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SELECTED WORKS
OF
MAO TSE-TUNG
Volume I
English Language Edition

This volume contains seventeen of Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s important writings of the First Revolutionary Civil War Period (1924-1927) and the Second Revolutionary Civil War Period (1927-1937).

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Among the major events of the week:

- **Hongqi**, theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in its combined Nos. 21 and 22 issue published an editorial entitled “Why Khrushchov Fell.”

- In his message greeting the opening of the international conference for solidarity with the Vietnamese people, Premier Chou En-lai pledged that the Chinese people would never sit idly by should aggression be committed against their brotherly neighbour.

- The Chinese Party and government delegation led by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien left for Tirana to attend the celebrations for the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Albania.

- On November 22 *Renmin Ribao* published the editorial “New Starting Point for Efforts to Ban Nuclear Weapons Completely.”

- A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, on November 21, expressed the Chinese people’s indignation at the Sato government’s refusal to permit a Chinese Communist Party delegation to enter Japan to attend the 9th Congress of the Japanese Communist Party.

  *Renmin Ribao’s* Commentator on November 23 denounced the Sato government’s action as a grave step hostile to the Chinese people.

- On November 24 and 25, *Renmin Ribao* carried two articles by Observer respectively denouncing the Sato government’s ridiculous attitude towards China’s successful exploding of its first atom bomb and exposing its scheme to create “two Chinas” by tocing the U.S. line.

- *Renmin Ribao’s* Commentator on November 25 called on all who love peace and uphold justice to put a stop to armed aggression by the U.S. and Belgian imperialists against the Congo (Leopoldville).

- A theatrical festival of China’s national minorities has opened in Peking.

- The Chinese press published:

  — statements and comments by fraternal Parties on Khrushchov’s fall.

  — excerpts from articles in the November issue of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* attacking the Chinese Communist Party.

### Chinese Delegation Leaves for Albania

A Chinese Party and government delegation left Peking for Tirana on November 23 to take part in the celebrations for the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Albania. Led by Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, the delegation was invited by the Albanian Party of Labour and Government. It was seen off at the airport by Premier Chou En-lai and other leaders.

**Celebration Activities.** Peking, Shang-hai, Canton and other cities are holding a “Sino-Albanian Friendship Week” (November 25-December 1) as part of the celebrations for the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Albania. Albanian films will be shown during the week and there will be a photographic exhibition in Peking showing Albania’s progress over the past 20 years. Factories, people’s communes, schools and chil-
children's palaces will hold meetings to mark the occasion.

**Vice-Premier Chen Yi Returns**

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi returned to Peking from Canton by special plane on November 22 after a visit to Asian and African countries.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, who is also Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, headed the Chinese Party and government delegation to the celebrations for the 10th anniversary of the Algerian revolution in Algiers. Later, he headed the Chinese government delegation to the celebrations for the 11th anniversary of Cambodia's independence in Phnom Penh. He also paid a short visit to the United Arab Republic and stopped over in Pakistan.

On his return, the Vice-Premier and his party were given a warm welcome at Peking Airport by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier; Marshal Ho Lung. Member of the Political Bureau of Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; and other leading comrades.

**Awards for Victors Over U.S. Spy Plane**

The air force unit which downed the unmanned high-altitude U.S. reconnaissance plane over central-south China last week celebrated its victory at a meeting on November 17. Defence Minister Marshal Lin Piao's order of commendation was read out; awards were presented and new military ranks were conferred on those who had distinguished themselves in the action.

Air Force Major-General Chang Ting-fa, in his address at the rally, described the unit's success as another major victory scored by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. He condemned U.S. imperialism for engaging in a serious military provocation by sending this plane to spy over China.

U.S. imperialism, he said, had resorted to the use of this unmanned high-altitude reconnaissance plane after manned U.S.-made planes of the Chiang Kai-shek gang had been shot down again and again by the P.L.A. "But U.S. imperialism has miscalculated," he said. "No matter what type of aircraft is used, manned or unmanned, it cannot escape destruction at the hands of the P.L.A., armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking." He urged the unit to guard against conceit and work unceasingly to improve its combat skill and win new victories.

**Chinese Delegation to Hanoi**

China has sent a delegation to attend the International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace which opened in Hanoi on November 25. The delegation is led by Liu Ning-I.

**China Peace Committee Delegation in Rome**

The China Peace Committee delegation led by Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the Committee, arrived in Rome on November 18 at the invitation of the Italian Peace Committee.

**GANEFO Anniversary Marked**

A year ago, the successful holding in Djakarta of the First Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) marked a tremendous victory for the people of the new emerging countries in their struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism. On its first anniversary, Vice-Premier Ho Lung, Honorary Chairman of the Chinese National Committee for GANEFO, sent a message of greetings to President Sukarno, Honorary Chairman of the GANEFO Federation.

Peking held a rally on November 24 to celebrate the First GANEFO and the founding of the GANEFO Federation. Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Chen Yi, Indonesian Charge d'Affaires ad interim Talibur Ariffin Mocthar and diplomatic envoys from countries participating in the Djakarta games were among the 15,000 people present.

Speaking at the rally Huang Chang, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese National Committee for GANEFO, paid tribute to the success of the games in Djakarta. "Initiated by President Sukarno of Indonesia, GANEFO's birth ushered in a new era in the history of world sport," he said. "Its great success has set a brilliant example for the people of various countries in their struggle against imperialism." Condemning the imperialists' attempt to sabotage GANEFO, he expressed confidence that all imperialist intrigues would be smashed.

Indonesian Charge d’Affaires Mocthar, in his speech, recalled the democratic and non-discriminating spirit that prevailed at the First GANEFO. He said that the scale of celebrations in China this year helped him to feel that spirit again. He declared: "GANEFO does not belong to Indonesia or the Chinese People's Republic, but to all progressive countries in the world.

**Japanese Women's Volleyball Team in Peking**

Japan's Nichibo Kaizuka, world champion team in women's volleyball, defeated the Peking Physical Culture Institute team in three straight games (15-8, 15-5, 15-7) on November 23. This was their first match in China. Among the 6,000 spectators who packed the Peking Gymnasium were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Chen Yi and Mayor Peng Chen. After the match the Chinese leaders congratulated the Japanese players on their fine performance.

Exciting play kept spectators on the edge of their seats. The Japanese girls' hard smashing, stonewalling defence and wonderful retrieves, varied tactics and, not least, exceptional stamina combined to give the fans an hour and a half of volleyball at its best. By popular request, the visitors played two extra games with the home team. They won 15-4 and 15-11.

(Continued on p. 9.)
Premier Chou Greets Conference for Solidarity With Vietnamese People

* Chinese people will never sit idly by when aggression is being committed against their brotherly neighbour.
* They will not allow U.S. imperialism to ride roughshod in Indo-China.

On November 24 Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to the International Conference for Solidarity with the Vietnamese People Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace held in Hanoi. The message was addressed to the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Viet Nam Committee for the Defence of World Peace and the Viet Nam Committee for Solidarity with Afro-Asian Peoples for transmission to the international conference. The message reads:

On the occasion of the successful opening of the International Conference for Solidarity with the Vietnamese People Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace in the capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, I extend warm congratulations to the conference on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, wishing ever greater victories to the heroic Vietnamese people and full success to this conference of the peoples of various countries for unity against imperialism and in defence of peace.

The heroic Vietnamese people are standing in the forefront of the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism. Confronted with the frantic aggression of the U.S. imperialists, the people in southern Viet Nam have waged a most arduous struggle and won brilliant victories. The people in northern Viet Nam, while building up and defending their socialist north, are giving active support to their valiant embattled compatriots in the south. The victorious counter-blows to the U.S. provocateurs in the Bae Bo Gulf incident by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the recent Bien Hoa victory of the people of southern Viet Nam eloquently prove that no force on earth can impede the sacred struggle of a great nation striving for peace, reunification, independence, democracy and strength for their country.

The struggle and victories of the Vietnamese people have an exceedingly important significance for the people of the world who oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the whole world. The struggles of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos, Cuba, the Congo and elsewhere in the world against imperialism headed by the United States are encouraging and supporting one another. Every victory of the Vietnamese people is a strong support for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle to oppose imperialism and to win and safeguard their national independence. The anti-imperialist struggle of all the revolutionary people in Asia, Africa and Latin America and elsewhere in the world is, in turn, a strong support for the Vietnamese people. The victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people has made an important contribution to the cause of defending world peace. Their struggle again testifies that U.S. imperialism, though seemingly powerful, is nothing but a paper tiger, outwardly strong, but inwardly weak; and that the people of any country, so long as they unite, dare to defy the enemy and persist in struggle, will certainly be able to defeat the U.S. aggressors with the support of the people of the whole world.

U.S. imperialism is attempting to extend the war in Indo-China because it has got itself into an impasse in southern Viet Nam. It has made repeated outcries for attacking the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, stepped up its armed intervention in Laos and committed ever more frequent incursions on the Kingdom of Cambodia. This plot of U.S. imperialism cannot but heighten the vigilance of all peace-loving countries and peoples.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and China are brotherly neighbours closely related like the lips and the teeth; the Chinese people and the Indo-Chinese peoples are closely related kinsmen. China has always abided by the Geneva agreements of 1954 and 1962 and has consistently striven for a peaceful solution of the Indo-China question on the basis of the two sets of Geneva agreements. However, the Chinese people will never sit idly by when aggression is being committed against their brotherly neighbour; nor will they allow U.S. imperialism to ride roughshod in Indo-China. Should U.S. imperialism brazenly embark on the dangerous course of further extending the war in Indo-China it will only end up in a total and disgraceful fiasco. Our Vietnamese brothers may rest assured that the Chinese people will for ever stand by them in their just struggle against U.S. aggression.

The present international situation is most favourable to the revolutionary people of all countries. U.S. imperialism is approaching its doom. No desperate struggle or mad outcries can save it from its sealed fate. It is the people who decide the destiny of the world. We are deeply convinced that the heroic Vietnamese people, with the support of the people of the world, will certainly win final victory in repelling the aggression of U.S. imperialism and defending peace.

November 27, 1964
WHY KHRUSHCHEV FELL

— Editorial, Hongqi, Nos. 21–22, November 21, 1964 —

Khrushchev has fallen.

This arch-schemer who usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, this Number One representative of modern revisionism, has finally been driven off the stage of history.

This is a very good thing and is advantageous to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

The collapse of Khrushchev is a great victory for the Marxist-Leninists of the world in their persistent struggle against revisionism. It marks the bankruptcy, the fiasco, of modern revisionism.

How was it that Khrushchev fell? Why couldn’t he muddle on any longer?

This question has aroused different comments from different political groups all over the world.

The imperialists, the reactionaries, and the opportunists and revisionists of all shades, whether they sympathize with Khrushchev or have had conflicts of interest with him, have expressed varied views on the sudden collapse of this seemingly “strong man,” Khrushchev.

Many Communist and Workers’ Parties have also published articles or documents expressing their opinion on Khrushchev’s downfall.

In the present article we too would like to discuss the question of Khrushchev’s downfall.

For Marxist-Leninists, this downfall is not something which is hard to understand. Indeed, it may be said to have been fully expected. Marxist-Leninists had long foreseen that Khrushchev would come to such an end.

People may list hundreds or even thousands of charges against Khrushchev to account for his collapse. But the most important one of all is that he has vainly tried to obstruct the advance of history, flying in the face of the law of historical development as discovered by Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary will of the people of the Soviet Union and the whole world. Any obstacle on the people’s road of advance must be removed. The people were sure to reject Khrushchev, whether he and his kind liked it or not. Khrushchev’s downfall is the inevitable result of the anti-revisionist struggle waged staunchly by the people of the Soviet Union and revolutionary people throughout the world.

Ours is an epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are moving to their doom and socialism and communism are marching towards victory. The historic mission this epoch has placed on the people is to bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man through their own efforts and in the light of the concrete conditions of their respective countries. This is the inexorable trend of historical development and the common demand of the revolutionary people of the world. This historical trend is an objective law which operates independently of man’s will, and it is irresistible. But Khrushchev, this buffoon on the contemporary political stage, chose to go against this trend in the vain hope of turning the wheel of history back on to the old capitalist road and of thus prolonging the life of the moribund exploiting classes and their moribund system of exploitation.

Khrushchev collected all the anti-Marxist views of history’s opportunists and revisionists and out of them knocked together a full-fledged revisionist line consisting of “peaceful coexistence,” “peaceful competition,” “peaceful transition,” “the state of the whole people” and “the party of the entire people.” He pursued a capitulationist line towards imperialism and used the theory of class conciliation to oppose and liquidate the people’s revolutionary struggles. In the international communist movement, he enforced a divisive line, replacing proletarian internationalism with great-power chauvinism. In the Soviet Union he worked hard to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat, attempting to replace the socialist system with the ideology, politics, economy and culture of the bourgeoisie, and to restore capitalism.

In the last eleven years, exploiting the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the first socialist country that had been built up under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchev committed all the bad things he possibly could in contravention of the genuine will of the Soviet people. These bad things may be summed up as follows:

1. On the pretext of “combating the personality cult” and using the most scurrilous language, he railed at Stalin, the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. In opposing Stalin, he opposed Marxism-Leninism. He tried at one stroke
to write off all the great achievements of the Soviet people in the entire period under Stalin's leadership in order to defame the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system, the great Soviet Communist Party, the great Soviet Union and the international communist movement. In so doing, Khrushchev provided the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries with the dirtiest of weapons for their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist activities.

2. In open violation of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960, he sought “all-round co-operation” with U.S. imperialism and fallaciously maintained that the heads of the Soviet Union and the United States would “decide the fate of humanity,” constantly praising the chieftains of U.S. imperialism as “having a sincere desire for peace.” Pursuing an adventurist policy at one moment, he transported guided missiles to Cuba, and pursuing a capitulationist policy at another, he docteely withdrew the missiles and bombers from Cuba on the order of the U.S. pirates. He accepted inspection by the U.S. fleet and even tried to sell out Cuba’s sovereignty by agreeing, behind the Cuban Government’s back, to the “inspection” of Cuba by the United Nations, which is under U.S. control. In so doing, Khrushchev brought a humiliating disgrace upon the great Soviet people unheard of in the forty years and more since the October Revolution.

3. To cater to the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and prevent socialist China from building up her own nuclear strength for self-defence, he did not hesitate to damage the defence capabilities of the Soviet Union itself and concluded the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty in collusion with the two imperialist powers of the United States and Britain. Facts have shown that this treaty is a pure swindle. In signing this treaty Khrushchev perversely tried to sell out the interests of the Soviet people, the people of all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving people of the world.

4. In the name of “peaceful transition” he tried by every means to obstruct the revolutionary movements of the people in the capitalist countries, demanding that they take the so-called legal, parliamentary road. This erroneous line paralyses the revolutionary will of the proletariat and disarms the revolutionary people ideologically, causing serious setbacks to the cause of revolution in certain countries. It has made the Communist Parties in a number of capitalist countries lifeless social-democratic parties of a new type and caused them to degenerate into servile tools of the bourgeoisie.

5. Under the signboard of “peaceful coexistence” he did his utmost to oppose and sabotage the national-liberation movement and went so far as to work hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations. He instructed the Soviet delegate at the United Nations to vote for the dispatch of forces of aggression to the Congo, which helped the U.S. imperialists to suppress the Congolese people, and he used Soviet transport facilities to move these so-called United Nations troops to the Congo. He actually opposed the revolutionary struggles of the Algerian people, describing the Algerian national-liberation struggle as an “internal affair” of France. He had the audacity to “stand aloof” over the events in the Gulf of Bac Bo engineered by U.S. imperialism against Viet Nam and edged his brains for ways to help the U.S. provocateurs get out of their predicament and to whitewash the criminal aggression of the U.S. pirates.

6. In brazen violation of the Statement of 1960, he spared no effort to reverse its verdict on the renegade Tito clique, describing Tito who had degenerated into a lackey of U.S. imperialism as a “Marxist-Leninist” and Yugoslavia which had degenerated into a capitalist country as a “socialist country.” Time and again he declared that he and the Tito clique had “the same ideology” and were “guided by the same theory” and expressed his desire to learn modestly from this renegade who had betrayed the interests of the Yugoslav people and sabotaged the international communist movement.

7. He regarded Albania, a fraternal socialist country, as his sworn enemy, devising every possible means to injure and undermine it, and only wishing he could devour it in one gulp. He brazenly broke off all economic and diplomatic relations with Albania, arbitrarily deprived it of its legitimate rights as a member state in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, and publicly called for the overthrow of its Party and state leadership.

8. He nourished an inveterate hatred for the Communist Party of China which upholds Marxism-Leninism and a revolutionary line, because the Chinese Communist Party was a great obstacle to his effort to press on with revisionism and capitulationism. He spread innumerable rumours and slanders against the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and resorted to every kind of baseness in his futile attempt to subvert socialist China. He perfidiously tore up several hundred agreements and contracts and arbitrarily withdrew more than one thousand Soviet experts working in China. He engineered border disputes between China and the Soviet Union and even conducted large-scale subversive activities in Sinkiang. He backed the reactionaries of India in their armed attacks on socialist China and, together with the United States, incited and helped them to perpetrate armed provocations against China by giving them military aid.

9. In flagrant violation of the principles guiding relations among the fraternal countries, he encroached upon their independence and sovereignty and willfully interfered in their internal affairs. In the name of “mutual economic assistance,” he opposed the independent development of the economies of fraternal countries and forced them to become a source of raw materials and an outlet for finished goods, thus reducing their industries to appendages. He bragged that
these were all new theories and doctrines of his own invention, but in fact they were the jungle law of the capitalist world which he applied to relations among socialist countries, taking the Common Market of the monopoly capitalist blocs as his model.

10. In complete violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties, he resorted to all sorts of schemes to carry out subversive and disruptive activities against them. Not only did he use the sessions of the Central Committee and congress of his own Party as well as the congresses of some fraternal Parties to launch overt large-scale unbridled attacks on the fraternal Parties which upheld Marxism-Leninism, but in the case of many fraternal Parties he shamelessly bought over political degenerates, renegades and turncoats to support his revisionist line, and to attack and even illegally expel Marxist-Leninists from these Parties, thus creating splits without considering the consequences.

11. He wantonly violated the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties and, playing the “patriarchal father Party” role, he willfully decided to convene an illegal international meeting of the fraternal Parties. In the notice dated July 30, 1964, he ordered that a meeting of the so-called drafting committee of the twenty-six fraternal Parties be held on December 15 this year, so as to create an open split in the international communist movement.

12. To cater to the needs of the imperialists and the domestic forces of capitalism, he pursued a series of revisionist policies leading back to capitalism. Under the signboard of the “state of the whole people,” he abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat; under the signboard of the “party of the entire people,” he altered the proletarian character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and divided the Party into an “industrial” and an “agricultural” party in contravention of the Marxist-Leninist principle of Party organization. Under the signboard of “full-scale communist construction” he tried in a thousand and one ways to switch back to the old path of capitalism the world’s first socialist state which the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin had created by their sweat and blood. His blind direction of Soviet agriculture and industry wrought great havoc with the Soviet national economy and brought great difficulties to the life of the Soviet people.

Everything Khrushchov did over the last eleven years proves that the policy he pursued was one of alliance with imperialism against socialism, alliance with the United States against China, alliance with the reactionaries everywhere against the national-liberation movements and the people’s revolutions, and alliance with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism. This policy of Khrushchov’s has jeopardized the basic interests of the Soviet people, the people of the countries of the socialist camp and the revolutionary people all over the world.

Such are the so-called meritorious deeds of Khrushchov.

The downfall of a fellow like Khrushchov is certainly not due to old age or ill health, nor is it merely due to mistakes in his methods of work and style of leadership. Khrushchov’s downfall is the result of the revisionist general line and the many erroneous policies he pursued at home and abroad.

Khrushchov considered the masses of the people as simply beneath his notice, thinking that he could manipulate the destiny of the Soviet people at his own sweet will and that the “heads” of the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, could settle the destiny of the people of all countries. To him, the people were nothing but fools and he alone was the “hero” making history. He vainly tried to force the Soviet people and the people of other countries to prostrate themselves under his revisionist baton. Thus he placed himself in direct opposition to the Soviet people, to the people of the countries of the socialist camp and to the proletariat and revolutionary people of the whole world, and got himself into an impasse—he was deserted by his own followers and could not extricate himself from internal and external difficulties. He put the noose around his own neck—dug his own grave.

History has witnessed many buffoons who cherished the idle hope of turning back the tide of history, but they all came to an ignominious end. Countless instances have demonstrated that the evil-doer who goes counter to the needs of social development and the will of the people can only end up as a ridiculous good-for-nothing, no matter what kind of “hero” he may have been, and no matter how arrogant. To start with the aim of doing harm to others only to end up by ruining oneself—such is the general law governing these people.

“Personages” such as Bakunin in the period of the First International were arrogant anti-Marxist “heroes” in their day, but they were soon relegated to the garbage-heap of history. Anti-Marxist “heroes” like Bernstein and Kautsky in the period of the Second International were once “formidable giants” entrenched in leading positions, but in the end history wrote them down as notorious renegades. Trotsky, the ringleader of the opposition faction, decked himself out as a “hero” after Lenin’s death, but facts confirmed the correctness of Stalin’s remark: “... he resembles an actor rather than a hero; and an actor should not be confused with a hero under any circumstances.”

“But progress is the eternal law of man’s world.” History has taught us that whoever wants to stop the wheel of history will be ground to dust. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly pointed out, imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, and the revisionists are too. However rampant and overbearing they
may be, “heroes” representing reactionary classes and reactionary forces are actually paper tigers, powerful only in appearance; they are only fleeting transients soon to be overwhelmed by the surging waves of history. Khrushchov is no exception. Just think of his inordinate arrogance in the days when he viciously attacked Stalin and Marxism-Leninism at the 20th and 22nd Congresses, and when at the Bucharest meeting he launched his surprise attack on the Chinese Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism. But it did not last long for this anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-Chinese “hero” to meet the same fate as his revisionist predecessors. However much people reasoned with him and asked him to return to the fold, he paid not the slightest heed and finally plunged to his doom.

Khrushchov has fallen and the revisionist line he enthusiastically pursued is discredited, but Marxism-Leninism will continue to overcome the revisionist trend and forge ahead, and the revolutionary movement of the people of all countries will continue to sweep away the obstacles in its path and surge forward.

Nevertheless, the course of history will continue to be tortuous. Although Khrushchov has fallen, his supporters — the U.S. imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists — will not resign themselves to this failure. These hooligans are continuing to pray for Khrushchov and are trying to “resurrect” him with their incantations, vociferously proclaiming his “contributions” and “meritorious deeds” in the hope that events will develop along the lines prescribed by Khrushchov, so that “Khrushchevism without Khrushchov” may prevail. It can be asserted categorically that theirs is a blind alley.

Different ideological trends and their representatives invariably strive to take the stage and perform. It is entirely up to them to decide which direction they will take. But there is one point on which we have not the slightest doubt. History will develop in accordance with the laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism; it will march forward along the road of the October Revolution. Beyond all doubt, the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the great Soviet people, with their revolutionary traditions, are fully capable of making new contributions in safeguarding the great socialist achievements, the lofty prestige of the first socialist power founded by Lenin, the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the victorious advance of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Let the international communist movement unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

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THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4)

**Militiamen Hold Military Tournaments**

Thousands watched as representatives of the people's militia of Shantung Province, gathered for military tournament in the provincial capital of Tsian, gave impressive demonstrations of their skill with arms and in carrying out Chairman Mao Tsetung's teachings on people's war.

The military games in Tsian were watched by Marshal Ho Lung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier; Senior General Lo Juiching, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army; and top-ranking officers of the P.L.A.

The over 1,300 militiamen and women who took part in the Tsian tournament came from units in factories, schools and government institutions, from the plains and mountains and coastal fishing grounds. They gave an all-round demonstration of defence techniques. A display of bayonet practice was given by militiamen from Shantung University and Tsian Motor Vehicle Works; this was followed by hand-grenade throwing, in which contestants achieved exceptional accuracy, and a show of mine warfare. In the shooting contests three generations of militiamen of three families fired and hit all 45 targets set out at distances of 100, 150 and 200 metres. Such techniques as one-handed shooting, shooting while riding a bicycle or from the top of a telephone pole, and rapid-fire marksmanship were also demonstrated. One militiaman and a militiaman girl in 53 seconds flat fired a total of 71 rounds from their semi-automatic rifles, and hit the target 70 times.

Militiamen in Hunan Province also held a tournament in Changsha. It was watched by Marshal Yeh Chien-yang, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, and local leaders.

**Home From Taiwan**

The Olympic sportsman and the member of the Taiwan “Olympic study mission” who broke with the Chiang regime on Taiwan are now happily reunited with their families in People's China.

Ma Ching-shan and Chen Chueh, the two men, announced in Tokyo that they had severed connections with the Chiang Kai-shek clique and wished to return to their homes on the mainland. They arrived in Tientsin on November 6, have been warmly welcomed and praised for their patriotic act and are now with their families.

Peking welcomed them at a rally on November 17. On behalf of the Physical Culture and Sport Commission, Tsai Ting-kai gave each of them a monetary award of 10,000 yuan. Vice-Mayor Wu Han gave them a hearty welcome and also thanked the Japanese people for helping them to return home. Praising them for their patriotic act, he said: “This reflects the common desire of all the people—physical culture workers, sportsmen, military and government personnel—in Taiwan to return to the embrace of the motherland and to bring about the reunification of its territory.”

November 27, 1964
Salute the Vietnamese People

Following is a translation of the November 25 "Renmin Ribao" editorial "Salute the Vietnamese People Standing in the Forefront of the Anti-U.S. Struggle." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

The "International Conference for Solidarity with the Vietnamese People Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace," attended by delegates from scores of countries, opened ceremoniously today in Hanoi. The Chinese people salute the Vietnamese people who are standing in the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle and wish this international conference success.

A Heroic People

The Vietnamese people are a great heroic people. They fought a protracted heroic struggle for national independence and liberation, finally won a glorious victory in the August Revolution and raised their radiant gold-starred red flag over their own land. They won the great Dien Bien Phu victory that shook the world, thereby paving the way for the success of the Geneva Conference and bringing about agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Indo-China question. Since then, the people in the northern part of Viet Nam, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, have diligently carried on socialist construction and the socialist revolution, actively supported their fellow countrymen in the south in their heroic fight, and made unremitting efforts in upholding the Geneva agreements, working for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and defending peace in Southeast Asia and the world. In the Bac Bo Gulf incident, the Viet Nam Democratic Republic by its resolute action dealt the U.S. aggressors a telling blow and demonstrated their indomitable heroism.

On their part, the people in the southern part of Viet Nam, led by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, are engaged in a tenacious and brave struggle against ferocious U.S. imperialism. Not long ago they won a great victory at Bien Hoa, demonstrating that the south Vietnamese people's armed forces have become so strong that they are able to deliver telling blows in the enemy's heartland.

The illustrious road travelled by the Vietnamese people, their dauntless spirit in fighting imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, and their repeated victories—all these have inspired the revolutionary struggles of the world's oppressed nations and peoples.

Today, the struggle of the people in south Viet Nam has enriched the experience gained in struggling against U.S. imperialism, particularly the experience of the oppressed nations opposing armed aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism. The people in the southern part of Viet Nam carry out large-scale guerrilla warfare on the plains which are densely populated, webbed with rivers and heavily guarded by enemy forces. By their own actions, they have greatly developed the strategic and tactical ideas of the people's war and raised the people's war to a new level. Their great creation in this respect has become the common wealth of the oppressed nations and peoples.

Significance of South Vietnamese People's Victory

The great significance of the victory won by the south Vietnamese people has reached far beyond the scope of a single country.

U.S. imperialism stands at the head of all aggressive forces; it is a "colossus." Its steel output amounts to more than 100 million tons a year; it brags that the number of nuclear bombs in its arsenal has reached five figures. Can an oppressed nation defeat such a vicious enemy? The living example of the south Vietnamese people tells us: U.S. imperialism, though powerful in appearance, is in essence a paper tiger and can certainly be defeated.

Suppression of national-liberation movements and seizure of the intermediate zones are important components of U.S. imperialism's "global strategy." It uses south Viet Nam as a "testing ground" for "special warfare"; this suffices to show what an important position aggression against south Viet Nam occupies in Washington's rabid plan for world domination. But the "test" results in victory for the south Vietnamese people and defeat for U.S. imperialism. This defeat suffered by U.S. imperialism is obviously not only the bankruptcy of the strategy and tactics of its "special warfare" but also a major setback for its "global strategy."

The struggle of the people in south Viet Nam has enriched the experience gained in struggling against U.S. imperialism, particularly the experience of the oppressed nations opposing armed aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism. The people in the southern part of Viet Nam carry out large-scale guerrilla warfare on plains which are densely populated, webbed with rivers and heavily guarded by enemy forces. By their own actions, they have greatly developed the strategic and tactical ideas of the people's war and raised the people's war to a new level. Their great creation in this respect has become the common wealth of the oppressed nations and peoples.

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This is precisely the reason why the victory of the people in south Viet Nam is of great international significance. This victory inspires and supports the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, pushes forward the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and greatly contributes to the defence of world peace. Similarly the struggles against imperialism waged by all the revolutionary people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world also give powerful support to the people of south Viet Nam and all the Vietnamese people. Just struggles against imperialism always inspire and support each other, and victories gained anywhere in the struggle against U.S. imperialism are contributions to the common cause of all the people in the world.

Washington Plans to Extend War

Today U.S. imperialism, though badly beaten by the people in south Viet Nam, is not reconciled to its failure. Officers and officials of the Johnson Administration are racking their brains for proposals to turn the tide that is running against U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam. One of the proposals contains the so-called "changing the terms of the problem" or "sticking our neck out." That is to say, so as not to be limited to the southern part of Viet Nam, the U.S. aggressive war should be extended from southern to northern Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China, or even to still larger areas. U.S. imperialism vainly hopes to find a way out by embarking on an adventure to extend the war.

Actually the Johnson government has long been stepping up its treacherous plan of adventurously extending the war. The United States has recently dispatched more than 1,000 additional aggressive troops to south Viet Nam. It stations long-range B-57 jet bombers in south Viet Nam bases. U.S. planes continue to intrude into the territorial air of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Warships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet are continuing to cruise in the Bac Bo Gulf. U.S. generals are again shouting about creating new Bac Bo Gulf incidents and resorting to "retaliatory bombing" of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Of late Taylor, U.S. Ambassador to south Viet Nam, has again been openly advocating "aerial assaults against north Viet Nam and Laos supply routes and bases." At the same time, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are also intensifying their armed provocations along the Cambodian border and their frenzied bombing and attacks against the Laotian liberated areas. U.S. planes and warships are increasingly intruding into China's territorial air and waters to carry out military provocation. These treacherous moves by the Johnson Administration to extend the war should arouse the high vigilance of all the peace-loving countries and peoples.

But it must be pointed out that, for U.S. imperialism, extension of its aggressive war cannot possibly serve as a remedy to save its lost cause in south Viet Nam. On the contrary, it is a dose of poison that will only bring on dangerous consequences. The Vietnamese people have already severely punished the U.S. Government for its concoction of the Bac Bo Gulf incident and for its barbarous aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Chinese Government and people, too, have declared unequivocally and on more than one occasion that any attack against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam means an attack against China, and that the Chinese people will certainly not stand idly by. It would be well for the Johnson Administration to understand that Indo-China and Southeast Asia are not places where U.S. imperialism can do what it wants with impunity. If it dares to carry further its venture of extending the war, it will be dealt fatal counter-blows and suffer an even more grievous defeat.

U.N. Has No Right to Intervene

While stepping up its deployment for extending the war, U.S. imperialism, together with its followers, is plotting to have the United Nations take a hand in the south Viet Nam question. It wants to use the U.N. as a tool to realize its criminal aim of suppressing the national-liberation struggle in south Viet Nam and turn it into a U.S. colony. The U.S. imperialists must not be allowed to succeed in this scheme.

Should the United States get the U.N. involved in the Indo-China question, the consequences will be obvious. One has only to recall such facts as the U.S. using the U.N. for aggression against Korea or intervention in the Congo to draw one's own conclusion. Besides, the south Viet Nam question and the Indo-China question as a whole have never had anything to do with the U.N. No U.N. body has any right to get involved in them, nor can it ever solve them. Any scheme for U.N. intervention in south Viet Nam, no matter under what name or in what way, can only meet with resolute opposition from the people of south Viet Nam and Indo-China.

The south Viet Nam question and the Indo-China question can only be settled peacefully on the basis of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements. The Co-Chairmen of the Geneva conference and all its participants are duty-bound to make joint efforts and take effective measures to halt U.S. aggression against south Viet Nam and Indo-China and uphold the Geneva agreements. Only thus can peace be restored there. This is the only correct way for solving the south Viet Nam and Indo-China questions. As a signatory to the two sets of Geneva agreements, the Chinese Government and people, as they have always done in the past, resolutely support the just, patriotic struggle of the south Vietnamese and Indo-Chinese peoples, and are prepared, together with all peace-loving countries and people, to make unremitting efforts for solving the south Viet Nam and Indo-China questions peacefully.

South Viet Nam belongs to the south Vietnamese people. Only they can decide its destiny. No willful interference by the U.S. imperialists will be brooked. They must get out of south Viet Nam; they must get out of all Indo-China. Long live the great victory of the south Vietnamese people's struggle for liberation.
New Starting Point for Efforts to Ban Nuclear Weapons Completely

Following is a translation of the November 22 "Renmin Ribao" editorial. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

MORE than a month ago, the Chinese Government, simultaneous with its announcement of the explosion of China's first atom bomb, solemnly declared to the whole world that China will never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government also formally proposed to the world's governments that a summit conference of all countries be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that, as the first step, the conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear powers and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

This proposal expresses the common aspirations of all peace-loving peoples of the world and has received the support of government heads in many countries. World public opinion has acclaimed it and considered it to be an important contribution to the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and to the cause of preservation of world peace.

It is true that the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can be realized only through hard and bitter struggles. Certain practicable measures have to be taken in order to attain this goal. This is agreed by all. Now the question is how the first step should be taken so as to facilitate the attainment of the goal rather than produce an adverse effect.

Tripartite Treaty: A Cover for U.S. Nuclear War Preparations

Some people say that the tripartite treaty for the partial suspension of nuclear testing is the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

This claim has been utterly refuted by what has happened in the last year and more. As everybody knows, the tripartite treaty was signed when the United States had already acquired enough technical data on atmospheric nuclear testing. This treaty in no way hampers the United States from continuing to use, manufacture and stockpile nuclear weapons, nor from conducting underground nuclear testing to develop tactical nuclear weapons, still less proliferating nuclear weapons under the smokescreen of the so-called multilateral nuclear force. On the contrary, the United States is using the tripartite treaty to pinion other countries, including those possessing nuclear weapons, so as to obtain nuclear superiority for continuing its policy of nuclear blackmail and threats. The United States is also using this treaty to hoodwink the peace-loving people of the world and weaken their struggle for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The tripartite treaty, therefore, not only puts off indefinitely the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons but also serves as a smokescreen for U.S. nuclear war preparations.

A Complete Test Ban Now Only Strengthens U.S. Nuclear Monopoly

Some people say that the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons can begin with the complete banning of nuclear testing.

On the face of it, such a ban sounds slightly better than a partial ban. In actual fact, there is little difference. The United States has carried out hundreds of nuclear tests of various kinds and possesses a huge nuclear arsenal. Under such circumstances, even a complete ban on nuclear testing will still leave this U.S. nuclear overlord intact. It will have no positive significance whatsoever if it is not accompanied by the prohibition of the use, production, stockpiling, import, export and proliferation of nuclear weapons. It can only serve to consolidate U.S. nuclear monopoly, deprive other countries of their legitimate right to develop nuclear weapons to resist the U.S. nuclear threat. It can only spread a false sense of security and weaken the struggle of all peace-loving peoples in the world for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. Far from enjoying peace and security as a result of a complete ban on nuclear testing, the world, on the contrary, will be subjected to even more serious nuclear threats by the U.S. nuclear overlord. It is just because of this that even a man like Dean Rusk is talking zealously about the need to conclude a so-called complete nuclear test ban treaty in the hope of using it to substitute the increasingly discredited tripartite treaty and further deceive the world's peace-loving peoples. Isn't it clear
as daylight whom a complete ban on nuclear testing will benefit?

Proposal to Destroy Delivery Means Complicates Issue

Some people say that destruction of the delivery vehicles of nuclear weapons can be taken as a primary measure for realizing the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

At first glance, such opinion seems to be not entirely senseless. But after a careful study, it is not difficult to see that this suggestion has a serious weakness. Devils are devils, whether they have long or short legs. Conventional weapons can launch nuclear bombs as well as the intercontinental ballistic missile. And ordinary aircraft can carry nuclear weapons as well as strategic bombers. The means of delivery is no longer as important a problem as it used to be, particularly since the United States is working hard to develop small but powerful nuclear weapons. The proposal to first of all destroy the means of delivery in effect confuses the question of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons with the question of reduction of conventional arms and thus greatly complicates the issue. Moreover, this proposal will inevitably involve the question of control which is the great obstacle to arms reduction deliberately put up by the United States during the disarmament talks. That is why although people at the disarmament negotiations have worn their lips thin and many years have been wasted, U.S. arms expansion has continued year by year. If the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons should begin with the destruction of the means of delivery only heaven knows when this goal will ever be attained.

Not to Use Nuclear Weapons: The Effective Step Towards Complete Prohibition

As the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, it is necessary to get at the real key question and not be bogged down by some minor and side issues. This first step must facilitate the taking of further steps and be conducive, not detrimental, to the gradual attainment of the aim of the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. This step must help check the nuclear arms race instead of serving as a smokescreen and help lessen the threat of nuclear war instead of increasing the threat. It must serve to promote the struggle of the peace-loving people the world over for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, and not lower their vigilance and pull the wool over their eyes.

It is precisely in the light of these principles that the Chinese Government has proposed that the various countries should agree to undertake not to use nuclear weapons, as the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Chinese government proposal is reasonable and practicable.

It is very easy for the countries possessing nuclear weapons to do this provided they harbour no aggressive intentions. After they have undertaken not to use nuclear weapons, it will no longer be necessary for them to continue nuclear testing and the production of nuclear weapons. The United States will then be unable always to intimidate others with nuclear weapons nor set up nuclear bases and spread nuclear weapons in other countries under this or that pretext. Then, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons will become unnecessary.

As for these countries which do not possess nuclear weapons, they will have no need to develop their own or import them from other countries, since the countries possessing nuclear weapons and those which may soon possess them will undertake not to use nuclear weapons, not to use them against non-nuclear countries.

Many countries at present are keenly interested in the establishment of nuclear-free zones. However, to really free the nuclear-free zones from the threat of nuclear war it is first necessary for the nuclear powers to undertake not to use nuclear weapons. Otherwise, the establishment of nuclear-free zones would be impossible and even if they be set up in name, all it means is that the non-nuclear countries would be deprived of their legitimate right to develop nuclear weapons to resist the nuclear menace and be bound hand and foot, while the nuclear powers would in no way be affected in their continued production, stockpiling and even use of nuclear weapons. Consequently, the sole result would be: the larger the nuclear-free zone, the graver the U.S. imperialist nuclear threat to the non-nuclear countries.

No question of control is involved in undertaking first of all not to use nuclear weapons. So long as the countries concerned have peaceful intentions, agreement can be reached quickly. Therefore this is simple and can be easily carried out.

For 20 years the peace-loving peoples of the world have resolutely opposed the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and threats and have demanded the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. There will be hope for the realization of this aim if the pledge is first of all taken not to use these weapons. This will be a major victory for the people of the world who cherish peace. It will inevitably inspire them with ever greater confidence in the struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and the development of this struggle will provide greater possibility of an early realization of this noble objective.

To undertake first of all not to use nuclear weapons is the only realistic and effective step towards complete prohibition. The Chinese Government has taken the lead in declaring that at no time and under no circumstances will it be the first to use nuclear weapons, and it is willing to reach an international agreement guaranteeing against their use. The question now is whether the U.S. Government is willing to
make the same commitment. The U.S. Government claims to be "peace-loving" while at the same time obstinately opposing the Chinese proposal for a world summit conference. We would like to ask the U.S. Government: if your peace babble is worth anything at all, are you willing to reach agreement with China, pending the convening of a world summit conference, on the question of guaranteeing not to use nuclear weapons?

China Will Not Take Part in Geneva Disarmament Talks

It seems that the U.S. authorities have no desire either to hold a world summit conference or to reach a bilateral agreement with China against the use of nuclear weapons. They have been declaring, evidently with an ulterior motive, that they have no objection to China's participation in the Geneva disarmament talks, thus trying to substitute the 18-nation disarmament talks for a summit conference of all countries.

We would like to point out that the Geneva disarmament talks are conducted within the framework of the United Nations. Over the past 15 years, the United States has deprived China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations by various sinister and despicable means. Now that China has nuclear weapons, the United States wants to drag her into the affairs of the United Nations. What is behind all this? Frankly speaking, China will have nothing to do with the United Nations as long as the latter fails to restore to the representative of the People's Republic of China the legitimate rights as the representative of the sole legal government of the Chinese people and as long as the illegal status of the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique is nullified. This stand of ours is absolutely unalterable.

Furthermore, under the manipulation of the United States, the United Nations has proved itself completely incapable of handling the disarmament question. For 18 years since the adoption of the resolution on "principles concerning the general adjustment and reduction of arms" at the first U.N. General Assembly in December 1946, the assembly has discussed the disarmament question every year but has failed to make any headway because of U.S. obstruction. On the contrary, the thicker the disarmament talks smokescreen, the more frantically the United States has carried out arms expansion and war preparations. U.S. military expenditure rose from 12,900 million dollars in 1949 to 60,000 million dollars in 1964. U.S. expenditure on the making of nuclear weapons increased from 200 million dollars in 1947 to 3,000 million in 1963. This is the greatest mockery of the U.N.-sponsored disarmament talks.

The Geneva 18-nation disarmament conference is in fact still under the manipulation and control of the United States and can in no way reflect the aspirations of the peoples. The conference has been in session for two and a half years and a pile of proposals of all kinds have been put forward but not a single question of substance has been solved. Even though some peace-loving countries are participating in the talks, this can in no way make the United States less peremptory. Thus, the Geneva disarmament conference has likewise served as a smokescreen for U.S. imperialist armament expansion and war preparations. It is more difficult for the Geneva disarmament conference to solve the question of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons than for a camel to pass through the needle's eye. We thank the U.S. Government for its generosity in not opposing China's participation in the Geneva disarmament conference but we must tell it frankly that it will not have the pleasure of our company.

All Countries Must Have Their Say

There is also the suggestion that the five countries possessing nuclear weapons should hold negotiations to discuss questions concerning nuclear weapons. We do not approve of this proposal either.

The reason is that the question at present is primarily one of a certain nuclear power posing a threat to all non-nuclear countries. It is a question which has a vital bearing on peace and security in the world. On this question, the more than 100 sovereign countries in the world, big or small, with or without nuclear weapons, should have the same say. What right do the five countries possessing nuclear weapons have to deprive more than 100 countries of their say and make arbitrary decisions on such a major question affecting the destiny of mankind?

China has consistently stood for discussion by all countries of the question of banning nuclear weapons. This was our stand when we did not have nuclear weapons. Now that we have them we still adhere to this stand. We have only one objective, namely, to make joint efforts with all peace-loving countries and people throughout the world to strive for the realization of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and by no means to use nuclear weapons to raise our own prestige and manipulate international affairs. So-called talks among the five countries possessing nuclear weapons would in fact be a nuclear club in disguise. We will not join such a club even if an invitation is sent us together with a sedan chair.

The struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons has been going on for many years. Now is the time to take practical and feasible steps to attain this objective. The Chinese Government's proposal has opened up a new avenue for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. It proposes to reach first of all an international agreement guaranteeing against the use of nuclear weapons, so as to provide a new starting point for their complete prohibition. It is our belief that no matter how U.S. imperialism may try to obstruct this, the Chinese government proposal will win the ever increasing support of peace-loving countries and peoples. The Chinese people will fight together with them to push the struggle for the prohibition of nuclear weapons on to a new path.
Hostile Move Against Chinese People
—Japan's Sato Government Denies Entry to C.P.C. Delegation—

In response to an invitation by the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party to attend its Ninth Party Congress, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party decided to send a delegation led by Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The delegation included Chen Yu and Hu Yao-pang, Members of the Central Committee; Yao Chen, Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee; and Chang Hsiang-shan, a leading functionary of a department of the Central Committee.

The Eisaku Sato government of Japan, however, unjustifiably refused to grant entry permits to the Chinese delegation. On November 21, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman issued a statement on the matter. On November 23, "Renmin Ribao's" Commentator also dealt with the Japanese Government's action in an article entitled "The Sato Government's Serious Move Hostile to the Chinese People." Following are the texts of the statement and the commentary. — Ed.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement

On November 21, the Sato government of Japan took the unreasonable action of denying entry to a Chinese Communist Party delegation led by Comrade Peng Chen. This can only arouse the great indignation of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Government regards this Japanese government action as a grave one. It is not a question of whether to issue entry permits, but one of what attitude the newly installed Sato government adopts towards the Chinese Government and people.

Friendship between China and Japan is a common desire of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. China's sending of an invited delegation headed by Comrade Peng Chen to Japan is an important step to strengthen Sino-Japanese friendship. It is welcomed by the Chinese people and by the Japanese people as well. By taking this unreasonable step the Sato government obviously has acted against the desires of the masses of the Japanese people and this inevitably will jeopardize the development of Sino-Japanese relations. That friendly relations between China and Japan in different spheres have reached their present dimensions has been no easy matter. We are glad to hear that efforts are being made by friends in Japan to get the Sato government to rescind its unreasonable act.

It must be seriously pointed out that if the Sato government persists in its unreasonable action, grave consequences are bound to arise.

"Renmin Ribao" Commentary

On November 21 the Eisaku Sato government of Japan bluntly denied entry to the Chinese Communist Party delegation, led by Comrade Peng Chen, which was being sent to attend the Ninth Congress of the Japanese Communist Party. This is not simply a question of granting entry permits or not, but a question of what attitude the newly installed Sato government takes towards the Chinese Government and people. It is a serious move hostile to the Chinese people and aimed at undermining Sino-Japanese friendship. The Chinese people certainly will not regard it with indifference.

The Sato government's denial of entry to the Chinese Communist Party delegation is absolutely unjustifiable. The delegation was invited by the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party to attend its coming congress. Such friendly contacts between lawful political parties are quite normal in all countries in the world, and there is no reason whatever to interfere. What is more, the sending to Japan of such an important Chinese delegation like this headed by Comrade Peng Chen is intended not only to strengthen the fraternal unity of the Chinese Communist Party and the Japanese Communist Party. It would also have a major bearing on the furtherance of friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. So there is still less justification for the Sato government to obstruct this important move on the part of China to promote Sino-Japanese friendship.

The Sato government tried to excuse itself by saying that it refused entry to the Chinese Communist Party delegation because once in Japan it "would aggravate the conflicts and strife in the country and would be inimical to Japan's interests and security." This is most absurd.

There are indeed conflicts and strife in Japan. But these are mainly rooted in the oppression of the Japanese people by U.S. imperialism and by Japanese monopoly capital which is an appendage of U.S. imperialism. Where there is oppression there are conflicts and strife. The more servile the Sato government becomes to U.S. imperialism, and the more it pursues Japanese monopoly capital's reactionary policy, the greater will be the resistance it arouses among the broad masses of Japanese people including all patriots, and the sharper will be the conflicts and strife in Japan. What has China got to do with all this?

As regards being "inimical to Japan's interests and security," one would like to ask: Does not the friendship between China and Japan conform precisely to the Japanese people's interests and security? China's dispatch of a delegation to Japan is aimed exactly at promoting Sino-Japanese friendship and corresponds to the Japanese people's interests. How can it be harmful to Japan's interests and security? As everybody knows, it is U.S. imperialism, and not anyone else, which is truly seriously jeopardizing the interests of the Japa-
Chinese people and posing a grave menace to Japan’s security. But soon after assuming office, the Sato government welcomed the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines into Japanese ports while it came out against efforts to promote Sino-Japanese friendship. This sharp contrast is a clear manifestation that what the Sato government represents is not the interests of the Japanese people; what it wants is not Japan’s security and what it is devoted to is not Sino-Japanese friendship. Is this not crystal clear?

The Chinese and Japanese peoples desire Sino-Japanese friendship. In the past few years, they have overcome numerous difficulties and made arduous efforts to promote the economic and cultural exchange and friendly contact between both countries. That friendly relations between China and Japan have reached their present dimensions has been no easy matter. China has received in a friendly way people of all circles from Japan, including Communists, socialists and others as well as personages of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. In this respect, the Chinese Government has done its best to provide all facilities. But the Japanese Government has repeatedly put up obstructions in this regard. Several times in the past it refused the entry of a number of Chinese delegates. Assuming power, the Eisaku Sato government now has gone so far as to deny entry into Japan to the Chinese Communist Party delegation led by Comrade Peng Chen. This can only mean that it has no respect for the desires of the Japanese people and attaches no importance to normal interchange between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and still less to the fruits of the development of friendly Sino-Japanese relations. This perverse action on the part of the Sato government will naturally affect friendly interchange between the two countries and endanger the development of their relations.

While commenting on the Sato government’s denial of entry into Japan to a Chinese Communist Party delegation, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman sternly pointed out that if it persisted in this unreasonable act and sabotaged friendly relations between China and Japan then “grave consequences are bound to arise.”

In the protracted struggle against the common enemy, the Communist Parties of China and Japan and the peoples of both countries have all along encouraged each other, supported each other and established a deep friendship. All those who sought to undermine this friendship, have come to nought in the past and will meet with failure in the future. The Chinese Communist Party and people will unwaveringly support the Japanese Communist Party and people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and other reactionaries.

The national interests of the Japanese people require that Japan break away from U.S. imperialist control, gain independence and improve its relations with China. But the Sato government instead of working towards this direction after it came to power shows itself even more subservient to U.S. imperialism, and has become more hostile to the Chinese people and Sino-Japanese friendship. We must warn the Sato government: Your perverse course of action will definitely bring you to no good end.

The Sato Government Does Not Know Which Way the Wind Blows

by OBSERVER

Following is a translation of a “Renmin Ribao” article published on November 24. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

China’s successful nuclear test is resounding throughout the world. All peace-loving countries and people are rejoicing and are inspired by this whereas U.S. imperialism and its followers are on tenterhooks.

Confronted by another break in its nuclear monopoly and a situation wherein the Chinese people have at last mastered the means of nuclear self-defence, all that U.S. imperialism can do is wail helplessly. The Japanese Government, however, has repeatedly come to the fore to “protest” to China and express its “regrets.” Eisaku Sato himself has even asked China to “suspend further nuclear tests and quickly take the initiative of joining the partial nuclear test ban treaty.” How arrogant and ridiculous! The Japanese Premier certainly does not even know which way the wind blows!

What reason is there for the Japanese Government to grumble about China’s proper action to strengthen its national defence and safeguard world peace?

Japanese Government and People Have Nothing in Common

The Japanese Government declares that its “protest” is “in the name of the Japanese people” and expresses Japanese “national sentiment.” This is a big lie.

It is quite understandable that the Japanese people, thrice victims of nuclear calamities at the hands of U.S. imperialism, are firmly opposed to nuclear war and genuinely aspire to the banning of nuclear weapons. More and more of them have come to know that U.S.
imperialism is the source of nuclear war. Nuclear weapons can be prohibited and nuclear war prevented only by taking effective measures to resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and threats, and preparations for a nuclear war. China is forced to conduct nuclear tests and develop nuclear weapons; it does this for self-defence and the preservation of world peace. That the Chinese people have got possession of nuclear weapons and caused another break in U.S. imperialism’s nuclear monopoly has created favourable conditions for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. This is in the interest of the Chinese people, the Japanese people and people all over the world. And this is why the Japanese masses have hailed China’s successful nuclear test with such high spirits and warmly supported the Chinese government proposal concerning the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. There are even people in the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party, the party in power, who indicate that they understand that it is proper for China to carry out nuclear tests.

Can there be anything in common between the Japanese Government’s attitude towards the question of China’s nuclear tests and the sentiments of the Japanese people who are in the forefront of the fight against the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war? The Japanese Government has gesticulated and criticized, pretending this is in the “name” of the Japanese people. This makes it look all the more ugly. As a Chinese saying puts it: “Pigey is dressing itself up as a bride.”

Frankly speaking, the Japanese Government has no right whatsoever to “protest” against China’s nuclear test. Japanese militarism once launched a war of aggression against China which caused great losses in Chinese lives and property. Toeing the U.S. imperialist line now, the Japanese Government, under the so-called Japanese-U.S. security treaty system, is turning the country into a U.S. base for nuclear war preparations and actively serves the U.S. policy of hostility to China and aggression in Asia. Japan’s Okinawa has long been the United States’ biggest strategic nuclear stronghold in the Far East. U.S. aircraft carrying H-bombs have been stationed in Japan. U.S. 7th Fleet warships based in Japan, loaded with large quantities of nuclear weapons, leave and enter Japanese ports regularly. Lately, the Japanese Government openly consented to the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines into Japan.

As an accomplice, the Japanese Government helps U.S. imperialism in its nuclear war preparations, seriously threatening the peace and security of Asian countries, China in particular. If there is to be any protest, then it is the Chinese people and the people of other Asian countries who are fully entitled to protest to the Japanese Government, a follower of U.S. imperialism. To the Chinese people who have taken possession of nuclear weapons for self-defence and for the preservation of peace, that government has now lodged a showy “protest.” This is preposterous!

**Speaking Up for U.S. Imperialism**

Simultaneous with its successful nuclear test, the Chinese Government made a positive proposal for the convocation of a world summit conference to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. As the first step, we propose that an agreement be reached first on not using nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government carries out its words with actions; it solemnly announced to the world that China would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. If the Japanese Government really proceeds from a desire for peace and its national interests there is no reason at all why it should reject this proposal; instead, it should work strenuously to make the U.S. Government undertake the same commitment. Once the U.S. Government, together with the Chinese Government, has guaranteed not to use nuclear weapons, is it not very clear that Japan would then be freed of the threat of nuclear war? Is it not very clear that the United States would then have no reason to turn Japan into a nuclear base? Is it not very clear that Japan would then be more justified in asking the United States to withdraw all its nuclear weapons? But the Japanese Government has hastily brushed aside the Chinese government proposal and attacked it as “unrealistic” and “a kind of international propaganda.” By taking such an attitude towards the proposal, is the Japanese Government not openly speaking up for U.S. imperialism?

As to the question of China’s further nuclear tests, this is entirely China’s sovereign right, and no outsiders are allowed to meddle. China has every right to augment its defence power until the nuclear threats posed by the United States are done away with. China will by no means join the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty which devalues the world’s people and aims at preserving the monopoly of the nuclear powers. Let Sato and his like shut at the top of their lungs, China will not be taken in.

Things are very clear. Now lodging a “protest” against China’s nuclear test and then expressing “regrets,” the Japanese Government is actually trying to cover up the criminal evidence of its serving the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war so that Washington may incorporate Japan further into its nuclear strategic system. At a recent Diet session, Sato talked a good deal about “the need to maintain the Japan-U.S. security treaty on a firm basis” “so as to ensure our [Japan’s] national security.” This is complete bald-faced designed to hoodwink the people. The truth is just the contrary. The closer the Japan-U.S. collaboration, the less guaranteed is Japan’s security. Today U.S. imperialism is brandishing its nuclear weapons in Asia, making active preparations for a nuclear war. If it eventually starts such a war, Japan, as a U.S. nuclear base, is bound to bear the brunt and will inevitably be pushed into the abyss of nuclear calamity.

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*Pigey is a fictitious character in the classical Chinese novel *Pilgrimage to the West.* — P.R. Editor.

November 27, 1964
The Japanese Government willingly acts as an accomplice in U.S. imperialism's nuclear war preparations — this is an extremely dangerous road by which the Japanese nation is led to a bottomless nuclear chasm. Precisely because of this, the Japanese people have unfolded a vigorous mass struggle opposing the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines and opposing turning Japan into a U.S. nuclear war base by the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. This is their resounding answer to the Japanese government policy of following U.S. imperialism and betraying national interests.

This So-Called Independent Foreign Policy

From the moment the Sato government assumed office, it has kept talking about a so-called independent foreign policy. But, Sato's first official "meritorious deed" was to usher the U.S. nuclear submarine Sea Dragon into Sasebo. Does this not serve to further explain that the Sato government's policy is by no means "independent foreign policy" but follows closely on the heels of U.S. imperialism; that it in no way ensures Japanese security but further exposes that country to the danger of a nuclear war?

Of course, the Japanese Government does need to pursue an independent foreign policy. This not only is in accord with the interests of the Japanese workers, peasants and the rest of the working masses, but also the interests of the middle and small capitalists as well as those of all big enterprise owners who prefer an independent development. This policy will be welcomed not only by the Japanese but also by the Chinese people. Postwar history shows that Japan suffers greatly from being subordinated to U.S. imperialism. The future of the Japanese nation lies in completely breaking away from U.S. imperialist control — military, political and economic — and embarking on an independent road. This is the mighty historical current now flowing in Japan and no one can keep it in check.

We must advise the Sato government and say this: what is really unrealistic and unfeasible is its violation of both Japan's national interests and the will of the Japanese people, and its vain attempt to hold back the historical tide of Japan's demand for independence. He who resists this tide will in the end be submerged by it.

World Communist Party Leaders
On Khrushchov's Fall

"Renmin Ribao" on November 21 devoted three whole pages to more comments on Khrushchov's downfall made in statements, articles or documents by the leaders, leading organizations or organs of a number of Communist and Workers' Parties. Excerpts from these comments follow. — Ed.

D.N. Aidit's Speeches

The Information Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party in a press release on November 11 quoted D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Party, as saying on that day when he received N.A. Mikhailov, Soviet Ambassador to Indonesia that he appreciated the steps taken by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to remove Khrushchov from office.

The Information Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party on November 13 published Aidit's speech of November 12 at a meeting held in Djakarta to celebrate the 19th anniversary of the founding of the People's Youth League. Aidit said, "Thanks to the development of the world Marxist-Leninist movement, our struggle against modern revisionism has achieved brilliant successes."

Aidit said, "Khrushchov's downfall obviously was not due to old age or illness but to the bankruptcy of his home and foreign policies."

Aidit went on, "But we must not think that Khrushchov's removal from office means the end of the struggle to smash modern revisionism."

According to the Information Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party, when speaking at a mass meeting in Djakarta on the evening of November 13 to celebrate the 47th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, Aidit said that "with the passing of the age of Khrushchov, new possibilities have emerged in the communist movement." "Big changes are bound to occur and this action marks the beginning of good big changes which are going to take place," Aidit said.

He added, "We think that the resolutions adopted at the 20th, 21st, 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. can be amended only by the C.P.S.U. itself. The Indonesian Communist Party cannot amend them, nor can any other Communist Party. But it must be understood that the revolutionary people's movement and the Marxist-Leninist movement of the world want them amended and regard the praiseworthy measure of removing Khrushchov from office by the C.P.S.U. Central Com-
committee as the starting point of the good big changes which are bound to take place.”

“Akahata’s” Article

The article “Khrushchev’s Downfall and the Fate of That Gang of ‘The Voice of Japan,’” published in Akahata, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, on November 4, said: “The dismissal of Khrushchev as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, is of major significance for the world communist movement as a whole. It is precisely the opportunist and divisive line followed by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. that should bear the greatest responsibility for the growing disunity in the world communist movement in the last few years. . . .

“Khrushchev’s downfall is an outburst of the contradictions inherent in the policies pursued by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. of which he was the nucleus. It is at the same time a dramatic demonstration of the bankruptcy of the modern revisionist line. As all critics and commentators have pointed out, the internal and external policies of the Soviet Union — agricultural, industrial, ideological and cultural, as well as foreign policies — have come to a serious impasse in all aspects. The line followed by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. concerning the world communist movement has, in particular, landed it in a serious dilemma, as was shown by the preparations for the schismatic international meeting which it had plotted. The sharpening of the contradictions inherent in its domestic and foreign policies and their ever clearer bankruptcy may have deepened the conflicts within the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and thus become the immediate cause for the abrupt change in the leadership. Khrushchev’s fall reflects, even if indirectly, the progress of the struggle waged by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and Marxist-Leninists against the international trend of modern revisionism.”

“The downfall of Khrushchev was a big blow to the international current of modern revisionism,” the article said.

“However, these circumstances do not in themselves mean that the C.P.S.U. leadership has started an all-round, thoroughgoing self-criticism of the opportunist, schismatic line which it pursued,” the article added.

It noted that the Japanese anti-Party revisionist clique expressed “distress” over Khrushchev’s downfall and asked the new C.P.S.U. leadership for an explanation of the actual circumstances. The article continued: “Whatever the actual circumstances of his removal from office may be, the fact cannot be denied that Khrushchev has been removed. And the grave mistakes committed by him cannot be obliterated. They [the Japanese anti-Party revisionists] have, therefore, landed themselves in a dilemma: on the one hand they have to recognize the new leadership and on the other they find it hard to part company with Khrushchev. . . .

“They have spared no efforts to make the new C.P.S.U. leadership carry on the old revisionist line of Khrushchev, hoping that their attacks and other hostile acts against our Party will be ‘sanctioned’ by the new leadership. . . .”

The article pointed out: “The blow dealt by Khrushchev’s downfall to Shojiro Kasuga, Yoshiho Shiga, Shigeo Kamiyama and other elements who oppose and betray the Party is: their old practice of unconditionally supporting and blindly obeying the line of the C.P.S.U. leadership headed by Khrushchev has been disrupted by the C.P.S.U. leadership, thus making them lose face before the whole world; furthermore, as a result of Khrushchev’s downfall, all their mean and dirty schemes animated by political ambitions are crumbling.”

“To Shojiro Kasuga of the ‘United Socialist Alliance,’ to the ‘Socialist Reform Movement’ of Tomochika Naito and others, to the ‘Voice of Japan comrades’ Group’ of Yoshiho Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and others, to Shigeo Kamiyama, Shigebaru Nakano, and all those anti-Party and renegade cliques characterized by their blind obedience to the C.P.S.U. leadership, Khrushchev’s downfall is indeed a staggering blow and has cut the ground from under their feet,” the article said.

It went on: “What will become still clearer is that their gamble will land them in trouble. This is because, in the new conditions following Khrushchev’s downfall, the more they engage in anti-Party activities and seek ‘international support,’ the more aggravated will be the contradictions involved in the open collusion between the international trend of modern revisionism and the ‘Voice of Japan’ gang and the dimmer will be the prospect of the latter’s success. Yoshiho Shiga and his ilk have landed themselves in such a hopeless dilemma that it will be hard for them to find a way out . . .

“Just as Khrushchev’s downfall and the change in the nucleus of the C.P.S.U. leadership means neither an immediate, radical solution of the question of disunity in the international communist movement, nor the settlement of the most knotty problems in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, so the blow dealt by this event at the anti-Party and renegade groups in Japan does not mean that these groups will automatically die out and abandon their anti-Party activities. . . .”

The article said that there is no doubt that, in the course of the further intensification of the contradictions within the international trend of modern revisionism and its bankruptcy, greater blows than the dismissal of Khrushchev await the elements in Japan who oppose and betray the Party. “Our Party will resolutely smash them,” the article concluded.

Statement by the Political Commission of the Peruvian C.P. Central Committee

The Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru in a statement on October 16 said: “The removal of Khrushchev from the
leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Government is an event of very great importance for the world communist movement and for the struggle of the working class and of the oppressed peoples of the world. The great Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin and Stalin could and should not permit any longer the leadership of one who has in effect placed himself at the service of U.S. imperialism."

It went on to say: "The Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru acclaims Khrushchev's removal from office with genuine revolutionary emotions and hopes that the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government will firmly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Modern revisionism, which Khrushchev and his supporters introduced into the C.P.S.U. should be uprooted. This is an indispensable condition for the Party of Lenin and Stalin to become once again the 'shock brigade' of the world communist and workers' movement."

Article by Editorial Department of "Zeri i Popullit"

Zeri i Popullit, organ of the Albanian Party of Labour, published on November 1 an article by its editorial department entitled "Khrushchev's Downfall Has Not Brought the Disappearance of Khrushchev Revisionism in Its Train."

The article said: "The inglorious end of Khrushchev is the result of the uncompromising fight of principle waged by all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who struggle courageously against modern revisionism from the position of proletarian internationalism, the result of the struggle of all revolutionaries in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the result of relentlessly exposing the activity of this renegade to communism. It is a major victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism."

"The removal of Khrushchev from the leading posts of the Soviet Party and state represents the failure of the political and ideological line of modern revisionism formulated at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U."

The article said that the dismissal of the renegade Khrushchev proves once again what the Party has always emphasized: the truth is on the side of Marxist-Leninists. Our cause is just and the just cause will triumph. Marxism is invincible. Revisionism is doomed to failure.

It pointed out that Khrushchev's ouster is clear evidence that revisionism is riddled with numerous contradictions which definitely cannot be resolved by the revisionists. His dismissal is a new confirmation of an age-old lesson that whoever betrays Marxism-Leninism and collaborates with the enemies of the proletariat, the peoples and socialism will be crushed without pity by the wheels of the revolution and history. It is clear evidence that whoever takes the road of revisionism, whether the revisionist road of Kautsky, Tito or Khrushchev, will be irrevocably defeated.

The article went on to say: "Khrushchev's acts of hostility have stretched over a long period. His betrayal is deep-rooted and has brought extremely serious consequences to the destiny of socialism and the revolution. Therefore, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists consider that Khrushchev's ignominious end, his disappearance from the political scene, is a very important victory over modern revisionism and evidence of the failure of the political and ideological line of modern revisionism. At the same time they maintain that their struggle has not come to an end."

"The political downfall of the person of Khrushchev, though he was the chief of modern revisionism, does not mean the liquidation of his political, ideological, economic and organizational line which has caused such great harm to the Soviet Union, to Marxism-Leninism, to the socialist camp and the communist and workers' movement, to the cause of revolution, freedom and independence of the peoples and to the cause of peace. Khrushchev's removal from the leadership of the Soviet Party and state does not mean the death of Khrushchev revisionism, nor has it liquidated his revisionist ideology and policy embodied in the line of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. This line is deep-seated. To prevent this danger and make its recurrence impossible, it is necessary that it be uprooted. This is the only remedy."

The article declared: "The Albanian Party of Labour, like all true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, will resolutely carry on their just struggle until the final defeat of modern revisionism. Without entertaining illusions and without falling into the trap of demagogy and bluffs, no matter how well disguised they may be, the revolutionary Communists, after their victory over the chieftain of modern revisionism, Khrushchev, will strengthen their own ranks, reinforce the great anti-revisionist front, hold still higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism, heighten revolutionary vigilance against the enemy of the peoples—imperialism—and intensify the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism, which is now the main danger to the communist and workers' movement."

Communique of the Political Bureau of the Belgian C.P. Central Committee

In a communiqué issued on October 15, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party said: "The Communist Party of Belgium rejoices in the removal of Nikita Khrushchev from the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Soviet Union.

"That was the end of the career of a political adventurer of the worst kind who has caused great damage to the Soviet Union, to the other countries of the socialist camp, to the international communist movement and to the cause of the peoples of the world.

"Only the imperialists and their henchmen were displeased with his removal..."

The communiqué went on: "The Communist Party of Belgium salutes the Soviet workers and the C.P.S.U.,
congratulates them for the measure just taken, and
hopes that the unity of the socialist camp and the in-
ternational communist movement on the basis of
Marxism-Leninism will be speedily restored."

J. Grippa’s Article

Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Belgian Com-
munist Party, in an article carried in the October 23
issue of the weekly La Voix du Peuple said, “Khrus-
shchov, ring-leader of modern revisionism, has just been
discovered from the leadership of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.”

“This event has caused, and for good reason too,
agitation among the ruling capitalist circles, disquiet
among the U.S. imperialists and their social-democratic
lackeys and others, and panic among the Khrus-
shchovites.”

He said: “The homage paid to Khrushchov by the
worst enemies of the peoples emphatically demonstrates
how grave his betrayal was and how great were the
hopes pinned on him by the imperialists.

“However, this will not be the last disillusion of
these gentlemen!”

“Certainly, Khrushchov and his clique have caused
serious damage to the Soviet Union, the socialist camp,
the international communist movement and the revolu-
tionary cause of the peoples. . . .

“Khrushchov’s collaboration with U.S. imperial-
ism, far from appeasing it, has increased its arrogance
and aggressiveness; the danger of world war has be-
come greater and the security of the Soviet Union itself
is directly threatened.

“Great-power chauvinism, the practice of neo-
colonialist exploitation, the brutal and intolerable
economic and political aggression against the socialist
countries characterized the destructive activities of
Khrushchov and provoked the division of the socialist
camp.

“Khrushchov went so far as to supply arms to the
reactionary bourgeoisie of India and supported it in its
aggression against socialist China.

“He had intended to sacrifice the sovereignty of
Cuba.

“Repudiating the Leninist idea of peaceful co-
existence between countries of different social systems,
he advocated peaceful submission to imperialism, nu-
clear blackmail against the peoples and peaceful co-
existence between the exploiters and the exploited; but
the peoples fighting against oppression reject Khrus-
shchov and Khrushchovism.

“Khrushchov’s schismatic activities in the ranks of
the international communist movement have also fallen
through as shown by the fiasco of the convocation of the
‘conference’ which he intended to impose on others.

“His intention of selling the German Democratic
Republic to the West German revanchists and his threat
of military aggression against the People’s Republic of
China have shown that Khrushchov’s anti-communist
madness knew no bounds. . . .

“Self-seeking and revolting complaisance towards
imperialism, demagogy, lying, the use of force and re-
pression have not been able to prevent the downfall of
Khrushchov who was the symbol of betrayal. The
forces of socialist revolution must not fail to take note
of this.”

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Commu-
nist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)

On November 17 the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) pub-
lished in a special issue of the paper, Vanguard, a resolu-
tion on the unity of the international communist
movement.

The resolution said that the Communist Party of
Australia (Marxist-Leninist) “welcomes the recent de-
defeat of Khrushchov. Khrushchov’s defeat reveals the
crisis in revisionism and opens the way for greater
victories in the struggle against revisionism. Since the
defeat of Khrushchov, it must be noted that within the
world communist movement revisionist elements have
found it necessary to push to the fore the worst features
of Khrushchov’s revisionism. Such for example are
references to 14 socialist states (i.e., acceptance of the
Yugoslav revisionists into the international communist
movement), adherence to and emphasis upon the revi-
sionist theses of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, collabora-
tion with U.S. imperialism under the guise of peaceful
coexistence, etc. These things far from assisting the
cause of unity in the international communist move-
ment renew the divisions and bring joy to the imperial-
ists and they are in direct conflict with the 1960 eighty-
one Parties Statement. They represent the desperate
efforts of revisionism in crisis to maintain its position.
They reveal very serious degeneration and departure
from Marxism-Leninism. They demonstrate the cor-
rectness of the 1960 eighty-one Parties Statement which
estimated the main danger as revisionism. . . .

“They prove that revisionism has a definite social
base—the existence of bourgeois influence and sur-
render to U.S. imperialism. They prove that there must
be resolute and determined insistence upon Marxism-
Leninism and that the struggle for adherence to the
revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and
1960 eighty-one Parties Statement must be pursued to
the end. . . .

“The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-
Leninist) is in support of an international conference in
which all Communist Parties throughout the world
participate, but such an international conference cannot
be successful until the Communist Parties of the Soviet
Union and of China have had adequate time to discuss
and resolve difference on the basis of Marxism-Leninism,
the Albanian Party of Labour and the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union have had time to discuss and re-
solve their differences on the same basis, and outstand-
ing differences between other Parties and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have been the subject of adequate discussion and negotiations. The differences have arisen solely because of the revisionism of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the one hand and adherence to Marxism-Leninism by the various Parties concerned on the other hand. An international conference can be successful only if there is adequate preparation and a real will to abandon non-Marxist-Leninist theories and policies.”

N. Sanmugathasan’s Article

The Ceylon weekly Kamlakarawa published on October 24 an article by N. Sanmugathasan, National Organizer and Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Ceylon, under the title, “Exit Khrushchev—The Greatest Wrecker of the International Communist Movement.”

He wrote: “Two welcome news flashed round the world last week within 24 hours of each other. The first was that Khrushchev, the man who had smeared the revolutionary image of the great Stalin and had wrecked the unity of the international communist movement, had been expelled from his positions of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union and Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The second welcome news was that the first Asiatic country, the great People’s Republic of China, had exploded the nuclear bomb. The first news foretold the inevitable doom of modern revisionism, while the second news demonstrated the ever growing strength of the forces of Marxism-Leninism . . . .

“What are the reasons for this abrupt dismissal of Khrushchev? The answer to this must be found in the economic difficulties faced by the Soviet Union at home, the fiasco of Khrushchev’s foreign policies and his inept handling of the dispute with the Communist Party of China which has isolated the Soviet Party from even among its supporters abroad. . . .

“Forty-seven years after the October Revolution, signs of a restoration of capitalism have already manifested themselves under the impact of Khrushchev’s revisionist policies . . . .

“In the matter of foreign policy too, Khrushchev’s record has been one of dismal failure. He distorted the principle of peaceful coexistence to mean capitulation to imperialism and tried to propagate the theory that U.S. imperialism, under Kennedy and Johnson, had become ‘reasonable.’ His greatest crime in this respect was the propagation of the theory of the ‘spirit of Camp David’ after his visit to the U.S.A. and that all world problems could be settled by agreements between the leaders of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. . . . The only agreement Khrushchev signed with the imperialists was the notorious Moscow nuclear test ban treaty which was in reality a victory for the standpoint of imperialism than that of the Soviet Union.”

He pointed out that “Khrushchev’s greatest crime is what he did to the memory of the great revolutionary, Stalin, and to the unity of the international communist movement.”

Resolution of the Central Committee of the French C.P.

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party on November 6 adopted a resolution on the results of the talks between the delegation of the French Communist Party and leaders of the C.P.S.U. The resolution said, “During the talks, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had confirmed that it would carry out, in all domains, a policy of active and consistent peace which had won the support of public opinion in France and in the world . . . .

“...The talks enabled the two Parties to reaffirm their resolve to struggle for the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and to continue to prepare for a new international conference of Communist and Workers’ Parties. The two Parties hold that this conference should provide an opportunity to reaffirm the principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to analyse the changes that have taken place since then so as to draw common conclusions for the communist movement as a whole and to defend the unity of the communist movement by fighting against dogmatism which represents the main danger today and also against Right opportunism which manifests itself ceaselessly.”

The resolution said: “Khrushchev’s faults mainly lie in his excessively personal method of work and leadership in contradiction to the principles of collective leadership and socialist democracy. These methods had negative consequences, first of all, in certain spheres of the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union . . . .

“The representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union affirmed that the policy of the Soviet Party and state which had achieved important successes would be continued in all domains. They stressed that the C.P.S.U. was determined to ensure the implementation of the resolutions of its 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses concerning the establishment of the material and technical base of communism and the development of democracy in the Soviet Party and state.”

W. Rochet’s Speech

L’Humanité, organ of the French Communist Party, on November 9 carried a speech by Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the Party, made at a Central Committee meeting. He said: “For the functions Khrushchev assumed, he could not but become the spokesman of the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence in the past few years.

“Under these conditions, when his resignation and replacement was announced, it was natural that mil-
lions of ordinary people, who cherished peace, should have expressed their concern and hoped to see the Soviet Union continue pursuing its policy of peace.

"From the information available it seems that the Soviet Communists give objective and many-sided appreciation to the activities of Khrushchov during different periods. On the one hand, they recognize that he has undeniable merits and on the other they consider that in the later period there were negative sides to his leadership which made the change necessary."

Rocchet said, "While we shall resolutely fight against the erroneous positions of the Chinese leaders, we shall, at the same time, stand for the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

"We shall continue our fight on the two fronts: against dogmatism and narrow sectarianism which represents the main danger today and against Right opportunism which manifests itself unceasingly."

G. Marchais's Report

On November 9, L'Humaite carried a report made by Georges Marchais, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, to the Party's Central Committee on the French Party delegation's visit to the Soviet Union.

He said that the Soviet leaders had explained in the talks: "The decision we have just made falls only within the scope of our own responsibility. For the fraternal Parties, the important thing is to assure them that our policy will not change."

Marchais continued, "From what we have been told, it can be seen that Comrade Khrushchov's methods of work and leadership have brought about negative consequences, primarily in certain aspects of the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. To attain the objectives of the Programme of the 22nd Congress, it is necessary to rectify the shortcomings arising from these methods while not underestimating the achievements made in agriculture."

"In regard to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the questions concerning the international communist movement, the comrades firmly insisted on the fact that except for some insufficiently considered steps, they believed that this policy, including its execution, was justified and correct."

He said, "Under the chairmanship of Comrade Khrushchov, the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee held a two-day discussion. The Members of the Presidium expressed their opinions and criticisms, with esteem and respect for N. Khrushchov and in a spirit of responsibility that befits Members of the Presidium."

"According to the information supplied by the Soviet comrades to our delegation," he said, "their decisions were made in conformity with the democratic principles and the Constitution of their Party. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union made a many-sided assessment of Comrade Khrushchov's activities by objectively evaluating his merits and faults. Testimony to this is borne by the fact that he is retained as a Member of the Central Committee."

"It is important that, after making efforts to help Comrade Khrushchov to overcome his faults which it deemed necessary, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brought to an end, without any difficulty, the methods and practices which did not conform to the spirit of the 20th and 22nd Congresses. Thus, the spirit and the decisions of these two congresses are irreversible and nobody will be allowed to depart from the democratic principle in the life of the Party and the state."

On Soviet foreign policy, he said, "The Soviet leaders affirmed their fundamental line."

Marchais said, "Comrade Khrushchov's defects were manifested through 'some extravagances' which however did not hamper the correct implementation of the correct line. Our comrades told us, all the documents which had been made public and the letters delivered on different occasions to the fraternal Parties remain entirely valid and unchanged. All of them had the approval of the Presidium."

"The proposals for the calling of a new international conference, including that for the December 15 preparatory meeting of 26 Parties, remain valid," he said.

He said that the Soviet leaders "denied the insinuation that the C.P.S.U. would seek for an ideological compromise with the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party."

Marchais alleged that "a reconciliation with the Leftist and nationalist line of the Chinese leaders would be a danger to the international communist movement, to the Chinese people themselves, to our Party and to its policy of a broad unity necessary for the struggle against personal power."

Talks Between the C.P.S.U. and the Austrian C.P.

Österreicbische Volksstimme, organ of the Austrian Communist Party, reported on November 3 that representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Austria met on October 31. At the meeting, the paper reported, questions of interest to both Parties were discussed. "Both Parties stand firmly on the positions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and its ideas, which are highly estimated by the international communist movement. The representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.A. stressed the need... to continue preparations for a new meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties and a meeting of the drafting committee."

Joint Communique of the C.P.S.U. and the Danish C.P.

The organ of the Communist Party of Denmark, Land og Folk, on November 2 published a joint communique on the talks held on November 1 between the

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Communist Party of Denmark and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The communique said that during the talks, the representatives of the two Parties “emphasized the practical significance for the two Parties of the struggle for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, for peace and disarmament, for democracy and socialism.”

K. Jespersen’s Press Interview

Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Danish Communist Party, and Villy Karlsson, Member of the Party’s Executive Committee and editor-in-chief of Land og Folk, held a press conference on November 2. Answering questions, Karlsson said, “It is entirely the C.P.S.U.’s own affair to decide who should be its leader; we only feel that the manner and explanation are not satisfactory. The C.P.S.U.’s invitation afforded us an opportunity to discuss this question, of which we can only be glad. We also stressed Khrushchov’s contributions and merits in foreign policy and in striving for peaceful coexistence. We feel satisfied that the Soviet comrades have made it clear that the line followed under the leadership of Khrushchov is the line of the C.P.S.U. and will be unswervingly followed in the future.”

Karlsson said: “The merits of Khrushchov were emphasized at the meeting at which he tendered his resignation and over which he personally presided as the First Secretary of the Party. But the fact that criticism against him largely concerns domestic problems and the method of leadership led them to neglect at first the negative influence of this change of personnel outside the Soviet Union.”

Karlsson recalled that the C.P.S.U. leaders indicated at the talks that “they would fully adhere to the Congress resolutions in this respect, nor did they conceal the fact that certain vestiges of the Stalin era — no comparison was made — still remained and should be eradicated. The Party would convene at the end of next year its regular congress at which new elections would be held in accordance with the new Party Constitution and so naturally a considerable part of the Party leadership would be changed.”

Referring to the question whether there was any change in the relations with the Chinese Communist Party, Jespersen said: “The change in personnel took place merely because of the question of method, and all the major political lines will be continued. The same is true of the contradictions in the international communist movement.”

Communique by the Italian C.P. Leadership

L’Unita, organ of the Communist Party of Italy, on November 7 published a communique of the C.P.I. leadership. Referring to the talks between the delegation of the C.P.I. and leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the communique said, “The desire of the C.P.S.U. to push ahead, on the basis of the line of the 20th Congress, with the policy of peaceful coexistence and the action for the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, for the national liberation of the peoples, for democracy and socialism, was confirmed explicitly in the talks which the delegation had in Moscow.

“From the information given to the delegation it is clear that the reasons for the removal of Comrade Khrushchov should be mainly sought in the criticisms directed in particular at his activity in the later period. These criticisms relate to his methods of leadership and the negative consequences brought about by these methods, particularly in the economic, agricultural and Party organizations.

“One does not ignore the positive contributions made by Comrade Khrushchov — who remains a Member of the Central Committee and of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. — in the process of development started at the 20th Congress in the foreign policy and also in the life of Soviet society. It is also emphasized that the negative aspects of his activity in the later period were probably caused by the deterioration of his health.

“The leadership of the Party has noticed that there exist different viewpoints with regard to questions relating to the method used in removing Comrade Khrushchov from office as well as the general questions about the development of political debate and socialist democracy — questions about which the delegation of the C.P.I. has made known the criticisms and reservation advanced by the leadership . . . .”

The communique said that “the leadership of the Party has reaffirmed the validity of its reservation with regard to the timing of the convocation at present of a new international conference of the Communist Parties.”

L. Longo’s Speech

L’Unita reported on November 4 that Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy, made a statement at an enlarged meeting of the Party’s Emilia Regional Committee on November 3. Longo said, “Someone asked, how do we think we can reconcile our activities for defending as well as possible the international unity of action with our opposition to the Chinese viewpoints. We have already replied that for us the question is not posed in this way: either a rupture or a political and ideological compromise.”

He said, “We are resolutely against any compromise of this sort. Political and ideological differences cannot be overcome by a hybrid compromise but only through an objective and convincing debate, the comparison of experiences, the drawing of lessons from facts and mutual respect. We want to point out that so far as the Chinese comrades are concerned, there are today not only differences and contradictions with them but also many questions on which co-operation and unity of action with them can be realized right from this moment.”

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He said, "We consider it dangerous to convene the planned international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties." "But we think it is possible to begin discussions with the Chinese comrades. . . ."

Resolution of the British C.P.

Daily Worker, organ of the British Communist Party, published on November 17 a resolution on the situation in the international communist movement adopted by the Executive Committee of the Party on November 15.

The resolution said: "British Communists have consistently urged that a better atmosphere should be created by the ending of the public polemic; that an international conference should include all Communist and Workers' Parties; that such a conference should be properly prepared in consultation with all Parties and that every effort should be made to facilitate the participation of the Chinese Communist Party in the preparatory committee to prepare the international conference, as well as in the conference itself.

"If participation of the Chinese Communist Party would be facilitated by a short postponement of the preparatory committee meeting we think that this would be desirable."

G. Matthews's Report

The British Party organ also published on the same day the report by George Matthews, the chief editor of the paper, on the recent visit which he and John Gollan, General Secretary of the Party, made to the Soviet Union. The report, entitled "Soviet Changes and the Future," was made to the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party and adopted at its meeting on November 15.

The report said: "We welcomed the fact that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. had stressed in its public statements its intention to follow the policy of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses."

"The Soviet Party recognized Khrushchev's services and merits, and these were referred to in the Central Committee meeting which accepted his resignation."

If Khrushchev's removal "resulted in a more consistent application of the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, and in a further advance of the economy of the Soviet Union, British Communists would welcome such a development," the report said.

It said: "We stressed that we still considered a balanced, reasoned and public statement necessary and desirable in the interests of the Soviet Union and its relations with brother Parties and with the peoples of other countries.

"The Chinese Party leaders, as has been made clear in their public statements, have not shifted their position on the major issues of controversy — peaceful coexistence, the transition to socialism, etc.

"Nor has our Party changed its position on these questions. The speech of L. Brezhnev made clear that the Soviet Party stands by its previous declarations. The majority of the Communist Parties continue to disagree with the point of view of the Chinese Party."

V. Pessi's Speech

Kansan Uutiset, organ of the Finnish Communist Party, under the title "The Soviet Event Is of the Nature of an Internal Affair" published on October 13 the speech made by Ville Pessi, General Secretary of the Party, to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party on October 17. Pessi said: Khrushchev had done tremendous work in the fight against the personality cult developed during the Stalin era.

"When talking about Khrushchev's mistakes, we must not forget the great contributions made by him as leader of the C.P.S.U. and of the Government of the Soviet Union. He had devoted enormous labour to the worldwide work of making known abroad what happened in the Soviet Union and of doing propaganda on the problems of socialism so far as the leadership which included himself was concerned." Pessi also said, "The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was correcting mistakes and shortcomings. . . . In these circumstances, I think this solution should be considered a positive event."

"Problems of Peace and Socialism" Attacks Chinese Communist Party

The November issue of the Russian edition of Problems of Peace and Socialism, edited by A.M. Rumiantsev, Member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and published by the Pravda press, contains a large number of articles attacking the Communist Party of China by name. It went on sale in Moscow on November 14.

The journal publishes statements by Y.V. Andropov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; Rumiantsev; Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; and M. Sabolchik, Alternate Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; articles by L. Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party; Tim Buck, President of the Canadian Communist Party; S. Carrillo, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party; and G. Adhikari of the Dange renegade group of India; and other materials all assailing and slandering the Communist Party.

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Party of China and advocating the convocation of an international conference which is aimed at splitting the international communist movement.

In his statement made at an international scientific conference, Andropov said: "Now Peking is clinging to the main argument of 'the hand of Moscow,' that is, that Communist Parties seem to be acting on instructions from another country. This fabrication has created serious obstacles for Parties in a number of countries, causing difficulties in their links with the working masses, especially when certain manifestations of the Stalin personality cult have lent some wrong impressions of truthfulness to such a fabrication."

Andropov said: "Had it not been for the splitting activities of the leadership of the Communist Party of China in an attempt to restore for its own nationalist interests the old methods in the relations among socialist countries which have been repudiated by the Parties of all countries, the line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. would have yielded much greater results."

The magazine also publishes, under the heading "Communist Press on the International Conference of Communist Parties," statements from documents of 22 Parties and remarks of Party leaders favouring the convocation of such a conference; some of them attack the Chinese Communist Party by name.

In addition, the issue prints in the form of a supplement the full text of a "statement" by John Bernal, Executive President of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, attacking China's first atom bomb test.

Conference Report

Strengthening Militia Work

A CONFERENCE called by the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on the political work of the people's militia took place in Peking recently. Participants studied how to ensure the successful application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's instructions for putting the people's militia work on a solid organizational, political and military footing.

The conference unanimously expressed its determination to raise the great red banner of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking still higher, bring into fuller play a thoroughgoing spirit of revolution, work with undimmed devotion and improve militia work in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions.

At the conference it was held that, materially, our country has exploded the atom bomb, and this had a tremendous influence. However, we have always regarded man's role as decisive and that turning all the people into soldiers constitutes a moral atom bomb which is much more powerful, and this, which we have long mastered, none of our enemies possess. Strengthening the work of the people's militia and turning all the people into soldiers brings into full play the enormous power of this kind of atom bomb.

The participants to the conference deepened their understanding of the great strategic significance of Chairman Mao's instructions for putting the work of the militia on a solid organizational, political and military footing, which give the orientation as well as the tasks for building the people's militia. They were of the opinion that in the new situation of class struggle, both at home and abroad, these instructions were a major strategic measure for dealing with the anti-China plots of U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries, preparing to smash aggressive war launched by the enemy and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

A solid political basis means strengthening the people's militia politically and making sure that the organizations and the armed forces of the militia are completely in the hands of our most reliable class brothers who are loyal to the Communist Party, the people, the revolution and the cause of socialism. Militia organizations should have political workers and do political and ideological work. They must adhere to the "four firsts" and the "three-eight working style." The militia men must read Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works, follow his teachings and carry out his instructions. They must have a high socialist political consciousness, firmly take the socialist road, and reject and struggle against erosion by capitalist and feudal ideology. They should possess a spirit of dauntless revolutionary heroism to conquer all difficulties, overwhelm the enemy and dare to fight and win.

A solid organizational basis means to mobilize and organize the masses further and purify and improve.*

*The "four firsts" means that first place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and material, just as the P.L.A. puts man above weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to the other aspects of political work; and to living ideas in ideological work. The "three-eight working style" (which in Chinese is written in three phrases and eight additional characters) means firm, correct political orientation; a plain, hard-working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, seriousness and vigour. — Ed.
The capital's militiamen at 1964 National Day parade

the militia organizations in conformity with the principles and policies of militia building set forth by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The militia should consist of basic as well as ordinary units. It should have squads, platoons, companies, battalions, regiments and divisions with steadfast and strong leaders at all levels, and be strongly organized and highly disciplined. These must carry out all kinds of regular activities and link them with production.

A firm military footing means strengthening the militia by regular military training. Militiamen must learn diligently and train themselves to do all types of military jobs and fight and defeat all domestic and external enemies. They must be fully prepared to wipe out the enemy by any means, no matter whether the attack be open or covert, by air, ground or sea, whether the enemy comes in large or small numbers. They must be able to assemble at the first call and be capable of fighting and winning.

The conference agreed that to put the work of the militia on an unshakable organizational, political and military footing, the political factor should come first, since this decides whether the gun is entirely in the hands of those who are politically reliable: the workers and the former poor and lower-middle peasants.

It also agreed that the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, by holding high the great red banner of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking, had formulated a series of correct policies and measures and strengthened the work of building the militia. In the last few years, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, its Military Commission and local Party committees at various levels, there had been great achievements in militia work; militiamen had played an active part in the three great revolutionary movements: class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiments. Conscientious and down-to-earth efforts to put the work of the militia on a solid footing organizationally, politically and militarily and strengthen its combat power were necessary for the fight against imperialist aggression and augmenting the people's armed forces.

Strengthening militia building through the current socialist education movement was deemed very important by the conference. The militia is an instrument for China's protection from the outside — imperialist aggression — and, internally, it enables China to exercise the proletariat dictatorship. Thus, consolidating militia building in the course of the socialist education movement will remain the key task in militia work for a long time.

To carry this out on a firm basis, the conference noted, the provincial military commands and sub-command and the county (municipality) people's armed forces departments, under the instructions of the General Political Department of the P.L.A., should draw a considerable number of cadres into taking an active part in the socialist education movement. All leading cadres, especially those most responsible, at all levels, must in turn take part, and live and work among the masses. Militia work can not be done well without this process of direct experience and close contact with the ideas and sentiments of the masses and the style of work based on the mass line. The emphasis in building the people's militia at present should be at the basic levels. It is only in this way that policies regarding militia work as set forth by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee can be conducted on a sound basis.

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ROUND THE WORLD

Outside Saigon

"Brushfire" Backfires

Barley three weeks after the attack on Bien Hoa airbase in which 200 U.S. servicemen were killed and 36 jet bombers and fighters damaged or destroyed, the United States suffered yet another serious and humiliating defeat at the hands of the people's forces. This trouncing of the aggressors and their south Viet Nam puppet troops also took place just outside U.S. military infested Saigon.

On November 18 the United States launched against Ben Sue, some 30 miles northwest of Saigon, what AP quoted U.S. advisers as boasting was “the biggest air assault in army aviation history.” An air armada of 115 helicopters ferried 7,000 U.S. and south Viet Nam combat troops to the area. But before that, Skyraiders flew “softening up” raids with napalm, white phosphorous and heavy bombs.

For two days the Americans and the puppets under the “personal direction” of “commander-in-chief” Nguyen Khanh saw practically nothing of their “enemy.” The three helicopters-ful of Western newsmen brought along to witness “Operation Brushfire,” according to a UPI dispatch, “were ordered out of the region by an American army colonel when it became evident that the massive anti-guerrilla operation was a flop.”

The newsmen could thank the colonel for doing them a good turn. For on the third and fourth day came the surprises. The people's forces who had made themselves scarce during the bombing appeared suddenly on the scene. On the night of November 20, operating from the tunnels in the region, they went over to the offensive and cut the U.S. and puppet troops to pieces. AP reported on November 21 that “the tunnel-ridden Boi Loi forest was given back to the communist Viet Cong yesterday as a Vietnamese paraatroop battalion that had contested the region pulled out with its dead.”

It said the paratroopers “encountered a nightmare maze of subterranean tunnels from which Viet Cong sharpshooters fought with deadly accuracy.”

The people's forces also badly mauled the other three paraatroop battalions that took part in “Operation Brushfire.” Those who managed to keep their skins whole had to scamper across the difficult terrain as quickly as did their U.S. advisers. During the fighting three U.S. aircraft were shot down. Just at this time Washington announced the sending of another 1,200 men to south Viet Nam to step up its war of aggression. But Bien Hoa and Ben Sue are warnings for the Yankees: Once in the south Viet Nam quagmire, it is hard to get out — alive.

U.S. Aircraft Over D.R.V.

Three Shot Down

While “Operation Brushfire” was getting under way in south Viet Nam, the United States sent several waves of F-100 jet fighters and T-28 fighter-bombers to raid the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Three were shot down and two damaged, and one of the pilots baled out. The raiders were based in Laos, from which many a previous violation of the D.R.V. airspace has taken place.

In a protest statement a spokesman of the D.R.V. Foreign Ministry condemned the new provocation as an act of war committed by the U.S. aggressors within the framework of their scheme of “carrying the war to the north,” in an attempt to find a way out of their impasse in the “special war” in south Viet Nam. He demanded that the Vietname government refrain from allowing the U.S. to use Laotian territory as a springboard for attacks on the Viet Nam Democratic Republic.

On that very same day, November 18, U.S. pilotless, remote-controlled spy aircraft in south Viet Nam were sent into the north. These planes, said UPI, were “launched from Hercules mother ships based in south Viet Nam.” Their presence at Bien Hoa was first kept a secret. But when newsman on a recent visit saw one, a swag beneath the wings of a taxing turbo-prop C-130 Hercules on the airstrip, the use of these spy planes became widely known.

The repeated intrusion into D.R.V. airspace by U.S. aircraft, manned or pilotless, is not only a flagrant provocation jeopardizing the security of the D.R.V. It shows that the Johnson Administration is bent on hotting up war tension in Indo-China and threatening peace in Southeast Asia.

U.S. Tycoons in Moscow

Behind Closed Doors

Close on the heels of multimillionaire David Rockefeller's visit to
Moscow in the summer, a big group of American top executives arrived in the Soviet capital in mid-November for talks. They included some of the biggest capitalists in the United States, presidents and vice-presidents of the boards of directors of Ford, General Electric, Chrysler, etc. They held a round-table conference with the leaders of Soviet foreign trade, economic, industrial and planning agencies.

On the American side 63 big corporations and banks were represented with an annual turnover amounting to 50,000 million dollars. President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Mikoyan received the American businessmen twice in four days, and Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers Kosygin received them twice in five days.

Elliot Haynes, leader of the group and Vice-President of Business International, when interviewed by Pravda, said they came to Moscow "to probe Soviet opportunities and willingness for extending trade with the United States, meet Soviet leaders in industry and finance and get an idea of the institutions they would have to deal with in extending business transactions." He noted "with satisfaction that the two sides are having a frank and cordial exchange of opinion ... and that the present round-table conference would help improve understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States."

Commenting on the "round-table talks," TASS said that "U.S. businessmen now in Moscow affirm that the Johnson Administration is now favourably disposed toward the idea of normalizing Soviet-U.S. trade" and that "certain improvements in Soviet-U.S. relations have created more favourable conditions for a realistic study of the ways and means of expanding trade relations between the Soviet Union and the United States." TASS which reported the talks as being held "behind closed doors" went on to say that "many U.S. businessmen have now noted with satisfaction the readiness of their Soviet colleagues to discuss in a businesslike manner and without prejudice the various aspects for the development of trade between the two countries."

While the talks were being held, the Soviet Union signed in Moscow a 2-year agreement for co-operation with the United States on the desalinization of water (including the use of atomic energy). This was the second agreement signed by the two countries in November, the first being one on bilateral co-operation in space.

**Enraged Tanzania**

**Demonstrations Continue**

Anti-U.S. demonstrations following the publication of documents which show Washington as the prime mover in the plot to subvert the Government swept Tanzania last week on both the mainland and the island of Zanzibar. The voice of protest against U.S. machinations and collusion with the Portuguese colonialists in neighbouring Mozambique and the puppet Tshombe regime in Leopoldville Congo resounded through the land of sisal and clove.

Zanzibar, which had caught and executed five counter-revolutionaries in the pay of foreigners, turned out en masse to demonstrate and hold a big rally. First Vice-President Karume called on the people to safeguard national independence, declaring that "Tanzania is like a hard bone which cannot and will not be broken." He reaffirmed Tanzania's support for the national-liberation struggle in Africa and its readiness to help any African nation fighting for independence.

Big demonstrations and rallies were held in towns bordering Leopoldville Congo and Mozambique from which the U.S. imperialists had planned to mastermind their subversive activities. The people were urged to sharpen their vigilance. At Kigoma near the Congo border the commissioner of the region called on citizens to watch out for shady strangers, especially those who came from over the border. Among them, he said, might be agents sent by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet Tshombe regime.

**Laotian Talks Sabotaged**

**But Military Gamble Fails**

Once again the resumed talks among the three Laotian sides at La Celle-Saint-Cloud have deadlocked, and fighting has flared up in Laos itself. At the November 19th session of the talks the "neutralist" faction and Right-wingers insisted on preconditions for the reconvening of the 14-nation conference on Laos. This was opposed by the Neo Lao Haksat whose stand has consistently been that the holding of the 14-nation conference is an international matter not subject to the deliberations or outcome of the tripartite meeting. Another spanner was thrown into the works by the other two factions. Going back on a previous accord, they proposed that the talks be moved from Paris to Laos. But it was failure to reach agreement on a Laotian site that had led to the parleys being held in the French capital in the first place.

Phoumi Vongvichit for the Neo Lao Haksat declared that U.S. imperialism was behind the obstacles put up by the Right-wing faction. The wavering attitude of Prince Souvanna Phouma and his failure to take a neutral position, he added, was also partly responsible for the snags. Phoumi Vongvichit pointed out that U.S. military intervention in Laos had intensified. It had a triple aim: to torpedo the Paris tripartite talks, to obstruct the reconvening of the 14-nation conference and to drive the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic forces out of the Plain of Jars and other liberated areas.

The latest offensive mounted by the United States and its stooges under the name of "Victorious Arrow" is directed against the liberated areas in Central and Lower Laos. In a move to extend the war in Laos, Washington, besides its south Viet Nam puppet forces, has also dragged in some 400 troops from Thailand. But in the heavy fighting in Cammon and Savannakhet Provinces, the Neo Lao Hakst armed forces which enjoy the support of the population have time and again routed the invaders in successful counter-attacks.
Tibetan Ex-Serfs Become Cadres

More one-time Tibetan serfs have been promoted to leading posts in local government and Party organizations. During the first six months of 1964 three hundred and six men and women, nearly all former serfs or house slaves, advanced to responsible positions in counties and districts in Lhasa, Shigatse, Chamdo and Nagchu. Among them 18 are now secretaries or deputy secretaries of Communist Party county committees, magistrates or deputy magistrates of counties.

Today, over 1,000 Tibetan cadres are in leading government and Party organization posts from district level up. Tibetan cadres make up 87 per cent of the magistrates and deputy magistrates in 71 counties, and are heads or vice-heads of 440 districts. There are 17,000 Tibetan cadres holding positions at the grass-roots. With few exceptions these were trained after the 1959 democratic reforms.

The 47-year-old magistrate of Gyantse County is one example of a once down-trodden Tibetan whose life has been completely changed. As a boy, Khakutserin was a serf and then a household slave who finally fled his manorial lords. He worked as a road repairman for several years after liberation before becoming a farmer. After 1959, as a cadre, he distinguished himself by his hard work and his close ties with the people.

In Tibet’s antiquated feudal society women were on the lowest rung of the ladder. One of the growing number of women playing an important role in society is Gongcho Wongmu, 24, daughter of a herdsman, who has been elected leader of the herdsman’s association in Sede hsien (township). Last winter, when this area was struck by a heavy snowstorm, her bravery in helping move the herds resulted in saving tens of thousands of animals.

Cadres have proved capable and worthy of their offices, winning for themselves and the Communist Party the trust and respect of the local people. They are a tremendous force in leading the people of this region to catch up with the rest of China in socialist construction.

Late Harvests Good

Earlier reports of this year’s overall harvest being a fairly big one in China’s history are being buttressed by news of good late harvests coming in from different parts of the country.

In the southern major two-crop rice provinces yields have been bigger than 1963. Despite typhoons in some coastal districts, it is expected that southernmost Kwangtung Province’s late rice will exceed last year’s. The per mu yield of harvested fields in Fukien Province in general is 10 per cent more than in 1963, a good year. Compared with last year, Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsu Provinces have all increased their output over a larger acreage. In Yunnan Province in the southwest, aggregate grain output is nearly 10 per cent above the previous year.

Total grain output in one of the nation’s major rice-growing centres, the fertile Taihu Lake area which covers 19.5 million mu of farmland in the Yangtse River Delta, has passed last year’s all-time high. The late-rice crop being gathered is generally 10 per cent higher than in 1963, and in some areas 20 per cent more. Taihu Lake area cotton output is 20 per cent over 1963.

From a major cotton area, Shensi Province in the Yellow River basin, people’s communes have recorded the largest harvest in almost a decade despite bad weather.

A substantial grain increase has taken place in the wheat centre along the Yellow River bend and in the West Liao River basin which is known as Inner Mongolia’s granary.

To the west in Sinkiang, a reclamation centre spanning 18.6 million mu reports a harvest better than the previous year’s good one. Grain, cotton and oil-bearing crops have all gone up. Grain output on the state farms, 10 per cent above 1963, is nearly 50 per cent greater than 1962.

In addition to higher yields in staple crops, fruit reports are good. China’s largest apple-growing province—over half the country’s apples come from Liaoning—has already sold the state 50,000 more tons than it did over a corresponding period last year. Well-known tangerine and orange centres in east and central-south China have reported bigger than 1963 crops.

Industrial Goods for Countryside

A strong indication of 1964’s handsome harvests is the huge flow of manufactured goods into the rural area markets. More consumer goods were sold between January and October than in a similar period in 1963. Clothing, footwear, cloth, blankets, household utensils, plastic

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goods, bicycles, sewing machines and radios are among the fastest selling items. More handicraft products also are on sale.

Peasants tend to buy more in the after-harvest months of autumn and early winter. Thus, state trading departments and supply and marketing co-operatives all over the country have taken early and adequate steps to see that those making up China's biggest consumer market are well supplied. Since autumn began the amount of products from industrial centres has been mounting. For the past month Tientsin has been shipping 900 tons of manufactured goods a day to the rural areas. Shanghai supplies even more.

Popular with rural shoppers are the larger number of books, writing paper and stationery goods on sale. Reasons: millions of young people from urban areas have recently settled in the countryside after completing school, and literacy has become more widespread. Improved living standards are reflected in household items such as electric light bulbs, switches, and electrical appliances which are being sold in many village stores.

More farm machinery and other capital goods are also reaching rural markets because communes and their production brigades are ploughing back a substantial part of their earnings into capital construction. They are buying big quantities of building materials to repair and enlarge granaries, houses and pig-sties, and build more power pumping stations, hydraulic works and other capital construction projects.

**Freshwater Fish Output Soars**

OUTPUT of freshwater fish continues to go up—1964's first eight months registered a 26 per cent increase over the same 1963 period. Last year's supply was more than 20 times that of 1949.

China is traversed by numerous rivers and has large numbers of lakes. Reservoirs and ponds built in recent years also serve as good fish-breeding grounds. A quarter of the country's approximately 100 million mu of inland waters suitable for fish breeding is now being utilized. Once limited to a few provinces, freshwater breeding has spread to almost all parts of the country. Fish is now included in the diet in many inland areas for the first time.

China's four indigenous fishes, grass carp, nain carp, silver carp and bighead, are being bred on a big scale. Not too long ago it was believed these species never spawned in captivity, and all breeding areas had to get their pondfish cultures from the Yangtze and the Sikiang, a tributary of the Pearl River in south China. Since 1958, experts in south China have succeeded in obtaining the fry of three of the indigenous fishes by artificial propagation, and their methods have been adopted in different parts of the country. Some provinces now supply all the fry for their fish cultures.

Additions to freshwater edibles have come from abroad: rainbow trout from Korea, tilapia (mouth breeders) from Viet Nam and bullfrogs from Cuba. These have been acclimatized and bred successfully.

Throughout the country the people's communes, with their greater manpower and resources, have opened up new breeding grounds and allocated members to work exclusively in raising fish. More than 600 government-operated breeding enterprises and 170 stations supplying fry and fingerlings have been established to help expand output and develop fish cultures in the communes.

**Traffic Accidents Reduced**

**TRAFFIC** accidents in Shanghai, the nation's most populous metropolis, which once took a large toll, have been drastically curtailed. Compared with the annual pre-liberation (1946-48) of several thousands of mishaps, the rate has dropped by two-thirds.

The first week in October, when traffic is relatively heavy because of the National Day celebrations, illustrated the improved state of traffic control: not a single major accident occurred during a period when buses and trams carried a daily load of 900,000 passengers, and the number of pedestrians, motor vehicles and bicycles in the streets was well above normal.

The Nanking Road and Tibet Road crossing, Shanghai's busiest intersection, has had only one major accident in 15 years. (If a bicycle collides with a motor vehicle, this is listed as a major accident even if no one is killed.) The record is highlighted by the fact that this bustling thoroughfare is surrounded by seven cinemas and theatres, four department stores, many shops, restaurants and several hotels and traffic here is particularly heavy.

Shanghai's present traffic picture takes on added significance when one considers that roads built in the past 15 years equal the entire amount put down in a hundred and four years between 1845 and the first half of 1949. Trolley and bus routes have been quadrupled, serviced by two and a half times more vehicles; in addition, there are now twice as many motor vehicles and bicycles on the roads than before liberation.

The main factor in the declining traffic toll is the greater concern shown for others' safety, a result of ideological education. Instruction courses by traffic police educating the public on road safety, the elimination of hazardous corners, narrow streets and bottlenecks brought on by unplanned building in the past, widening and straightening roads and improved traffic control have played their part too.

**Briefs**

Research workers at the Institute of Mechanics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences have succeeded in using the impact of underwater explosions for compressing sheet metal machine parts to specification.

Completed in 1963, Tibet's first cement plant has supplied more than 10,000 tons of cement for Tibetan construction projects.

A high-pressure nitrogen-hydrogen compressor made in Peking is in operation. Weighing 182 tons, it is capable of compressing 7,800 cubic metres of gas per hour.
Dead-Burned
MAGNESITE
&
Calcined
MAGNESITE

Industrial producers in many countries highly appreciate the dependability of supplies and superior qualities of our Dead-Burned Magnesite and Calcined Magnesite.

Ideal as a refractory in metallurgy, in the manufacture of Sorel cement, synthetic rubber and the preparation of magnesium chemicals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dead Burned</th>
<th>Calcined</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MgO</td>
<td>88% min.</td>
<td>85% min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiO₂</td>
<td>4.5% max.</td>
<td>3.5% max.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CaO</td>
<td>2.5% max.</td>
<td>4% max.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fe₂O₃ + Al₂O₃</td>
<td>4.5% max</td>
<td>1.5% max.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fe₂O₃</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Loss on Ignition</td>
<td>0.6% max.</td>
<td>98% min. passing through 120 mesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grain</td>
<td>0-10mm 90% min.</td>
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</tbody>
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Packing: Dead Burned - in 5-ply kraft paper bags of about 50 kgs net each. Calcined - in 4-ply kraft paper bags of about 25 kgs. net each.

Samples on request

CHINA NATIONAL METALS & MINERALS IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION
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