who frequently contrasted the high and heavy handed and standover demands of the Soviet Party leaders with the comradely fraternal discussions with the leaders of the Communist Party of China.

At no stage did the Chinese Party leaders ever interfere or attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Australia.

True, the leaders of the C.P.A. had many discussions with the Chinese leaders all of which were reported and agreement expressed with their main content as an independent and equal Party. So Sharkey’s discussions with Mao Tse-tung, and later Dixon’s and Sharkey’s discussions with him, found a community of views because all Parties were upholding Marxism-Leninism.

Sharkey and Dixon capitulated to the revisionists and repudiated their previous stand. In doing that they were compelled by force of circumstance to turn on the Communist Party of China, Marxism-Leninism and the upholders in Australia of Marxism-Leninism.

They were not in the first place revisionists by ideology or politics. Their betrayal is all the more disgraceful.

Now they joined hands with the revisionists in a filthy, unscrupulous campaign to turn the whole Party into a revisionist machine. By slander, intimidation, dishonesty, malpractice and manipulation they excluded many good Communists from their now revisionist Party. As a revolutionary Party their Party has ceased to exist.

The best revolutionary traditions of Communism in Australia are being carried on by the Marxist-Leninists whom this struggle has revealed to be strong and determined to prosecute the revolutionary struggle. The end result can only be beneficial: Marxism-Leninism becomes stronger in struggle: the dross will be thrown off.

**Attempt to Single Out Hill**

An attempt is made to single out E. F. Hill. This only betrays the contumely that revisionists have for people because it is based on the assumption that the many Australian Marxist-Leninists are just dupes of Hill whereas of course it is precisely their strength of Marxism-Leninism that joins them and Hill.

They are proud of their own revolutionary records and that indeed of E. F. Hill. In his case he has served the Australian working-class for almost 30 years.

Along with others, he has an outstanding record of Australian working-class patriotism — in the anti-war and anti-fascist struggle in the thirties, for collective security before World War II, for democratic rights, in the trade unions, in the period of the Communist Party’s illegality, in the anti-fascist war, in the great working-class struggles of 1946-7-8-9, in the defeat of the Essential Services Act, in the Sharpel Royal Commission, in the struggle against the Communist Party Dissolution Act, in the referendum of 1951, in the prosecution of the United front, in the Petrov Royal Commission, in the struggle against every deviation — Trotskyism, leftism, rightism, against the left and right deviations of J.D. Blake, above all, in the struggle against revisionism in 1956 and up till the present time for which he earned the undying hatred of the revisionists. His articles and pamphlets and speeches are recorded for all to see.

More than once the Communist Party Secretariat and Political Committee estimated that Hill had been singled out for attack by the revisionists and secret police.

And what of the outstanding working-class leaders C. O’Shea, P. Malone, T. Bull, N. Gallagher, K. Williams, tested and proven in a thousand struggles, comrades of sincerity, integrity who have never collaborated with the bosses contrary to many of their detractors, staunch Marxist-Leninists with immense mass prestige.

And what of the late K.C. Miller, a man with an unequalled record of revolutionary service and by far the most outstanding editor the working-class press has ever had in Australian history, a giant over his pygmy detractors. No doubt the struggle against revisionism contributed to his untimely death. And this is not to mention the great revolutionary service of Comrades F. Johnson, F. Russell, Vida and Vic Little.

At the behest of the Soviet Party leaders these Victorian Marxist-Leninists comprising the main Victorian Party leadership were “dismissed” by the revisionists.

No, it will not do for the Soviet Party leaders to speak of these people as “renegades”, “anti-Party”.

What is that itself if it is not interfering in the internal affairs of the Communist movement in Australia?

No Australian worker is going to see as renegades those Comrades whom the Soviet Party brands as renegades, anti-Party.

It would be far better for it and the Australian Party leaders to face up to the main theoretical questions in dispute.

Tell us just how you reconcile your present stand on Yugoslav revisionism with the 81 Parties’ Statement; just
how you reconcile your struggle against so-called dogmatism with the 81 Parties' Statement's estimate that revisionism is the main danger; just how you reconcile your respective initiatives in publicly attacking the Chinese and Albanian Parties with the 81 Parties' rules about inter-Party relations; just how you reconcile your confusion on the question of peaceful coexistence with the 81 Parties and Marxist-Leninist theses on just and unjust wars; just how you justify Soviet assistance to India in its aggression against China, and so on. Let us have a frank facing of that, and not try to dismiss it by abusing people as "renegades", "anti-Party". For it is just you who try to conceal your treachery to the 81 Parties' Statement under this type of attack.

We pledge ourselves to prosecute with the utmost determination:

(1) The struggle for a socialist Australia.

(2) The struggle for the united front of the working-class correctly based on an estimate of the Labor Party as a party of capitalism with great influence in the working-class.

(3) The struggle for peace directed above all against the aggressive war plans of U.S. imperialism and the Minsizes Government and aiming at the suppression of the movement for national liberation.

(4) The struggle for the everyday needs and democratic rights of the Australian people as an essential part of the struggle for socialism.

(5) The struggle to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism — the main danger to the Communist movement — and against its hand-maiden — dogmatism.

As for the Communist Party of China we are indeed proud that in common with it we are upholding Marxism-Leninism. It provides a sheet anchor for Marxist-Leninists everywhere.

Marxist-Leninists everywhere throughout the world rejoice in their strength. They rejoice in the great prestige of the Communist Party of China and its leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung. We join hands in this part of the world with the great Communist Parties of Indonesia and New Zealand in prosecuting the struggle for Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism will triumph. No force on earth can defeat it. Modern revisionism — Soviet or Australian brand — is doomed.

UPHOLD THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM!

Resolutions of the National Committee Of the C.P. of New Zealand
Reaffirm That Revisionism Is the Main Danger in the World Communist Movement

A meeting of the National Committee of the C.P. of New Zealand was held on October 26 and 27. V.G. Wilcox, the General Secretary, made a report on behalf of the Party's Political Committee to the National Committee on the ideological differences in the world communist movement. Following are the resolutions adopted by the National Committee on the subject. — Ed.

1. This meeting of the National Committee, after hearing the political committee report on the ideological differences, re-endorses the decisions of the 1963 national conference of our Party on the ideological differences between the world Parties. These discussions reaffirm and strengthen our conviction that revisionism is the main danger in the world movement as indicated in the Moscow Statement. Further, we consider it has grown dangerously since 1960. Following this meeting, an inner-Party circular be issued, covering the ideological issues and points arising from the experiences of the Moscow delegation. Also, a short statement be authorized for publication in the People's Voice. Subsequently the Party statement on the Moscow discussions, with Comrade Suslov's reply and the National Committee's opinions on it be issued to the Party. In connection with the ideological differences, it is stressed that the Political Committee and the National Committee have, in line with the national conference decisions, been at pains to avoid the critical naming of Parties to the dispute, since it was not the desire to worsen a situation already serious. Following the 1963 conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the development of the dispute internationally has brought to the fore demands within our own Party and the working-class movement generally for more detailed information. The situation now demands that the New Zealand Party make clear publicly its position both inside and outside the country. This cannot be done without naming Parties and where they stand on the issues at difference. Therefore this meeting of the National Committee authorizes the issuing, early in the new year, for public circulation, of a pamphlet embodying the National Committee's views on the political issues in dispute within our world movement, and the Committee's reasons for those views.

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V.G. Wilcox's Report

In his report at the meeting of the National Committee of the C.P. of New Zealand, V.G. Wilcox stressed that the situation on the ideological differences had not improved, but sharpened. He stated that the situation now demanded that Party members be given more detailed information on the revisionist trends in the world communist movement, the National Committee's opinions on them and the reasons for their conclusions. The necessary documents were now being prepared and were to be distributed to the Party members as soon as possible.

He said that the National Committee's stand on the question of the international communist movement was motivated by a desire for world unity based on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and the correct methods of work stemming from these. These principles were embodied in the two basic documents of the international communist movement: the 1937 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world.

He said that despite the sharpening of the disputes over the world ideological issues there were no reasons for despondency. Life itself was showing the correct path towards unity. Among the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world there was a growing trend towards the resolving of the differences in a correct Marxist-Leninist manner.

2. This meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand is conscious that the resolving, on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism, of the ideological differences between the world Parties is the basic prerequisite for the preservation of the world outlook and unity of the international communist movement. This is the necessary condition for a worldwide advance by the progressive forces in every country. The National Committee therefore endorses the National Secretariat statement published in the People's Voice, Number 41, dated October 23, 1963. The Committee further resolves that the statement be circulated to the world Parties.

3. This meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand holds that, despite serious differences on ideological problems between the world Parties, their importance to us and the views of members upon them, the primary task of all Party members is the development of the revolutionary movement in New Zealand in accordance with the decisions of the 1963 national conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

To base itself upon the experiences within its own country is fundamental to the practice of any Marxist-Leninist party. It logically follows that the experience gained from the application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of New Zealand is primary for the Communist Party of New Zealand. Any other approach would mean complete diversion from the struggles of the New Zealand people and the task of the Communist Party in those strivings. The understanding of the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism is the guide to a future which is at stake. Inherent in the acceptance of this, is the recognition of the necessity of more study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, if there is to be a correct understanding of the problems of the communist movement, both nationally and internationally.

Oppose Revisionism and Study Contemporary Revolutionary Problems

— Tasks Confronting Philosophy and Social Science —

Tasks confronting philosophy and social science in the present domestic and international situation were discussed at the fourth enlarged conference of the Committee of the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of the Chinese Academy of Sciences which was held here recently. The conference was attended by committee members and a number of noted scholars and young research workers. Also present were representatives sent by their colleagues from all parts of the country, and others who are concerned with this work.

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Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People’s Republic of China, delivered an important speech at the conference.

Po I-po, Vice-Premier of the State Council, made a report on the country’s economic situation and tasks.

The conference was presided over by Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Chou Yang, Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, made a report on “The Militant Tasks Confronting Philosophers and Social Scientists.”

Questions Under Discussion

Discussion at the conference stressed: the question of active struggle against modern revisionism in the sphere of philosophy and social science; another drive to study Marxism-Leninism and the thinking of Mao Tse-tung; the question of stepping up the study of the experience of contemporary revolutionary struggles; and the question of building and steeling the ranks of workers in philosophy and social science.

A great debate of tremendous historic importance is being waged between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism in the present international communist movement, it was pointed out. Workers in philosophy and social science should take an active part in this struggle, play a positive role and make their proper contribution. Modern revisionists have completely altered the revolutionary line and fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism. They are attacking all the basic principles of Marxism in philosophy, political economy, theories of socialism and communism, history, theories of literature and art, and in other fields.

It is necessary to repudiate modern revisionism comprehensively and systematically: politically, theoretically and in all spheres of philosophy and social science. It is necessary to defend, propagate and develop Marxism-Leninism. On the philosophy and social science front, this task is of cardinal importance, the conference emphasized.

Militant Marxists Steeled in Struggle

Workers in philosophy and social science are unable to steel themselves as worthy revolutionaries and militant Marxists unless they take an active part in this struggle. By being steeled in struggle, some who are not now revolutionaries will become revolutionaries, and some who are not Marxists will become Marxists. Herein lies the possibility of raising the academic level of social science and the theoretical level of Marxism. Marxism must be developed in struggle. Today, the people of the world are waging revolution on a greatly extended scale and much new revolutionary experience is being accumulated. In the struggle against modern revisionism, it is possible to develop Marxism-Leninism if this experience is summarized correctly and generalized as systematic theory.

Many speakers at the conference exposed and denounced various manifestations of modern revisionism in philosophy and the different branches of social science.

Modern Revisionism Refuted

They emphasized that for proletarian dialectical materialism the modern revisionists have substituted bourgeois idealist pragmatism of the era of imperialism, discarding both Marxist materialism and revolutionary dialectics. The modern revisionists have distorted and revised Marxist-Leninist teachings on the law of contradiction, and advocated theories of reconciling and dissolving contradictions, so as to fabricate the theoretical foundations for their political lines of “peaceful coexistence,” “peaceful emulation,” “peaceful transition,” “a state of the whole people” and “a party of the entire people.” The modern revisionists regard the concept of humanitarianism the same as the concept of scientific communism and have equated one with the other, alleging that “communism is the highest manifestation of humanitarianism,” and that “humanitarianism is the core of Marxism-Leninism,” in an attempt to merge Marxism-Leninism and communism with bourgeois humanitarianism. This actually is an attempt to substitute bourgeois humanitarianism for the communism of the proletariat, and to resort to the abstract, supra-class theories of human nature to oppose Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, and to oppose proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. They are putting up a bold front loudly saying that they are against peaceful coexistence in ideology, yet in reality they are trying to reconcile and merge proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology, through the medium of bourgeois humanitarianism.

In the field of political economy, the modern revisionists have declared that Leninist principles concerning imperialism are obsolete. One-sidedly and unduly they have stressed the so-called principle of individual material incentive. They have attempted to replace the principles of socialist economy with some principles of capitalist economy, to pave the way for the gradual degeneration from socialist economy to capitalist economy. As regards the theories of socialism and communism, they have fundamentally tampered with Marxist-Leninist theory on the state, on the proletarian dictatorship and on the proletarian party. While class struggle and class differences continue to exist, they have declared that “the proletarian dictatorship is no longer necessary,” that “the state of the entire people,” and “democracy for the entire people” has been realized, and that the proletarian party has become “the party of the whole people,” and what is more, they have labelled such nonsense “new creations.”

Study of Contemporary Revolutionary Problems

The conference discussed the key points of future research in philosophy and social science. It held that it was necessary to apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoints and methods to the study of the experiences and problems of the Chinese revolution and construction, of those of the revolutions of the world’s peoples as well as to the study of the history of China and the world, adhering to the principle of combining theory with actuality and linking

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up study with the current struggles against modern revisionism. Study of the experience of contemporary revolutionary struggles should be in the forefront of social science research. China has an extremely rich experience in democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction. Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party already have made fundamental generalizations of these experiences. Workers in social science should take Marxism-Leninism and the thinking of Mao Tse-tung as their guide and study and explain these experiences in different fields from an academic point of view. They should study various problems arising from practice, and sum them up in revolutionary, scientific writings to give guidance to practical work, to educate future generations, and make our internationalist contribution to the revolutionary people of the world. At the same time, it is necessary to step up the study of other countries, the study of the experience of the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the study of new problems that have emerged in the course of international struggle. This is why it is necessary to expand and strengthen appropriately the institutions specializing in the study of foreign countries and related specialities in colleges and universities, the conference asserted.

Research must face reality, and it is incorrect to pay more attention to the past than to the present, the conference said. Bold exploration should be made in studying problems which have never been dealt with by previous generations. To understand the world and transform it, revolutionary social scientists should explore anew many problems, although this or that kind of difficulty was bound to be encountered and this or that kind of mistake made. True contributions to science can be made only by those determined to open a path by breaking through the undergrowth and who do not hesitate to scale dangerous precipices, and by those who are unafraid of making mistakes and courageous enough to correct them and constantly remould themselves.

Our Attitude Towards Historical Heritage

In historical research, emphasis should be on the study of modern and contemporary history. The academic and cultural legacy of China and other countries should be studied from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and reviewed with a critical eye. How to handle the historical heritage is in fact a matter concerning the struggle between proletarian ideology on the one hand, and bourgeois and feudal ideology on the other. It is also a matter concerning the struggle between two different historical viewpoints — historical materialism and historical idealism. It is a matter involving whether or not to raise the banner of Marxist criticism in the field of history.

Only by analysing and judging by the methods of Marxist historical class analysis, can the fine essence be distinguished from the dregs of historical legacy and can one decide what to assimilate and what to discard. Only by sifting it critically by means of Marxism can the fine essence of that legacy become something scientific and significant for today. Encouragement should be given to those who dare to get out of the rut left by their predecessors, to re-evaluate history and study historical experience from a Marxist viewpoint, and put forward new propositions and new viewpoints. Encouragement should be given to boldness in theoretical study. One should aim to combine a highly revolutionary spirit with a highly scientific one and do one's best to avoid crude simplification.

In the social sciences, whether studying practical or theoretical questions or historical legacy, it is necessary to persist in the policy of “letting a hundred schools of thought contend” under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. If there is a departure from Marxism, it will become a policy of liberalization such as modern revisionism wants and is carrying out. On the other hand, if in academic questions the policy of “letting a hundred schools of thought contend” is not carried out and free discussion and independent thinking not encouraged, but administrative methods are used to solve complicated questions in the realm of the mind, then thinking in academic circles will become ossified. On one hand, bourgeois liberalism should be opposed and prevented and on the other hand ossified thinking should also be opposed and prevented. This is a struggle on two fronts which must be waged in academic work.

More Philosophy and Social Science Workers Needed

The ranks of workers in philosophy and social science should be greatly strengthened to meet the requirements of current struggles, the conference held. More young people need to be enlisted.

There are two fundamentally different lines of training workers in social science. One is to train them with a proletarian orientation, that is, to train them in the direction of being both “red and expert” and serving the people wholeheartedly, so that workers in social science become proletarian fighters closely linked with the labouring people. The other is to train them with a bourgeois orientation, that is, to train them in the direction of being experts without socialist consciousness, seeking personal fame and wealth, so that they become aristocrats of the mind, isolated from the labouring people and placing themselves above the labouring people. If this line of training is adopted, only revisionists, and new reactionary bourgeois experts could result.

The conference agreed that the principle proposed by Mao Tse-tung that writers and artists should go among the masses of workers and peasants and into the practical struggle, applies with equal force to the social science workers to whom this is a fundamental question, too. On one hand, social science workers should engage seriously in academic study, accumulate material systematically and acquire an abundant fund of knowledge. On the other hand, they should take an active part in the work and struggle of the masses of workers and peasants, steel themselves in work at the basic level, remould themselves and become truly linked with the worker and peasant masses. No one who is alien to the worker-peasant masses can become a real Marxist.
ROUND THE WORLD

South Viet Nam

The Ways of Imperialism

South Viet Nam offers a good example of the ways of U.S. imperialism. There, where it is fighting a losing colonial war, its running dog Diem was so unpopular that Washington had to send a bullet into his head and replace him with another of the same kind. Still, the change of regimes has not improved the situation. In the month after the Saigon takeover, more thousands of puppet troops have been put out of action and hundreds of "strategic hamlets" demolished. In a spectacular attack 40 kilometres west of Saigon, the people's forces smashed up a "special force" training base, putting out of action 235 enemy troops together with their American "advisers." In nearby Ca Mau, 6 American planes were downed and 13 others hit in one operation. Even in cities, anti-American demonstrations burst out right under the nose of the military.

U.S. imperialism has not, however, learnt its lesson. Johnson's first foreign policy directive after he became President was an order to American troops "to win the war" in south Viet Nam. This followed a meeting of top American officials and brasshats in Honolulu to plot new operations in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. Lodge, U.S. "ambassador" to south Viet Nam and chief architect of the Saigon coup, declared full support for the new puppet regime after consultation with Johnson.

These latest developments have clarified the south Vietnamese situation. U.S. imperialism is losing the war but it is ready to gamble still more stakes. Under such conditions, no illusions can be entertained about it changing its course.

U.N. & U.S.A.

Dutiful Pow-wow

Every year, and for 16 years in succession, the United Nations has found itself dutifully pow-wow-ning about the so-called Korean question, as if performing an annual ritual. This year is no exception. The current session has been landed with another of these discussions on a rigged-up issue universally known to be the handiwork of the U.S. State Department.

Ever since 1950 when the Truman Administration usurped the U.N. flag to cover its own private war of aggression against Korea, and thus reduced the international organization to the status of a belligerent, the United States has been using the U.N. to pursue its imperialist aims in that country. Now, as during the years of the Korean war, it uses the discussions to block peaceful reunification, cloak its own continued occupation of south Korea and churn out slanderous attacks against the Korean people.

The United Nations has been similarly misused by Washington in other parts of the world. In the name of the U.N., the United States swaggered into the Congo and brought it under its own domination. It used a U.N. "invesigation" to help push the neo-colonialist scheme of Malaysia. Recently it attempted to cover up its aggression in south Viet Nam by similar tactics.

If the United Nations is really concerned with the "establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea," it can do no better than demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from south Korea and prevent the U.S. from obstructing the efforts of the Korean people to achieve reunification of their country peacefully themselves, as called for in the recent memorandum issued by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Discussion of the "Korean question" at the U.N. can only further the ends of U.S. imperialism.

Japanese Elections

Reflecting the Basic Trend

Everything points to the success of the patriotic and democratic forces in the general elections last month. The Communist Party has increased its seats in the Lower House from three to five, lifting its votes by 42 per cent to 1.65 million. The Socialist Party also won more votes, though its seats have been reduced to 144 from 145 in the last election. The ruling Liberal Democratic Party lost 13 seats compared with the previous election and its relative strength has been further weakened. It won only 283 of the 467 seats and the attempt of Japanese reactionaries, and the U.S. imperialists, to capture a two-thirds majority and thus be able to revise the war-renouncing constitution has therefore again been checked.

Japan's ruling clique advanced the election date because the tide was turning against the government. A measure of the desperation felt by the reactionaries is that, in addition to the usual bribery, violence and anti-communist fanfare which attend campaigning, there was the despicable attempt on the life of Comrade Sanzo Nesakai, Chairman of the Communist Party. Yet, despite all this, taking place as it did in conditions of the mounting popular movement, the election ended up with results which reflected the people's growing strength and the rising prestige of the Communist Party.

The basic political fact in Japan today is that, tied to U.S. imperialism, the country is being pushed towards war and national disaster. Meanwhile, U.S. monopoly inroads and unfair trade practices are aggravating the economic crisis and causing the working people still greater hardships. All this is educating the Japanese so that more and more people, realizing that U.S. domination is the root cause of their numerous personal troubles, are taking to mass action. And that's why the democratic forces are growing while the reactionaries under U.S. wings are losing ground.

Pakistan Air Route

Inspired Discrimination

If the public in Pakistan are irate at Japan's refusal to agree to the proposed re-routing of the Karachi-Tokyo air flight, they are equally angry with the United States whose covert pressure is the real cause of this discriminatory act.

Pakistan recently proposed to amend its air agreement with Japan so that the flight between the two cities will stop over at Shanghai and Canton instead of at Singapore. The purpose is to shorten flying distance between Pakistan and Japan and also to facilitate air transport between China and Japan. However, bowing to U.S. dictates, the Japanese authorities turned down the request on the grounds of "political implications."

Pakistan has protested and demanded reconsideration. Officials and political figures in Rawalpindi as well as businessmen in Karachi are reminding the Japanese Government that the re-
fusal can only be regarded as "an unfriendly act." Recalling adverse U.S. comments on the Pakistan-China air agreement some time ago and the subsequent calling off of an already agreed U.S. loan for Dacca airport development [see Peking Review, No. 39], the Karachi daily *Dawn* asks: "Could there be a connection between that attitude of Washington and Tokyo’s present refusal to let Pakistan International Airlines operate to Japan through Canton and Shanghai? The Japanese are a proud nation and one does not like to think that they could be pressurized by any other government in matters of policy which fall within their own sovereign jurisdiction. But the coincidence will not go unnoticed."

In this as in many other questions, toeing the U.S. line which is to isolate China will bring no good to Japan. The move is one of discrimination against Pakistan, and it also undermines Sino-Japanese friendship and harms Japan’s own national interests. As to the plea of "political implications," *Dawn* points out that if this doesn’t prevent Japan from maintaining trade ties with China, how can Tokyo justifiably use it to bar Pakistan commercial planes from flying to Tokyo via Canton and Shanghai?

**World Council of Peace**

**Extraordinary Move**

Last week, when the World Council of Peace met in Warsaw, an extraordinary thing happened. The delegates from 80 countries who gathered to discuss questions of peace were asked to honour the memory of a man who as President of the United States was the worst enemy of world peace. Jacques Madaule, a French Catholic, who was supposed to be speaking on nuclear war and disarmament, started singing the praises of the assassinated president. He asserted that Kennedy's death was a "big blow to the international atmosphere of mutual trust" and proposed that all stand up to observe a moment’s silence in his memory. The manner in which this proposal, without prior discussion by the Presidium of the World Council of Peace, was sprung on the meeting shows that a handful of people for reasons best known to themselves wanted to glorify the deceased chieftain of U.S. imperialism.

Tang Ming-chao, in the name of the Chinese delegation, opposed the proposal. But his request to speak was rejected out of hand by Ostap Dluski of Poland, the executive chairman of the session. Thereupon the delegations from China, Viet Nam, Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Albania, from the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam and a number of European countries remained in their seats, refusing to observe the minute’s silence. The head of the Soviet delegation, the first to respond to the proposal, remained standing, a picture of grief. So did members of the Indian delegation, equally mournful-looking.

Finally, after prolonged consultations, the Chinese delegation was allowed to speak briefly. "We would not be sincere to all the friends taking part in this meeting, nor would we be true to ourselves were we not to raise our voices in protest against this proposal," said Tang Ming-chao. "This session of the World Council of Peace is a meeting of representatives of people’s organizations from many different countries. People who participate in this meeting not only hold different views, but come from countries which have different relations with the United States. Therefore, it is most improper to propose in this meeting to observe silence for the late President of the United States. Our meeting should be a meeting to discuss questions concerning world peace, questions concerning the struggle against the enemies of peace. It should not be used to eulogize leaders of the U.S. Government, a government which is pursuing a policy of intervention, war and aggression all over the world. Instead of paying tribute to the late President of the United States, who was the head of the greatest imperialist power, our meeting should pay tribute to all those men and women who died heroically fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the defence of world peace, for national liberation and against racial discrimination."

Tang Ming-chao finished speaking amid loud applause, and delegates from many countries went over to congratulate him for what they acclaimed as "an excellent statement." U.S. delegates were the first to do so, and they were followed by those from Chile, Sweden, Belgium, Mozambique, and Uganda among others.

The late John F. Kennedy was no man of peace. As the statement issued by the delegation of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic points out, "It was Kennedy who stepped up the war of aggression against south Viet Nam... It was Kennedy who sent mercenaries to attack Cuba. And it was Kennedy who was responsible for experimenting with 'special warfare' and even using toxic chemicals in south Viet Nam."

It was a mockery, if not an insult, to propose that the World Council of Peace, of all international bodies, pay tribute to a man with such a record.
CHESS

"Weiqi" in China
- As Seen From Sino-Japanese Matches

The September visit of a top Japanese weiqi quintet served as a new stimulus to the many Chinese devotees of this ancient game. Chinese players were afforded a chance to study from Japanese past-masters long known for their achievements in the field, and to review their own ability and progress in weiqi.

Led by Masao Sugich, professional 9th dan (top-grade player in Japan), the team was made up of Naoki Miyamoto, professional 8th dan (2nd grade), Munehisa Kuwabara, professional 7th dan (3rd grade), Bunsho Murakami, amateur 6th dan (4th grade) and Keichi Taoka, amateur 5th dan (5th grade). This was the strongest team to come to China since frequent reciprocal visits were resumed between the two countries in 1960. Until September, in Japanese weiqi, a professional 9th dan player had never been defeated by an amateur.

In a series of 11 matches in Hangchow, Shanghai and Peking, the Chinese amateurs won 19 games, lost 33 and tied 1. This is a telling score when placed alongside the first two Sino-Japanese matches in 1960 and 1961 in which the Chinese won 2, lost 32 and tied 1, and won 5, lost 34 and tied 1.

Most impressive was the upset by 19-year-old Chen Chu-teh of Shanghai over Japanese 9th dan player Masao Sugichi by half a piece in a gruelling nine-hour contest. Chen, runner-up in last year's national championship, won four other games against the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th dan Japanese players. Eighteen-year-old Wu Sung-sheng registered wins over the Japanese 7th and 8th dan players. Twenty-year-old Shen Ko-sun also defeated the Japanese 6th and 7th dan players. Hitherto, Chinese players had never topped 8th or 9th dan players from Japan.

The relatively tender ages of the Chinese participants was a salient feature of the recent matches—mostly veterans had been pitted against Japanese players. Most of these youngsters only learnt the game six or seven years ago. Their rapid progress testifies to the revival and growth of a game long dormant under the Kuomintang rule.

Weiqi, along with international chess and xiangqi, another form of Chinese chess, are recognized sports in China and are vigorously promoted by sports organizations in all cities. Regular training classes, exhibition matches, city, inter-city, and national championships are held.

Once considered an "old man's game," it is rapidly catching on among teenagers. A weiqi palace has been built in Canton; a weiqi journal is published in Shanghai; nationwide children's championships as well as adult tournaments are big attractions; early this year, China's first weiqi school for children was founded in Canton. It has some 50 students aged 7 to 14. Fifteen of them are girls. Spare-time and tuition-free, the school gives lectures, training courses and demonstrations thrice weekly.

Popular interest is not confined to sex or age. A correspondent of the Japanese paper Asahi Shimbun, from a country where the game is very popular, was surprised to note on September 25:

"The first [Sino-Japanese] match in Hangchow took place the morning after a hurricane hit coastal Chekiang. The game was scheduled for 9, but enthusiastic weiqi fans, the hurricane notwithstanding, streamed into the exhibition hall as early as 7. Among them were young women, old people and primary school pupils. One can see from this that weiqi is a healthy spare-time activity in China, and is gaining both in level of play and in popularity..."

Chinese players, however, still have much to learn. Experts who attended the recent Sino-Japanese matches noted that the young Chinese players showed an appropriate swiftness of decision in giving up ground when necessary in order to renew their attack elsewhere so as to retain the initiative in the middle game, and a commendable unflagging spirit against strong opponents. In both theory and practice of the opening strategy, however, their youth and inexperience was apparent. In this and many other ways, Chinese players have benefited greatly from contact with Japanese masters, and hope to learn still more from them through frequent future matches.

SHORT NOTES

Peasants' Library Publishing House Founded. The spread of culture in the rural areas has brought in its wake increasing demands for all types of literature. Major publishing houses are working hard to satisfy this demand. A new publishing house just set up in Peking, the Peasants' Library, will add greatly to the number of books available. Forty inexpensive editions, including plays, operas, songs, ballads and rhymes, written in a concise and popularized form, have already been published. Books on political theory, literature and popular science will follow.

An absorbing match

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