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The Sino-Soviet Rupture and the WPC

On the tenth anniversary of the Korean armistice, Kuo Mo-jo, a deputy chairman of the Chinese National People's Congress, launched a strong attack on the test ban agreement at a rally of 10,000 in Peking on 26 July, and confidently predicted that China would have nuclear weapons "in the not too distant future." Kuo, who is also a member of World Peace Council (WPC) Presidential Committee, a WPC vice-chairman of the Peace Liaison Committee for Asian and African areas, and chairman of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace stressed that the attempts of a small number of countries to control the destiny of the people of the world by monopolizing nuclear weapons will be "smashed." Instead of upholding peaceful concepts, as would befit one of the leading officials in the WPC, Kuo reiterated Mao's thesis "that man is the decisive factor in any war." Kuo said that the North Korean people had won their war against the US while the US still had a monopoly of atomic weapons, testifying to the fact that a new technique cannot be a decisive factor in war provided the people were united, dared to fight and dared to win.

Two days later, the leader of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), hailed the test ban treaty as a great triumph, brought about by the persistence of the CND. The CND said that pressure must be kept up to translate this "half step" into a full step which will eventually lead to universal disarmament.

Kuo's statement conforms with official Chicom reaction to the test ban treaty. Media outlets should, however, register surprise and indignation about, and condemn as appropriate, these militant, war-inciting pronouncements by a high ranking WPC official. We seek to provoke reactions from WPC-affiliated and supporting "peace" organizations in attempts to further aggravate the Sino-Soviet rupture within the WPC. Assets should stress that membership of the Chicoms, and of those supporting their militant policies, is incompatible with the professed WPC policies, and, wherever practicable, should demand the ouster of "warmongers" like Kuo from leading WPC positions.

Chicoms Continue to Dominate Afro-Asian Conferences

The executive committee of the Afro-Asian Writers Conference (AAWC) meeting in Denpasar (Bali), Indonesia from 16 to 20 July took a clear pro-Chinese stand. A Soviet attempt to unseat the CPR-backed Sudanese delegate (A.M. Kheir) in favor of a Sudanese backed by the Soviets was "unanimously" defeated. Kheir delivered one of the most aggressive, militant, anti-Western speeches of the conference, stating *inter alia* that "those who talk about peace about the urgent necessity to avoid the danger of another war at all costs, without pointing out who is the enemy of peace, without even mentioning imperialism by name ... are doing nothing but sowing the wind and will reap nothing but the whirlwind."

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The Soviets were outplayed by the Chicoms as they had been at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Moshi, Tanganyika in February (see BPG #110, Item 628 dated 25 Feb 63) and at the Afro-Asian Journalists Conference (AAJC) in Djakarta in April (see BPG #117, Item 667 dated 3 Jun 63). The resolution adopted by the AAWC, like those at the AAJC, were a blatant Communist propaganda show, Chinese-style, almost completely devoid of substantive content. Again the Indonesian government sponsored, financed and prominently participated in a vituperative Communist Afro-Asian affair.

The meeting called for a full Afro-Asian Writers Conference in 1964, endorsed a second Bandung Conference, and several speakers referred to the need for a tri-continent (Asia, Africa, Latin America) Writers Conference.

We use this -- and all similar -- information to stress in all suitable media that "Afro-Asian solidarity" groups of all kinds are (a) nothing but tools of Communist propaganda and subversion, and (b) now also instruments of Chicom intrigues against the Soviet Union.

Vatican: Marxism and Communism Are "Irreconcilable with Christianity."

The official Vatican radio in a commentary on "Principles" in a broadcast on August 1, took the following strong position against communism:

"There is no international situation, no relaxation, no historical pretext which can justify an indulgence, a conciliatory attitude toward Marxism and communism. There is an infinite number of activities which communism could extract from its inexhaustible tactical fantasies to influence the emotion of fear and draw favorable attitudes which give rise to doubt, confuse clear thinking, extinguish the instinctive resistance of every free man, every believer, every Catholic experience before the Marxist and Communist ideologies. ...

"Today in the same way as yesterday, without distinction of geographical coordination or ethnic characteristics, Marxist communism is the antithesis of Christianity, the negation of freedom, truth, justice, and peace. ...

"The judgment and attitude of free men, Catholics especially, with regard to Marxism and communism cannot and must not be changed. Intransigence is the only weapon against the Marxism communist ideology and the intransigence must be equivalent to the equivocal and subtle tactics of penetration. ..."

(Briefly Noted Cont.)

12 August 1963

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The Vatican is now clarifying Pope John XXIII's important encyclical "Pacem in Terris" by pointing out what it did not intend in supporting a "vast field of meetings and understandings with human beings who are not endowed with faith." All media, especially those with active religious (particularly, but not exclusively, Christian) interests, should fully utilize this latest (and watch for further) message with its strong denunciation of Communist ideology, tactics, and dangerous goals, while still calling upon adherents to work "promoting, encouraging and seconding activities and understanding which favors peace among people which is a duty" to be exercised with "cautious, constant, and indomitable opposition to the Marxist penetration."

(See FBIS Middle East, Africa & West Europe issue of August 2, page V1, or Press Comment August 7, carrying Washington Post's brief item by Reuters August 2)

CALENDAR
of
Significant Political Events
* * *

This chronological calendar provides the case officer with a quick checklist of upcoming anniversaries of important political events in the communist and free worlds. The small 5x7½ booklet, easy to use and containing an index, also places events in their historical context by relating them to other relevant actions.

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~~SOURCE OF PROPAGANDA REFERENCES~~

- 1 Sept WW II starts, 1939. Stalin sympathizes with Hitler by attacking West warmongers.
- 2 Sept International Congress on History of European Resistance Movement, Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, 2-6 September.
- 7 Sept Khrushchev appointed First Secretary, CPSU, 1953 (tenth anniversary).
- 9 Sept Red China's troops entered Lhasa, Tibet, 1951
Dalai Lama asks UN help in Chicom.genocide 1959.
- 12 Sept Inter-Parliamentary Union conference to be held Belgrade, 12-18 Sept.
- 15 Sept Soviet Union signed Friendship and Mutual Assistance and Collaboration treaties with Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary, pledging not to change their social or economic systems, 1947.
- 17 Sept UN General Assembly convenes 18th regular session.
- 17 Sept Soviet Union invades Eastern Poland and divides country with Nazi Germany, 1939.
- 17 Sept International Committee for Cooperation of Journalists (ICCJ) Conference scheduled on board Soviet ship in the Mediterranean, Sept. 17 - 1 Oct.
- 19 Sept Starts Week of International Struggle Against Fascism and War (Communist).
- 21 Sept People's Republic of China proclaimed, 1949.
- 28 Sept First International founded London, 1864 (disintegrates by 1872).
- 29 Sept International Union of Architects (UIA), seventh Congress, Havana, Cuba, 29 Sept. - 3 Oct. to be followed by UIA General Assembly and International Symposium on Architecture, Mexico City, 6-15 Oct.
- 14 Oct 2nd International Trade Unions (WFTU) Conference on Problems of Women Workers, Bucharest, 14-19 Oct.
- 20 Oct Chinese Communist troops begin advance into India, escalating border war, 1962.
- 23 Oct Hungarian revolution fails under force of Soviet brutal military repression. 23 Oct - 4 Nov 1956.

(Briefly Noted)

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PROPAGANDIST'S GUIDE TO COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

23 July - 5 August 1963

Commentary

Principal Developments:

1. After the fruitless "adjournment" of the Sino-Soviet ideological talks in Moscow (see last issue of GUIDE), the conflict switched rapidly to an overt clash of power politics over Khrushchev's whirlwind negotiation of a nuclear test ban treaty (see also guidance #685, this issue). Instead of confronting "peaceful coexistence" with the "inevitability of nuclear war" merely in doctrinal terms as heretofore, Moscow proceeds with the test ban and attempts further understandings with the West, while trying to maneuver Peking into the unenviable role of "warmonger."

2. The Chinese, especially in a bitter Government statement of 31 July and a People's Daily editorial of 2 August, attacked the treaty as a "dirty fraud," which did not ban the bomb but only permitted the "nuclear overlords" to retain their monopoly and continue to try to enforce their will on the "nuclear slaves" in the rest of the world. They not only accused the Soviet Government of making a "180-degree about face," "falling on its knees and capitulating to U.S. imperialism" and "selling out" the interests of its own people as well as the rest of the world, but went on to brand Soviet policy as "allying" with imperialism to oppose socialism, and with the U.S. to oppose China. They concluded by calling for a world conference of all chiefs of state to discuss a total nuclear ban and destruction of weapons. Other Chinese output during this period -- especially a speech of Chief of Army General Staff Gen. Lo (see August 2) -- spoke of the "anti-China chorus" in which the Soviets (by euphemism if not name) have joined "with the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries."

3. The USSR poured out a barrage of material in support of its position, culminating in a strongly worded 5,000-word Government statement dated 3 August. Citing the unanimous, world-wide approval of the test-ban treaty -- "one can count on the fingers of one hand those who venture openly to oppose it" -- the statement brands as absurd the Chinese charges of "consolidating nuclear monopoly" and "capitulation," and counter-charges the Chinese with covering up their own refusal to sign a test-ban treaty and lack of desire to achieve disarmament "with a flashy phrase about the most radical disarmament measures," an "all or nothing" policy. The Soviets defend themselves against the "180-degree about-face" charge by pointing to the "tremendous changes taking place on our planet," so that "what was unacceptable only yesterday might prove useful" today, -- and they ask if "the Soviet Union, as

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(#9 Commentary Cont.)

12 August 1968

the nuclear power in the socialist community," is not in a better position to judge on these matters than people who know about nuclear weapons only from literature! They reacted vehemently to the "betrayal of their own people" charge and all but read the Chinese out of the socialist world. Other Soviet and pro-Soviet output during this period has repeatedly brought in the "Trotskyism" charge against the Chinese.

4. News reports from Hiroshima as the period ended indicated that the Sino-Soviet/test-ban dispute had already played havoc with the "Ninth World Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs," scheduled for 2-7 August, with Sohyo and the JSP having withdrawn from sponsorship, Soviet-aligned delegates staging walk-outs over Chinese denunciations of the test-ban treaty, etc.

5. The Chinese issued the first number of a Japanese-language edition of the Peking Review on 1 August, and the N. Koreans inaugurated daily broadcasts in Russian on 24 July.

Significance:

The nuclear test-ban issue served to precipitate the Soviet and Chinese Governments and nations much deeper into open political/propaganda warfare against each other, with each now bluntly accusing the other of serving his own selfish national interests rather than those of the peoples of the world or the socialist camp. The Chinese have flatly accused the Soviets of allying themselves with the U.S. against China, in addition to recklessly bandying such highly incendiary insults as "falling on their knees before imperialism" and "selling out the interests of their own people." They can hardly go further with words. On the other side, the Soviets have quite convincingly charged the Chinese with hypocritically opposing Soviet peace policies, not out of concern for the socialist camp or world peace, but purely in the interest of building up their own power position. "For what?" the Soviets ask effectively. Any remaining tendency to talk about the "common objectives" of the two has clearly been "atomized."

The futility of Communists trying to keep party relations separate from state and national relations and interests is clearly demonstrated in the events of this period, particularly in these two astonishing state documents issued to the world at large in the name of the Governments of two major powers, -- the CPR statement of 31 July and especially the much longer CPSU statement of 3 August. In some passages the authors are apparently playing to the grandstand of all peoples on issues which concern all; in others they seem to be addressing only fellow Marxists-Leninists in terms of their own esoteric interests; and in others they seem to be playing directly to their own peoples at home in terms of national interests. The language and tone are at times arrogantly self-righteous and self-confident, at times scornfully derisive,

at times defensively reasonable, at times amazingly petulant in an almost childish manner ("one cannot discover, even with the help of a microscope, the least trace of respect for sovereignty"), and always deadly serious.

A most important development in this exchange of statements was the Soviet response to the Chinese proposal for convening a world conference for a total nuclear ban and destruction of weapons. After stating that the CPR had "evidently" put forth this proposal because it "understands how unpopular a negative position" on such an issue is in our time, the Soviets acknowledge that the Chinese proposals are the same as advanced by the USSR itself on various occasions since 1946: they go on to charge Chinese deceitfulness in advancing this "program" to cover up for their lack of desire to achieve any real disarmament.

References

The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the World Federation of Trade Unions:
State INR Report No. 5650.90 in the International Communism series,
dated June 30, 1963 -- ~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM~~ A 14-page review
of subject which concludes that "the seriousness of Chinese and
other 'polycentrist' challenges may yet introduce for the WFTU an
entirely new dimension in its promotion of alliances, i.e. the
promotion of pro-Soviet alignments amongst and within unions that
are already Communist as well as amongst united front trade unions
or unions which contain major Communist enclaves."

Lenin, the Second International and Current Communist Dissensions:
produced by this office, undated, unattributed; labeled "Privately
Circulated for Background Use Only." A 30-page, small-format,
offset booklet, replete with numerous quotations and with bibli-
ography. Copies readily available on request.


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23 July-5 August 1963

July 22-25 - Sofia's Rabotnichesko Delo carried a 900-word article by Kosta Gane, BCP member since 1914, comparing the CCP approach to war and peace with that of the Trotskyite group of "leftwing" Communists who opposed Lenin's peace policy at the time of the October Revolution. Trud on the 23rd and Otechestven Front on the 25th carried articles pegged to the CEMA conference supporting the Soviet line on "international division of labor" and "socialist specialization" and sharply rejecting Chinese criticism.

July 23-August 3 - NCNA circulated, and People's Daily printed, a series of hard-hitting editorials condemning the Soviets on the test-ban issue which originally appeared in two Burmese-language Mandalay newspapers. On 3 August, however, Tass circulated a Pravda report from Novosti in Rangoon that "nearly all Burmese newspapers have published articles welcoming the agreement" (as did statements of the Government and the Burma Council for Disarmament and Peace) and accusing NCNA of extracting passages from a provincial paper to support its allegation of Burmese opposition. "In its desire to mislead public opinion, it fabricated a false statement of a very low stamp."

July 24 - Zagreb Vjesnik carried an article denouncing the Chinese leaders who "after the victory of the revolution in China, chose Stalin's path, including the unnecessary victims typical of Stalin's policy, and are openly defending Stalinist concepts" today. They "have gradually attacked all sectors of CPSU activity." "Paraphrasing Trotsky's theses of 'permanent revolution,' the Chinese leaders introduced the new slogan of the 'permanent offensive.'"

July 24 - The Albanians -- overshadowed during recent weeks by the massive polemics of the more important parties -- struck out again with a 6,000-word Zeri I Popullit editorial extolling the 14 June CCP letter and attacking "N. Khrushchev's revisionist group" in the most inflammatory terms yet. Khrushchev and company, "plotters, feeble-minded, liars and slanderers," are stabbing the socialist camp and Communism in the back, are afraid of the truth of Marxism-Leninism, are causing the degeneration of the party and socialist state and disarming the workers: the true internationalist "is the man who fights courageously against the revisionist views and splitting activities of N. Khrushchev's group."

July 24 - N. Korean President Choe Yong-kon, in a long speech on his June visit to China, gave boundless praise to the CCP and CPR and supported them on points at issue with the CPSU, -- without naming the latter. "The brilliant successes made by the Chinese people in socialist construction and the enormous changes that are being effected in Chinese society clearly demonstrate the correctness of the policy of the CCP.... We firmly believe that the Chinese people under the guidance of the CCP will continue to forge ahead, holding high the three red banners of the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes...." After claiming that the CPR is "realizing peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems," Choe went on to say

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Communists and progressists to fight against any intrigue and machination to isolate China. All the schemes to bar the growth of the might of China and her increasing international influence are bound to meet a miserable fiasco. Further, "to underestimate the liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples ... to obstruct the national liberation struggle under this or that pretext is, in the final analysis, an attempt to keep in slavery hundreds of millions of people still under the imperialist yoke and weaken the world's peace forces." Moreover, "to oppose the construction of a self-supporting national economy in other countries or to exert economic pressure upon another country under this or that excuse not only runs diametrically counter to the principles of proletarian internationalism but is a harmful act.... Our party and our people will never tolerate any machinations of the revisionists to disrupt the unity...." /Revisionism is doomed and Marxism-Leninism will continue to triumph." On the 24th, the N. Koreans also inaugurated daily broadcasts in Russian to the USSR: the broadcast on the 25th summarized the Choe speech described above.

July 24 - Izvestiya carried a long article entitled "The Historic Mission of Communism" by Doctor of History Iosif Lemin who quotes Lenin as expressing the idea that "new inventions in science and technology will make the defenses of our country so formidable that all attacks on it will become impossible." "The wisdom and dialectics of these pronouncements by Lenin differ basically from the stagnant dogmatism and the lifeless quotation-mongering of the modern Chinese dogmatists," etc.

July 25 - Pravda featured an article by Comrade Burlatskiy, "Concrete Analysis Is One of the Most Important Demands of Leninism," which follows the line of the CPSU open letter in attacking the Chinese for "disregarding any analysis of modern conditions in the struggle of the world Communist movement."

July 25 - The Yugoslav party organ Komunist used the test-ban talks as a peg for further criticism of Chinese policy. The Chinese attitude toward the test-ban efforts "is a picture in miniature of the entire Chinese policy." The Chinese "all or nothing" logic, says Komunist, falls to pieces as soon as the premises on which it is built are analyzed. "Upon the ruins of this bogus logic, which is presented as the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism, there remain only ps_doradical phrases and destructive policy, complete absence of a sense of responsibility, and attempt to smuggle one's own questionable ambitions... under the cloak of fighting for the interests of socialism." "The real meaning of the 'principled' Chinese offensive is actually capitulation before difficulties and trials," "a classic reactionary policy of turning internal dilemmas into international conflicts."

July 25 - The National Executive Committee of the Canadian CP stated that, despite frequent discussions of the CCP position over the past 3 years, including "direct negotiations with the Chinese leaders," "our party has unservingly adhered to the view that the CCP policy is incompatible with the tasks of Communists in Canadian conditions and the present international situation." It criticizes

"the factional activity of the CCP in many countries, including our own Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03064A000200020007-2
Trotskyites."

July 25 - The Politburo of the Chilean CP denounced the Chinese for their "defamatory formulation" on the questions of peaceful coexistence and national liberation, and for their "practical divisionist work...carried out with the aid of fractionists expelled from the Communist parties, and with the help of mercenaries and adventurers."

July 26 - Pravda published a statement by Franz West, "a member of the Austrian CP's Politburo," which rather cautiously describes the Austrian Communists as "in full agreement with the Party of Lenin," taking "our stand on the basis of the historic lessons and decisions of the 20th and 22nd CPSU Congresses."

July 26 - Pravda also printed a statement by the Central Secretariat of the Indian CP that "the stand of the Indian CP completely coincides with the stand of the world Communist movement and the CPSU and is directly opposed to the erroneous views of the CCP leaders" on "the most important problems" discussed in the 14 June and 14 July letters of the CCP and CPSU, respectively. It "sternly condemns the attempts of the CCP leaders to sow racial and religious discord, to incite hatred for the USSR and other European socialist countries."

July 26-August 2 - The Indonesian CP delegation headed by Chairman Aidit, which arrived in Moscow 20 July on a visit to the CPSU and the CCP, was reported by NCNA as arriving in Havana together with a Chinese delegation to take part in the Cuban 26 July celebration. Prensa Latina reported an Aidit lunch with Guevara and others on 30 July, and Tass reported the delegation's return to Moscow on 2 August.

July 26 - Speaking to a mass rally in Peking on the 10th anniversary of the "victory of the Korean war," Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, attacked Soviet views: "Men are the determining factors in wars. It is completely wrong to one-sidedly emphasize technical factors. There are certain self-styled Marxists today who have seen fit to drum up the nuclear blackmail policy of US imperialism in order to intimidate the people of the whole world.... This is ... a practice of advancing the interests of the policy of aggression and war of US imperialism."

July 26 - In a further commentary on Chinese criticism of Czech expulsion of three NCNA correspondents, Rude Pravo, principal newspaper of the Czech CP, amplifies on the activities which brought on expulsion: "Again and again they traveled through the republic in order to deliver or mail the material in remote corners of the country, as in Jesenik, North Moravia...."

July 26 and continuing - The Japanese Democratic Socialist Party, second largest opposition group, declared, according to the Kyodo agency: "We reject the Mao Tse-tung policy line which even defies nuclear war and support the more realistic Khrushchev policy line." Meanwhile, the JCP organ Akahata, which before the agreement was reached had attacked a partial test-ban treaty as "an attempt to

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paralyzing the policy of war and aggression of the imperialist forces," was silent. Finally, on the 29th it published an editorial acknowledging that "among the Japanese people there are those hailing the conclusion of the treaty" as well as "those warning against being overly optimistic." It notes that "with the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs imminent /scheduled for Hiroshima, 2-7 August/, we are facing a complicated situation.... Japanese reactionary forces /are trying/ to paralyze the force of the people's ideological struggle." Nowhere in the article, however, is there even implied criticism of the USSR for its role in the treaty. On 2 August Kyodo reported that the leaders of Gensyuikyo (Japanese Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs) met with some of the foreign delegates in Hiroshima to explain that the Conference could not begin as scheduled that day because the JSP and Sohyo (TU Council) were still unable to reach agreement with the JCP: the former called for "opposing all nuclear tests by any country," but the Communists strongly opposed such a blanket ban. Press reports from Hiroshima on 5 August indicated that the Conference had finally gotten under way after the JSP and Sohyo had withdrawn from it in protest against Communist domination. Student rioting delayed opening proceedings 90 minutes. One of the first speakers was the leader of the Chinese delegation, Chao Pu-chu, who denounced the test-ban treaty, which "allows the aggressor the right of massacre and denies the victims the right of self-defense," to an audience of 15,000. When he denounced "the Russian leader" for making a "180-degree turn in one year," the Soviet party of 14, led by Pravda editorial writer Yuri Zhukov, walked out, followed by the delegates from India, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. AP adds that "most of the persons in the park were obviously pro-Chinese and gave Chao repeated applause."

July 27 - A Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman termed untrue Western reports that Khrushchev would visit Hungary on his way to Yugoslavia in August.

July 27-28 - The 23 July official communique on the 24-26 July conference of the heads of state of the CEMA countries in Moscow indicated only that CEMA matters had been discussed -- "in an atmosphere of cordiality, fraternal friendship and mutual understanding," with "full unanimity of views of all its members." The communique affirmed that "principles of equality" and "strict observance of sovereignty" must be upheld. It did not report the authorization of a supranational executive agency, progress toward establishment of an international bank, or specific measures to coordinate agricultural planning. On 27 July TASS released a communique which stated that "a routine session of the Political Consultative Committee of member states of the Warsaw Pact" was held in Moscow on 26 July, with the same heads of state in attendance. Pact armed forces chief Marshal Grechko delivered a report on the status of the forces and "appropriate decisions were adopted": nothing was said about any "political" questions.

July 23 - The Executive Committee of the CC/CP Argentina expressed its full agreement with the provisions of the CPSU 14 July open letter, denounced the position and conduct of the Chinese and condemned their divisive activities.

July 29 - Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200020007-2
Jacques Grippa, leader of the pro-Chinese Belgian dissident Communists now visiting Albania, in which he attacked the revisionist line of the BCP, which, he said, "derives largely from the Togliatti 'line.'"

July 29 - Pravda carried a 2400-word Yuri Zhukov article on the test-ban agreement under the heading "Who Is For; Who Is Against?" which lumps the Chinese with the "madmen" of the US and Europe who oppose the ban. "They brazenly copy the demagogic argumentation of French bourgeois propaganda and repeat it word by word...." The Chinese comrades are indeed in unenviable company if they drag behind de Gaulle in defiance of the clearly expressed will of all the peoples of the world...." Izvestiya on the same day carried a commentary along similar lines by Nikolay Polyanov.

July 30 - Pravda featured article, "Peaceful Coexistence Is the Way to Socialism" and -- tied to the 60th anniversary of the 2nd congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party, which brought the split marking the beginning of Bolshevism as an organized force -- a 4,000-word letter in the name of 250 Old Bolsheviks in which they "proclaim to the world...that we approve unconditionally and will irreconcilably defend the theses" of the CPSU open letter and "fully support the position of our Leninist CC headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchev." Denouncing the Chinese as imitators of Trotsky, the letter states that it is "especially offensive" that "in many of the theses of the letter of the CC/CCP to our CC, the Trotskyite-Otzovist A-B-C is simply repeated." Also, "Many of us knew Lenin personally...and we can state in all responsibility that to preach the idea set out in the letter of the CC/CCP, referring to Lenin, is sacrilege."

July 30 - La Voix Ouvrière, Geneva daily organ of the Swiss Labor Party (Communist) published an article by Party secretariat member Marino Bodenman criticizing the CCP for its splitting activities, and stating that the SLP had unanimously expressed its disagreement with the Chinese views on the important theoretical and practical questions.

July 30 - Under a banner headline "Look, What Consequences Will the So-called General Line of Peaceful Coexistence Lead To?" People's Daily, Peking, devoted two full pages to reactions to the partial test-ban treaty. One-third of its third page were extracts from past Khrushchev statements opposing a partial test-ban, under the heading: "Khrushchev's Words Against Underground Tests Still Ring in One's Ears: Who Is It Who Has Gone to Such Length to 'Strike Such a Deal' to 'Deceive the Peoples?'" PD's comments on other statements are similarly reflected in their headings: i.e., those from East Europe "Seize a Straw to Trumpet the Victory of Peaceful Coexistence"; from Albania "Giving a False Impression to Deceive the Peoples"; from Yugoslavia "The Tito Group Are Besides Themselves with Joy"; and "The Greatest Disservice to World Peace" for an editorial of the Pakistan Morning News "which says that a partial test ban is ludicrous in the extreme."

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stressed the "vital importance" of "further deepening of international socialist division of labor, broadening of specialization and cooperation in production, development of scientific and technical cooperation and increasing trade turnover." Naming names, it goes on to declare that "the policy of an isolated-from-the-world cooperation of the socialist countries, of go-it-alone construction of socialism, that is advanced by CCP leaders contradicts the objective laws of development of a socialist society. It leads to the squandering of public labor and the slowing down of rates of growth of production.... The Chinese comrades are trying to force on other socialist countries the concept of creating self-sufficient national economics...."

July 31 - Zeri I Popullit (Albania) editorially denounced the Soviet role in the test-ban agreement with expected vituperation. "N. Khrushchev...has not only capitulated once again before the imperialists and fallen into their trap, not only has made further unprincipled concessions and compromises, but what is more he has openly collaborated with the imperialists to damage the socialist camp...."

July 31 - The Mongolian Committee for the Defense of Peace issued a declaration hailing the test-ban agreement. (The Mongolian press has carried a stream of articles endorsing all aspects of Soviet policy in its dispute with the CCP during this period.)

July 31 - All Peking papers gave banner headlines to a CPR statement denouncing the test-ban treaty as a "dirty fraud." Quoting a 1961 Khrushchev comment opposed to a partial test-ban, it states: "But now the Soviet Government has made a 180-degree about-face" and has "sold out" the interests of the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist camp and all peace-loving peoples of the world. "The policy pursued by the Soviet Government is one of allying with the forces of war to oppose the forces of peace, allying with imperialism to oppose socialism, allying with the United States to oppose China, and allying with the reactionaries of all countries to oppose the people of the world....It is capitulation to US imperialism." The statement concludes by proposing "a conference of the government heads of all the countries of the world" to discuss a four-point program for "the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons." People's Daily report of Izvestiya's letters attacking the Chinese is headed by the comment: "Who, after all, Have Partnered with the American Wild Men? They Can only Be the Leaders of the Soviet Union Who Have Made a 180-degree Turn."

August 1 - People's Daily devoted nearly two pages to press comments and reactions around the world to the test-ban treaty, under a banner headline: "This Is No Victory for the Policy of Peaceful Coexistence; This Is Capitulation to U.S. Imperialism." It also published extracts from Soviet documents since 1946 "to show how the Soviet Government retreated step by step on this question until it fell on its knees and capitulated."

August 1 - The first pro-Soviet comment on the 31 July CPR statement above came from Czechoslovakia, where the official agency CTK released a statement saving that the Chinese "are violating the

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principles of the 1960 Moscow statement" in "an intentional attempt to turn the matter upside down... which is... unworthy of the revolutionary traditions of the Chinese people." Moreover, the Chinese "proposals in themselves represent nothing new in view of the fact that the program of disarmament submitted by the USSR Government and other proposals of the socialist countries already contain their objectives." A Rude Pravo article "On One Bench with the Madmen," charges that "the Chinese Government considers the moment opportune to pass from the level of ideological differences to a position of open political hostility toward the Soviet Union." It chides the Chinese: "it always sounds embarrassing if someone abroad advises the Soviet Government what is or is not good for the interests of socialism,...and it sounds doubly embarrassing if this is done by people who, without the existence of the socialist Soviet Union and its victories in WWII, would not hold power in their own country." It concludes: "In reality, the Chinese proposal is designed 'to cover the fact that the Chinese Government presently does not consider steps toward disarmament its main aim, but the possession of its own nuclear arms. What for? ... (CTK ellipsis) is not the power of the Soviet Union and its alliance with China quite sufficient a guarantee for the Chinese people that the imperialists will never dare to attack it? Experience leaves no doubt about this," the article says, and stresses that the Chinese leaders "primarily pursue their own great-power interests." CTK on this date also reported a statement by the British CP saying that the Chinese "sell-out" charges are "unworthy of Communists."

August 1 - The first issue of a Japanese edition of the Peking Review was published: it contains, inter alia, the texts of the 14 June CCP letter to the CPSU and the 14 July CPSU open letter in reply "and some important articles from the People's Daily."

August 1-2 - Addressing a Peking rally of "10,000 people from all walks of life" in support of the Ninth World Conference for Banning Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs scheduled for Hiroshima 2-7 August, Kuo Mo-jo struck at "those self-styled creative Marxist-Leninists" who have "betrayed the interests of the Soviet people and the people of all countries in the world and have raised their hands in surrender to U.S. imperialism." On the 2nd, the China Peace Committee "and 13 other national people's organizations of China" sent a joint message to the Hiroshima conference which included the charge that the tri-partite partial nuclear test-ban treaty "was an utter fraud designed to fool the people of the world."

August 2 - All Peking papers gave banner headlines to today's People's Daily editorial: "People Throughout the World, Unite; Strive for Complete Prohibition and Thorough Destruction of Nuclear Weapons," and PD itself devoted its third page to reports and comments under the heading: "Oppose Nuclear Overlords; Refuse to Be Nuclear Slaves; and Smash the Nuclear Fraud." "All countries, big or small, nuclear or non-nuclear, are equals. It is absolutely impermissible for two or three countries to brandish their nuclear weapons at will, issue orders and commands, and lord it over the world in the self-conceited belief that they are nuclear overlords, while the overwhelming majority ... are to kneel down on the ground and obey orders, as if they were nuclear slaves." People's Daily

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ching, Vice Premier and Chief of General Staff, on the 36th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, including his remarks that "some people ... had started an anti-China chorus with the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries," and that the treaty sells out the interests of peace-loving people. And finally, on this date letters signed by Chou En-lai were sent to "the government heads of all countries of the world" calling for a worldwide conference in accordance with the 31 July CPR statement.

August 3 - The Soviet Government struck back at the CPR's 31 July statement. The 5,000-word text was published in all Moscow papers on the 4th, and Pravda and Izvestiya also carried the Chinese statement, "so that all Soviet people will know how low the Chinese leaders have sunk." Stating that the treaty "proves the correctness and viability of the policy of peaceful coexistence," they describe its "warm support from the governments and peoples of the socialist states, broad public circles in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, (and) millions of working people of the capitalist countries, and all progressive people of the world." "The collective opinion of the socialist countries on the question of cessation of nuclear tests is expressed in the decision [no date given] of the conference of the first secretaries of Communist and workers parties and heads of government of Warsaw Treaty countries."

Asserting that "the Government of the CPR is trying to completely ignore facts known to the whole world," the Soviet statement presents its version of the USSR's efforts at nuclear control and disarmament from 1946 on, with the conclusion that "the only reasonable way out is to solve it step by step." It continues: "One must be absolutely out of touch with realities to advance the alternative of 'all or nothing' with regard to matters involving the destinies of the world and the lives of millions of people." This treaty can be objected to only by people "who cover up with a flashy phrase about the most radical disarmament measures their lack of readiness or desire to achieve disarmament."

Tackling the Chinese "contrived arguments" to label the treaty a "fraud," the Soviets ask "Who, then, is actually deceiving the peoples? ... if the question of who would benefit most by this treaty is to be raised, would it not be more correct to assume that ... the Soviet Union, as the nuclear power in the community of socialist states, is in a better position to judge whether the balance of forces will change or not...? Does not the Government of the CPR take too much upon itself in drawing conclusions in this question for the Soviet Government, for the Soviet Union? ... "No," the statement adds, "it is not concern for the defense potential of the socialist camp that prompted the statement of the CPR Government. What stands behind all this is apparently a desire ... to follow a special policy on the question of what is to be done about the most destructive weapons...."

The Soviets brand the Chinese statement as "an unprecedented, most regrettable act" which "is in gross contradiction to the common line of the socialist states... and in gross contradiction

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to the fundamental principles of the CPSU in 1957 and 1960 -- the leaders of the CPR affixed their signatures.... Thereby, the Chinese leaders openly place themselves in opposition to the socialist commonwealth, to the whole world Communist movement, to all peace-loving peoples of Europe, Asia and America." Moreover, it is "one more evidence" of transfer of ideological differences to interstate relations.

The Soviet statement then explodes violently over "such impudent allegations as that ... the Soviet Government "betrayed the interests of the Soviet people, ... the peoples of the socialist countries, including China, and ... the peace-loving peoples of the whole world.' It is difficult to say what predominates here -- political irresponsibility or irritation of people whose expectations are dashed to the ground by life itself. Who empowered the CPR Government to speak in the name of the Soviet people and for it? Who asked it to speak for the peoples of the other socialist countries? The authors of the statement must be losing their nerve /mind?/ if ... they seek ... to counterpose the Soviet people to the Soviet Government.... Whose footsteps do the Chinese leaders intend to follow?

And the Soviets finally defend themselves against the "180-degree about-face" charge by stating that, in view of "the tremendous changes taking place on our planet," "What was unacceptable only yesterday might prove useful, even most useful, today."

August 4 - The No. Korean organ Nodong Sinmun finally carried an editorial condemning the test-ban treaty as "contrary to the demand of the world's peace-loving people" for isolating the test ban from the outlawing of nuclear weapons, but it is entirely anti-US and gives not the slightest hint of criticism of the Soviet role or of the Chinese attacks on it.

No. 9

23 Julio - 5 Agosto 1963

22-25 Julio: El "Rabotnichesko Delo" de Sofia publicó un artículo de 900 palabras escrito por Kosta Gane, miembro del PC búlgaro desde 1914, comparando la actitud del PC chino en materia de paz y guerra con la del grupo trotskista de comunistas "de izquierda" que se opusieron a la política de paz de Lenin en la época de la Revolución de Octubre. "Trud" el 23 y "Otechestven Front" el 25 publicaron artículos basados en la conferencia del Comecon en apoyo de la línea soviética de la "división internacional del trabajo" y la "especialización socialista" y rechazando de plano la crítica de los chinos.

23 Julio-3 Agosto: La agencia china Sinjua circuló y el "Diario del Pueblo" publicó una serie de fuertes editoriales condenando a los soviéticos con respecto a la cuestión de la proscripción de los ensayos nucleares, que originalmente aparecieron en dos diarios de Mandalay en lengua birmana. El 3 de agosto, sin embargo, Tass circuló un informe de "Pravda" proveniente de la agencia Novosti en Rangún diciendo que "casi todos los periódicos birmanos han publicado artículos en parabién del acuerdo" (como fueron también declaraciones del Gobierno y del Consejo birmano por el desarme y la paz) y acusando a la agencia Sinjua de extraer pasajes de un diario de provincia para fundamentar su alegato de oposición birmana. "En su empeño por despistar la opinión, falsificó una declaración de muy baja estampa".

24 Julio: El "Vjestnik" de Zagreb publicó un artículo condenando a los dirigentes chinos que "después de la victoria de la revolución en China escogieron la vía stalinista, incluso las víctimas innecesarias típicas de la política de Stalin y están abiertamente defendiendo conceptos stalinianos" hoy día. "Han atacado gradualmente todos los sectores de la actividad del PCUS". "Parafraseando las tesis de Trotsky de la 'revolución permanente', los dirigentes chinos introdujeron la nueva consigna de la 'ofensiva permanente'."

24 Julio: Los albaneses -- oscurecidos en las semanas recientes por las masivas polémicas de partidos más importantes -- de nuevo atacaron con un artículo de 6.000 palabras en "Zeri i Popullit" ensalzando la carta de los chinos de 14 de junio y atacando en los términos más inflamatorios hasta la fecha al "grupo revisionista de N. Krushev". Krushev y compañía, "conjurados, imbéciles, mentirosos y calumniadores", están apuñalando por la espalda al campo socialista y al comunismo, están temerosos de la verdad del marxismo-leninismo, están causando la degeneración del partido y del estado socialista y desarmando a los trabajadores: el verdadero internacionalista "es el hombre que lucha valientemente contra las opiniones revisionistas y las actividades escisionistas del grupo de N. Krushev."

24 Julio: El presidente norcoreano Choe Yong-Kon, en un extenso discurso sobre su visita a China en junio, ofreció elogio sin límite al PC chino y la República popular china y apoyo en las cuestiones en disputa con el PCUS -- sin mencionar a este último. "Los brillantes éxitos conseguidos por el pueblo chino en la construcción socialista y los enormes cambios que se están efectuando en la sociedad china demuestran a las claras lo correcto de la política del PC chino.... Creemos firmemente que el pueblo chino bajo la orientación del PC

rojas de la línea general, el gran salto adelante y las comunas populares..." Declarando que la República china está "poniendo en práctica la coexistencia pacífica entre los países de diferentes sistemas sociales," Choe continuó diciendo que "hoy es deber internacionalista de todos los comunistas y gente progresista... mantener una implacable lucha contra toda intriga y maquinación por aislar a China. Todo ardid por frenar el crecimiento del poderío de China y su creciente influencia internacional tiene por fuerza que acabar en un mesarable fracaso." Además, "subestimar las luchas de liberación de los pueblos de Asia, Africa y América Latina... obstruir la lucha por la liberación nacional con este o aquel pretexto constituye, en último análisis, una tentativa de tener en la esclavitud a centenares de millones de gente que están aún bajo el yugo imperialista y debilitar las fuerzas de paz del mundo." Aun más, "oponerse a la construcción de una economía nacional que se mantenga a sí propia en otros países o ejercer presión económica sobre otro país con este o aquel pretexto no solo corre diametralmente opuesto a los principios del internacionalismo proletario sino que es un acto dañino... Nuestro partido y nuestro pueblo jamás tolerarán maquinaciones de los revisionistas por destruir la unidad..." ["El revisionismo está condenado y el marxismo-leninismo continuará triunfando."] El 24 los norcoreanos inauguraron emisiones diarias en ruso a la URSS: la emisión del 25 resumió el discurso de Choe descrito más arriba.

24 Julio: "Izvestiya" publicó un extenso artículo titulado "La histórica misión del comunismo", escrito por el doctor en historia Iosif Lenin y atribuyendo a Lenin la idea de que "nuevas invenciones en ciencia y tecnología harán las defensas de nuestro país tan formidables que todos los ataques contra el mismo se harán imposibles". "La sabiduría y la dialéctica de estos pronunciamientos de Lenin difieren básicamente del dogmatismo estancado y la yerta manía de las citas de los dogmáticos chinos contemporáneos", etc.

25 Julio: "Pravda" dio realce a un artículo del camarada Burlatskiy, "El análisis concreto es una de las exigencias más importantes del leninismo", que sigue la línea de la carta abierta del PCUS al atacar a los chinos por "no prestar atención a ningún análisis de las condiciones modernas en la lucha del movimiento comunista mundial".

25 Julio: El órgano partidario yugoslavo "Komunist" usó las conversaciones sobre la proscripción de los ensayos como motivo para llevar adelante la crítica de la política china. La actitud china hacia los esfuerzos por la proscripción de los ensayos "es una miniatura de la política integral china". La lógica china de "todo o nada", expresa el "Komunist", se desmorona en cuanto se analizan las premisas en que está construida. "Sobre las ruinas de dicha falsa lógica, que se ofrece como la quintaesencia del marxismo-leninismo, quedan solamente frases seudor-

sentido de responsabilidad y la tentativa de contrabandear las dudosas ambiciones propias... bajo el capote de la lucha por los intereses del socialismo". "El verdadero significado de la ofensiva 'principista' china es en realidad la capitulación ante las dificultades y pruebas", "una clásica política reaccionaria de convertir los dilemas internos en conflictos internacionales".

25 Julio: El Consejo ejecutivo nacional del PC canadiense declaró que, a pesar de las frecuentes discusiones de la posición del PC chino en los últimos tres años, incluyendo "las negociaciones directas con los dirigentes chinos", "nuestro partido se ha mantenido incólume en la opinión de que la política del PC chino es incompatible con las tareas de los comunistas en las condiciones del Canadá y la actual situación internacional". Critica "la actividad faccionista del PC chino en muchos países, incluso nuestro propio país en el cual dicho partido ha establecido contacto directo con trotskistas".

25 Julio: El politburó del PC chileno denunció a los chinos por su "formulación difamante" sobre las cuestiones de la coexistencia pacífica y la liberación nacional, así como por su "obra divisionista práctica... llevada a cabo con la ayuda de fraccionistas expulsados de los Partidos comunistas y con la ayuda de mercenarios y aventureros".

26 Julio: "Pravda" publicó una declaración de Franz West, "miembro del Politburó del PC austriaco", que con cierta cautela describe a los comunistas austriacos como "en completo acuerdo con el Partido de Lenin", ocupando "nuestra posición sobre la base de las históricas lecciones y decisiones de los Congresos XX y XXII del PCUS".

26 Julio: "Pravda" publicó también una declaración del secretariado central del PC indio de que "la posición del PC indio coincide íntegramente con la posición del movimiento comunista mundial y el PCUS y está en oposición directa a las erróneas opiniones de los dirigentes del PC chino" respecto a "los problemas más importantes" tratados en las cartas de 14 de junio y 14 de julio del PC chino y el PCUS, respectivamente. "Severamente condena las tentativas de los dirigentes del PC chino de sembrar la discordia racial y religiosa, ... incitar al odio hacia la URSS y otros países socialistas europeos".

26 Julio - 2 Agosto: La delegación del PC indonesio encabezada por su presidente Aidit, arribada a Moscú el 20 de julio en visita al PCUS y el PC chino, según información de Sinjua llegaría a La Habana junto con una delegación china a tomar parte en la celebración del 26 de julio. Prensa Latina informó de un almuerzo de Aidit con Guevara y otros el 30 de julio, y Tass informó el regreso de la delegación a Moscú el 2 de agosto.

26 Julio: Dirigiéndose a una manifestación de masas en Pekín en el décimo aniversario de la "victoria en la guerra de
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Corca, Kuo Mo-jo, presidente del Comité pro paz de China, atacó las opiniones soviéticas: "Los hombres son factores determinantes en las guerras. Es completamente errado acentuar unilateralmente los factores técnicos. Hay hoy ciertos sedicentes marxistas a quienes les ha parecido bien batir tambores por la política de chantaje nuclear del imperialismo norteamericano para intimidar al pueblo del mundo entero... Esto es... una práctica de adelantar los intereses de la política de agresión y guerra del imperialismo norteamericano".

26 Julio: En otro comentario sobre la crítica china de la expulsión por Checoslovaquia de tres corresponsales de Sinjua, "Rude Pravo", el órgano principal de prensa del PC checo, expresó algo más sobre las actividades que ocasionaron la expulsión: "Una y otra vez viajaron a través de la república para entregar o mandar por correo el material a los remotos rincones del país, como en Jeseník, Moravia del Norte..."

26 Julio y adelante: El Partido socialista democrático japonés, el segundo grupo de oposición en cuanto a tamaño, declaró según la agencia Kyodo: "Rechazamos la línea de política de Mao Tse-tung que desafía hasta la guerra nuclear y apoyamos la línea de política más realista de Kruschev". Entretanto, guardaba silencio el órgano "Akahata" del PC japonés, que antes del acuerdo se había expresado contra un tratado para la proscripción de ensayos como "un intento de paralizar la vigilancia de los pueblos de varias naciones contra la política de guerra y agresión de las fuerzas imperialistas". Por fin el día 29 publicó un editorial reconociendo que "entre el pueblo japonés hay quienes saludan la conclusión del tratado" así como "los que previenen contra el excesivo optimismo". Apunta que "con la inminencia de la IX Conferencia Mundial Contra las Bombas Atómicas y de Hidrógeno [a celebrarse en Hiroshima del 2 al 7 de agosto], confrontamos una situación complicada... Fuerzas reaccionarias japonesas [están tratando de] paralizar la fuerza de la lucha ideológica del pueblo". Sin embargo, en ninguna parte del artículo se critica a la URSS siquiera indirectamente por el papel que le tocó en el tratado. El 2 de agosto informó la agencia Kyodo que los dirigentes de Gensyuikyo (Consejo japonés contra las bombas atómicas y de hidrógeno) se habían reunido con algunos de los delegados extranjeros en Hiroshima para explicarles que la Conferencia no podría empezar ese día como se suponía porque el PSJ y Sohyo (Consejo de sindicatos) todavía no habían conseguido ponerse de acuerdo con el PC japonés; los primeros exigían "oponerse a todos los ensayos nucleares por cualquier país", pero los comunistas se oponían fuertemente a semejante proscripción sin distinciones. Los informes de prensa procedentes de Hiroshima el 5 de agosto indicaron que la Conferencia por fin se había puesto en marcha luego que el PSJ y Sohyo se habían retirado de ella como protesta contra la dominación comunista. Estudiantes alzados en motín retrasaron por 90 minutos la ceremonia de apertura. Uno de los primeros oradores fue Chao

ante una concurrencia de 15.000 el tratado sobre proscripción de ensayos, que "concede al agresor el derecho a la matanza y deniega a las víctimas el derecho de la autodefensa". Cuando denunció al "dirigente ruso" por haber hecho un viraje de "180 grados en un año, el grupo soviético de 14 personas encabezadas por el editorialista de "Pravda" Yuri Zhukov se retiró, seguido de los delegados de India, Checoslovaquia, Hungría, Rumania y Yugoslavia. Prensa Asociada agrega que "la mayoría de las personas en el parque eran evidentemente pro China y aplaudieron a Chao repetidas veces".

27 Julio: Un portavoz del ministerio húngaro de relaciones exteriores negó la veracidad de informes de Occidente en el sentido de que Krushev visitaría Hungría de paso para Yugoslavia en agosto.

27-28 Julio: El comunicado oficial de 28 de julio de la conferencia de jefes de estado de los países del Comecon celebrada en Moscú en 24-26 de julio indicó solamente que se habían tratado asuntos del Comecon -- "en una atmósfera de cordialidad, amistad fraternal y entendimiento mutuo", con "completa unanimidad de opinión de todos sus miembros". El comunicado afirma que deberán ser sostenidos "principios de igualdad" y "estricta observación de la soberanía". No informo la autorización de una agencia ejecutiva supranacional, el progreso hacia el establecimiento de un banco internacional, ni medidas específicas para coordinar el planeamiento agrícola. El 27 de julio Tass expidió un comunicado que declaraba que el 26 de julio se había celebrado en Moscú "una reunión rutinaria del comité consultivo político de los estados miembros del Pacto de Varsovia", con la asistencia de los mismos jefes de estado. El jefe de las fuerzas armadas del Pacto, Mariscal Grochko, rindió informe sobre el estado de las fuerzas y "se adoptaron decisiones apropiadas"; nada se dijo sobre cuestiones "políticas".

28 Julio: El comité ejecutivo del CC del PC argentino expresó su completo acuerdo con los conceptos de la carta abierta del PCUS de 14 de julio, denunció la posición y la conducta de los chinos y condenó sus actividades divisionistas.

29 Julio: La agencia ATA de Tirana transmitió un informe de una entrevista con Jacques Grippa, dirigente de los comunistas belgas en disidencia partidarios de los chinos, que estaba de visita en Albania, atacando la línea revisionista del PC belga, que de acuerdo con él "se deriva en gran parte de la 'línea' de Togliatti".

29 Julio: "Pravda" publicó un artículo de 2.400 palabras escrito por Yuri Zhukov sobre el acuerdo que proscribía los ensayos nucleares, con el título: "¿Quién está en pro; quién está en contra?" poniendo a los chinos en la misma categoría con los "obsesados" de los EE. UU. y Europa que se oponen a la proscripción. "Desafortunadamente, copian la línea

lógica argumentación de la propaganda burguesa francesa y la repiten palabra por palabra... Los camaradas chinos están en compañía en verdad poco envidiable si se arrastran detrás de de Gaulle en desafío de la claramente expresa voluntad de todos los pueblos del mundo..." "Izvestiya" el mismo día publicó un comentario parecido escrito por Nicolay Polyanov.

30 Julio: "Pravda" destacó un artículo "La coexistencia pacífica es la vía al socialismo", y -- con motivo del 60 aniversario del segundo congreso del Partido social democrático ruso, en el cual se produjo la ruptura que marcó el principio del bolchevismo como fuerza organizada -- una carta de 4.000 palabras a nombre de 258 Viejos Bolcheviques en la cual "proclamamos al mundo... que aprobamos incondicionalmente y defenderemos irreconciliablemente las tesis" de la carta abierta del PCUS y "apoyamos integralmente la posición de nuestro CC leninista encabezado por el camarada N. S. Kruschov. Denunciando a los chinos como imitadores de Trotsky, la carta declara que "ofende especialmente" que "en muchas de las tesis de la carta del CC del PC chino a nuestro CC se repite simplemente el A B C trotskista-otzovista." También, "muchos de nosotros conocimos a Lenin personalmente... y podemos declarar con toda responsabilidad que predicar la idea expresada en la carta del CC del PC chino, con referencia a Lenin, es sacrilego."

30 Julio: "La Voix ouvrière", diario ginebrino del Partido suizo del trabajo (comunista) publicó un artículo por Marino Bodenman, miembro del secretariado del partido, criticando al PC chino por sus actividades divisionistas y declarando que el PST había expresado unánimemente su desacuerdo con las opiniones chinas sobre las importantes cuestiones teóricas y prácticas.

30 Julio: Bajo el titular de multicolumna, "Veamos a qué consecuencias llevará la llamada línea general de coexistencia pacífica", el "Diario del Pueblo" de Pekín dedicó dos planas completas a reacciones al tratado de proscripción parcial de los ensayos nucleares. La tercera parte de la tercera plana constaba de extractos de declaraciones de Kruschov contra una proscripción semejante, bajo el titular: "Las palabras de Kruschov contra los ensayos subterráneos todavía suenan en los oídos; ¿quién es quién ha llegado a tales extremos por 'forjar semejante arreglo' para 'enganar a los pueblos?'" Los comentarios del "Diario del Pueblo" sobre otras declaraciones se reflejan de modo parecido en sus titulares: por ejemplo, de Europa oriental: "Tome una paja para clarinear la victoria de la coexistencia pacífica"; de Albania: "Dando una falsa impresión para engañar a los pueblos"; de Yugoslavia: "El grupo de Tito está loco de alegría"; y "El peor servicio a la paz mundial", para un editorial del "Morning News" de Pakistán "que dice que una proscripción parcial de los ensayos es en extremo ridícula".

de Comecon de julio realizó la "vital importancia" de "profundizar aun más la división internacional del trabajo, ensanchar la especialización y la cooperación en la producción, desarrollar la cooperación científica y técnica y aumentar el volumen de la compraventa". Citando nombres propios, declara que "la política de una cooperación entre países socialistas en aislamiento del resto del mundo, de la construcción cada cual por su cuenta del socialismo propugnada por los dirigentes del PC chino contradice las leyes objetivas del desarrollo de una sociedad socialista. Lleva al despilfarro del trabajo público y el descenso del ritmo de crecimiento de la producción... Los caramadas chinos están tratando de imponer a otros países socialistas el concepto de la creación de economías nacionales autosuficientes..."

31 Julio: El "Zeri i Popullit" (de Albania) condenó editorialmente el papel del Soviet en el acuerdo de proscripción de ensayos, con la vituperación de esperarse. "N. Krushchev... no solo ha capitulado una vez más ante los imperialistas y caído en su trampa, no solo ha hecho otras concesiones y componendas faltas de principio, sino que lo que es más ha colaborado abiertamente con los imperialistas para hacer daño al campo socialista..."

31 Julio: El Comité de defensa de la paz, de la Mongolia, dió a la publicidad una declaración celebrando el acuerdo de proscripción de ensayos. (La prensa mogol ha publicado gran volumen de artículos en apoyo de todos los aspectos de la política soviética en su disputa con el PC chino durante este periodo.)

31 Julio: Toda la prensa de Pekín publicó bajo grandes titulares una declaración de la RP china condenando el acuerdo de proscripción de pruebas como "fraude sucio". Citando una observación de Krushchev de 1961 contraria a una proscripción parcial, dice la declaración: "Pero ahora el Gobierno soviético ha girado 180 grados" y ha "vendido" los intereses del pueblo soviético, los pueblos del campo socialista, y todos los pueblos del mundo amantes de la paz. "La política proseguida por el Gobierno soviético es la de aliarse con las fuerzas de guerra para oponerse a las fuerzas de paz, aliarse con el imperialismo para oponerse a China y aliarse con los reaccionarios de todos los países para oponerse al pueblo mundial... Es capitulación ante el imperialismo norteamericano." La declaración concluye proponiendo "una conferencia de los jefes de gobiernos de todos los países del mundo" para discutir un programa de cuatro puntos para la proscripción completa y la destrucción absoluta de las armas nucleares". El informe del "Diario del Pueblo" sobre las cartas de "Izvestiya" atacando a los chinos tiene por encabezamiento esta observación: "¿Quiénes, después de todo, se han asociado a los salvajes americanos? No pueden ser otros que los dirigentes de la Unión Soviética que han hecho un giro de 180 grados".

1 Agosto: El Diario del Pueblo de Pekín publica dos artículos de comentarios de prensa y reacciones mundiales al acuerdo sobre proscripción de ensayos, con el titular: "Esto no es victoria para la política de coexistencia pacífica; esto es capitulación ante el imperialismo norteamericano". También publicó extractos de documentos soviéticos desde 1946 "para demostrar como el Gobierno soviético retrocedió paso a paso en esta cuestión hasta que cayó de rodillas y capituló."

1 Agosto: El primer comentario prosoviético sobre la declaración de la RP china del 31 de julio procedió de Checoslovaquia, donde la agencia oficial CTK distribuyó una declaración que decía que los chinos "están contraviniendo los principios de la declaración de Moscú de 1960" en una "tentativa intencional de invertir el asunto de arriba abajo... que es... indigno de las tradiciones revolucionarias del pueblo chino." Más aun, las propuestas chinas "en sí no representan nada nuevo en vista del hecho de que el programa de desarme sometido por el Gobierno de la URSS y otras propuestas de los países socialistas ya contienen sus objetivos". Un artículo en el "Rude Pravo" titulado "En un banco con los locos" denuncia que "el Gobierno chino considera oportuno el momento para pasar del nivel de divergencias ideológicas a una posición de abierta hostilidad política hacia la Unión Soviética". Regaña a los chinos: "siempre suena embarazoso si del extranjero se aconseja al Gobierno soviético sobre lo que es o deja de ser bueno para los intereses del socialismo, ...y resulta doblemente embarazoso si esto lo hace gente que, de no haber sido por la existencia de la Unión Soviética socialista y sus victorias en la Segunda Guerra Mundial, no tendrían el poder en su propio país." Concluye: "En realidad, la propuesta china está ideada para encubrir el hecho de que el Gobierno chino actualmente no considera los pasos hacia el desarme su principal fin, sino la posesión de sus propias armas nucleares. ¿Para que?... (elipsis de CTK) no es el poderío de la Unión Soviética y su alianza con China garantía muy suficiente para el pueblo chino de que los imperialistas jamás se atreverán a atacarlo? La experiencia no deja dudas de esto", declara el artículo, que acentúa que los dirigentes chinos "primordialmente persiguen sus propios intereses de gran potencia". La agencia CTK en esta fecha también informó una declaración del PC británico que decía que los cargos de "vendido" de los chinos "son indignos de los comunistas".

1 Agosto: Apareció el primer número de una edición japonesa de la "Pekin Review": contiene, inter alia, los textos de la carta del PC chino de 14 de junio al PCUS y la carta abierta de 14 de julio del PCUS en contestación y "algunos importantes artículos del 'Diario del Pueblo'".

1-2 Agosto: Dirigiéndose a una manifestación en Pekín de "10.000 personas de todos los sectores" en apoyo de la Novena Conferencia Mundial por la Proscripción de las Bombas Atómicas y de Hidrógeno, a celebrarse en Hiroshima 2-17 de

nistas creadores" que han "traicionado los intereses del pueblo soviético y el pueblo de todos los países del mundo y han alzado las manos en rendición al imperialismo norteamericano." El día 2, el Comité pro paz de China y "otras 13 organizaciones nacionales del pueblo de China" enviaron un mensaje conjunto a la conferencia en Hiroshima que incluía la acusación de que el tratado tripartita para proscripción parcial de los ensayos nucleares "era un absoluto fraude ideado para engañar a los pueblos del mundo".

2 Agosto: Todos los diarios de Pekín dieron gran realce al editorial de hoy del "Diario del Pueblo", "Pueblo de todo el mundo, uníos; Luchad por la completa proscripción y absoluta destrucción de las armas nucleares", y el "Diario" dedicó su tercera plana a informaciones y comentarios bajo el encabezamiento, "Oponerse a los amos nucleares; Rehuser ser esclavos nucleares; y Destrozar el fraude nuclear." ... "Todos los pueblos, grandes o pequeños, nucleares o no nucleares, son iguales. Es absolutamente impermisible que dos o tres países blandan a voluntad sus armas nucleares, expidan órdenes y mandatos y se enseñoreen sobre el mundo en la creencia vanidosa de que son amos nucleares, mientras que la avasalladora mayoría... tiene que arrodillarse en tierra y obedecer órdenes, tal como si fueran esclavos nucleares". El "Diario del Pueblo" también resaltó en primera plana un discurso del general Lo Jui-ching, vicepremier y jefe del estado mayor, sobre el 36 aniversario del establecimiento del Ejército popular de liberación, incluso su observación de que "alguna gente ... había empezado un coro anti-China con los imperialistas y reaccionarios de distintos países" y que el tratado vende los intereses de la gente amante de la paz. Finalmente, este día cartas firmadas por Chou En-lai fueron remitidas a "los jefes de Gobierno de todos los países del mundo" llamando a una conferencia mundial de acuerdo con la declaración de la RP china,

3 Agosto: El Gobierno soviético contraatacó a la declaración de la RP china de 31 de julio. El texto de 5.000 palabras fue publicado en todos los diarios de Moscú el 4; "Pravda" e "Izvestiya" publicaron también la declaración china, "para que todo el pueblo soviético conozca la bajeza a que han descendido los chinos". Declarando que el tratado "comprueba la corrección y viabilidad de la política de la coexistencia pacífica", describe el "cálido apoyo" que ha recibido "de los Gobiernos y pueblos de los estados socialistas, amplios círculos públicos de los países de Asia, Africa y América Latina, (y) millones de obreros de los países capitalistas y toda la gente progresista del mundo". "La opinión colectiva de los países socialistas sobre la cuestión de la cesación de los ensayos nucleares esta expresada en la decisión [no se indica la fecha] de la conferencia de los primeros secretarios de partidos comunistas y obreros y los jefes de Gobierno de los países del Tratado de Varsovia."

de ignorar completamente hechos que conoce todo el mundo", la declaración soviética presenta su versión de los esfuerzos de la URSS por el control nuclear y el desarme desde 1946, con la conclusión de que "la única salida razonable es resolverlo paso a paso." Continúa: "Tiene uno que estar absolutamente fuera de contacto con la realidad para adelantar la alternativa de 'todo o nada' con relación a asuntos que involucran los destinos del mundo y las vidas de millones de gente". Este tratado puede ser objeto solo por gente "que encubre con una frase brillante sobre las medidas de desarme más radicales su falta de disposición o deseo de conseguir el desarme".

Con relación a los "argumentos mañosos" de los chinos para acusar de "fraude" el tratado, los soviéticos preguntan: "¿Quiénes, pues, están engañado a los pueblos?... si se adelanta la cuestión de quién se beneficiaría más con este tratado, ¿no sería más correcto suponer que... la Unión Soviética, como la potencia nuclear en la comunidad de estados socialistas, está en mejor posición para juzgar si se alterará o no el equilibrio de fuerzas...? No se está atribuyendo demasiado el Gobierno de la RP china sacando conclusiones en este asunto por el Gobierno soviético, por la Unión Soviética?... No," prosigue la declaración, "no es la preocupación por el potencial defensivo del campo socialista lo que indujo al Gobierno de la RP china a hacer la declaración. Lo que está tras de todo esto es aparentemente el deseo... de seguir una política especial sobre lo que haya de hacerse en cuanto a las armas más destructoras..."

Los soviéticos condenan la declaración china como "acción sin precedente, lamentable en extremo", que "está en burda contradicción a la línea común de los países socialistas... y en burda contradicción a los principios fundamentales... bajo los cuales en dos ocasiones -- en 1957 y 1960 -- los dirigentes de la RP china estamparon sus firmas ... De tal manera los dirigentes chinos se colocan abiertamente en oposición a la comunidad socialista, al movimiento comunista mundial íntegro, a todos los pueblos amantes de la paz de Asia, Africa y America Latina." Además, es "una prueba más" de la transferencia de las divergencias ideológicas a las relaciones entre estados.

Luego la declaración soviética hace violenta explosión sobre "tales alógos impertinentes de que... el Gobierno soviético 'traicionó los intereses del pueblo soviético, ... los pueblos de los países socialistas, incluso China, y ... los pueblos de todo el mundo amantes de la paz.' Es difícil decir lo que predomina aquí -- la irresponsabilidad política o la irritación de gente cuyas esperanzas la vida misma echa por tierra. ¿Quién le dió derecho al Gobierno de la RP china para hablar en nombre del pueblo soviético y en su lugar? ¿Quién le pidió que hablara en nombre de los pueblos de los otros países socialistas? Los autores de la declaración deben estar perdiendo el nervio.

¿el caso? ¿si... intentan... contraponer el sa-
viético al Gobierno soviético... ¿Los pasos de quién in-
tentan los dirigentes chinos seguir?"

Y los soviéticos finalmente se defienden del cargo de "giro de 180 grados" declarando que, en vista de "los tremendos cambios que estan ocurriendo en nuestro planeta... lo que solo ayer era inaceptable podría hoy resultar útil, y aún de la máxima utilidad."

4 Agosto: "Nodong Simmun" órgano de prensa norcoreano, publicó un editorial condenando al tratado de proscripción de los ensayos como "contrario a la exigencia de la gente del mundo amante de la paz" porque pone una valla de separación entre la proscripción de los ensayos y la ilegalización de las armas nucleares, pero es completamente anti-EE.UU. y no da el menor indicio de critica del papel de la Unión Soviética en el mismo ni de los ataques chinos en su contra.

CHRONOLOGIE -- DISSENSIONS COMMUNISTES

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22-25 juillet - "Rabotnichesko Delo" de Sofia a publié un article de 900 mots par Kosta Gane, membre du PC de Bulgarie depuis 1914, comparant l'attitude du PCC relativement à la guerre et la paix avec celle du groupe trotskyste des communistes de "l'aile gauche" qui s'opposaient à la politique de paix de Lénine au moment de la révolution d'octobre. "Trud" le 23 juillet et "Otechestven Front" le 25 juillet publiaient des articles se rapportant à la conférence de CEMA, appuyant la ligne soviétique sur la "division internationale du travail" et la "spécialisation socialiste", et rejetant nettement la critique chinoise.

23 juillet - 3 août - L'Agence d'Informations de la Nouvelle Chine (NCNA) a fait circuler, et le "Quotidien du Peuple" a publié, une série d'éditoriaux condamnant durement les Soviétiques au sujet de la question de l'arrêt des essais. Ces éditoriaux ont tout d'abord paru dans deux journaux de Mandalay en langue birmane. Cependant, le 3 août, l'agence Tass a fait circuler un rapport de "Pravda" venant de "Novosti" à Rangoon et disant que "presque tous les journaux birmans avaient publié des articles faisant bon accueil à l'accord (comme le gouvernement et le Conseil Birman pour le Désarmement et la Paix) et accusant NCNA d'extraire des passages d'un journal provincial pour appuyer ses dires concernant l'opposition birmane. "Voulant induire l'opinion publique en erreur, l'Agence a fabriqué une déclaration fautive de basse nature."

24 juillet - "Vjesnik" de Zagreb publiait un article dénonçant les chefs chinois qui "après la victoire de la révolution en Chine ont choisi de suivre les pas de Staline, y compris le fait de faire des victimes inutiles comme cela a été le cas de la politique de Staline, et défendent ouvertement les principes stalinistes "aujourd'hui. Ils ont graduellement attaqué tous les secteurs de l'activité du PCUS". "Paraphrasant Trotsky et sa 'révolution permanente', les chefs chinois ont introduit le nouveau slogan de "l'offensive permanente'."

24 juillet - -- Eclipsés au cours des dernières semaines par la polémique massive des partis plus importants -- les Albanais ont frappé de nouveau avec un éditorial de six mille mots dans "Zeri I Popullit", exaltant la lettre du PCC du 14 juin et attaquant "le groupe révisionniste de N. Khrouchtchev" dans les termes les plus incendiaires employés jusqu'ici. Khrouchtchev et compagnie, "conspirateurs, simples d'esprit, menteurs et calomnieurs" sont en train de poignarder le camp socialiste et le communisme dans le dos, ont peur de la vérité du marxisme-léninisme, amènent la dégénérescence du parti et de l'Etat socialiste et sont en train de désarmer les ouvriers: le véritable internationaliste "est l'homme qui combat courageusement contre les vues révisionnistes et les activités divisoires du groupe de N. Khrouchtchev."

24 juillet - Le président de la Corée du Nord, Choe Yong-kon, dans un long discours sur le sujet de la visite qu'il a faite en Chine au mois de juin, a fait un éloge sans bornes du PCC et de la République

PCUS -- mais sans nommer ce dernier. "Les brillants succès remportés par le peuple chinois dans la construction du socialisme et les changements énormes qui sont en train de se faire dans la société chinoise montrent nettement que la politique du PCC est correcte ... Nous croyons fermement que le peuple chinois, guidé par le PCC, va continuer à pousser de l'avant, tenant bien haut les trois bannières rouges de la ligne de conduite générale, du grand bond en avant, et des communes du peuple ..." Après avoir affirmé que la République Populaire Chinoise "réalise la coexistence pacifique avec des pays de systèmes sociaux différents," Choe continue en disant qu'aujourd'hui il est du devoir international de tous les communistes et de tous les gens progressistes ... de mener une lutte implacable contre toute intrigue et toute machination pour isoler la Chine. Tout ce qui a pour dessein de bloquer la croissance du pouvoir de la Chine et de son influence internationale de plus en plus grande est sûr de se terminer par un fiasco. En outre, "Sous-estimer les luttes de libération des peuples asiatiques, africains et de l'Amérique Latine, entraver la lutte de libération nationale sous un prétexte ou sous autre, est en fin de compte un effort pour maintenir dans l'esclavage des centaines de millions de gens qui sont encore sous le joug impérialiste, et pour affaiblir les forces de paix du monde." En outre, "s'opposer dans d'autres pays à la construction d'une économie nationale qui se suffit à elle-même ou exercer une pression économique sur un autre pays pour une raison ou pour une autre, non seulement est diamétralement contraire aux principes de l'internationalisme prolétaire mais aussi est une mauvaise action ... Notre parti et notre peuple ne toléreront jamais aucune machination des révisionnistes pour briser l'unité ... [Le révisionnisme est perdu et le marxisme-léninisme va continuer à triompher.]" Le 24 juillet, les Coréens du Nord ont aussi inauguré des émissions quotidiennes en russe destinées à l'URSS; l'émission du 25 juillet résumait le discours de Choe dont nous venons de parler.

24 juillet - "Izvestiya" présentait un long article intitulé "La mission historique du communisme" par Iosif Lemn, docteur en histoire; il cite Lénine comme ayant exprimé l'idée que "les nouvelles inventions de la science et de la technologie vont rendre les défenses de notre pays tellement formidables que toutes les attaques contre lui vont devenir impossibles." "La sagesse et la dialectique de ces déclarations de Lénine diffèrent fondamentalement de la stagnation des dogmatistes chinois modernes avec leur habitude de citer froidement et interminablement, etc."

25 juillet - "Pravda" contenait un article du camarade Burlatskiy intitulé: "L'Analyse concrète est l'une des demandes les plus importantes du léninisme", et qui suit la ligne de conduite de la lettre ouverte du PCUS en attaquant les Chinois pour "ne pas tenir compte de l'analyse des conditions modernes dans la lutte du mouvement communiste mondial."

25 juillet - L'organe du parti yougoslave, "Komunist", se sert des entretiens sur l'arrêt des essais pour critiquer davantage la politique chinoise. L'attitude chinoise envers les efforts pour arriver à un arrêt des essais "représente en miniature toute la politique chinoise." La logique chinoise de "tout ou rien" dit "Komunist" s'effondre aussitôt qu'on analyse les principes sur lesquels elle

comme étant la quintessence du marxisme-léninisme, il ne reste que des phrases pseudo-radicales et une politique destructive, le manque complet du sens de responsabilité et une tentative pour faire passer ses propres ambitions équivoques .. sous couvert de lutter pour les intérêts du socialisme." Le vrai sens de l'offensive chinoise avec ses 'principes' est en réalité la capitulation devant les difficultés et les épreuves", "une politique réactionnaire classique qui consiste à transformer les dilemmes internes en conflits internationaux."

25 juillet - Le comité exécutif national du PC du Canada a déclaré que malgré des discussions fréquentes au sujet de la position du PCC depuis trois ans, y compris "des négociations directes avec les leaders chinois," "notre parti est resté inébranlablement attaché à l'opinion que la politique du PCC est incompatible avec les tâches des communistes dans les conditions où se trouvent le Canada et la situation internationale actuelle." Il critique "l'activité de faction du PCC dans bien des pays, y compris le nôtre ou ce parti est entré directement en contact avec les trotskyistes."

25 juillet - Le bureau politique du P.C. chilien a dénoncé les Chinois pour s'être exprimés de façon "diffamatoire" au sujet de la coexistence pacifique et de la libération nationale, et pour leur "travail divisoire ... pour lequel ils emploient des fractionnistes expulsés des partis communistes, et aussi des mercenaires et des aventuriers."

26 juillet - "Pravda" publie une déclaration de Franz West, "un membre du bureau politique du P.C. autrichien," qui assez prudemment décrit les communistes autrichiens comme étant "pleinement d'accord avec le parti de Lénine," "nous basant sur les leçons et les décisions historiques des XXe et XXIIe congrès du P.C.U.S."

26 juillet - "Pravda" a aussi publié une déclaration du secrétariat central du P.C. de l'Inde disant que "l'attitude du P.C. indien concorde tout à fait avec celle du mouvement communiste mondial et du P.C.U.S., et est directement opposée aux vues erronées des chefs du P.C.C." sur "les problèmes les plus importants" discutés dans les lettres du 14 juin et du 14 juillet du P.C.C. et du P.C.U.S., respectivement. Elle "condamne sévèrement les efforts des leaders du P.C.C. pour semer la discorde raciale et religieuse, pour ... inciter à la haine contre l'U.R.S.S. et d'autres pays socialistes d'Europe."

26 juillet - 2 août - NCNA a rapporté que la délégation du P.C. de l'Indonésie avec Aidit a sa tête, qui est arrivée à Moscou le 20 juillet pour faire visite au P.C.U.S. et au P.C.C., arrivait à la Havane en même temps qu'une délégation chinoise pour prendre part aux fêtes cubaines du 26 juillet. "Prensa Latina" a rapporté qu'Aidit avait déjeuné avec Guevara et d'autres le 30 juillet, et Tass a rapporté que la délégation était revenue à Moscou le 2 août.

26 juillet - Parlant à un grand rassemblement à Pékin à l'occasion du 10e anniversaire de la "victoire de la guerre de Corée", Kuo Mo-jo, président du comité chinois pour la paix, s'est attaqué aux vues soviétiques: "Ce sont les hommes qui sont les facteurs déterminants dans les guerres. C'est un grand tort d'insister uniquement sur les facteurs techniques. Il y a aujourd'hui de prétendus marxistes qui ont trouvé bon d'évoquer la politique de chantage nucléaire de 'im-

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à favoriser la politique d'agression et de guerre de l'imperialisme
américain."

26 juillet - Commentant de nouveau sur le fait que les Chinois ont critiqué la Tchécoslovaquie pour avoir expulsé trois correspondants de NCNA, "Rude Pravo", le principal organe du parti communiste tchécoslovaque, donne des détails sur les activités qui ont amené l'expulsion: "Maintes et maintes fois ils ont voyagé dans toute la république pour délivrer le matériel en question ou le mettre à la poste dans des coins écartés du pays, comme en Jesenik, dans la Moravie du Nord ..."

26 juillet et jours suivants - Le parti socialiste démocratique japonais, le second par ordre de grandeur des groupes d'opposition, a déclaré d'après l'agence Kyodo: "Nous rejetons la politique de Mao Tse-toung qui défie jusqu'à la guerre nucléaire et nous sommes partisans de la politique de Khrouchtchev qui est plus d'accord avec les faits." Dans l'entre-temps, l'organe du parti communiste du Japon "Akahata" qui avant que l'on soit parvenu à un accord avait attaqué un traité partiel pour l'arrêt des essais comme étant "une tentative pour paralyser la vigilance des peuples des diverses nations contre la politique de guerre et d'agression des forces impérialistes," était silencieux. Enfin, le 29, il publiait un éditorial reconnaissant que "dans le peuple japonais il y avait ceux qui acclamaient la conclusion du traité" et aussi "ceux qui gardent contre un optimisme trop grand." Il remarquait: "La neuvième conférence mondiale contre les bombes atomiques et à hydrogène devant se réunir incessamment [prévue pour Hiroshima du 2 au 7 août], nous nous trouvons devant une situation compliquée ... Les forces réactionnaires japonaises [sont en train d'essayer] de paralyser la force de la lutte idéologique du peuple." Toutefois, nulle part dans l'article y a-t-il même l'implication d'une critique de l'U.R.S.S. pour le rôle qu'elle a joué dans le traité. Le 2 août Kyodo rapportait que les leaders de Gensyuikyo (Conseil japonais contre les bombes atomiques et à hydrogène) s'étaient réunis avec certains des délégués étrangers à Hiroshima pour expliquer que la conférence ne pouvait commencer ce jour-là comme prévu parce que le parti socialiste japonais et Sohyo (Conseil des syndicats) n'avaient pas encore réussi à s'entendre avec le P.C. japonais; les premiers demandaient à ce qu'on "s'oppose à tous les essais nucléaires de n'importe quel pays", mais les communistes s'opposaient fortement à une interdiction aussi catégorique. Des communiqués de la presse datés d'Hiroshima le 5 août indiquaient que la conférence avait finalement commencé après que le parti socialiste japonais et Sohyo s'étaient retiré pour protester contre la domination communiste. Des bagarres d'étudiants avaient retardé l'ouverture de la séance de 90 minutes. Un des principaux orateurs étaient le chef de la délégation chinoise, Chao Fu-chu, qui a dénoncé devant un auditoire de 15.000 personnes le traité de l'arrêt des essais qui "donne à l'agresseur le droit de massacrer, et refuse aux victimes le droit de légitime défense." Quand il a accusé "le chef russe" d'avoir "changé du tout au tout en un an", la délégation soviétique au nombre de 14 sous la direction de Yuri Jukov qui écrit des éditoriaux dans "Pravda" est sortie, suivie des délégués de l'Inde, de la Tchécoslovaquie, de la Hongrie, de la Roumanie et de la Yougoslavie. L'agence de la Presse associée ajoute que "la plupart des personnes dans le parc étaient évidemment pro-chinoises et

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27 juillet - Un porte-parole du ministère des Affaires étrangères de la Hongrie a qualifié de faux des rapports venant de l'Ouest que Khrouchtchev se rendrait en Hongrie avant d'aller en Yougoslavie au mois d'août.

27-28 juillet - Le communiqué officiel du 28 juillet sur la conférence des chefs d'Etat des pays de CEMA qui a eu lieu à Moscou du 24 au 26 juillet indiquait seulement qu'il avait été question de choses concernant CEMA -- "dans une atmosphère de cordialité, d'amitié fraternelle et de compréhension mutuelle" avec "unanimité complète d'opinion de la part de tous les membres." Le communiqué affirmait qu'il fallait observer "les principes d'égalité" et "l'observance stricte de la souveraineté". Le communiqué n'a rien dit au sujet de l'autorisation d'une agence exécutive supra-nationale, de progrès vers l'établissement d'une banque internationale, ou de mesures spécifiques pour coordonner la planification agricole. Le 27 juillet, Tass donnait un communiqué qui déclarait qu'une "séance ordinaire du comité consultatif politique des Etats membres du pacte de Varsovie" avait eu lieu à Moscou le 26 juillet, les mêmes chefs d'Etat étant présents. Le chef des forces armées du pacte, le maréchal Grechko, a donné un rapport sur le statut des forces, et des "décisions appropriées ont été adoptées"; rien n'a été dit au sujet de questions "politiques".

28 juillet - Le comité exécutif du comité central du P.C. de l'Argentine a dit qu'il était tout à fait d'accord avec les dispositions de la lettre ouverte du P.C.U.S. en date du 14 juillet, a dénoncé la position et la conduite des Chinois et a condamné leurs activités divisaires.

29 juillet - L'agence d'informations de Tirana ATA a transmis un rapport d'une entrevue avec Jacques Grippa, chef des communistes dissidents belges pro-chinois, qui visite en ce moment l'Albanie. Il s'est attaqué à l'attitude révisionniste du P.C. belge qui, dit-il, vient surtout de la 'ligne' de Togliatti."

29 juillet - "Pravda" contenait un article de 2400 mots de Yuri Jukov au sujet de l'accord sur l'arrêt des essais avec le titre: "Qui est pour? Qui est contre?" Il met les Chinois dans le même sac que les "insensés" des Etats-Unis et de l'Europe qui s'opposent à cette interdiction des essais. "Ils ont l'effronterie de copier les arguments démagogiques de la propagande bourgeoise française et de la répéter mot pour mot ... Les camarades chinois sont en effet une compagnie peu enviable s'ils suivent de Gaulle malgré la volonté nettement exprimée de tous les peuples du monde ..." "Izvestiya" le même jour publiait un commentaire dans le même ton par Nikolay Polyanov.

30 juillet - L'article principal de "Pravda", "La coexistence pacifique est le chemin qui mène au socialisme", et -- à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire du deuxième congrès du parti social-démocrate russe qui amena la rupture marquant le commencement du bolchevisme en tant que force organisée -- une lettre de 4.000 mots au nom de 258 Vieux Bolcheviques dans laquelle ils "proclament devant le monde entier ... que 'nous approuvons sans condition et défendrons implacablement les thèses" de la lettre ouverte du P.C.U.S. et appuyons complètement la position de notre comité central léniniste dirigé par le camarade

de Trotsky, la lettre déclare qu'il est "particulièrement choquant" que dans un grand nombre des thèses de la lettre du comité central du P.C.C. à notre comité central l'ABC trotskyiste-Otzoviste est simplement répété." Aussi, "un grand nombre d'entre nous ont connu Lénine personnellement ... et nous pouvons déclarer en toute responsabilité que prêcher l'idée indiquée dans la lettre du comité central du P.C.C., en ce qui concerne Lénine, est un sacrilège."

30 juillet - "La Voix Ouvrière", l'organe quotidien de Genève du parti travailliste communiste Suisse a publié un article par un membre du secrétariat du parti, Marino Bodenman critiquant le P.C.C. pour ses activités divisaires et disant que le parti travailliste suisse avait exprimé à l'unanimité qu'il n'était pas d'accord avec les vues chinoises sur les importantes questions théoriques et pratiques.

30 juillet - Sous une grande manchette disant: "Regardez, à quelles conséquences vont nous amener la soi-disant ligne générale de coexistence pacifique?" le "Quotidien du Peuple" de Pékin a consacré deux pages entières aux réactions au traité d'un arrêt partiel des essais. Un tiers de sa troisième page consistait en extraits tirés de déclarations faites autrefois par Khrouchtchev s'opposant à un arrêt partiel des essais sous l'en-tête: "Les termes que Khrouchtchev a employés contre les essais souterrains sonnent encore dans nos oreilles: Qui s'est donné tant de mal pour 'faire un tel marché' pour 'tromper les peuples'". Les commentaires du "Quotidien du Peuple" au sujet d'autres déclarations sont reflétés de même façon dans leurs en-têtes: par exemple, ceux de l'Europe Orientale "Se saisissent d'une paille pour claironner la victoire de la coexistence pacifique," ceux d'Albanie disent: "Donner une fausse impression pour tromper les peuples", ceux de Yougoslavie: "Le groupe de Tito ne se sent pas de joie", et "Le plus mauvais service rendu à la paix mondiale"; ce dernier vient d'un éditorial des "Nouvelles du Matin" du Pakistan "qui dit qu'un arrêt partiel des essais est tout ce qui pourrait être de plus ridicule."

31 juillet - Un éditorial de "Pravda" touchant à la conférence de CEMA en juillet soulignait "l'importance critique" qu'il y avait à "approfondir davantage la division internationale et socialiste du travail, l'élargissement de la spécialisation et la coopération dans la production, le développement de la coopération scientifique et technique et celui du commerce." Citant des noms, il continue en disant que "la politique d'une coopération des pays socialistes isolés du reste du monde, d'une construction du socialisme qui se fait dans l'isolement, principes préconisés par les chefs du P.C.C., contredit les lois objectives du développement d'une société socialiste. Elle aboutit au gaspillage du travail public et au ralentissement du taux de croissance de la production ... Les camarades chinois essaient d'imposer à d'autres pays socialistes la création d'économies nationales qui se suffisent à elles-mêmes ..."

31 juillet - "Zeri I Popullit" d'Albanie a dénoncé dans un éditorial le rôle soviétique relatif à l'accord de l'arrêt des essais avec les invectives auxquelles on pouvait s'attendre. "N. Khrouchtchev .. non seulement a capitulé une fois de plus devant les impérialistes et est tombé dans leur piège; non seulement il a fait des concessions et des compromis dénués de principes; mais ce qui est pire, il a ouvertement collaboré avec les impérialistes pour nuire au camp socialiste ..."

31 juillet - Le Comité Mongol pour la défense de la paix a publié une déclaration saluant l'accord sur l'arrêt des essais. (La presse mongole a publié une abondante série d'articles approuvant tous les aspects de la politique soviétique dans sa dispute avec le P.C.C. pendant cette période.)

31 juillet - Tous les journaux de Pékin ont accordé d'énormes manchettes à une déclaration de la République Populaire Chinoise dénonçant le traité de l'arrêt des essais comme étant "un sale coup". Après avoir cité un commentaire fait par Khrouchtchev en 1961 s'opposant à un arrêt partiel des essais, la déclaration dit: "Mais maintenant le gouvernement soviétique a fait volte-face et a "vendu" les intérêts du peuple soviétique, des peuples du camp socialiste et de tous les peuples du monde amis de la paix. "La politique poursuivie par le gouvernement soviétique consiste à s'allier avec les forces de guerre pour s'opposer aux forces de paix, à s'allier avec l'impérialisme pour s'opposer au socialisme, à s'allier aux Etats-Unis pour s'opposer à la Chine, et à s'allier avec les réactionnaires de tous les pays pour s'opposer aux peuples du monde.... C'est une capitulation à l'impérialisme américain." La déclaration se termine en proposant "une conférence des chefs des gouvernements de tous les pays du monde" pour discuter un programme en quatre points pour l'interdiction complète et la destruction absolue des armes nucléaires." Le rapport que le "Quotidien du Peuple" fait des lettres "d'Izvestiya" attaquant les Chinois commence en disant: "Qui, en fin de compte, se sont rangés du côté des insensés américains? Ce ne peut être que les chefs de l'Union Soviétique qui ont fait volte-face."

1er août - "Le Quotidien du Peuple" a consacré presque deux pages à des commentaires et des réactions de la presse au traité sur l'arrêt des essais dans le monde entier sous la manchette: "Ceci n'est pas une victoire pour la politique de la coexistence pacifique; c'est une capitulation à l'impérialisme américain." Il a aussi publié des extraits tirés de documents soviétiques remontant à 1946 "pour montrer comment le gouvernement soviétique a battu en retraite petit à petit à ce sujet jusqu'à ce qu'il tombe à genoux et capitule."

1er août - Le premier commentaire pro-soviétique au sujet de la déclaration de la République Populaire Chinoise en date du 31 juillet et dont il est question ci-dessus est venu de Tchécoslovaquie où l'agence officielle CTK a déclaré que les Chinois "violent les principes de la déclaration de Moscou de 1960" avec "l'intention de changer les choses du tout au tout ... ce qui n'est pas digne des traditions révolutionnaires du peuple chinois." En outre, les propositions chinoises en elles-mêmes ne représentent rien de nouveau étant donné que le programme de désarmement soumis par le gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. et autres propositions des pays socialistes contiennent déjà leurs objectifs." Un article de "Rude Pravo" intitulé "Sur le même banc que les fous", accuse le gouvernement chinois de considérer le moment opportun pour passer des différences idéologiques à une position d'hostilité politique manifeste envers l'Union Soviétique." Puis il ajoute: "Il est toujours embarrassant que quelqu'un à l'étranger se mêle de donner au gouvernement soviétique des conseils sur ce qu'il convient de faire ou de ne pas faire dans l'intérêt du socialisme, ... et il est deux fois plus embarrassant si ces conseils viennent de gens qui, sans l'Union Soviétique socialiste et ses vic-

dans leur propre pays." Il conclut: "En réalité, la proposition chinoise a pour objet de dissimuler le fait que le gouvernement chinois pour le moment ne considère pas comme son objectif principal des mesures menant au désarmement, mais la possession de ses propres armes nucléaires. Pourquoi? ... (points de suspension de CTK) Le pouvoir de l'Union Soviétique et son alliance avec la Chine ne sont-ils une garantie suffisante pour le peuple chinois que les impérialistes n'oseront jamais l'attaquer? L'expérience ne permet pas de doute à ce sujet", dit l'article qui souligne que les chefs chinois "poursuivent surtout leurs intérêts de grande puissance". CTK le même jour rapportait aussi une déclaration du P.C. britannique disant que les accusations chinoises de "s'être laissé acheter" étaient "indignes de communistes".

1er août - Le premier numéro d'une édition japonaise de la "Revue de Pékin" a été publié; il contient, entre autres choses, les textes de la lettre du P.C.C. du 14 juin adressée au P.C.U.S. et la lettre ouverte du 14 juillet que le P.C.U.S. a envoyée comme réponse, "et certains articles importants du "Quotidien du Peuple".

1er-2 août - Prenant la parole à Pékin devant un grand rassemblement de "10.000 personnes de toutes les positions sociales" à l'appui de la Neuvième Conférence Mondiale pour interdire les bombes atomiques et à hydrogène qui devait avoir lieu à Hiroshima entre le 2 et le 7 août, Kuo Mo-jo s'est attaqué à "ces soi-disant marxistes-léninistes qui ont trahi les intérêts du peuple soviétique et des peuples de tous les pays du monde et ont levé les mains en soumission à l'impérialisme des Etats-Unis." Le 2 août, le comité chinois pour la paix "et 13 autres organisations populaires nationales de la Chine" se sont jointes pour envoyer un message à la conférence d'Hiroshima disant que le traité partiel tri-partite pour l'arrêt des essais nucléaires "était une supercherie totale ayant pour objet de tromper les peuples du monde."

2 août - Tous les journaux de Pékin ont accordé d'énormes manchettes à l'éditorial du même jour dans le "Quotidien du Peuple": "Peuples du monde, unissez-vous; lutttez pour l'interdiction complète et la destruction absolue des armes nucléaires," et le "Quotidien du Peuple" lui-même a consacré sa troisième page à des rapports et à des commentaires groupés sous l'en-tête: "Opposez-vous aux seigneurs nucléaires; refusez d'être des esclaves nucléaires; écrasez la fraude nucléaire." ... "Tous les pays, petits et grands, nucléaires ou non, sont égaux. Il est absolument inadmissible que deux ou trois pays brandissent leurs armes nucléaires à volonté, donnent des ordres et des commandements, et le prennent de haut avec le monde dans l'opinion présomptueuse qu'ils sont les maîtres nucléaires, alors que l'énorme majorité ... doit s'agenouiller par terre et obéir à leurs ordres, comme si elle se composait d'esclaves nucléaires." "Le Quotidien du Peuple" a aussi placé en première page un discours du général Lo Jui-ching, vice-premier ministre et chef de l'état major général, à l'occasion du 36e anniversaire de l'armée de la libération populaire, y compris ses remarques que "certains gens ... avaient fondé un choeur anti-Chine avec les impérialistes et les réactionnaires de divers pays", et que le traité trahit les intérêts des peuples amis de la paix. Enfin, à la même date, des lettres signées par Chou En-lai ont été envoyées aux "chefs de gouvernement de tous les pays du monde" de

3 août - Le gouvernement soviétique a répondu au coup de la déclaration du 31 juillet de la République populaire Chinoise. Le texte de 5.000 mots a été publié dans tous les journaux de Moscou le 4 août, et "Pravda" et "Izvestiya" ont aussi publié la déclaration chinoise "pour que tout le peuple soviétique puisse savoir combien les chefs chinois étaient tombés bas." Disant que le traité "prouve que la politique de coexistence pacifique est correcte et viable", les journaux disent qu'il est "chaudement appuyé par les gouvernements et les peuples des pays socialistes, par de nombreux milieux dans les pays de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique Latine, (et) par des millions d'ouvriers dans les pays capitalistes." "L'opinion collective des pays socialistes pour ce qui est de l'arrêt des essais nucléaires est exprimée dans la décision [sans date donnée] de la conférence des premiers secrétaires des partis ouvriers et communistes et des chefs de gouvernement des pays du Pacte de Varsovie."

Affirmant que "le gouvernement de la R.P.C. est en train d'essayer de passer complètement sous silence des faits connus du monde entier," la déclaration soviétique présente sa propre version des efforts de l'U.R.S.S. en ce qui concerne le contrôle nucléaire et le désarmement depuis 1946, en concluant que la "seule façon raisonnable d'en sortir est de résoudre le problème graduellement." Elle continue: "Il faut n'être absolument pas au courant des réalités pour avancer l'alternative de 'tout ou rien' en ce qui touche aux destinées du monde et aux existences de millions de gens." Pour s'opposer à ce traité, il faut des gens "qui font des phrases tapageuses au sujet des mesures de désarmement les plus radicales pour cacher leur manque de préparation ou le fait qu'ils n'ont aucun désir d'arriver au désarmement."

S'attaquant aux "arguments inventés" des Chinois pour qualifier le traité de "fraude", les Soviétiques demandent: "Qui alors est vraiment en train de tromper les peuples? ... Si on en arrive à la question de savoir qui va profiter le plus de ce traité, ne serait-il pas plus correct de supposer que ... l'Union Soviétique, étant la puissance nucléaire dans la communauté des Etats socialistes est mieux placée pour juger si la balance des forces va changer ou non ...? Le gouvernement de la R.P.C. ne prend-il pas trop sur soi en tirant à ce sujet des conclusions pour le gouvernement soviétique, pour l'Union Soviétique? ... "Non", ajoute la déclaration, "ce n'est pas parce qu'il s'inquiète du potentiel de défense du camp socialiste que le gouvernement de la R.P.C. a fait la déclaration en question, de qu'il y a derrière tout ceci semble être un désir ... de poursuivre une politique spéciale sur la question de ce qu'on doit faire au sujet des armes les plus destructives ..."

Les Soviétiques qualifient la déclaration chinoise "d'acte extrêmement regrettable et sans précédent" qui est en contradiction flagrante avec l'attitude commune des Etats socialistes ... et en contradiction flagrante avec les principes fondamentaux ... d'après lesquels à deux reprises -- en 1957 et en 1960 -- les chefs de la R.P.C. ont apposé leurs signatures. De ce fait, les chefs chinois se placent eux-mêmes délibérément contre la communauté socialiste, contre tout le mouvement communiste mondial, contre tous les peuples amis de la

La déclaration soviétique fait alors violemment explosion au sujet "d'assertions aussi impudentes que celles-ci ... que le gouvernement soviétique 'a trahi les intérêts du peuple soviétique ... des peuples des pays socialistes y compris la Chine, et ... des peuples amis de la paix dans le monde entier. Il est difficile de dire ce qui domine ici -- le manque de responsabilité politique ou l'irritation de gens dont les espoirs ont été écrasés par la vie même. Qui a donné au gouvernement de la R.P.C. le pouvoir de parler au nom du peuple soviétique et pour lui? Qui lui a demandé de parler pour les peuples des autres pays socialistes? Les auteurs de la déclaration doivent être en train de perdre la tête si ... ils cherchent ... à soulever le peuple soviétique contre le gouvernement soviétique ... De qui les chefs chinois ont-ils l'intention de suivre les pas?

Enfin, les Soviets se défendent contre l'accusation d'avoir fait "volte-face" en disant qu'étant donné "les changements formidables qui se font sur notre planète", "ce qui était inacceptable pas plus tard qu'hier pourrait être utile, même extrêmement utile, aujourd'hui."

4 août - L'organe de la Corée du Nord "Nodong Sinmun" a finalement publié un éditorial condamnant le traité de l'arrêt des essais comme étant "contraire aux demandes des peuples du monde amis de la paix" pour avoir isolé l'interdiction des essais de celle des armes nucléaires, mais l'article est complètement anti-américain et ne critique en aucune façon le rôle des Soviets ni les attaques chinoises.

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685. Nuclear Test Ban and Cold War

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BACKGROUND: Conclusion of an agreement to ban nuclear tests in the air, under water and in outer space by the Soviet, US and British Governments, accompanied by the prospect of additional agreements to reduce the threat of general war and to lower international tensions, while acclaimed by many governments and by a large segment of world public opinion, is causing two trends of (mutually exclusive) adverse reactions:

a. The test ban treaty and any subsequent agreements are rejected, primarily because "Communist governments cannot be trusted" and treaties with them are therefore a dangerous self-deception of the free world (the same opposition, with opposite reasoning, is voiced by the Chinese Communists: "imperialist" governments cannot be trusted and Khrushchev is falling into a US "trap").

b. The test ban treaty and the hoped-for additional East-West agreements are extravagantly praised as an "end of the cold war," an interpretation intensively encouraged by Soviet-Communist propaganda.

Can and Should the Free World Conclude Treaties with Communist Governments? If major unresolved conflicts of interest exist between two or more nations, they can be settled only by negotiation or by war. Differences between the Free World and the Communist Bloc are too numerous and too grave to be simply disregarded; nuclear war is too dreadful in its consequences to be acceptable as a means of national policy -- it can only be considered as a last means of defense, after all other attempts to safeguard vital national interests have failed. Consequently, there can be really no question w h e t h e r to negotiate; the problem is, however, under what c o n d i t i o n s to deal with Communist Governments.

Past Treaty Experiences. The over-all record of how the Soviet Union and other Communist governments fulfilled agreements they had signed is very poor (see, for instance, the unclassified pamphlet "The Soviet Union's Treaty Record" -- available in several languages). Communist Governments have either completely refused to conclude agreements (e.g. payment of World War Two lend-lease debts), or have procrastinated for years in order to "wear the other side down" (e.g. Austrian peace treaty -- over 7 years; Korean armistice -- 3 years), have often arbitrarily and disloyally misinterpreted and distorted agreements they have signed (e.g. "free democratic elections" in Eastern Europe; withdrawal of all foreign forces in

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 Laos) or have directly violated a solemn obligation (e.g. Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact of 1941).

Enforceable and Unenforceable Treaties. A Communist Government -- like a good many other governments -- will be faithful to the letter and the spirit of a treaty if --

a. the partners are strong and determined enough to retaliate effectively for violations (the Soviets observed the non-aggression pact with Japan only as long as the bulk of the Soviet armed forces was committed against Hitler);

b. violation would damage the Communists' own interests (the Chinese Communists pay punctually for Canadian grain shipments);

c. the language of the treaty is precise enough to expose violation before the court of world opinion (the Soviets respected the Berlin air corridors during the blockade -- the provisions for air access were technically specific; they violated the Yalta agreement on free elections in Eastern Europe -- which was vague, ambiguous and inconclusive).

Charter of the Test Ban Treaty. While the above cited experiences clearly show that smaller and weaker nations should abstain from even innocuous-looking trade or cultural agreements, the recent test ban treaty does not involve such risks:

a. The US is capable of retaliating for violations.

b. Soviet violation is against the regime's own interests. If the Soviet Government would not have needed the agreement so badly (to prove the merits of Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence"; to reduce defense costs in order to overcome agricultural and consumer goods bottlenecks; to allay the war fears of the Soviet population; and to improve the CPSU's posture against the Chinese), they would not have signed it so hurriedly, after years of procrastination. Violation would lead to the resumption of nuclear tests and be blamed on Moscow.

c. The simple text of the agreement leaves little space for dangerous equivocation or evasion.

Similar yardsticks will have to be applied to any future agreements with Communist governments, too.

Is this the End of the Cold War? The conflict between Communist and non-Communist nations which has unfolded since the end of World War Two, basically caused by the intent of the Communists to expand their dictatorial rule all over the world, is commonly referred to as the "Cold War." This conflict is not resolved or significantly

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reduced by a nuclear test ban or even by a whole series of agreements on non-aggression, prevention of surprise attacks and disarmament or arms control. Such agreements merely improve the chance that the cold war will be decided by means short of general war (obviously a most desirable objective), but they do not affect all the other characteristics of the cold war, such as Communist subversion, insurrection, penetration into non-Communist governments and non-governmental organizations, and so forth. Quite apart from continued violence in areas over which Moscow has apparently lost control (South Vietnam, Laos, Korea, possible resumption of Chinese aggression against India, etc.), it would be unforgivably naive to assume that even a whole series of "peaceful" agreements, signed by the Soviet Government, would stop Soviet arms shipments to Cuba, Egypt, Indonesia etc., the training of thousands of "students" from all over the world for Communist subversion, sabotage and espionage, or continued Communist attempts to weaken and disrupt free-world unity, freedom and democratic processes.

"Peaceful Coexistence" Is Class Struggle, too. Moscow's current propaganda line suggests that the policy of peaceful coexistence, as applied in the test ban treaty and possibly in other subsequent East-West agreements, is putting an end to the cold war. However, the statement of 81 Communist Parties, issued in Moscow, November 1960 (and still one of the principal foundations of Soviet-Communist policies), proclaims explicitly:

"Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle, as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence.

.....

"Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas" (underlinings added)

The latest official policy statement issued in Moscow, the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, published on 14 July 1963, voices virtually the same interpretation of peaceful coexistence:

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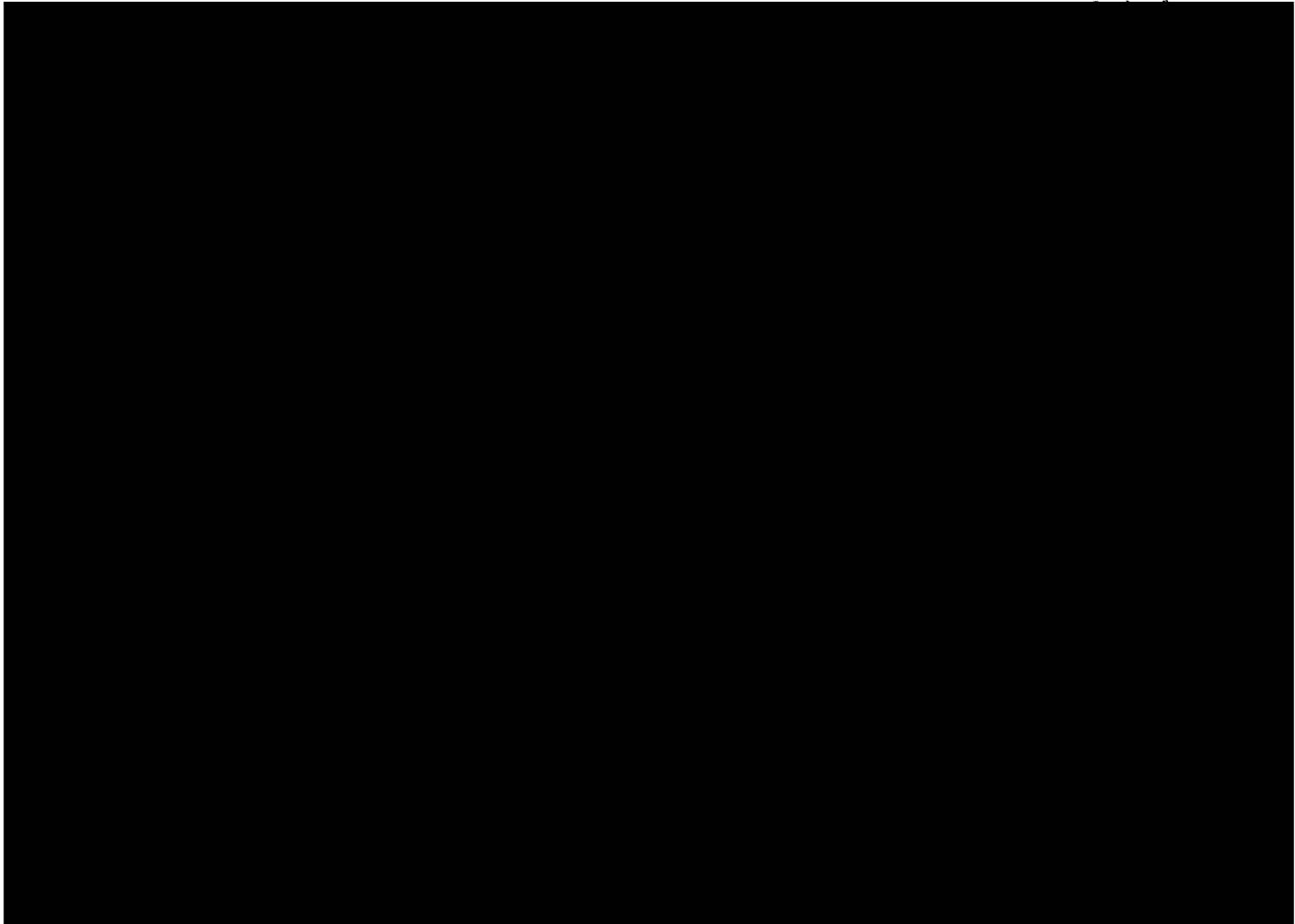
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". What situation is more propitious to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries -- the situation of peace and peaceful coexistence or the situation of permanent international tension and the cold war?

". Who does not know that the ruling circles of the imperialist states exploit the situation of the cold war to whip up chauvinism, unbridled war hysteria, to put in power the most rabid reactionaries and pro-fascists, to suspend democracy, to do away with political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations of the working class. The struggle of the Communists for peace greatly consolidates their ties with the masses, their authority and influence, helps to build up what is called the political army of the revolution.

"The struggle for peace and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, far from delaying, makes it possible to develop in full measure the struggle for the attainment of the ultimate aims of the international working class." (underlining added)

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687 FE, a. Trotsky and Chinese Communism

BACKGROUND: The 14 July CC/CPSU open letter comments on the Chinese charge that the CPSU "comes out in the role of a helper of imperialism," as follows: "No one except Trotskyists has yet dared . . . to level such slanderous accusations at the great party of Lenin!" On 30 July Pravda carried a letter from 253 Old Bolsheviks who compared the Chinese Communists to Trotsky and accused them of using Trotsky's tactics as well as his theories.

Several other Soviet bloc sources have recently published similar allegations and the Chinese have also been accused of working with the Trotskyist Fourth International. This issue is a difficult one for the Chinese Communists to handle because in the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky, the China question was the final and conclusive one which enabled Stalin to obtain Trotsky's expulsion from the CPSU Central Committee; it was also an issue on which Stalin, whom the Chinese now defend, was clearly wrong and Trotsky came probably closer to reality. (See unclassified attachment for a brief review of the early relationships between the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties and two statements by Trotsky on the China Question of the mid-20's vintage.) There is no certainty that the course of the Chinese revolution would have been changed in any significant degree had the Soviet Party pursued the policy advocated by Trotsky, but this much is certain: Stalin's policy clearly and cynically put the Chinese proletariat to the sword and Trotsky must be given credit at least, in the Chinese eyes, for having opposed that policy to the extent that he effectively could.

A second aspect the Trotskyist heresy charge that the Chinese find hard to handle is the fact that they are attacking the Soviet Union from essentially the same platform that Trotsky attacked Stalin after he had been expelled from the CPSU and forced into exile. Trotsky charged that Stalin had betrayed the Revolution, the workers and the whole world Communist movement; that he had capitulated to imperialism because he did not have sufficient faith in the power of the peoples; that he refused to allow him (Trotsky) to publicize his point of view in the USSR and to allow the people to decide for themselves who was right and who was wrong. The similarity between these charges and those made against Khrushchev by the Chinese Communists is apparent, and this is not mere coincidence. Stalin's basic tenet, "Socialism in One Country," was built on the idea that Socialism could be built in the USSR even while capitalist encirclement isolated it as a "Socialist island in the World Sea." All events and ideas were conceived and evaluated in terms of their impact on "Socialism in One Country." Every Soviet policy and every change in that policy was designed to gain time for the building of socialism in the USSR, even if that meant sacrificing part or even all of the world Communist

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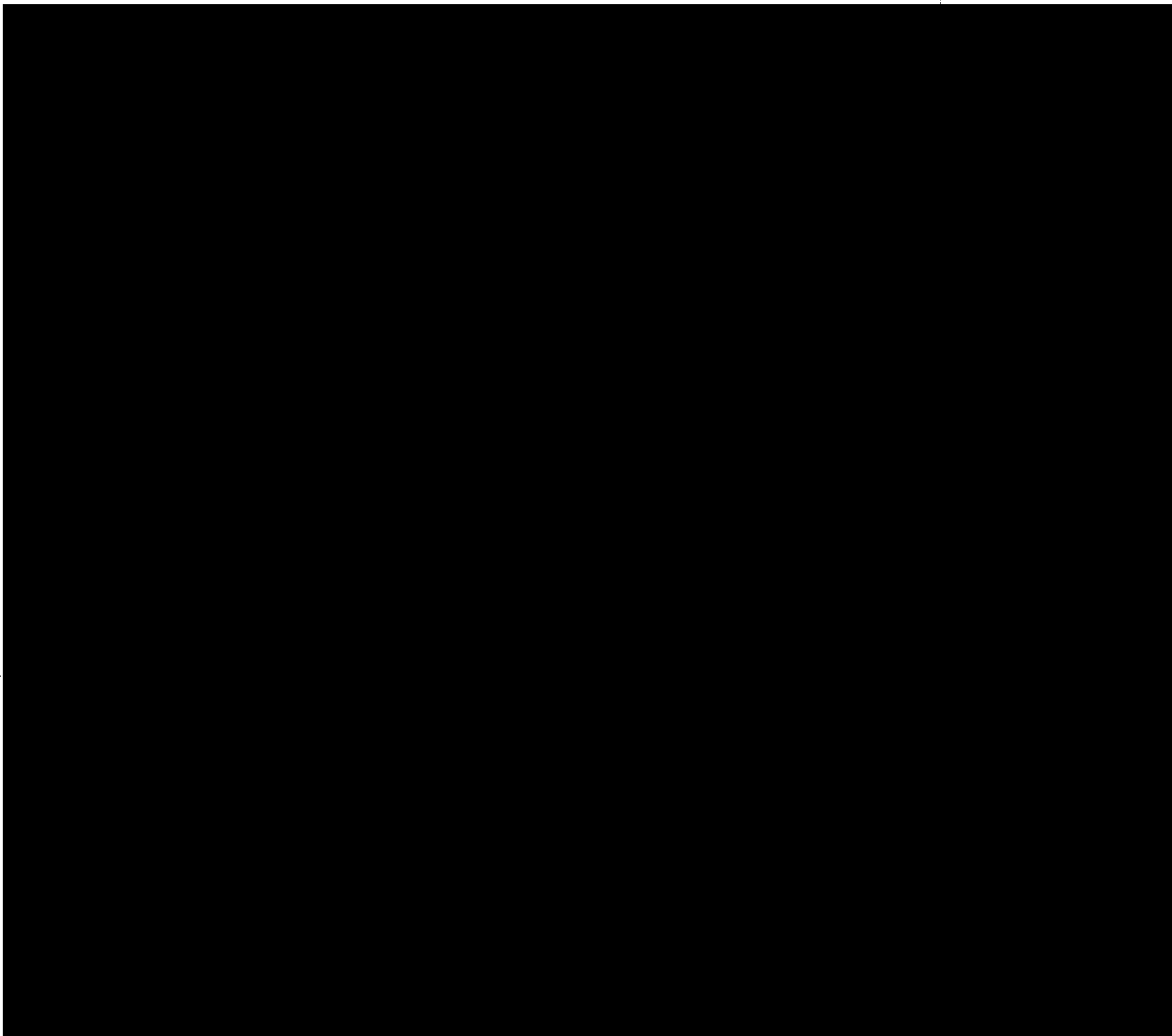
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Trotsky's basic premise, on the other hand, was "Permanent Revolution." Revolutions, he said, would continue to break out in various areas one after the other and the primary function of the Communist International and the USSR was not only to support and abet those revolutions, but even to foment them. Again, the similarity between the Chinese Communist position and the viewpoint of Trotsky is apparent. There are many other ways in which the Chinese position parallels "The ultra-leftist Heresy" of Trotsky including such radical undertakings as the Great Leap Forward and the Communes.

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these areas.

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686. United Nations: Critical Issues in the 18th General Assembly.

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BACKGROUND: Secretary-General U Thant has issued the provisional agenda for the 18th regular session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) convening in New York on September 17, 1963. Included in its 77 items are topics which have been hotly debated in several recent conferences and meetings around the world as well as in the special summer session of the UNGA and the current Security Council (SC) meetings. While this agenda includes a few new substantive issues -- and more are likely to be raised --, the majority are well known issues previously discussed in UN bodies. As the session convenes, however, a new atmosphere, partly to be determined by the results of the summer's deliberations, will prevail; many of the basic principles of the organization will be at stake and its ability to resolve conflicting interests through peaceful, orderly procedures will be seriously tested.

General Assembly authority and the peacekeeping function. The special session of the UNGA this summer met to discuss the budget report of its Fifth Committee and successfully hammered out a formula of assessments to finance the peacekeeping missions in the Middle East and the Congo through the balance of 1963. But this was only a partial and temporary solution to a major political problem affecting the integrity of the UN, namely, acceptance by all members of responsibility for international action. Many nations have still not paid their assessments for one or both operations, either because of financial difficulties or because they feel that certain self-interests are threatened by the precedent of UN action in these cases. The most extreme resistance to UN authority is expressed by the Soviet Union: the USSR is determined that the SC, where it has a veto, and not the GA, shall control peacekeeping functions.

A showdown was barely prevented in the Security Council this summer over the critical issue of sending an observer team to Yemen. A formula was found which avoided use of UN funds and thus the matter of SC financial authority -- the USSR abstaining from the affirmative vote. But, since the action taken was of limited nature, the basic problem may well break into the coming GA session over Yemen.

The UN for many years has acted successfully in situations which call for "action with respect to threat to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression" (Chapter VII of the Charter), for example in the Far East (Korea, Vietnam), Africa (Congo), and the Middle East (Gaza strip between Egypt and Israel, Yemen), among others. The UN must retain its ability to act in similar situations with full membership participation. /See BPG #114 item 647 "Financial Crisis Endangers UN Peacekeeping Operations."/ Several specific items on the provisional agenda pertain to the question of financing such operations and GA authority over them.

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Loss of GA Vote under Article 19. Haiti avoided having Article 19 invoked by a last-moment payment of arrears this summer. France and the USSR will, unless they reduce their debt to the UN, be in a position where loss of vote under Article 19 will be applicable. The US and others interpret the Article to be automatic in application; but the USSR, also with some support, insists that a vote of the GA is required to declare a member to be in two-years' arrears -- the condition which brings about loss of voting rights in the GA.

It is in the interest of the less developed countries (LDC) to maintain as much authority as possible in the Assembly where their influence can be felt (African nations control 33 of the 111 votes in the GA in contrast to the minority status of a combined LDC vote in any of the other bodies). But many of them appear reluctant to assume responsibility for withdrawing voting rights from a major power lest they find themselves in a similar predicament at some later time. Their personal fears should be but are not necessarily quieted by a contingency clause in the Article which reads:

"The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member."

If action on Article 19 should become necessary at the forthcoming session, it would undoubtedly involve the question of GA authority to assess members for peacekeeping operations.

Equal Representation in UN Organs. Membership on the major UN bodies -- the SC, ECOSOC, and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) -- was determined on the basis of proportion to area member representation in the UN itself. Eighteen Latin American nations placed the question of enlarging the membership of these bodies on the agenda of the 11th session of the GA in 1956. The issue has been raised repeatedly since that time as the membership continued to grow, and the African nations will urge its solution at the coming session. The Soviet Union has consistently opposed the expansion of these bodies, demanding that Communist China be seated first; the US has consistently favored it and will support the right of the newer UN members to proper representation.

Self-determination, colonialism and racialism. While attention will focus in the coming session on the hotly debated, emotion-ridden conflicts over Portuguese colonies and South African racialism, their basic problems are integral parts of many other self-determination issues which will be raised over, for example, South-West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, perhaps West Irian, Malaysia and many of the non-self-governing territories. A turning point for many nations and particularly the LDC, may well be reached in their confidence in, and willingness to submit their problems to, UN procedures and principles.

African nations have acted precipitously in several international and UN meetings this summer, seeking to solve their problems by mandatory acts and expulsion of member nations with whose policies they disagree. The influence of moderate African leaders with emotionally nationalistic colleagues, who prefer drastic, radical actions, is a major concern.

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For their part, the western nations most seriously concerned in these problems must accept the strong force of change for self-determination in Africa and elsewhere; they must seek new forms of political relations which will satisfy the national aspirations of the LDC while forging new ties which will promote their own economic interests. There are many solutions to these problems such as those the US has found in the Philippines, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, as France was forced to discover in Algeria and evolved in the Commonwealth relationship of the French Community, and as England has demonstrated in one former colony after another. Portugal, with regard to Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, and others, eventually will have to accept some one of these roads to self-determination.

South Africa continues to be intransigent in the refusal of the government to discuss any of its problems and in its boycott of UN meetings. The US expressed its unequivocal support for self-determination of African peoples in joining the 9-0 Security Council vote on 7 August for a total arms embargo against the Republic of South Africa. Ambassador Yost spoke strongly against the racial discrimination which caused the arms embargo, closing his August 7 speech by urging the South African Government to abandon its "indefensible and dangerous racial policy."

A previous session of the GA declared the situations in South Africa and in the Portuguese colony to be "a threat to the peace." Free World interests are served through the overriding formula of moderation -- by prolonging the period of dialogue, persuasion and pressure as long as possible, and by providing voluntary sanctions by member nations under Article VI. The specter of serious political and economic consequences will, in the long run, aid in solving problems through negotiation. In this same context, increasing African attitudes of racial discrimination in reverse, that is of blacks against whites in pursuit of national aspirations, can best be treated by similar persuasion and pressures.

International peace and disarmament questions. The tripartite test ban treaty will undoubtedly set a frame of reference for renewed discussions on disarmament and abolishment of nuclear warfare. Without doubt the Soviet Bloc will continue the cold war in one manner or another; it will use every occasion as a propaganda platform to propose appealing but generalized resolutions without effective implementation. Although denuclearized zones is on the agenda specifically only with respect to Latin America (and this will raise questions about Cuba as well as the Panama canal zone), there is every reason to believe that some member, if not the USSR, will raise it with regard to the Mediterranean, and perhaps also Africa. Some eight items are already on the provisional agenda with regard to every aspect of disarmament, atomic power, and banning nuclear warfare.

Noticeable by their absence from the provisional agenda are any items on membership for the Chinese People's Republic (which in the past has always been tied with the Soviet Union's attempt to evict Nationalist China), Hungary, Tibet and Berlin. The Soviet

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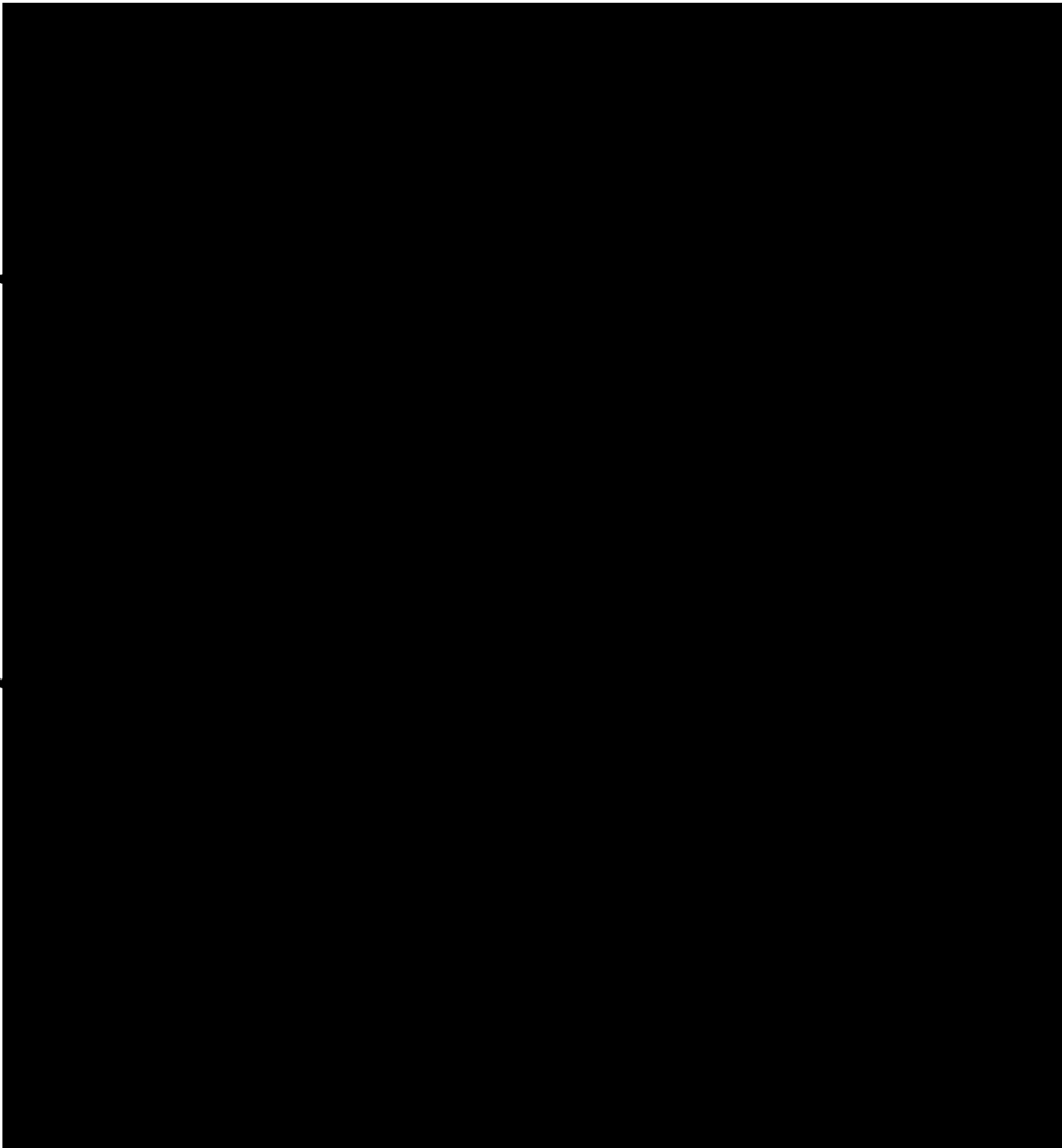
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representatives have said that they will not raise the TROIKA proposal (three member Secretary-Generalship) -- at this time. One or more of these issues could and probably will be added later, or raised in discussion on some items already on the agenda. Mongolia has placed "The policy of genocide carried out by the Government of the Republic of Iraq against the Kurdish People" (item #75) on the agenda. It is possible that Arab reaction against Communists for this attack may cause the USSR to have it removed.

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688 AF,WH,a. Communists and Race Conflicts

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BACKGROUND: Although on several occasions in the recent past the USSR has alluded to Chinese racism (speaking of those who would replace class contradictions with contradictions of nationality, color or geography), the 14 July CPSU letter accuses the Chinese for the first time directly and publicly of racism: "The leader of the Chinese delegation /to the Moshi, Tanganyika Conference/ told the Soviet representatives, 'Whites have nothing to do here.'" Also, at the Djakarta journalist's conference, the Chinese stated explicitly: "the Soviet Union is not an Asian country."

Attempts to classify human beings according to race are complicated by the fact that everyone (including the professional ethnologist) has his own criteria. As used in popular speech the term race usually includes in addition to ethnic origin such varied characteristics as color, physical type, nationality, culture or any combination of these. UNESCO recognizes three basic human divisions: Caucasoid, Mongoloid and Negroid. Since man seems to have an innate ambivalence toward his fellow human (particularly if the latter happens to differ from himself in feature, color, language, or even eating habits), prejudice and discrimination have been concomitants of human society and human intercourse since time immemorial. Discrimination has only too often been used to rationalize aggression, colonialization and exploitation. The ancient Greeks referred to non-Greeks as "barbaroi" (foreigners), in a definitely prejudicial sense; and the Spanish conquistadores rationalized their maltreatment of the American natives with the theory that Indians, being of an entirely different origin than Spaniards, were not human in the same sense and therefore did not need to be treated as a fellow Spaniard.

In our era, the West has borne the brunt of the reaction to "racial discrimination." However, the West did not invent race prejudice; many other societies (including Vedic India and Confucian China), had known it long before and had no thought of eliminating it. /See BPG #117 Item 664 "American Struggle For Negro Equality"/ In the modern era, however, the West has been the dynamic, active element while the non-West has been acted upon and has 're-acted' to Western stimuli. During this period, Africans and Asians reacted not only to Western domination per se but particularly to the racial discrimination involved. The non-West in general made a very natural identification of West -- affluent -- white -- omnipotent, as opposed to themselves as weak -- colored and exploited. For ancient civilizations like China and India, the young aggressive West was particularly intolerable. The phenomenon of discrimination, old in origin and ubiquitous in practice, thus came to be identified in the modern era almost exclusively with one ethnic division, the Caucasoid, and with one geographic division, Western Europe (and subsequently the United States).

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While Marxist doctrine stresses the identity of interests of the worker as transcending nation, color or creed, Soviet Marxists have exploited racial tensions in non-Communist countries to further alienate and embitter minority groups in the hope of increasing their own haul from these troubled waters. This tactic has become so ingrained that one could easily conclude that the masters of Soviet Russia have been more concerned with advancing their own national interests by ascerbating racial problems than in furthering the original Marxist goal of the international brotherhood of workers. This is the charge which they level at the CCP when they say the Chinese have "other goals which have nothing in common with revolution." It is a fundamental tenet of Marxism that basic contradictions in a given society result from class differences and not from differences of race, nation or culture. As we know from the 14 July letter, which accuses the Chinese of substituting racial struggle for class struggle, as well as from a number of other recent pronouncements (see Bi-Weekly Propaganda Guidance Item 659 entitled "Race Motive in Chinese Foreign Policy"), the Soviet Union has had cause to remind their former Chinese allies of these facts more frequently of late.

The Chinese Communists, in their attempt to replace the USSR as the supporter and defender of the underdeveloped, are increasingly basing their appeal on underdeveloped vs. overdeveloped, East vs. West and colored vs. white. The confluence of this Chinese propaganda line with the genuine, if obsolescent resentment of the former colonial nations at what they consider to be a unique example of discrimination calls up the specter of a world divided along lines of geography, race and color, divisions which are undoubtedly more closely related to recent history and therefore potentially far more explosive than the more artificial class divisions. In fact, however, the Chinese record on racism is worse if anything than that of other modern societies. The Han Chinese have traditionally regarded with scorn other ethnic groups whether in greater China, in Asia generally or even in Europe and Africa. The Mongolians, for example, have long been concerned over Chinese attitudes of aggressive superiority as have the North Vietnamese. A spate of recent reports indicate that the Chinese have not changed despite the equalitarianism and internationalism of the Communist doctrine they purport to have adopted. Students from Africa and Latin America studying in China complain that they are looked down upon, separated from their hosts and prevented from making friends with them, that they are constantly subjected to Chinese surveillance and propaganda. There are also credible reports to the effect that street fights have recently broken out between Chinese and African students and that many of the latter have gone home in disgust.

Although in talking to the non-aligned nations, the Chinese will stress the ultimate triumph of the underdeveloped, exploited colored races of the world over the "over-developed," "exploiting" white, we know that in the final analysis when they speak of the East wind prevailing over the West wind, they really mean the millennial victory of the Han Chinese over the rest of the world.

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Identification ("solidarity") on the basis of race and geography is the main weapon used by China in its concerted drive to wrest control of international front organizations from the CPSU. The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organizations (AAPSO), with its network of sub-organizations and conferences for writers, workers, journalists and similar groups, is the CCP's chosen instrument for competing with the whole range of Soviet international fronts. Ironically, it was the Soviet Union which originally recognized the potential of the AAPSO, tried to link it, falsely, with the Bandung Conference, and competed with several neutral leaders, especially Nasser, for influence over it. During the last several years the CCP has increasingly challenged the Soviet Union's right to membership in AAPSO conferences and more recently has blatantly used racist arguments to effect their exclusion. More serious, for Soviet worldwide influence, is the CCP attempt first to wean Afro-Asian organizations and groups away from Soviet-controlled international fronts, and second to sever ties between AAPSO member groups and Soviet fronts. Representatives of Soviet-controlled international fronts have not been welcomed at AAPSO gatherings, and Soviet offers to establish formal links between counterpart groups (e.g. the Afro-Asian journalists and the International Organization of Journalists) have been rejected.

The Soviet Union, while condemning the Chinese Communists for undermining the class struggle by the interjection of racial divisions, has itself been guilty of discriminatory practices. Domestically it has long discriminated against the Jews, attacking them for their religious practices and persecuting them for their economic, social and political activities. In dealing with foreign nationals, the Soviet Union and Bloc countries have established a new record for discrimination against Africans. Evidence has mounted of the Soviet bloc segregation, humiliation, and harsh physical treatment meted out to these students. African students in Bloc countries, individually and in groups, and their governments have violently protested the intolerable conditions to which they are subjected. See PROP NOTE 18 (B) of 29 May 1963 "Foreign Students in Communist Countries." Copies available 7

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689. FE,NE,g

Pakistan on the Tiger's Back

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BACKGROUND: During 1963 Pakistan, disturbed by India's growing military strength, chose to modify the exclusiveness of her thirteen-year alliance with the West, seeking closer relations with Communist China. Pakistan's apparent goals are two: pressure the Western powers into either reducing military aid to India or increasing such aid to Pakistan; strengthen her own international position by playing both sides of the cold war.

President Ayub, a former General, and the top military leaders of Pakistan have exhibited growing frustration over their inability to halt the arming of India following the Chinese attack of October 1962. Claiming that the US-UK agreements to supply arms aid to her traditional enemy have upset the delicate balance of power in the subcontinent, Pakistan is turning to India's enemy in a calculated effort to redress the balance. Concurrently, Pakistan asserts that India and the other nations which remained aloof from commitment to the fight against communism have fared better at Western hands than those who allied themselves unreservedly with the U.S.

Although many Pakistanis may recognize the long-range danger of communism and its total incompatibility with their own beliefs and traditions, this rational understanding is often outweighed by their emotional reaction to everything Indian.

Pakistani-Indian Enmity. The primary motivating force of political life in Moslem Pakistan is fear and hatred of Hindu India, the giant neighbor from whom she was separated in 1947 in an internecine blood bath which followed Great Britain's departure from the subcontinent. This intensely emotional attitude, the result of several centuries of conquest, strife and discrimination, is the guiding fact of all foreign relations and the sine qua non of domestic political qualifications. Disputed Kashmir is the concrete evidence as well as the symbolic reminder of their differences. No amount of US-UK prodding and encouragement of either Pakistan or India has produced progress toward settlement despite repeated talks on the problem. Pakistan believes that Western aid to India should be predicated on India's coming to terms on Kashmir. (Copies of BPG #112, Item 639, "The Kashmir Question," are available on request).

Because they always see India as the villain, the Pakistanis fail to take an objective look at Chinese expansionist moves, not only the military incursion across Indian border areas and throughout Tibet but the subversive efforts in Nepal. They prefer to believe that the Chinese pose no further threat to India and

therefore any US-UK military assistance to India beyond the Nassau agreements is not only unnecessary but positively hostile. Since Pakistan believes that Indian arms will inevitably be used against Pakistan, guarantees that US weapons would not be so used, have little weight.

Pakistan and the West. Pakistan has regional defense agreements with Turkey, mutual defense agreements with the US and has been a supporter of NATO policies. She is a member of both SEATO, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, and CENTO, Central Treaty Organization; both were formed as protection against Communist expansion. Her political structure and economic growth have been stimulated and assisted by Western aid. For the past 10 years the US alone has granted Pakistan extensive foreign aid (\$403 million in grants and credits for 1962 fiscal year) as well as military assistance.

In her pique over assistance for India, Pakistan seems willing to imperil her relationship with the U.S. by deliberately drawing closer to a major enemy of the treaty powers. On January 6th President Ayub said the future role of Pakistan in CENTO and SEATO was "quite uncertain." His Foreign Secretary Dehlavi had expressed similar sentiments earlier in Rome when he said that his country could withdraw from the pacts the "day we feel they are of no use."

Pakistan and China. The year 1963 opened with completion of the first Pakistan-China trade agreement, on January 2nd, and was followed by Pakistan's acceptance of China's well-timed offer to come to agreement on their common border. Foreign Minister Bhutto travelled to Peking to sign the border agreement in January. Their joint communiqué reflected both Pakistan's preoccupation with an Indian threat and China's desire to appear as the peaceful neighbor: they expressed hope for settlement of the Sino-Indian border differences by similar negotiations. (For details of Indian and Chinese positions on the Colombo powers' proposal for negotiations over the disputed territory, see BPG #115 of 6 May 1963, "Continuing Chinese Threat of Expansionism"). The settlement was well received in Pakistan and China's motives went unquestioned, although it might have been noted that the Chinese move immediately preceded scheduled India-Pakistan discussions on Kashmir and followed similar amicable border settlements with other Indian neighbors -- each hailed by the Chinese as evidence of her peaceful intentions toward her neighbors. A typical comment, from a vernacular paper, Millat, that the settlement was a "blow to the enemies of Pakistan," suggests the general press reaction, including the studied indifference to the effect of the settlement on the Western friends of Pakistan.

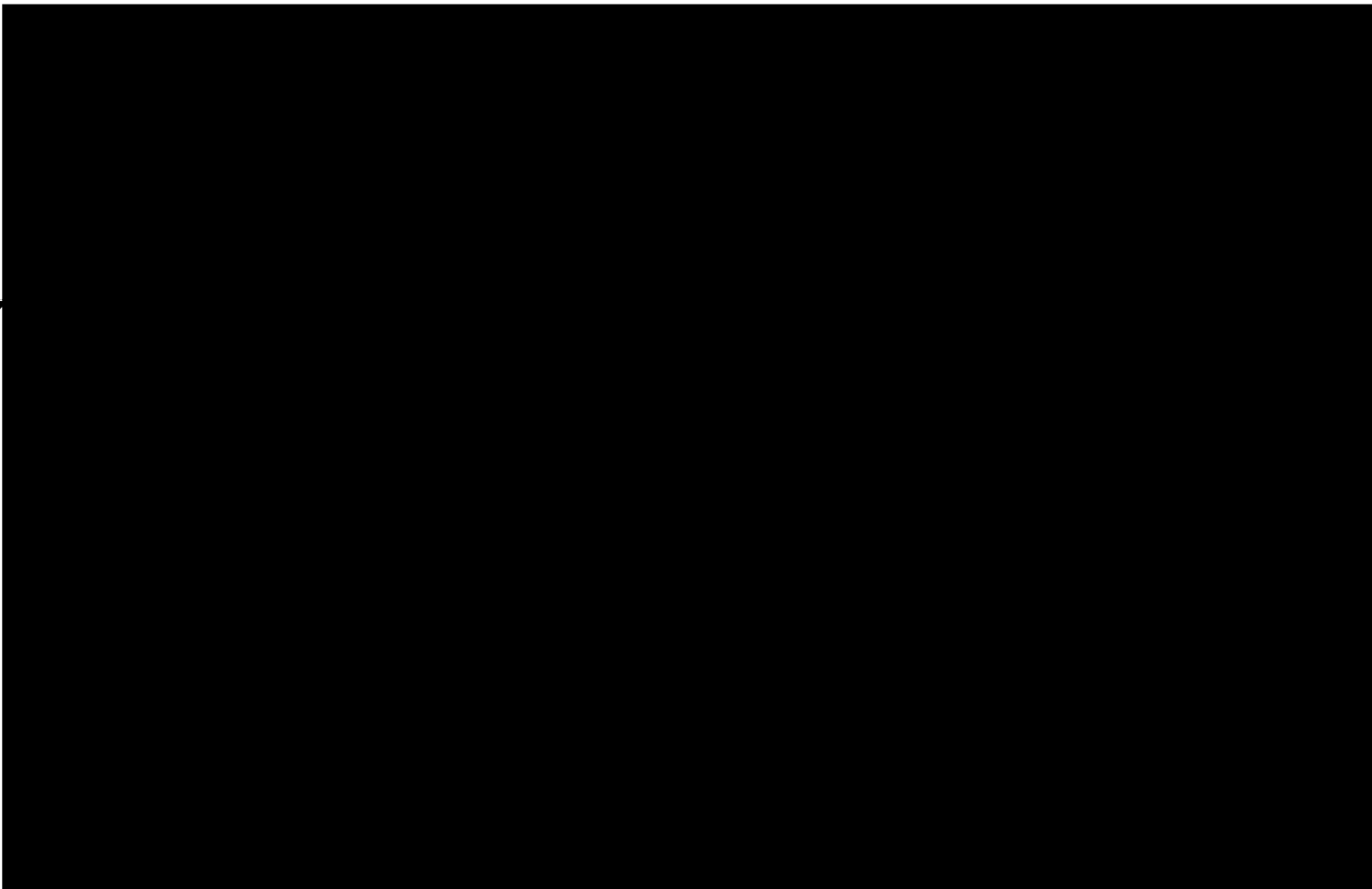
In June Pakistan announced an air service agreement with Peking which gives Pakistan landing rights in Canton and Shanghai in exchange for similar Chinese rights in Karachi and Dacca.

The agreement has not yet been signed but Pakistan appears determined to proceed with it.

Foreign Minister Bhutto has publicly called for closer relations with China although aware that such moves are contrary to the policies and interests of Pakistan's Western and Middle Eastern allies. Rumors that the two countries will sign (or have already signed in secret) a non-aggression pact were strengthened by Bhutto's warning to India on July 17th that an attack on Pakistan would pose a serious threat because "the largest state in Asia" would help Pakistan. In the same speech he admitted that the West had agreed to come to Pakistan's assistance in the event of Indian aggression but also announced rethinking of Pakistan's foreign policy.

The Pakistan press, paced by the militantly anti-West daily Dawn, is increasing its anti-American tirades as it warms to China. Cordiality toward all things Chinese, from touring sports teams to diplomatic agreements, is widespread. The position of the politically powerful military establishment on the new look in foreign policy is considerably more reserved. East and West Pakistan, divided by many regional, tribal and economic problems, but united by their fear and antipathy toward India, generally agree with the central government's seeking an independent road between East and West.

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July 1963

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The Soviet Open Letter on Support Aids
to
Communist China

The open letter (published in Pravda and broadcast by TASS in English to Europe on 13 July) from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to all party organizations and all Communists of the Soviet Union, a propaganda piece that obviously attempts to cast the USSR in the best possible light, contains the following statement on Soviet support to Communist China's industrialization:

"...Our country has rendered and is rendering substantial aid to the development of the economy of People's China. With the assistance of the Soviet Union, People's China built 198 industrial enterprises, shops and other projects equipped with up-to-date machinery...Now the Soviet Union continues rendering technical assistance to the CPR in the construction of 88 industrial enterprises and projects..."

As a matter of fact, at the time of the withdrawal of the Soviet technicians in the summer of 1960, roughly one-half of the 291 Soviet-aid projects scheduled to be built during the period 1950-67 had been completed and the withdrawal of the Soviet technicians was in effect a cancellation of most Soviet support to the remaining projects. Shipments of equipment for complete plants without the technicians to install the equipment would in most cases be of little use to the Chinese.* The remaining Soviet technical assistance to China is limited to the supply of technical information, small amounts of equipment, and the training in the USSR of Chinese students.

The Soviet statement quoted above does not alter the facts. The figures 198 and 88 for industrial projects misrepresent the past and current Soviet support to China's industrial development. In 1960, the USSR stated that 130 projects had been fully or partially completed by the end of 1959. A Soviet statement on 14 February 1962 claimed that "...about 170 industrial enterprises and other units were built and put into operation in the CPR with help from our motherland...With assistance from the Soviet Union, large shops and aggregates, turning out finished items, have been put into operation at 33 Chinese enterprises..." It is probable that the 198 figure claimed by the USSR, which refers to "industrial enterprises, shops, and other projects," represents a gross count similar to the 203 (170 plus 33) in the 14 February 1962 statement.

* In 1961, however, China continued to import equipment for complete plants amounting to about \$80 million. The Soviet open letter speaks of a reduction of "40 times" in the past three years in the rate of deliveries of complete plants, a figure that suggests that deliveries of complete plants in 1962 were about \$10 million, compared to a peak of \$400 million in 1959.

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An extremely rough calculation based on Soviet data on deliveries of equipment for complete plants in 1960-61 suggests that an additional 30 to 40 enterprises may have been at least partially completed during 1960-61, making the figure of 170 enterprises plausible.

Because of the withdrawal of Soviet technicians and of the extremely small amount of Soviet equipment for complete plants currently being purchased by Communist China, the technical assistance that the USSR claims to be furnishing China in the construction of 88 industrial projects must be very limited. At the maximum, this technical assistance must be of the blue print-technical data type being furnished for a steel plant at Pao-t'ou and that embodied in the Soviet equipment currently received. And, at the minimum, the reference is probably to no more than the mere fact that the USSR has not formally cancelled the agreements signed in the period 1950-59.

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When the Chinese Communist Party, consisting of some 60 or 70 loosely organized Communists, democratic socialists and anarchists, convened its first Party Congress in July 1921 and started to build an organization and formulate a program, the Soviet Communist Party urged it to seek a rapprochement with Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang. At the time, Sun Yat-sen was eager for an agreement with the Soviet Union to strengthen his hand against the Western imperialists. His price was that the Communists refrain from open criticism of Kuomintang (KMT) policy and agree to observe KMT discipline; the penalty for infractions would be expulsion of the Communists from the KMT and annulment of the agreement with the Soviet Union. These were the circumstances that made the Chinese Communist Party, in its early days, a pawn between the Soviet Union and the KMT. By 1924 the Chinese Communists had, against their own wishes, joined the KMT as individual members and were working toward its objectives and submitting to its discipline.

In March 1926 Chiang Kai-shek carried out a coup in Canton and immediately arrested the army commissars (mostly Communists) attached to his troops and confined his Soviet advisors to their quarters. The Cantonese Branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) reacted sharply, recommended a break with the KMT and asked for permission to adopt offensive tactics against the KMT. Such a plan, however, conflicted with Stalin's evaluation of the "historical situation" and he "convinced" the Cantonese comrades to continue as before. Chiang Kai-shek barred Communists from high posts in the KMT, banned criticism of Sun Yat-sen's political philosophy, and demanded that the CCP Central Committee submit a list of all Communist Party members who had joined the KMT. Pressured by Stalin's Soviet advisors, the Chinese Communists agreed to these terms. Once Chiang had secured his power in Canton, he apologized to the Soviet advisors reinstated them, and told the Chinese Communists that the whole episode had been a regrettable error, staged without his knowledge. Stalin continued his policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek.

In July 1926, the CCP Central Committee adopted a resolution demanding that the KMT be transformed into a federated organization, allowing the Communist Party to regain its independence and some freedom of action. This resolution lived only until a copy of it arrived in Moscow where Stalin vetoed it. The resolution was dangerous to Stalin: its demands were almost identical to the charges that Trotsky was making against Stalin's policies in China; it also implied that Chiang could not be trusted and that his KMT was dominated by the bourgeoisie.

Chiang carried out a second anti-Communist coup in March 1927, this time in Shanghai where the workers had rebelled, overthrown the old administration, and taken control of the city. Once again, Chen Tu-hsiu, leader of the Chinese Communists, appealed to Stalin for permission to disentangle themselves from the KMT. Once again the request was denied and the Communists gave up their weapons and surrendered to Chiang's troops. Three weeks later Chiang ordered a massacre in which tens of thousands of Communists and workers who followed them were slaughtered. Little remained of China's proletarian vanguard, it has been sacrificed to the interests of Russia's interests.

Trotsky opposed Stalin's policy, particularly after early 1926, and did what he could to force a policy revision to free the Chinese Communists from their bondage to the KMT and allow them to prepare themselves to take a leading role in the Chinese revolution. Trotsky's position was weakened not only because he was effectively out of power, but also by the fact that Soviet policy toward the Chinese revolution had become a symbol of the over-all struggle for power between Stalin and Trotsky. Stalin could not concede that he had mistakenly evaluated the situation in China without allowing Trotsky back into power. The Trotsky opposition's attack on Stalin's alliance with Chiang Kai-shek only made Stalin defend Chiang more blindly; and Chiang, aware of the situation, used it to his advantage and to the extreme disadvantage of the Chinese Communist Party.

It is ironical that the Chinese leaders now find themselves the main defenders of Stalin, the man who cynically sacrificed them in vain for what he considered Russia's interests and in his own personal struggle against their defender, Leon Trotsky.

The following quotations are from Leon Trotsky's analysis of Soviet Russia's China policy as he presented it in two books, The Permanent Revolution, and My Life.

From Permanent Revolution, page 30. "Under the pretext that China stood before a national revolution, the leading role was allotted to the Chinese bourgeoisie in 1924. The party of the national bourgeoisie, the Kuomintang, was officially recognized as the leading party. Not even the Russian Mensheviks went that far in 1905 in relation to the Cadets (the party of the liberal bourgeoisie).

"But the leadership of the Comintern did not stop at this. It obligated the Chinese Communist Party to go into the Kuomintang and subordinate itself to its discipline. Through special telegrams of Stalin, the Chinese Communists were urged to curb the agrarian movement. The mutinous workers and peasants were prohibited from forming their own Soviets in order not to alienate Chiang Kai-shek, whom Stalin defended against the Oppositionists as a "reliable ally" at a party meeting in Moscow at the beginning of April 1927, that is, a few days before the counter-revolutionary coup d' etat in Shanghai.

"The official subjugation of the Communist Party to the bourgeois leadership and the official prohibition to form Soviets was a grosser and more crying betrayal of Marxism than all the deeds of the Mensheviks in the years 1905-1917.

"After April 1927, the Chinese party was ordered to go into the "Left" Kuomintang and to subordinate itself to the discipline of the Chinese Kerensky instead of preparing open warfare against him. The "reliable" Wang Chin-wei crushed the Communist party together with the workers' and peasants' movement no less criminally than Chiang Kai-shek, whom Stalin had declared as his reliable ally.

"When the Mensheviks supported Miliukov in 1905 and afterwards, they nevertheless did not enter the liberal party. When the Mensheviks went hand in hand with Kerensky in 1917, they still retained their own organization. The policy of Stalin in China was a wretched

After its inevitable fruits had appeared complete decline of the workers' and peasants' movements, demoralization and decay of the Communist party, the leadership of the Comintern gave the command: "Left about face!" and demanded the immediate armed uprising of the workers and peasants. In this way, the young, oppressed and mutilated Communist party, which only yesterday was the fifth wheel in the wagon of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Chin-wei, and consequently did not possess the slightest political experience of its own, was handed the order to lead the workers and peasants whom the Comintern had held back up to yesterday in the name of the Kuomintang -- in an armed insurrection against the same Kuomintang, which had in the meanwhile found time to concentrate the power and the army in its hands. In the course of twenty-four hours a fictitious Soviet was improvised in Canton. The armed insurrection, timed in advance for the opening of the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, constituted simultaneously an expression of the heroism of the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat as well as of the crime of the Comintern. Lesser adventures preceded the Canton uprising and followed it. That is what the second chapter of the Chinese strategy of the Comintern looked like, a strategy that can be characterized as the most malicious caricature of Bolshevism.

From My Life, page 529.7 "The epigones' leadership in China trampled on all the traditions of Bolshevism. The Chinese Communist party was forced against its will to join the bourgeois Kuomintang party and submit to its military discipline. The creating of Soviets was forbidden. The Communists were advised to hold the agrarian revolution in check, and to abstain from arming the workers without the permission of the bourgeoisie. Long before Chiang Kai-shek crushed the Shanghai workers and concentrated the power in the hands of a military clique, we issued warnings that such a consequence was inevitable. Since 1925, I had demanded the withdrawal of the communists from the Kuomintang. The policy of Stalin and Bukharin not only prepared for and facilitated the crushing of the revolution but, with the help of reprisals by the state apparatus, shielded the counter-revolutionary work of Chiang Kai-shek from our criticism. In April, 1927, at the party meeting in the Hall of Columns, Stalin still defended the policy of coalition with Chiang Kai-shek and called for confidence in him. Five or six days later, Chiang Kai-shek drowned the Shanghai workers and the Communist party in blood."