

# PEKING REVIEW

52

December 27, 1963

北  
京  
周  
報

## PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S VISIT TO U.A.R.

1. Report and commentary (p. 6).
2. Joint communique (p. 9).
3. Press conference in Cairo (p. 12).

## For Broader Afro-Asian Representation In United Nations

*Renmin Ribao* reiterates China's stand for more Afro-Asian seats in main U.N. organs and exposes Soviet misrepresentation (p. 14).

## The Nature of Social Democracy

C.P.S.U. leadership has taken revisionist path, says V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of New Zealand C.P., in Djakarta speech (p. 16).

---

Peking Review Subject Index Nos. 27-52, 1963

# PEKIN INFORMATION

## Now A Weekly

From January 1964, **PEKIN INFORMATION** (fortnightly French edition of **Peking Review**) will appear weekly and the subscription rate will be doubled.

However, by subscribing before February 1, 1964, readers abroad can take advantage of the former subscription rate, which is:

### ONE-YEAR SUBSCRIPTION

Europe	Africa
7.00 Fr. f.	2.50 Alg. f.
70.00 Bel. f.	30.00 Cong. f.
6.00 Sw. f.	300.00 Mal. f.
900.00 lire	£0.3.6

The price of single copies remains unchanged.

### **SPECIAL OFFER** (valid until January 31, 1964)

Subscribers to **PEKIN INFORMATION** for one year will receive a free 1964 DESK CALENDAR and a POCKET NOTEBOOK.

To everyone who gets 1 or 2 new subscribers, we shall send a CHINESE SCROLL; for 3 or more subscribers we shall send a handsome NOTEBOOK, richly illustrated, in addition to the scroll.

General Distributor: **GUOZI SHUDIAN**, P.O.B. 399 Peking, China.

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

December 27, 1963 Vol. VI No. 52

## CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Premier Chou En-lai's Visit to U.A.R.	
— Our Correspondent	6
China-U.A.R. Joint Communique	9
Premier Chou En-lai's Press Conference	12
China Supports Broader Afro-Asian Representation in U.N.	
— <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	14
The Leadership of the C.P.S.U. Has Taken the Revisionist Path	
— V.G. Wilcox	16
Stockbreeding Flourishes in the Pasturelands	
— Li Tsung-hai	20
ROUND THE WORLD	23
ART EXCHANGE	26
PEKING REVIEW SUBJECT INDEX	27

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW

Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

# THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi are now visiting Algeria.

- Premier Chou concluded his visit to the United Arab Republic. A joint communique was issued.

- Peking and other major cities held mass rallies marking the third anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front and supporting the south Vietnamese people in their patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism.

- China and Burundi have established diplomatic relations.

- The Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Cambodian Embassy in Peking fully endorsing Cambodia's proposal for the convocation of an international conference to examine and ensure the country's neutralization.

- The Chinese press reported:

- an article entitled "Attitudes Towards the Universal Truths of Marxism-Leninism" by Kim Chang Wun. Appearing in issue No. 21 of the Korean journal *Keunroja*, it exposes modern revisionism as a distortion of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

- an article appearing in issue Nos. 11 and 12 of *Zenei*, theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, repudiating the Yugoslav revisionist programme.

- an editorial carried in issue No. 3 of the fortnightly *La voix du peuple* by Jacques Grippa, First Secretary of the Brussels Federation of the Belgian Communist Party. It exposes the new reformism and policy of split followed by the leadership of the Belgian Communist Party.

## Premier Chou En-lai in Algiers

After a memorable week's visit to the United Arab Republic, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi arrived in Algiers by special plane on December 21. Here, at the start of the second stage of their tour of African countries, they were welcomed by an immense crowd of three hundred thousand citizens of that heroic city.

Landing in the early afternoon at Dar El Beida Airport, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen were greeted on the tarmac by Ben Bella, President and Premier of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic; Houari Boumedienne, First Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence; and other leading officials and high-ranking officers.

In his welcoming speech at the decorated airport, President Ben Bella heartily greeted Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi. "Algiers," said the President, "at the dawn of its regained freedom,

is proud and happy to welcome the messengers of those who took part in the Long March. In the capital of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic, two continents are meeting and getting to know each other. This handshake between the People's Republic of China and Algeria is a symbol of manifold significance." Recalling the mutual help between China and Algeria and between Asia and Africa in their common struggle for liberation, the President stressed: "Every victory of Africa concerns Algeria and is also a victory for Asia. Every victory of Asia concerns China and is also a victory for Africa. Solidarity formed in this manner is a guarantee for the final victory of the liberation of mankind."

Speaking of China's role, President Ben Bella said: "As a responsible country, the People's Republic of China is playing a role, which should inspire all liberated countries, in the cause of the emancipation of mankind

and the establishment of a new social order based on justice, equality, progress and peace. The importance of China's place in the history of nations determined to hold their destinies in their own hands makes it urgent, necessary and imperative to call for a reorganization of the laws and machinery governing international relations." In conclusion, he saluted the Chinese guests as worthy representatives of the builders of a new world.

Warmly greeting and expressing his admiration for the Algerian people and leaders headed by President Ben Bella and thanking them for their hospitality, Premier Chou En-lai said: "In the protracted struggles against imperialism and colonialism, the Chinese and Algerian peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other and formed a profound comradeship-in-arms. The relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries have, since Algeria gained its independence, made encouraging advances on a new basis." The Premier said that the Chinese and Algerian peoples now faced the common task of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, consolidating their national independence and defending world peace. "It is of great significance to our common cause," stressed the Premier, "to strengthen further the comradeship-in-arms and relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries. I hope that our visit will contribute to this end."

After a short rest, Premier Chou, accompanied by President Ben Bella, and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, accompanied by First Vice-Premier Boumedienne, drove to the People's Palace where the guests would stay during their visit. All along the way, cheering crowds thronged the streets.

The city of Algiers was in festive mood; its people made clear their happiness in greeting the representatives of the Chinese people who had stood steadfastly by their side in the long years of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. A helicopter flew over the city, dropping hundreds of thousands of colourful leaflets. Everywhere, huge streamers were strung across the streets bearing inscriptions welcoming the Chinese guests.

Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen had a busy schedule. In addition to talks with the Algerian leaders



President Ben Bella greets Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi on their arrival in Algiers

they attended several official functions and visited places of historic interest.

### The People Oppose U.S. Imperialism

In the mad pursuit of its global strategy for world domination, U.S. imperialism is meeting mounting opposition. Loud echoes of popular protests against U.S. aggression in south Viet Nam, subversion of the Royal Government of Cambodia and interference in Korea's internal affairs were heard in the past week in Peking and Pyongyang, in Hanoi and Havana, in Djakarta and Algiers, in Phnom Penh and many other capitals around the world.

### Solidarity With South Viet Nam

On December 20 Peking and other major Chinese cities demonstrated solidarity with the south Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression. That day marked the third anniversary of the founding of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front. Mass rallies, concerts, film shows and other activities were held to celebrate the occasion. The Ministry of Posts and Tele-communications issued a special set of commemorative stamps. While the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and other people's organizations sent messages of greetings to their counterparts in south Viet Nam, *Renmin Ribao* and other

leading newspapers throughout the country published editorials hailing the day and wishing the south Vietnamese people still greater successes in the days to come.

Ever since the signing of the Geneva agreements in 1954, U.S. imperialism has been extending its aggression in south Viet Nam, obstructing the peaceful unification of the country, fostering puppets there and imposing a bloody and barbarous rule. Three years ago, on December 20, 1960, the Liberation Front was formed to fight against U.S. aggression. Under its leadership, the south Vietnamese people have smashed the U.S. "Staley-Taylor Plan" for "special warfare." They have knocked out over 170,000 enemy troops and liberated three-fourths of their territory and half of the population. Their armed forces are growing stronger each day as the war goes on and production and economic development in the liberated areas are forging ahead. Engulfed by the south Vietnamese people and torn by internal strife, the U.S. imperialists and their toadies are inexorably headed towards their doom.

### Peking Rally

More than 10,000 people met in the Great Hall of the People on December 20 to mark the anniversary. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Peng Chen and Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairmen; Tan Chen-lin, Vice-Premier; and leading members of

the 17 people's organizations which sponsored the rally attended. When they appeared on the rostrum with Tran Van Thanh, head of the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front and the South Viet Nam Working People's Association for Liberation, and other Vietnamese guests who had come specially for the occasion, they were greeted with thunderous applause.

In his opening speech Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, paid tribute to the heroic south Vietnamese people for setting a brilliant example to all the oppressed peoples and nations now fighting for liberation. On behalf of the Chinese people, he wished them still greater victories in 1964.

Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, said that the Liberation Front was a bright torch lighting up the way ahead for the 14 million people of south Viet Nam. With its founding, he said, the people's armed struggle of self-defence had entered a new stage. Declaring that U.S. imperialism was the arch-criminal responsible for the present situation, he praised the south Vietnamese people for taking the path of armed defence and unremittingly waging heroic struggle against the aggressor. The example set by the south Vietnamese people, he said, "is like a powerful declaration to the whole world that the oppressed nations and peoples can never pin their hopes for liberation on the 'wisdom' of imperialist leaders, but must rely solely on the unity and struggle of the masses of people, and that when imperialism and the reactionaries carry out armed suppression the reliable road to national liberation is to pit the armed force of revolution against the armed force of counter-revolution." Liu Ning-I declared that the Chinese people would always stand by the side of the south Vietnamese people.

When Tran Van Thanh took the floor, the hall gave him a standing ovation. Reviewing the developments of the last three years, he said that the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front had become the nucleus of all patriotic forces and the organizational and leading force in his people's victorious struggle. "This successful development of the patriotic struggle of our people," he said, "has proved that when a nation is determined to fight for its liberation, it is fully pos-

sible for it, with the support of the world's people, to defeat the aggression of imperialism, even though the opponent is U.S. imperialism—the chieftain of all the imperialists and the most vicious and cunning enemy of the oppressed nations and of the peace-loving, freedom-loving and truth-loving peoples of the world." He stressed that the only correct solution in south Viet Nam was for the U.S. Government to stop its policy of intervention and aggression and to withdraw all its troops and weapons. Said Tran Van Thanh: "The south Viet Nam question should be solved by the south Vietnamese people themselves. To achieve this, the six urgent demands put forward by the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front in its statement on November 8, 1963, must be accepted."

The rally adopted a message pledging the Chinese people's full support for the people of south Viet Nam and expressing confidence that U.S. imperialism would finally be driven out.

#### **Chairman Mao Receives the Guests**

On December 22, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, had a cordial and friendly talk with the members of the visiting delegation of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front and the South Viet Nam Working People's Association for Liberation led by Tran Van Thanh.

#### **China Backs Cambodia**

In his November 24 letter to the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, Cambodian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Huot Sambath took U.S. imperialism and its vassals to task for trampling underfoot the 1954 Geneva agreements and stepping up aggression and subversive activities against Cambodia.

The Geneva agreements require that all countries concerned undertake to respect Cambodia's sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity and guarantee the peace and neutrality of this kingdom. While Cambodia has in letter and in spirit abided by the agreements and strictly maintained a policy of neutrality in its foreign relations, U.S. imperialism and its flunkies have over the years tried by every possible means to topple the Royal Government of Cambodia. In the past few weeks, they have even clamoured for open armed aggression. Confronted with this threat, the Royal

Government of Cambodia severed political relations with the authorities of south Viet Nam and called off U.S. military and economic "aid." It also called for the convocation of an international conference to examine the Cambodian situation and ensure the country's neutrality.

The Cambodian proposal has won the firm support of all who love peace and uphold justice. The Chinese Government and people, too, have given it their unequivocal backing.

In its December 5 reply to the Cambodian Royal Government, the Chinese Foreign Ministry reaffirmed China's stand and stated: "The serious threat now faced by the Kingdom of Cambodia results exclusively from the fact that the United States has been supporting south Viet Nam, Thailand and the so-called free Khmers in their ceaseless subversive and sabotaging activities against the Kingdom of Cambodia." The Foreign Ministry's reply expressed the hope that Cambodia's proposal to convene an international conference would receive a positive response from all countries concerned.

**Sino-Cambodian Friendship.** The friendship between China and Cambodia has continued to grow, particularly since the signing of the Sino-Cambodian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression three years ago. The third anniversary of this treaty, which fell on December 19, was celebrated in Peking at a reception given by the China-Cambodia Friendship Association.

Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun who attended the reception toasted Sino-Cambodian friendship in these words: "The friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples is much richer and deeper than the provisions of the treaty indicate. Our two peoples support and assist each other in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, for national independence and prosperity, and for world peace."

#### **Against U.S. Intervention in Korea**

Under U.S. manipulation and in the absence of the representatives of the Korean people, the 18th session of the U.N. General Assembly again discussed the so-called Korean question and railroaded through a resolution to suit U.S. imperialism.

On December 15, a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Korean

*(Continued on p. 11.)*

# Premier Chou En-lai's Visit to U.A.R.

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**P**REMIER Chou En-lai has completed his week-long goodwill visit to the United Arab Republic. When he left Cairo for Algeria on December 21 public opinion in both China and the U.A.R. was unanimous that his visit and the talks he had had with President Nasser had greatly strengthened the friendship between the two countries and made a notable contribution to Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

The significance of the visit was underscored by both Premier Chou En-lai and President Nasser themselves at the banquet given by the Chinese government leader in honour of the U.A.R. head of state and Madame Nasser on December 20. China's Premier said that his visit had been crowned with success in that "it has enhanced our mutual understanding, enriched our knowledge and promoted the friendship between the Chinese and U.A.R. peoples. . . . It is my hope that our two Governments and peoples will make further endeavour to promote Asian-African solidarity, the solidarity of the new emerging forces in order to achieve still greater successes in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the defence of world peace."

On his part, President Nasser pointed out that the meaning of Premier Chou En-lai's visit went beyond the sphere of direct relations between China and the U.A.R. "It will have positive benefits serving the cause of peace, contributing to the efforts for its establishment in a world where boundless horizons for human progress are being spread." He stressed that Premier Chou's African tour was "an excellent endeavour for mutual understanding, for the consolidation of co-operation between China and the new revolutionary Africa that is firmly advancing towards freedom and its great responsibilities."

## Rousing Welcome

Premier Chou En-lai and his party came to Cairo on December 14 at the invitation of President Nasser and Aly Sabry, Member of the Presidential Council and Chairman of the Executive Council of Ministers. He was joined in the U.A.R. capital by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minis-



Premier Chou En-lai and President Nasser at U.A.R. Science Day Celebrations

ter Marshal Chen Yi who had earlier attended Kenya's independence celebrations.

The Government and people of the U.A.R. accorded their Chinese guests a most warm and friendly welcome. The programme-packed visit gave the Chinese leaders the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the achievements of the people of the U.A.R. in building up their country. Wherever they went—to enjoy Egyptian national dances, study the cultural relics that give a glimpse of the splendours of ancient Egyptian culture, attend the Science Day ceremonies, visit Port Said, salute the workers at the construction site of the giant Aswan high dam or to see the great pyramid and the Sphinx, the wonders of the ancient world—the Chinese Premier and his colleagues were welcomed with open arms. People, young and old, lined the streets to wave Chinese and U.A.R. national flags and cheer the Chinese Premier. Portraits of Premier Chou decorated the public squares. Streamers bearing the words "Welcome! Chou En-lai. Friend of the U.A.R.!" spanned the roadways. There were mass cheers of "Chou En-lai!" . . .

Throughout the visit the U.A.R. press gave headline coverage to its progress. It was most warm in its greetings. It hailed the achievements of the Chinese people in their revolution and construction, and praised the great friendship and mutual support of the two countries. *Al*

Ahram, on December 14, predicted that the Chinese Premier's visit "will open a new page of co-operation and friendship between the two countries." The *Egyptian Gazette* (December 16) wrote: "The visit such as Chou En-lai is now paying to the U.A.R. is of utmost importance in cementing Afro-Asian relations in all fields and in helping overcome difficulties. No one with goodwill will fail to wish his visit every success." *Al Gomhouria* (December 16), commenting on the significance of the visit, said that the world was focusing attention on the talks between Premier Chou En-lai and President Nasser, a fact which indicated that the "traditional big powers no longer have the last say on world problems." The newly liberated countries "now have a chance to play an important role in safeguarding world peace."

### An Eloquent Testimony

The enthusiastic welcome Port Said gave to Premier Chou En-lai when he and his party visited that heroic city on December 17 bore eloquent testimony to the sentiments of the people of the U.A.R. for the Chinese people. Practically the whole city turned out in jubilant welcome. When the special plane carrying the Premier and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, accompanied by Chairman Aly Sabry, landed, they found Port Said, in the words of one reporter, "a sea of friendship and a city of joyous humanity."

As the Chinese visitors walked down the red carpet leading to the airport hall, accompanied by Governor Emad Eldin Rushdy, Managing Director of the Suez Canal Authority Mahmud Yunis and other officials, girls in snow-white shirts showered flower petals on them. Along the five-kilometre road leading from the airport to the downtown area, the crowds chanted: "Chou En-lai—Nasser!" "Nasser—Chou En-lai!" and waved Chinese national flags to the passing motorcade. They went sight-seeing in the city amid great welcoming crowds. Young athletes performed for them at the city stadium. Workers of the Suez Canal Authority, fishermen and sailors on the canal and workers of the dockyard greeted them with deafening cheers. Ships in harbour all sounded their sirens in a friendly salute. Banners hanging from many buildings read: "Welcome Mr. Chou En-lai!" and "Down With Imperialism!"

The Chinese visitors were deeply impressed by the efforts of the U.A.R. people in rebuilding their hero city

upon the ruins caused by imperialist bombs and gunfire in 1956, and by their efficient management of the Suez Canal after they had driven out the imperialists. Premier Chou paid tribute to the people of the U.A.R. and Port Said at a meeting of the Port Said Administration called by Governor Rushdy to welcome him.

"The U.A.R. people's fight to defend Port Said and the Suez Canal has written a glorious page in the annals of the struggle of the people throughout the world against imperialism," he said. "The imperialists wanted to occupy the Suez Canal but the people of the U.A.R. defeated them. The imperialists said that the U.A.R. people would not be able to take up management of the canal, but the U.A.R. people have put this canal under even better management. The imperialists brought ruin to Port Said but the U.A.R. people have rebuilt it into a more beautiful city. These facts are powerful proof that in our time, so long as the oppressed peoples and nations unite and struggle stubbornly, they can defeat the outwardly strong imperialists and colonialists and once the Asian and African peoples have driven out the imperialists and colonialists and become masters in their own houses, they are able to build up their own country."

### Old Friendship Has New Lustre

The cordiality of the welcome given by the U.A.R. people to their Chinese friends is a natural reflection of the deep-rooted friendship of the two peoples. Early friendly ties between the two peoples can be traced back more than two thousand years. History records trade contacts between China and Egypt as far back as the second century. The two countries have two of the oldest cultures in the world, whose treasures are admired by all peoples. Their economic and cultural relations, however, were disrupted when imperialist forces penetrated into China and Africa. Only in recent years, when both China and the U.A.R. were freed from imperialist



Workers at Aswan construction site cheering Premier Chou En-lai

rule, have the ties of old been revived and new common struggles against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence brought the Chinese and U.A.R. people still closer.

The peoples of the two countries have supported each other in these recent struggles. In the critical days of 1956 when the Anglo-French imperialists launched naked aggression against the U.A.R. the Chinese people gave immediate support to the U.A.R., their angry condemnation of the aggressors cheered the hearts of the U.A.R. people. The U.A.R., on the other hand, has never wavered in its support to the Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan. In 1955 both Premier Chou En-lai and President Nasser attended the Bandung Conference, the first international conference of major importance in history held without the participation of an imperialist power, and together with statesmen of other Asian and African countries worked out the famous ten principles.

In his speech at the banquet given in his honour by President and Madame Nasser on December 14 Premier Chou enlarged on the basis of the fast friendship between the two countries:

"We new emerging independent Asian and African countries share the common experience of suffering from imperialist aggression and oppression and face the common task of continuing the fight against old and new colonialism. It is in the fundamental interests of the Asian and African peoples to strive for and safeguard our national independence, develop our national economy, strengthen Asian-African solidarity and defend world peace."

"Contemporary history shows," he continued, "that in the common struggle to oppose imperialism and to win and safeguard national independence, our two peoples have always encouraged and supported each other. After the expulsion of the imperialist forces, the relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries entered upon a new stage of development. The Chinese Government and people have always supported the U.A.R. people and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and supported the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle to restore their rights. The U.A.R. Government and people stand for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations, support the just struggle of the Chinese people to liberate their own territory, Taiwan, and oppose the imperialist scheme to create 'two Chinas.' Our two countries have concluded trade and cultural agreements and have been fruitfully co-operating with each other in the economic and cultural fields. These relations of friendship and co-operation between us accord with the interests of our two peoples and with the interests of Asian-African solidarity and world peace."

Premier Chou En-lai's visit has further deepened this friendship.

### Chou En-lai - Nasser Talks

The understanding reached between Premier Chou and President Nasser on the world situation will likewise have far-reaching effects on the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. As the joint communique of the two Governments issued on December 21 indicates:

- The two leaders agreed that the Bandung Conference was an illustrious turning-point in the united struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism. Both sides pledged to continue to work for the preservation of the Bandung spirit.

- It remains the foremost common task of the Asian and African peoples to fight imperialism and old and new colonialism and win and safeguard national independence. Both sides pledged resolute support to the just struggles of the Asian and African peoples.

- Both parties reaffirmed that the Governments and peoples of China and the U.A.R. would continue their unremitting efforts for the relaxation of international tension and the defence of world peace. Both parties expressed their readiness to strive, together with all other countries and peoples, for general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

- Both sides supported the peaceful efforts initiated at the Colombo Conference and which aimed at dissipating the tension in relations between China and India and bringing about a peaceful settlement of the border question through direct negotiations.

- Premier Chou outlined China's position in regard to relations with the Arab countries and all African countries. President Nasser expressed full agreement.

- The U.A.R. denounced the deprivation of China's legitimate rights in the U.N. and upheld China's right to recover Taiwan. For this the Chinese side expressed its gratitude.

- Both parties decided to take measures for further broadening economic co-operation, trade contacts and cultural exchanges between the two countries.

- President Nasser accepted an invitation from Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to visit China.

### Promotes Friendship, Solidarity and Peace

Commenting on the success of the talks, *Renmin Ribao* says in its editorial of December 23:

"The rich results of the talks between Premier Chou En-lai and President Nasser are an expression of the confidence in victory of the two nations in the common struggle against imperialism and for the preservation of national independence and an expression of their resolute determination to support each other and to unite and co-operate on the basis of self-reliance in building up their countries. The results of the talks give expression to the strong aspiration of the two peoples to uphold and strengthen Asian-African solidarity and world peace, and to strengthen and develop the friendship and co-operation between our two peoples. As a matter of fact, what the joint communique has given expression to are not just the aspirations of the Chinese and U.A.R. peoples, but those of the peoples of Asia, Africa and the world as well, who oppose imperialism and cherish peace."

For this reason, the paper goes on to say, the Chou-Nasser talks will not only improve Sino-U.A.R. friendly relations but "will help promote the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples and the newly emerging forces, and the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for world peace."



# China—U.A.R. Joint Communiqué

*Following is the full text of the Joint Communiqué of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United Arab Republic. Boldfaced emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**U**PON the invitation of the President of the United Arab Republic His Excellency Gamal Abdel Nasser and His Excellency Aly Sabry, Chairman of the Executive Council of Ministers, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Chou En-lai paid an official and friendly visit to the United Arab Republic from December 14 to 21, 1963.

Premier Chou En-lai was accompanied on that visit by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs, State Council; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tung Hsiao-peng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Wang Yu-tien, Director of the West Asian and African Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Kung Peng, Director of the Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Yu Pei-wen, Director of the Protocol Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Liu Hsi-wen, Departmental Director of the Ministry of Foreign Trade; Wang Ning, Deputy Director of the General Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Li Shu-huai, Deputy Departmental Director of the Ministry of Public Security.

During their stay in the United Arab Republic, Premier Chou En-lai and his party visited Cairo, Port Said, Aswan high dam and places of historical interest and made friendly contacts with people of various circles in the United Arab Republic. Everywhere they were given a magnificent reception and warm welcome by the United Arab Republic Government and people, which fully manifested the profound brotherly friendship between the people of China and the United Arab Republic.

During the visit, Premier Chou En-lai expressed respect and deep admiration for the heroic struggle waged by the United Arab Republic under the leadership of President Nasser in defending their sovereignty over the Suez Canal against armed imperialist aggression, and extended congratulations to the United Arab Republic people on the successes in defence of their homeland and state sovereignty, building up their country, developing national economy and culture.

The visit afforded the eminent guest the opportunity to have a glimpse of arts of the Arab people and to visit their scientific and military institutes to acquaint himself with the progress achieved by the United Arab Republic in this domain. Premier Chou En-lai also participated in the Ninth Science Day Ceremony and voiced his appreciation of the efforts exerted by the United Arab Republic for scientific progress which is inevitable for channelling the people's potentials for a better life.

Throughout his tour, Premier Chou En-lai was accompanied by a mission of honour composed of Sayed Kamaledin Mahmoud Rifaat, Member of the Presidential Council, and Sayed Zakaria El Adly Imam, United Arab Republic Ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

Moreover, that visit afforded the opportunity for talks and exchange of views between President Gamal Abdel Nasser and Premier Chou En-lai.

The talks were attended on the Chinese side by Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs, State Council; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chen Chia-kang, Chinese Ambassador to the United Arab Republic; and Wang Yu-tien, Director of the West Asian and African Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

While on the Arab side by Vice-President Field Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer, Deputy Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and Member of the Presidential Council; Sayed Ali Sabry, Member of the Presidential Council and Chairman of Executive Council of Ministers; Sayed Kamaledin Mahmoud Rifaat, Member of the Presidential Council; Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Sayed Hussein Zulficar Sabry, Deputy Foreign Minister; Sayed Zakaria El Adly Imam, United Arab Republic Ambassador to the People's Republic of China; and Sayed Abdel Mejid Farid, Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Republic.

**T**HE talks were held in a spirit of cordiality, friendship, frankness, mutual confidence and understanding circumstances of the two countries. The talks were held in a number of sessions where **Premier Chou En-lai and President Gamal Abdel Nasser reviewed the development of world events in general and those related to Asia, Africa and the Middle East in particular since their first meeting at the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in April 1955. That conference which the two sides are confident was the major turning-point in the history of Afro-Asian peoples, with its ten principles laid the foundation of peaceful coexistence among those peoples and opened the gates before the potentialities of organized co-operation among them in their struggle against imperialism, their endeavour for world peace, and for the prosperity and welfare of other peoples.** The two parties were glad to note that since the Bandung Conference, in which both China and the United Arab Republic took an active part, the Asian and African peoples have scored great victories in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. More than 30 Asian and African countries have freed themselves from colonial shackles and begun to take the road of independent development. They are working for further eliminating the remnant forces of colonialism, defending their state sovereignty and developing national economy. Those peoples who still remain

under the colonial rule of imperialism are waging various forms of heroic struggles for national independence.

The surging national-liberation movement has become a mighty contemporary force propelling the advance of history. The colonial system of imperialism is on the road of rapid disintegration. At the same time, the people of the world are unfolding a daily expanding struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for the defence of world peace. The present international situation is becoming increasingly advantageous to the people of the world and disadvantageous to imperialism and colonialism.

Both parties stressed that the imperialists and old and new colonialists would not reconcile themselves to their defeat. They have been forced by the prevailing circumstances into recognizing the independence of newly emerging Asian-African countries in name, but actually they are trying hard to place these countries under their control through political, economic and other means. In particular, they are trying to attain their aim in the form of so-called economic aid by exploiting the financial and economic difficulties facing newly independent countries. When they fail to reach their aim by peaceful means, they carry out subversive activities and even resort to direct armed intervention and aggression. Therefore, it remains the foremost common task of the Asian and African peoples at present to fight imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win or safeguard national independence.

The two parties reaffirmed their resolute support to the Asian and African peoples in their just struggle to fight imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence. Both parties expressed warm congratulations to the people of Kenya and Zanzibar who have won their national independence recently. Both parties expressed gratification at the important progress achieved by the people of Nyasaland and Gambia in their struggle for national independence. They paid high tribute to the peoples of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, French Somalia, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Southwest Africa, who are fighting heroically for national independence. The two parties paid high tribute to the people of the Asian countries who are fighting against imperialist aggression and for the defence of their national independence and state sovereignty. They expressed their continued support to the Korean and Vietnamese peoples in their just struggle for the reunification of their motherlands. The two parties strongly condemned the policy of racial discrimination pursued by the colonial authorities of South Africa and the system of racial discrimination wherever it might exist in the world.

**B**OTH parties reaffirmed that the Governments and peoples of China and United Arab Republic would continue their unremitting efforts for the relaxation of international tension and the defence of world peace. They agreed that imperialism and colonialism were the source of the threats to world peace and of international tension. In order to defend world peace effectively, the people of Asia, Africa and the people of the world, must unite more closely in a resolute struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Both parties pointed out that the people of the world shared the pressing desire to realize general disarmament,

prohibit nuclear weapons, eliminate the threat of a nuclear war and defend world peace and security. Both parties expressed their readiness to strive, together with all other countries and peoples, for general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

The two sides supported the establishment of nuclear-free zones in all parts of the world and backed the efforts deployed for the achievement of the objective. They particularly referred to the resolution of the African Summit Conference held in Addis Ababa in May 1963, declaring Africa a nuclear-free zone.

Both parties held that in order to consolidate their independence the newly emerging Asian and African countries all need to further eliminate the remnant forces of colonialism and develop their independent national economy and culture. The independent Asian and African countries are capable of building up their own countries by relying on their own people and material resources, they are capable of liquidating the poverty and backwardness caused by imperialist enslavement. The Asian and African countries should support and help each other in order to promote a common economic upsurge. The Asian and African countries do not rule out mutual exchange and the development of trade contact and economic co-operation with other countries of the world. But such economic and trade contacts must be based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit and free from privileges and conditions. They must meet the desire of the Asian and African countries to build up their independent national economies, and it is not permissible to use aid as a means for economic exploitation in Asian and African countries or even for interference in their internal affairs and infringement on their sovereignty.

**B**OTH parties held that the Bandung Conference marked an illustrious turning-point in the Asian-African peoples' united struggle against imperialism. The fundamental interests of the Asian and African peoples lie in the further strengthening of Asian-African solidarity, mutual support and closer co-operation between them. The two parties expressed their determination to continue to work for the preservation of the Bandung spirit.

The two sides hailed the African Summit Conference convened in Addis Ababa in May 1963, and found that imperialism, in the meantime, was compelled under pressure of circumstances to resort to indirect activities through the invasion of peoples and their domination from within, through monopolist economic groupings and through cold war, within the framework of which attempts are made to undermine the confidence of the smaller nations in their capacity to develop themselves and to provide adequate and positive contribution to the service of human society.

The two sides reviewed in detail the circumstances of the Sino-Indian border problem. In that, they were animated by confidence and hope in the possibility of reaching a peaceful settlement and underlined their determination to support the peaceful efforts initiated at the Colombo Conference and which aim at dissipating the tension in the relations between the two great countries, and bringing about a peaceful settlement through direct negotiations.

Both parties stressed that Asian-African countries should settle all their disputes in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference through peaceful negotiations and amicable consultation without resorting to force. The imperialists are trying hard to exploit the outstanding issues between Asian and African countries to sow discord among them. It is necessary for the Asian and African countries to maintain vigilance in this respect.

Premier Chou En-lai solemnly indicated that China has consistently stood for and faithfully abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. In accordance with these principles the Chinese Government has unwaveringly taken the following stand in handling its relations with the Arab countries:

**1 — It supports the Arab peoples in their struggle to fight imperialism and to win and safeguard national independence.**

**2 — It supports the governments of Arab countries in pursuing a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment.**

**3 — It supports the Arab people in their desire to bring about solidarity and unity in the form of their own choice.**

**4 — It supports the Arab countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation.**

**5 — It holds that the sovereignty of Arab countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed.** This is the same stand the Chinese Government has consistently taken in handling its relations with all other African countries. President Nasser expressed full agreement with and appreciation of the above stand of the Chinese Government enunciated by Premier Chou En-lai.

The two sides denounced the imperialist policy adopted in the Middle East and warned against the threat of such policy to world peace and security. The Chinese side declared its full support to the people of Palestine in restoring their legitimate rights and in returning to their homeland. For this the Arab side expressed deep gratitude.

The Chinese side reaffirmed its support to the people of Yemen in their struggle to safeguard national independence, and the people of Oman in the fight to win their independence.

The Chinese side reaffirmed its support for the policy of non-alignment pursued by the United Arab Republic

and appreciated the positive role played by the United Arab Republic in international affairs.

**T**HE United Arab Republic denounced the act of depriving China of her legitimate rights in the United Nations. It also expressed its conviction that remedying such an erroneous situation would furnish a solid foundation for upholding the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter and for increasing the effectiveness of the international organization. The Arab side declared that the United Arab Republic and her people uphold the rights of the people and Government of the People's Republic of China to recover Taiwan. For this the Chinese side expressed its deep gratitude.

The two parties pointed out with satisfaction that since the Bandung Conference and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the friendly relations between China and the United Arab Republic have developed smoothly. The daily strengthening and development of the friendly relations between China and the United Arab Republic provides an eloquent proof that countries with different social systems can live together in peace on the basis of the Five Principles and the ten principles of Bandung. The two parties decided to take measures for further broadening the economic co-operation, trade contact and cultural exchange between the two countries. They believed that the continuous development of their friendly and co-operative relations not only accorded with the vital interests of the two peoples, but would help promote Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace.

Both parties held that the exchange of visits between the leaders of the two countries was of great significance for the promotion of friendship and unity between the two countries. Chairman Aly Sabry's visit to China last April has made important contributions towards the strengthening of the friendship between the Chinese and United Arab Republic peoples. Premier Chou En-lai's present visit to the United Arab Republic is conducive to the further enhancement of the mutual understanding between the peoples of China and the United Arab Republic and the further strengthening of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

On behalf of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and in his own name, Premier Chou En-lai extended an invitation to President Nasser to visit the People's Republic of China at a time convenient to him. President Nasser accepted this invitation with pleasure.

Cairo, December 21, 1963

## THE WEEK

*(Continued from p. 5.)*

Democratic People's Republic issued a statement denouncing U.S. imperialism for making use of the United Nations as a tool in its intervention and aggression in Korea. Declaring the resolution null and void, it reaffirmed that the Korean question could only be settled by the Korean people themselves.

The China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian

Solidarity and six other Chinese mass organizations issued a joint statement on December 18 expressing full support for the stand taken by the Korean Democratic People's Republic. "The question of the reunification of Korea is still not settled," said the joint statement. "The basic obstacle to this is U.S. imperialism's military occupation and its colonial rule in south Korea, and its policies of aggression and war." Emphasizing that no outsiders should intervene in Korea's internal affairs, least of all the United Nations which had placed itself in a disgraceful posi-

tion as a belligerent in the U.S. war of aggression against Korea, the statement demanded that the U.S. imperialists immediately stop their aggression and intervention in Korea and get out of south Korea.

## Diplomatic Relations With Burundi

China has established diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Burundi. This was announced in a joint communique issued by the two Governments. Representation will be at the ambassadorial level.

# Premier Chou En-lai's Press Conference

*Premier Chou En-lai held a press conference in Cairo on December 20. Following are his answers to questions asked by reporters from the U.A.R. and other countries. Subheads and boldfaced emphases are ours. — Ed.*

## The U.A.R. Tour

**O**N his impressions and the results of his visit to the U.A.R., the Premier said: I and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, as well as my other colleagues, are deeply impressed with our visit to the United Arab Republic, the first stop in our first African tour. **Here in the U.A.R., we have been welcomed by a warm-hearted and courageous people and seen an industrious and wise people at work in building their new country with enthusiasm. The U.A.R. has an able leader in His Excellency President Nasser and enjoys the strength of unity. That is why an atmosphere of a new emerging country has appeared in the U.A.R. in so short a time.**

He said: During the visit, we have held three sincere and friendly talks with President Nasser and other U.A.R. leaders. Today I saw President Nasser again. The main results of our talks will be published in a joint communique.

On the plans for his current visits abroad, he said: New China is already 14 years old. We have established diplomatic relations with many African countries; leaders, ministers, and delegates of popular organizations of many African countries have made numerous visits to China. This is our first visit to Africa. We have not come too early, rather too late. Soon after our visit to the U.A.R. we will visit Algeria and Morocco. We will also visit Ghana, Mali, Guinea, and the Sudan. **The purpose of our African trip is to seek friendship and co-operation, to understand more, and to learn more. According to the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, we Asian and African countries should regularly exchange visits.**

Premier Chou En-lai also announced that at the invitation of the Albanian People's Republic he will visit Albania after concluding his North African tour. On his return trip from Africa, he will also visit some friendly countries in South Asia.

## Active Support for National-Democratic Movements

Premier Chou En-lai said: **One of the main contents of the foreign policy of the Chinese Government is active support for the national-democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.** China is a country that has been liberated from the colonial shackles of imperialism. We shared the same lot as the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Naturally there is mutual sympathy and mutual support among us. China, having won its own victory, has the obligation to support countries which have not yet won victory or are about to win it.

In reply to a question from an American correspondent, Premier Chou En-lai said: **People in the southern**

**part of Viet Nam are oppressed by foreign imperialists and the reactionaries at home. Under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front, the people have risen in revolt. Their struggle is entirely based on their own strength. They have achieved victory after victory under incomparably hard conditions.** When a people is subjected to foreign oppression, forces of resistance must emerge and grow and must be victorious. How bravely did George Washington lead the American people in resisting foreign aggressors! This is now being repeated in South Viet Nam. It has given many headaches to the White House, the Pentagon, and the U.S. State Department, while we, the people who are now independent, undoubtedly rejoice over, sympathize with, and resolutely support the heroic struggle of the South Vietnamese just as the French at that time supported the Americans then fighting for their independence.

Premier Chou En-lai said: **The Chinese people have always stood firmly behind the Arabs in Palestine in their just struggle for their legitimate rights.** Our diplomatic actions have testified to this. We have also backed the efforts made by the people of the Arab countries to achieve unification and association by means they themselves have chosen.

## The Second Asian-African Conference

Premier Chou En-lai stated: **A possibility exists of holding a Second Asian-African Conference.** Both President Nasser and myself agreed that good preparations for this conference should be made. Only when good preparations have been made can a meeting be successful. More than eight years have passed since the First Asian-African Conference whose influence has become ever broader and deeper.

In the past eight years and more, over 30 countries have achieved independence in Asia and Africa and this trend continues. The ten principles of the Bandung Conference still apply to the countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America today and they remain worth fighting for.

Reviewing the great achievements of the First Asian-African Conference, Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that **the two methods which made the First Asian-African Conference a success would also apply to the Second Asian-African Conference.**

He said: **The first method is seeking common ground among us while retaining our differences.** There are many major problems common to us Asian and African countries which have to be resolved. They are: to combat imperialism and old and new colonialism; to oppose aggression and intervention; to demand the withdrawal of foreign troops and the removal of foreign military bases; to support the national-liberation movement; to defend world peace; and to live in friendship in accordance with the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interfer-

ence in each other's internal affairs, equality, and mutual benefit. Individual disputes between us can be put aside. It was because of the adoption of this method that the First Asian-African Conference was crowned with success. In spite of the different political systems of the countries participating in that conference and their divergent views, we finally succeeded in finding common ground and in formulating the well-known ten principles.

He continued: **The second method is to let the Asian and African countries settle their own problems without intervention by imperialism.** The First Asian-African Conference was an important international conference held by the countries of Asia and Africa without the participation of the imperialist and colonialist countries. Japan was the only exception. Being a vanquished country under the occupation of foreign troops, Japan was also a country under foreign domination and went through the same trials as the other Asian and African countries. We, the Asian and African countries, share common historical experience, have common problems to be worked out, and common goals for which to strive. We ought to, and we can, settle our own problems. This is also the spirit to which the Second Asian-African Conference should adhere.

Referring to the conference of the non-aligned countries, Premier Chou En-lai said: China is a committed country and thus cannot participate in the conference of the non-aligned countries. It is common knowledge that the first conference of non-aligned countries held high the banner of combating imperialism and old and new colonialism, supporting the national-independence movement, and defending world peace. It is my belief that the second conference of the non-aligned countries will also follow this line. Otherwise, it will no longer be a conference of non-aligned countries.

### **Supporting Colombo Conference Countries' Efforts**

Dealing with the efforts made by the U.A.R. and other Colombo Conference countries to promote Sino-Indian reconciliation, Premier Chou En-lai stated: Since the Colombo Conference, China has appreciated and supported the efforts made by the U.A.R. and other Colombo Conference countries to mediate in the Sino-Indian border dispute and bring about direct negotiations between China and India. China backs their continued efforts to bring about direct talks between China and India at an early date and to settle the border dispute peacefully.

A correspondent of an Indian paper asked whether China was ready to renounce its reservations about the Colombo proposals.

Premier Chou En-lai replied that he did not think there was any question of renouncing reservations in this matter. This was because the Colombo proposals were recommendations put forward by the mediating countries and not an award given by arbitrating powers. This was what all the government heads of the six Colombo Conference countries had told him. He said that **the attitude of the Chinese Government is that in principle it accepts the Colombo proposals as the basis for direct Sino-Indian negotiations, and that China and India should come to the conference table to settle the border question peacefully without advancing any preconditions.**

Premier Chou En-lai said: **The measures taken by China on its own initiative since November last year have far exceeded the requirements set forth in the Colombo proposals.** For instance, the proposals asked China to withdraw 20 kilometres from the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, while China, acting in accordance with its own statement, withdrew 20 kilometres along the whole line, in the western sector, the middle sector, and the eastern sector. This has enabled the Chinese frontier guards and civilian administrative personnel to disengage from the Indian side and to avoid further border clashes. That is why, generally speaking, the Sino-Indian border situation has been quiet in the past year and the tension has been eased.

He added: Another example is the further step taken by China in vacating the areas on the Chinese side of the 1959 line of actual control which had been occupied by India and also other areas disputed by the two sides in their ceasefire arrangements, without even setting up any civilian check-posts there, pending a negotiated settlement with India. These initiatives were taken to create a favourable atmosphere for direct negotiations between the two countries, to bring about a peaceful solution of the boundary question. In taking these steps, China has taken into consideration the dignity and prestige of both sides. China suggests that both sides sit down at the conference table without setting any preconditions, that during the negotiations either side may put forward any proposals, and that the two sides may also discuss the specific details of the Colombo proposals as well as their interpretations of these proposals.

### **Why China Opposes the Tripartite Treaty**

Answering the question why China opposes the tripartite treaty of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union on a partial nuclear test ban, Premier Chou En-lai said: **The three countries concluded this treaty with a view to monopolizing nuclear weapons, hence our stand against it. We stand for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war.** Should such a war break out, mankind would suffer a tremendous catastrophe. On this account, all the countries of the world should have a share in the discussion of the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war. Politically all the countries of the world, big or small, strong or weak, are equals. Questions related to the destiny of all mankind should be discussed by all parties together. Such discussions should not be monopolized by a few countries, nor, even worse, should any decision favourable to these few be imposed upon the countries which are not represented in the discussions. This is one aspect of the question.

The other aspect is that after the signing of the tripartite treaty, the United States has repeatedly conducted underground nuclear tests. The President and government officials of the United States have time and again declared the intention of the United States to continue its testing, production, and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, and its intention to continue to deliver nuclear weapons to its allies, while refusing to commit itself to a renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons. The U.S. Government has increased its budget expenditure for the testing and man-

ufacture of nuclear weapons. While testifying in Congress, U.S. generals have stressed the need to continue the development of new-type nuclear weapons, tactical nuclear weapons in particular. All this shows that the **conclusion of the tripartite treaty has increased the danger of nuclear war, far from lessening it. In face of such a fraudulent treaty, the Chinese Government has no alternative but to expose it, and this is our sacred duty to safeguard the destiny of mankind.**

Premier Chou En-lai said: There are also well-intentioned people who are so naive as to think that the danger of nuclear war has been reduced as a result of the conclusion of the tripartite treaty. These people might take a look at the course of events to see whether this danger has actually increased or lessened. Even in less than five months since the signing of the treaty, world public opinion has already become less interested in it. Time will give the final verdict.

### East-West Peaceful Consultations and Sino-American Relations

When the reporter of a U.S. magazine asked why China opposed peaceful consultations between East and West, Premier Chou En-lai asked him to say on what occasion had China made such a statement. The reporter took refuge in silence. Premier Chou En-lai then said: If China is opposed to the settlement of international disputes through peaceful consultations between East and West, why then should it have held talks with the United States at the ambassadorial level for the past eight years and more? Chinese and American ambassadors have held 118 talks and there is no precedent in modern history

for talks to have lasted so long. The United States remains in occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan, and its 7th Fleet remains in the Taiwan Straits, threatening China. Under these circumstances, China still continues its ambassadorial talks with the United States and refrains from a recourse to armed force. How can it be said that China rejects peaceful consultations?

Premier Chou En-lai then gave his regards to the American people, and said: **The Chinese people want friendship with the American people. But it is the policies of aggression and war pursued by the U.S. Government against China that China must fight unflinchingly to the end. A clear distinction must be made between these two aspects.**

### Sino-Soviet Differences

Replying to a question on Sino-Soviet differences, Premier Chou En-lai said: **We do have serious differences with the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on questions of principle of Marxism-Leninism. It is our belief, however, that these disputes will be resolved in the end on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. Some countries want to profit by these differences; they are doomed to failure. China and the Soviet Union, the two big powers, are both in the socialist camp. They have between them a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. In the event of emergency, the Chinese and Soviet peoples will without fail stand by each other, shoulder-to-shoulder, hand-in-hand.**

Premier Chou En-lai's press conference lasted one and a half hours.

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## China Supports Broader Afro-Asian Representation in U.N.

*Following is a translation of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial of December 18 entitled "Resolutely Support the Just Demand of Afro-Asian Countries for an Increase in the Number of Their Seats in the Principal Organs of the United Nations." Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**A**FTER several days' debate on the expansion of certain principal organs of the United Nations, the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly adopted, on December 16, three resolutions jointly tabled by 37 Asian and African countries. Two of the resolutions call for the revision of the United Nations Charter to increase the number of seats in the Security Council from 11 to 15 and in the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27, so as to secure a broadening of representation from the Asian and African countries in these two organs.

These resolutions, approved at the Special Political Committee by an overwhelming majority, reflect the reasonable aspirations of the Asian and African countries for an increase in the number of their seats in the principal U.N. organs, and have therefore gained the welcome and support of all countries which uphold justice.

### Discrimination Against Afro-Asian States

We have long and repeatedly pointed out that the way the seats in the principal U.N. organs are distributed is extremely unreasonable and unfair to the Asian and African countries. In recent years a fundamental change has taken place in the face of Asia and Africa; scores of countries there have attained independence by throwing off colonial fetters. The Asian and African countries are exerting an ever increasing influence in international affairs.

It is unthinkable that existing major international issues can be solved without the joint participation of the Asian and African countries. It is therefore imperative that the voices of these countries be fully heard in the international arena. An end to discrimination against them in the United Nations is long overdue.

When the U.N. organization was founded in 1945, only 13 of its 51 foundation members were Asian and African countries, but now, of the 113 U.N. members, 58 are Asian and African countries, more than half of the U.N. membership.

In 1955, the Bandung Conference demanded in its resolution an increase in the number of seats of the Asian and African nations in the Security Council. The present distribution of seats in the principal U.N. organs, however, still remains as before. It fails to reflect the true position of these countries in the United Nations, much less their tremendous role in current international affairs. They have all along been denied the right to corresponding representation in the U.N. organs.

This situation has been caused solely by the control and manipulation of the United Nations by the imperialist countries headed by the United States. The U.S. propaganda machine has made no secret of the fact that the ruling circles in Washington very much fear that a strengthened position of the Asian and African countries in the United Nations would be unfavourable to U.S. control over this international organization. The fact that the United States and other Western powers did not vote in favour of the Afro-Asian resolutions in the Special Political Committee revealed once again their attempt to continue discrimination against the Asian and African nations in order to perpetuate their monopoly and control of the United Nations.

### **Soviet Ulterior Motives**

We must express our greatest regret at the improper tactics employed by the Soviet delegate over this issue. Using as a pretext his allegation that China opposed an expansion of U.N. organs, the Soviet delegate refused to support the resolutions for broader Afro-Asian representation in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council. Even after the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry in a statement on December 12 gave a comprehensive and clear-cut explanation of the position of the Chinese Government, he still stuck to his misrepresentation of the Chinese position in an attempt to apologize for the action of the Soviet Union. This showed that the Soviet delegate was manoeuvring for ulterior motives.

It is universal knowledge that the Chinese Government has consistently and actively supported the Asian and African nations' efforts to obtain an increase in the number of their seats in the principal U.N. bodies. At the National Day reception given by the Guinean Ambassador to China on October 2 this year, Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi clearly defined China's stand on this matter. He solemnly declared: "We are resolutely opposed to the continued discrimination against the Asian and African countries in the United Nations; and we actively support all their efforts to broaden their representation in the principal organs of the United Nations on a fair and reasonable basis." This Chinese stand has also been clearly explained to the Soviet Union. In its state-

ments on this question made on different occasions to the Soviet Government and the governments of a number of Asian and African countries, the Chinese Government has reiterated this stand. Many Asian and African countries know clearly this Chinese position and the Soviet Union has no justification whatever for pretending ignorance.

### **China's Position Cannot Be Distorted**

As we have pointed out before, there may be two ways of increasing the number of seats of Asian-African countries in the principal organs of the United Nations so as to satisfy their demand. One is to revise the relevant articles of the U.N. Charter. The other is to leave the Charter as it is for the time being, that is, while not altering the total number of seats stipulated in it, to make reasonable readjustments in the distribution of seats after consultation among the various parties concerned, so that at least half of them go to Asian-African countries.

We feel that it would be more convenient if the question could be settled by the latter method as it is simpler and easier to carry out under present circumstances. The first method involves more complex questions. That is why we believe endeavours should be made to obtain the adoption of the second method. However, if the second method does not work, the first method is the only alternative.

We have suggested two methods, both out of consideration for the interests of the Asian-African countries. They are put forward merely as suggestions for the settlement of this question, so that a comparatively practicable method can be found speedily to meet the legitimate demands of the Asian and African countries in the shortest time possible. The question of China only favouring one method and opposing the other does not arise at all. Our basic stand is to support every effort of the Asian-African countries to increase their seats in the principal organs of the United Nations. If it is impossible to redistribute the seats in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council through consultation to satisfy the justified demand of the Asian-African countries and the method of revising the relevant articles of the Charter has to be adopted, then, in line with our consistent stand, we naturally favour the corresponding revision of the relevant articles of the Charter so as really to satisfy the justified demand of the Asian and African countries.

China's attitude towards the United Nations is well known. The People's Republic of China is a foundation member of the United Nations and also a Permanent Member of the Security Council. But because U.S. imperialism insists on a policy of hostility towards China and controls the voting machine in the United Nations, China has so far been illegally deprived of its legitimate rights and China's seat has all along been usurped by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Until the restoration of China's legitimate rights, the Chinese Government holds that all activities of the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the U.N. are illegal. China will undertake no commitment on any activity or decision of the U.N. including the revision or non-revision of the U.N. Charter.

While it continues to be excluded from the United Nations, China naturally can undertake no commitment on the question of revision of the Charter by the United Nations. The Chinese Government has, however, always

judged the activities of the United Nations on their intrinsic merits. We resolutely oppose all evil doings of the United Nations, but will have no objection to the good things, if any, done by the United Nations.

We resolutely demand that the United Nations drive the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique out of all its organs and fully restore China's legitimate rights. However, the question of restoring China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and the question of increasing the number of the seats of the Asian and African countries in the principal U.N. organs are two different matters and should by no means be lumped together. The question of broadening the representation of the Asian and African countries in the principal U.N. organs should be settled fairly and reasonably by those countries now in the United Nations in

the spirit of no discrimination against the Asian and African countries.

### For Early Implementation of U.N. Resolutions

Now that the draft resolutions of the Asian and African countries have been adopted by the Special Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly, they should be implemented at the earliest possible date to eliminate the discrimination against the Asian and African countries in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and to meet these countries' justified aspirations preliminarily. Anyone who tries to create obstacles to the implementation of the resolutions under any pretext will only reveal his true features and meet with opposition from the Asian and African countries and all people upholding justice.

## International Communist Movement

# The Leadership of the C.P.S.U. Has Taken the Revisionist Path

*V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the New Zealand Communist Party, addressed the students of the Aliarcham Academy of Social Sciences in Djakarta, Indonesia, on September 9, 1963. Entitled "The Nature of Social Democracy," the address was printed in the November issue of the New Zealand "Communist Review." The full text follows:—Ed.*

COMRADE Chairman, Comrade Leaders of the Indonesian Party who are present here to-day and Comrades of the School: May I, first of all, say that it is a great honour to speak to you to-day. We Communists in New Zealand know something of the Indonesian Communist Party's glorious fighting background, of its many sacrifices in the interests of the masses of Indonesia, its efforts in the past to overthrow Dutch imperialism and gain liberation, and of its work and activity for the future of socialist Indonesia; its great contribution, too, to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

To-day the Communist Party of Indonesia is a mass party united under the leadership of Comrade Aidit. It has made great progress, it is strong, and will grow stronger. We know that it is successfully, tactically, dealing with the complicated situation now facing you after the liberation from Dutch imperialism. You are facing the challenge of the imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., who again come through the back door after they have been thrown out the front door. You, we know, realise the full dangers of neo-colonialism.

Of this, in general, we know. But, in detail, our knowledge is small. We would not presume to give advice, as no one but the Communist Party of Indonesia can solve the problems now facing you and successfully lead the Indonesian people on the road to a socialist society. But we of the Communist Party of New Zealand know you are

going to do it. Why? Because the Indonesian Communist Party, its leadership headed by Comrade Aidit, remains firm and stands on a correct Marxist-Leninist approach. It is strong because it is holding firm to the revolutionary core of Marxism-Leninism, is prepared to face all forms of struggle, does not utter Marxist platitudes in words and then in practice walk away from revolutionary struggle.

I raise this, comrades, because at the moment in our world Marxist-Leninist movement there are many who have turned away from this correct approach. I refer to the revisionists. In the opinion of the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the 81 Parties' Statement was not only correct when it stressed that the main danger in our world movement was revisionism. But, in our opinion, this danger has grown since 1960. It has grown to such a stage that to-day, to raise any point of criticism of the general trend in our world movement, as expressed in theory and practice by many Parties, is not answered by logic, by correct Marxist examination of the criticism made, in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, not dealt with in an objective, dialectical manner. Instead, such criticism is met by abuse, even lies, and by evasion of the issues raised.

Why do we find the leaders of some Parties doing this? It is a question that the Communist Party of New Zealand asks. Their answer to the New Zealand Communist Party leadership is that we do not understand the nature of the new era in which we live, that of the transition of Capitalism to Socialism on a world scale. We ask: Are the points correct which these comrades raise? Is the new that they talk about really new? Or is it a revision of Marxism which does not fit existing situations in the world? Are we dogmatists, as they say, when we consider certain tenets of Marx in regard to imperialism still correct to-day and the class struggle still the basic factor? On



the other hand, are they not, in fact, revisionists and are they not turning away from revolutionary struggle, based on Marxism-Leninism, in the same way that, in an earlier period, the Kautskys and the Bernsteins turned away? — those gentlemen whom Lenin fought against so hard and so successfully?

### **Basis of Dispute**

The leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand says that, temporarily, such people have turned from the revolutionary path. They have, in fact, adopted many of the practices and theories of the Social Democrats. They show in words and practice that they DO think that in our "new era" many aspects of Marx are outdated. They do not say so openly — they cover their retreat by a mass of Marxist words, just as did Kautsky. But, in fact, that is what they are doing. From this they think that those who remain firm on Marxism-Leninism are dogmatists and they are getting close to calling us betrayers.

This, comrades, as the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand sees it, is the basis of the dispute around ideological questions in our world Marxist-Leninist movement to-day.

Comrades, the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand, a party fighting in the old capitalist world, remains firm on Marxism-Leninism. We do this not from any outside pressure or persuasion, but because life, our own experience and struggles, our first-hand knowledge of Social Democracy, have taught us that Marxism-Leninism is revised only at the peril of the revolutionary movement. There may, in some countries, appear to be temporary gains by taking such a revisionist road, but imperialism will remain. It will not be finally defeated that way and, in the long run, the masses in the non-socialist world will suffer.

### **C.P.S.U.'s Position**

We are a Party which has always consistently given complete support to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leadership — our record proves that. It was therefore, after much thought — heart-breaking to a degree — that we came to the conclusion that this dangerous growth of revisionism in our movement on a world scale has been aided by the outlook of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Their past special role in our Marxist-Leninist movement, dating back to the Great October Revolution of 1917 and the leadership of Comrade Lenin, has been a factor leading to their influence over all parties remaining great. They have, in the opinion of the leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand, helped both in theory and practice to create illusions on many basic questions. I have not time to go into all of them, so we will just mention a few primary ones.

In the struggle against imperialism on a world scale, do we want to see a turning-away from the masses of each country, turning away from class struggle as the basic thing? New theories are growing which, in practice, lead to the negation of class struggle as the primary factor in each country. There emerges a reliance on leaders, on negotiations with imperialists, of "fixing things on high level," of emphasis on socialist strength to give Socialism

to the non-socialist countries, an under-estimation of the role of those fighting in the imperialist and non-socialist sectors of the world. Illusions start to grow that imperialists will peacefully accept defeat, that they will not only make tactical concessions when faced with strength, but will finally, gracefully fade away without struggle when we reach the point of saying: "You must die," on a world scale.

Comrades, in our opinion there are no peaceful imperialists. To create illusions about this is revisionism in practice. Imperialism will not die peacefully. Socialism will only come in each country by the efforts of the masses, led by their own Communist Parties. That is the way it will come in New Zealand, in our opinion.

It is true that the new situation, arising from the growing strength of the socialist world, is a very important, helpful factor. But is it the prime factor? To-day, more and more parties are basing their policy on the concept that, in time, Soviet strength will be able to give them Socialism peacefully. Comrades, in our opinion, it is this illusion which is revisionism. That is one of the reasons why the Communist Party of New Zealand has reached the conclusion that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has itself taken a revisionist path. It sees itself in such a role. It is but a short step from that to great-nation chauvinism, in a new form under socialist construction but in content the same.

To-day, many Party leaderships are placing increasing hopes on peaceful transition to Socialism. It is true that, under some conditions, such a possibility does exist. But the first historic example (apart from where the heroic Red Army after World War II was either present or dominant in influence) has yet to come, while the idea of a peaceful transition to Socialism is being advanced in areas where to-day no such possibilities exist.

In New Zealand we do not exclude peaceful transition. We desire it and work for it. But we say our Party must be prepared for the other methods if the class enemy refuses to accept the will of the majority. Not to do so is to blunt the revolutionary enthusiasm of any Communist Party.

### **Struggle for Peace**

To-day, in many countries, parties are beginning to place increasing reliance on a road to Socialism through bourgeois parliaments, confusing the nature of the capitalist state and turning away from the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat — which is essential in content, irrespective of the form it may take. These parties are placing undue reliance on the victories of the socialist world, less and less on the efforts of their own working class, led by their own Communist Parties.

In the struggle for peace, the basic need of our time, many parties are placing less and less reliance on masses in action and more reliance on top-level negotiations. (Such negotiations are necessary but they are NOT the major factor.) And they are placing too much reliance on bourgeois and petty-bourgeois peace-leaders. (Again, these friends are welcome. But they are not the sound basis of a peace movement.) The parties we are speaking about seem to lose sight of the fact that, for a Communist

Party, the struggle for peace is all-embracing and is, in effect, a struggle on all fronts against imperialism, the system which within itself contains the causes of modern war.

### National Liberation Movements

The role of the national liberation movements as a vital factor in the struggle for peace is lost sight of or given a very secondary place. They fail to see the significance of the forwarding of this movement everywhere, not only for national liberation as such. They also fail to see the need to aid the building of the Communist Parties in these national liberation areas in order to prepare the ground for the advance to the socialist revolution and thereby countering the growth of neo-colonialism. This is an important and personal question for our New Zealand Party. In our conditions, advance depends, to a degree, on the liberation movement of South-East Asia, but in the way of that success stands U.S. imperialism. Break the domination of U.S. imperialism in South-East Asia and to us the road is open wide.

Well, comrades, where does all this lead? Not only to a danger of a world split in our movement, but to a situation where no one can speak to-day of a monolithic socialist world and base a policy upon it. We find massive aid to India, which is receiving sufficient aid from the U.S. imperialists anyway (incidentally, as our delegation was coming back from our bi-lateral talks in Moscow, we landed in Delhi and there on the airfield we saw a U.S. Air Force plane alongside a Soviet-supplied troop transport and bomber), but all aid is rejected for socialist China. These people speak of preserving Socialism in Yugoslavia, but they reject aid to Albania. Well, we must overcome this. And the only way is by remaining firm on a correct Marxist-Leninist basis.

This situation has affected us considerably in New Zealand. From the 1957 Declaration, and later from the 1960 81 Parties' Statement, our Party saw clearly that new perspectives had opened up. The period of what we had termed "holding on" was past. We could, in the new objective conditions, make small but vital gains. We have done that. More could have been achieved by better work, by better leadership in our Party. And more still without this ideological dispute—this growth of revisionism.

We are a country where right-opportunism has always had a strong hold. We are a country which can claim to be among one of the classic examples of Social Democracy whose ideology has always infiltrated into our Party while our living standards have been among the highest in the capitalist world.

Why have easy ways to Socialism always attracted many people in New Zealand? Because this leads to talk but no action.

Now our country faces economic crisis. In New Zealand our prosperity relies on the export of our agricultural produce, the price of which is very uncertain in the world market. Our living standards are now falling. The capitalist class are solving the economic difficulties by placing the burden on the shoulders of the workers in town and country. Monopoly, mainly with headquarters overseas, is now a dominant feature of our economy. And, as the opportunities for exploitation in other areas disappear as a result of socialist victories, the monopolies are turning

to areas like New Zealand as a field for profitable exploitation in a much more extensive way than in the past.

### Conditions for Growth

So you see, when we say the objective conditions for an increase in the influence of the Communist Party and its growth are present, we are based on the facts of the position. These are borne out by the situation in our national trade union organisation, the Federation of Labour. Bitterly hostile for many long years to the Communists, to-day the economic policy it has adopted is almost the same policy, point for point, as that of the Communist Party of New Zealand. (That is, as far as the solution to the immediate problems facing the working class of New Zealand are concerned, although it still retains a reactionary foreign policy.) Our influence in the trade union movement is growing, our general party influence is growing and there has been a small but important growth in our party membership.

What, then, is our first main barrier in New Zealand? It is the role of the Social Democratic ideology on the minds of our working class. To build a wide united front of the working class, the first step towards a People's Alliance of town and country, of all opposed to monopoly, we in New Zealand must break that barrier. The favourable conditions of to-day are growing, but here again the importance of a correct ideological approach becomes paramount.

The ideological and tactical position of our world movement towards Social Democracy, wherever it is still a powerful influence over the minds of the working class and its allies, is one that greatly concerns us in the New Zealand Party. Lenin once referred to New Zealand as the "paradise of the Second International." Social Democracy in policy first appeared in legislative form in our country away back in the 1890's, in the policy carried out by the then Liberal-Labour Governments.

So we have a long history behind us as far as this problem is concerned.

What immediately concerns us is that, in our opinion, theories which are basically revisionist have cast aside as outdated or not applicable in the new conditions the classic theories of Marx and Lenin regarding the way to deal with Capitalism, Imperialism and Social Democracy. And this has created a widespread weakening in our world movement in approaching the vital question of Social Democracy, its theory and practice. This leads to the ignoring of the importance of the ideological side and to the regarding of Social Democracy as a genuine socialist trend or something that can be won, without any fundamental ideological change, into a useful ally in the struggle for Socialism.

### Confusing Tactics and Aim

This is not only dangerous, leading to the ignoring of the leading role of our Communist Parties as the party of the working class. It inevitably opens the door for the infiltration of Social Democratic ideology into our own ranks. We become a "ginger group" of left-wing Labour, failing to see that left Social Democracy is still a form of bourgeois ideology, on occasions as useful to the class enemy as right Social Democracy. (Sometimes it can be even more useful in betraying the workers' interests

because of its more militant words cloaking the reactionary deeds.)

It is not anti-Communism that has brought social reformism "to an ideological and political impasse." Anti-Communism was but the logical outcome of an ideological outlook based on Capitalism.

In our view, these erroneous theories lead to the danger of confusing the TACTICS of working with the masses under Social Democratic influence wherever possible with the AIM of eliminating Social Democratic ideology from the minds of the working people and of re-kindling a true working class outlook, an understanding of the correctness of our Marxist-Leninist approach, logically followed by conscious mass support for our Communist Parties. If we don't work in this way, our view is that the door is wide open for the entry of revisionism and the liquidation of our Communist Parties as Marxist-Leninist Parties.

### Dying Belief

In New Zealand as I said, we think that in developing more effective struggle around peace and against monopoly, along the lines of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement as applicable to the conditions of our country, the first stumbling-block we reach is the hold of Social Democratic ideology on the minds of the workers. For us the building of the united front of the working class is the starting point. And here, at once, this ideology stands in the way, leading to the acceptance of things as they are, the idea that it is hopeless to struggle, that all one has to do is rely on the Labour leaders, who themselves are the tools of monopoly as their policy clearly indicates. It leads to the concept that the leaders will fix it, the masses are unimportant, their full role is but to vote the right way once every three years. This is the situation facing us in New Zealand.

As we see it, Social Democracy is a bourgeois ideological trend and an important pillar upholding the reactionary rule of imperialism and monopoly capitalism. Lenin pointed out long ago that Social Democratic parties are a variant of bourgeois political parties. In the day-to-day struggle of the working-class movement, as well as in the struggle to safeguard world peace, Communists must, in every possible way, carry out extensive joint activities with the Social Democrats and the masses of the workers under their influence. But, at the same time, the Marxist-Leninist Parties must draw a strict and clear ideological line of demarcation between themselves and the Social Democratic parties and make efforts to win over the honest working-class elements, so as to enable these elements to free themselves from the ideological influence of Social Democracy, to understand Marxism-Leninism and to wage consistent class struggle against Capitalism and for the victory of Socialism.

As we see it in New Zealand, Social Democratic ideology, as a variant of bourgeois ideology, is itself losing much of its hold in the ranks of the workers. We do not want to create illusions that among the masses a working-class ideological outlook is emerging, firmly based on struggle. This is not so. But the belief that the New Zealand Labour Party is going to solve their problems the next time it is elected is dying rapidly. Social Democracy's

hold on the workers is tending to rely on the slim aspect that a majority of workers think the Labour Party is a little better than the other capitalist parties.

We consider that this is a logical development in the era of the transition from Capitalism to Socialism, in the days of the decline of imperialism on a world scale. We feel that this aspect is not brought out clearly on a world scale, but rather that illusions seem to be growing that the nature of Social Democracy is changing. How did Lenin outline the rise of Social Democracy in the workers' ranks and to what did he attribute its cause? In essence, he said that, from a world angle, out of the development of imperialism it became possible for Capitalism to create a "labour aristocracy" in the major industrial countries, without seriously cutting into the rising profits and imperialist expansion of that time. And that, in fact, the dampening-down of the class struggle in the industrialised countries gave them a favourable balance-sheet in any profit-and-loss account in that period.

We know that it was not Capitalism generously giving the masses of humanity a higher living standard, as some capitalist apologists try to persuade us. No, this was the period of the most brutal and intensive exploitation of their rapidly-expanding colonial empires. So, in countries where Social Democratic ideology now has a strong hold, there was room then to buy off the movement by flattery, by honours, by sinecure jobs for its leaders and, for the most effective section of the workers, by higher living standards. This tactic of the ruling class spread right through what we now have come to term the "West" and to certain portions of the British Empire of those days, such as Australia and New Zealand.

We have gone into this because it seems to us correct Marxism to say that, if the basic cause of the rise of Social Democracy was as Lenin stated, it logically follows that now, with imperialism in decline, its scope for exploiting activities dwindling and with few new areas to move into and with the consequent growing world crisis of imperialism, the material foundation of that ideology in the workers' ranks is also disappearing.

This concept that it is a dying ideology must be grasped fully and its implications realised, in order that the leading role of our Parties in such countries will emerge clearly and flexible tactics with firmness on principle become possible. If we do not have clarity, unnecessary concessions are made, illusions arise that essential united front work is an end in itself and, dropping all pretence of socialist objectives, that Labour leaders are no longer tools of the bosses — whether conscious or unconscious.

We consider that there is to-day just that lack of clarity. As we see it, the essential link between Social Democratic ideology and the lessening of its influence in the conditions of the decline of imperialism is missing.

The first break-through by our Marxist-Leninist Parties on this problem has yet to occur in the ranks of the labour movement in the classic countries of Social Democratic ideology. We do not think that the revisionist confusion between the uniting and working with the masses who support Social Democracy (and, when necessary, with Social Democratic leaders, right or left), and the strategical aim of eliminating Social Democratic ideology from the

ranks of the working class, will lead to anything but defeat and the fundamental betrayal of the working class and the revolution. In view of the growth of revisionism in our world movement, we consider such confusion is arising, though it can still be corrected if the danger is recognised.

I repeat that the growing world crisis of Capitalism is having an effect on the New Zealand economy. The very nature of our economy — dependent on the export of agricultural products — has given us higher living standards over the last 25 years. But, in the developing conditions in our world situation to-day, our capitalist economy in New Zealand is in a very weak position. We are a relatively weak link in the capitalist chain. It is the task of

the Communist Party of New Zealand to break that link. We pledge ourselves to spare no effort in that direction. It is our duty to our working class, to our people. It is our duty to proletarian internationalism.

I realise I have given you a lecture (in this latter part) on Social Democracy. I know you have not got quite those problems here, but I hope it may have been of some interest to you.

Long live the Communist Party of Indonesia!

Long live the heroic Indonesian people!

Long live world peace!

Long live the unity of our Marxist-Leninist movement!

## On the Collective Road

# Stockbreeding Flourishes in the Pasturelands

by LI TSUNG-HAI

NEW China has made spectacular progress in livestock breeding. Growth has been especially rapid in its pastoral areas. By 1962, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Chinghai and the pastoral districts of Kansu and Szechuan had 137.4 per cent more livestock — cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, sheep and goats — than in 1949, the year the People's Republic was founded.

These major stockbreeding areas report continued successes this year. Despite a long spell of drought in the stockbreeding year ending June 1963, the herdsmen of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region gained a net increase of more than 4 million head of livestock. This was the fifth consecutive year of steady growth. The region now has more animals than ever before.

To the west, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region increased its herds and flocks for the third year in succession. The people's communes in this region's 27 stockbreeding counties now have 50 per cent as many animals as in 1958 when the communes were organized here. These counties now have more than three times as many head of animals as they had at the time of liberation.

Tibet to the south has made new gains in animal husbandry for the fourth consecutive year. This advance began in 1959 when democratic reform began and put an end to Tibet's age-old serfdom and slavery and ruthless exploitation of the herdsmen. Over these past four years the average annual net increase in livestock has been 7.5 per cent. With 13.2 million head of yaks, horses, sheep, goats and other domestic animals, Tibet now has more livestock than ever in the past.

Two-fifths of China's territory is pasture grassland. Vast grazing grounds extend from the Khingan Mountains in the northeast through Inner Mongolia and the

Ordos Plateau (within the great bend of the Yellow River), over the slopes of the Altai and Tienshan Mountains in Sinkiang, and through the valleys and mountain slopes of the Tibetan Plateau of which western Szechuan is an extension. In these areas many of China's national minorities live in compact communities. Over two million of them living here engage in animal husbandry as their main productive occupation. They include such famous herding peoples as the Mongolians, Tibetans, Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Tajiks and Yukus. Inner Mongolia is the nation's leading pastoral region. Its more than 600,000 square kilometres of grassland, watered by over a dozen rivers, are concentrated mainly in its northeastern part but spread into other areas as well. Sinkiang's pastures stretch over a huge area of more than 300,000 square kilometres with the finest grazing grounds in the Altai, Tienshan and Kunlun Mountain areas.

With these great expanses of grazing land China is well placed to develop a flourishing livestock breeding economy. Great potentialities exist for growth. With better utilization, the country's grasslands can certainly support many more animals than at present. The major part of the nation's herds and flocks are being raised in these pastoral areas. They include a vast number of animals of improved breeds and between 40 and 50 per cent of the nation's mature female animals. All this provides a solid basis for further all-round growth; and this growth, steady and rapid, is assured by the existence of the socialist system in China and the leadership and policies of the Communist Party and the People's Government.

### Key Part of Socialist Economy

Animal husbandry, as a component part of agriculture, is a vital branch of China's national economy. The

growth of a modern socialist economy and advance in the nation's standards of living put increasing demands on it. In answering these demands livestock breeding in the pastoral areas is of key importance. These areas provide more marketable animals and animal products than the mixed farms of the crop-growing areas. They supply a great number of draught animals to the farms and send huge amounts of meat, milk, hides and wool to the food, tanning and textile industries and the general farm products market.

Livestock breeding is furthermore still the main productive occupation of the national minority peoples who live in the pastoral areas. Its growth is therefore essential to their economic advance, to raising their standards of living so as to free them finally from the poverty and backwardness left over from the past. China's socialist policy for the growth of animal husbandry in general and in the pastoral areas of the country in particular are designed to do just this.

The policies worked out for the development of animal husbandry in the pastoral areas designate livestock breeding as the chief economic task of these areas with other economic undertakings being developed around it. Energetic implementation of these policies will enable the pastoral regions to make full use of their local resources and bring into full play the rich experience accumulated over the centuries by their herdsmen. It will also enable these regions to make their maximum contribution in providing the nation with more and better food and clothing and other goods.

The development of a diversified economy pivoted on stockbreeding means guiding every undertaking to promote the growth of animal husbandry and serve its needs. In this sense the planting of vegetables and grain crops in the pastoral districts is therefore encouraged so long as their cultivation does not hamper the growth of the herds and flocks. Handicraft production, trade, communications and transport can all be developed in a way that helps the growth of stockbreeding.

### Eight Major Measures

For centuries the herdsmen led a nomadic life on these grasslands, herding their animals in a never ending round from pasture to pasture. This primitive, wandering life kept their economy backward and left them at the mercy of the disastrous natural calamities of drought, blizzards and epidemics that frequently beset them and inflicted heavy and often fatal losses on their flocks and herds. Today the herdsmen are being enabled to establish

permanent dwelling places and settlements around which the life of the pastures can revolve. This alone is a revolutionary change opening the way to better living conditions, better health and educational and cultural services and swifter growth of the local economy.

In addition, energetic efforts are being made to improve the overall situation in livestock breeding. These measures can be grouped roughly under the following eight heads:

- (1) water conservancy for the better provision of water for the needs of humans and livestock;
- (2) improved production and storage of fodder, improvement of pastures;
- (3) increasing the birth rate of herds and flocks;
- (4) improvement of breeds;
- (5) introduction of better ways of tending animals;
- (6) improved methods for the prevention and cure of animal diseases, better protection of herds and flocks against predatory beasts and losses due to natural calamities;
- (7) the building of more and better shelters for animals, and
- (8) tools reform.

Adequate fodder and water are essential for a prosperous pastoral economy and measures to assure these are a top priority in China's grasslands. Inner Mongolia has made notable progress in this field. It has a pasture research institute making studies in pasture management, mechanization in stockbreeding, haymaking and cultivation of fodder crops; and four technical aid stations which help the people's communes cut forage, sink wells, repair machines, build shelters for their animals and grow fod-



Watering station on a dry grassland, Inner Mongolia

der crops. Over the past five years some 23,000 wells have been sunk in the region, providing water for more than 30,000 square kilometres of dry grassland.

The region has also made outstanding progress in introducing improved and modern tools. In the past few years it has brought into general use a large number of mechanized and semi-mechanized devices for lifting water, mowing grass, cultivating fodder crops and processing dairy products. Coupled with the widespread use of improved tools, these measures have greatly raised productivity in its pastoral districts.

China's stockbreeding regions are raising more and more animals of improved breeds. The nation as a whole has almost 10 million head of cross-bred sheep which produce 2.5 to 3 times as much wool as indigenous breeds. The Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou, Sinkiang, has 80,000 horses and cattle of improved strains. Its improved milch cows give up to and over two and a half times as much milk as indigenous breeds.

The incidence of animal diseases has been reduced considerably and some of them have already been brought under control. As a result, the death rate of animals infected by diseases is falling sharply. Between 1957 and 1962, the number of animals killed annually by disease in Inner Mongolia was reduced from 5 to 1 per cent.

### Socialist Transformation

Chinese experience proves that a socialist collective economy guarantees the best conditions for the growth of stockbreeding. Liberation put an end to exorbitant taxes and levies and gave the herdsmen stable economic conditions. Under these conditions animal husbandry made big headway in the early years after liberation, but its further rapid progress came up against certain unresolved problems. These included the relative shortage of labour brought about by the rapid increase in the number of animals; the need for more rational use of grazing land that could only be achieved by unified planning and unified use; and the difficulties suffered by the poorer herdsmen in tending their animals and livelihood. All these problems hampered the further growth of livestock breeding and it was clear that their basic solution lay in the socialist transformation of the nation's pastoral economy. It consisted of two parts: transformation of the individual herdsmen's economy and transformation of the herd-owners' economy.

During the process of the socialist transformation of the herdsmen's economy, the principles of voluntariness and mutual benefit was strictly observed. These numerous, small individual economies owning a small number of animals joined together through mutual aid and co-operation and formed into large socialist collective economies — co-operative ranches.

The socialist transformation of the economy of the herd-owners took various forms. Some big herd-owners owned large numbers of livestock. In certain cases joint state and privately owned ranches were set up while in others the large private ranches were incorporated on equitable terms into state-owned ranches. The smaller herd-owners were admitted into the herdsmen's co-ops. Throughout this process political unity was maintained

with the herd-owners and they received due compensation for their animals and equipment. Those who were able to work have been given suitable posts in the state or the joint state-private ranches or herdsmen's co-ops and the livelihood of all is properly looked after.

Consummation of this process of socialist transformation has gradually ended exploitation of man by man on the grasslands and changed the system of ownership in animal husbandry from private, with its great extremes of affluence and poverty, to socialist which ensures common prosperity of the whole population.

In carrying out this transformation, the class line followed has been "reliance on the working herdsmen and unity with all the forces that can be united under the guidance of the Communist Party." The Party has specially emphasized the importance of relying on the poor herdsmen and other active elements in carrying out the socialist transformation of animal husbandry.

Particular care was taken that joining the co-operatives should be entirely voluntary. It was strictly forbidden to exercise compulsion on those herdsmen who did not wish at first to join the co-ops and these remained as individual herders until they were convinced by the success of the co-ops. It was clearly realized that compulsion could bring nothing good to the co-operative movement.

When the members brought their animals into the co-op they still kept their own personal riding horses, family milch cows, sheep which they needed for their own domestic consumption.

### People's Communes Formed

In the autumn of 1958, the herdsmen of the pastoral areas, like the peasants in the farming districts of China, combined their co-ops into people's communes. This was a natural outcome of the great expansion in livestock breeding. Compared with the co-ops, the communes can mobilize greater resources in manpower, materials and financial means to develop livestock raising and the pastoral areas; they can make more efficient use of the land and technical forces available and further rationalize their system of management. Over the past few years the commune form of organization has demonstrated its strength in undertaking a great deal of new capital construction (building animal shelters, digging wells, constructing reservoirs, etc.), in combating natural calamities and in raising and tending larger herds and flocks.

The people's communes in Silinhot, Inner Mongolia, have given a convincing example of how the communes have speeded up the growth of herds and flocks. In 1962 alone they achieved a 37 per cent gross increase in their number of livestock and rounded off the year with a net gain of 21 per cent. Between 1958 and 1962, one of the communes even doubled its number of animals.

Guided by the Party's general line for building socialism, the people's communes are turning the pastoral regions into new, socialist stockbreeding areas with flourishing herds, rich pastures and other related undertakings. On this economic basis the various nationalities of these regions are advancing in close unity and happiness to a life of economic prosperity and advanced culture.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Afro-Asian Representation

### Those For and Against

The 18th session of the United Nations ended with an eye-opening episode. The Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France tried but failed to block in the General Assembly two resolutions asking for broader Afro-Asian representation in the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Earlier these resolutions had been overwhelmingly approved in the Special Political Committee.

The Afro-Asian countries have good reason to demand a change. When the U.N. was founded, they were only 13 among 51 members; today, including Kenya and Zanzibar, they number 58 out of 113. Yet nothing has been done to make a corresponding upward adjustment of Afro-Asian membership in the main U.N. organs. To redress this discrimination, the Afro-Asian nations call for a Security Council of 15 instead of 11 and an Economic and Social Council of 27 instead of 18. This would give Afro-Asian nations the representation to which their numbers entitle them.

The United States is against these changes because it is afraid that a greater role for the Afro-Asian countries will hamper its own manipulation of the organization. The Soviet Union, for reasons best known to itself, also opposes the Afro-Asian resolutions. However, it didn't dare do so openly, but tried to create the false impression that it was acting in China's interest.

Soviet delegate to the U.N. Fedorenko made five speeches altogether on the resolutions. In the beginning, he professed sympathy for the Afro-Asians and made out that he was opposing the resolutions following China's advice. Even after the Chinese Foreign Ministry had issued a clear-cut statement supporting increased Afro-Asian representation and exposing Fedorenko's distortions, he still stuck to his allegation that "the Chinese Government is opposed to the solution of the question of representation in the main U.N. bodies through amendments in the [U.N.] Charter." He insisted that his "interpretation"

of China's December 12 statement was faithful to "its substance, not the peculiar way it is phrased."

This crude attempt to drive a wedge between China and the Afro-Asian nations misled no one. The Asian and African delegates were indignant at the Soviet Union's quibblings and shameful attempt to shift on to China the blame for its own strange attitude. The Albanian delegate, explaining China's stand, challenged Fedorenko: "Let us give up these unworthy manoeuvres. Let every country frankly take a position of whether or not it is in favour of the just claim of the countries of Africa and Asia."

The resolution to increase the seats in the Security Council was approved by 97 votes to 11, with four abstentions and that to increase the seats in the Economic and Social Council by 96 votes to 11, with five abstentions.

Speaking immediately after the voting, the Soviet delegate reiterated his country's opposition. He added that the resolutions had been adopted in form only as "not one of the permanent members of the Security Council, without whose consent the United Nations Charter cannot be amended, supported these resolutions."

## Dollar Empire

### What Price U.S. Aid

As the Christmas holidays approached in the United States, Congressmen faced the bleak prospect of remaining in session to squabble over the foreign aid appropriation bill for the next fiscal year. The Johnson Administration wanted more money and greater discretion, while Congress asked for more say and wanted to limit overseas "aid" to something under 3,000 million dollars. But despite accusations of a "legislative sit-down strike," the two branches of the U.S. Government were not really working at cross purposes. Democrats and Republicans alike are agreed on the general objectives and have even spelt out the details of using such aid to throw Wall Street's weight about in other countries. Witness the restrictions set forth in the authorization bill which received Congressional approval on December 13.

No aid funds may go to nations which have transported cargoes to Cuba by ships or aircraft. U.S. aid may be suspended for any country that has since January 1, 1962, committed "offences" against U.S.-owned property without taking steps to provide compensation, such as nationalization, "discriminatory" taxes or other measures that "have the effect of expropriation, nullification of existing contracts," and similar actions. No U.S. aid of any kind may be given to a country branded as "engaging in or preparing for aggressive military efforts" against the United States or another country receiving U.S. aid. After December 31, 1965, no U.S. aid may go to any country unless its government enters into an "investment guarantee agreement" with the United States. No U.S. aid may go to Indonesia without a presidential determination that it is "essential to the national interest of the United States," etc., etc.

What price U.S. aid? In the case of any country which trades with Cuba the price for being retained on the approved list is diminution, if not deprivation, of its sovereign rights. The Dollar Empire does not practise philanthropy; it pays the piper and expects to call the tune. U.S. foreign aid, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said plainly to the Senate Appropriations Committee on December 12, "is planned and administered to serve the aim of the United States. It is a prime instrument of U.S. foreign policy." There you have it, straight from the horse's mouth!

## Cambodia

### "Terribly Machiavellian"

Rusk's statement is amply borne out by his country's extraordinary behaviour to Cambodia. The United States initiated its "aid programme" for this kingdom in Southeast Asia in 1955. Not much at the beginning anyway, the "aid" dwindled over the years till in 1963 it came to just a little over 20 million dollars per annum, which is equivalent to what the United States spends in two weeks on its "special war" against the people in south Viet Nam. When he recently renounced all U.S. aid, the Head of State Prince Sihanouk had something to say on the price the Cambodian people had to pay for this American "generosity."

"U.S. aid has brought Cambodia enough humiliation," said the Prince. In the Cambodian journal *Nationalist* he told the world how "cynically and terribly Machiavellian" the self-appointed champion of liberty was in using aid — to quote Rusk again — "to serve the aim of the United States." U.S. aid, Prince Sihanouk said, was given to fight "an imaginary communist aggressor against Cambodia, and not against the real aggressors, Thailand and south Viet Nam, the mercenaries of the 'free world.'" And he explained why Cambodia must free itself from these bonds "which made it powerless and disgraced the country."

U.S. aid to Cambodia was of two kinds. Economic aid accounted for two-thirds of the total. The greater part of this was used to import American goods, anything from paper to potatoes; milk and bread, in particular, had to be imported in accordance with the U.S. "Food for Peace" programme. American luxury goods of no use to Cambodia's national construction were dumped on the country. The counterpart fund (the local money equivalent of "U.S. aid") was used to pay the salaries and living and travelling expenses of U.S. officials in Cambodia, including the costs of their housing, refrigerators, air conditioners and fancy imported foodstuffs.

Military aid accounted for the remaining one-third of U.S. aid. The arms given to Cambodia for "fighting communism" were obsolete and unserviceable and accompanied by conditions incompatible with Cambodia's independence and policy of neutrality. Such military aid was never intended for protecting the country's independence and territorial integrity. While the United States was palming off obsolete equipment on Cambodia, at the very same time it was arming so-called free Khmers in south Viet Nam to carry out subversive activities against the Cambodian Government and to plot against the life of Prince Sihanouk.

The pernicious effect of U.S. aid was not confined to the economic and military spheres. The United States set up schools to propagate the American way of life and poisoned the minds of the young with, for example, free showings of pornographic and sadistic Hollywood films. Now these American "cultural" organizations,

together with their military and economic counterparts, have been sent packing. It is good riddance, for the Cambodian people, as Prince Sihanouk said, "have suffered too long."

There is no doubt that the new frontiersmen in Washington will continue to proffer and manipulate U.S. aid in a manner calculated to put Cambodia again at their mercy. The offer to send former Secretary of State Dean Acheson to Phnom Penh for negotiations, which the State Department subsequently withdrew, is an indication of this. But though Cambodia may experience some difficulty, it "would never die after refusing U.S. aid," said Prince Sihanouk. In preferring independence with honour to U.S. aid with disgrace, Cambodia reflects the attitude of many other nations today. They are determined to fight the U.S. imperialists who want to enslave them by means of "aid."

### India

#### A Cat's-Paw

Despite all they did to prepare the way for sending the U.S. 7th Fleet into the Indian Ocean, the Pentagon brasshats must now realize that they underestimated the opposition that the news would arouse. If they have achieved anything at all, they have further exposed U.S. designs in Asia and exploded the myth of Nehru's non-alignment policy. India's collaboration with the U.S. Government has roused a hornets' nest because this expansionist move goes against the interests of all the peoples in Asia.

Pakistan, India's neighbour which has good reason to feel concerned about New Delhi's increasing military co-operation with Washington in Asia, is particularly alarmed by the part India is playing in this latest manoeuvre of U.S. imperialism. The press in both East and West Pakistan has torn aside the veil of non-alignment to reveal Nehru's true features.

Publicized reasons, such as "meeting the Chinese aggression," or "protection of both India and Pakistan," wrote the *Pakistan Times* on December 15, are only a cover to conceal the real purpose. In the opinion of that journal, "The main purpose is to overawe Pakistan and force it to come

to terms with India over the Kashmir issue and enter into a joint-defence arrangement against China." The *Indus Times*, after pointing out that the U.S. intended to convert the Indian Ocean into an American lake, said the whole project was designed to serve interests of both the Johnson Administration and the Nehru government which would undermine the security of other Southeast Asian countries.

The weekly *Outlook* (December 21) said that for Pakistan the presence of the U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean was unacceptable. "The political realities," it pointed out, "make it clear that the American Navy will in fact be the protective shield and possibly the striking arm of Indian expansionism."

Burma, India's neighbour to the east, adds its voice of condemnation. The *Working People's Daily*, organ of the Revolutionary Council of Burma, said on December 23 that "to extend the operations of the U.S. 7th Fleet to the Indian Ocean is an act of aggression." The All-Burma Peace Committee declared (December 17) that "the U.S. 7th Fleet is notorious for its aggression and intervention against Japan, Korea, China, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos and Indonesia. In expanding its operations, the United States aims at nothing short of threatening the independence, security and peace of the countries in Asia and suppressing the national-liberation movements in this region."

There have been similar reactions from other neighbours. Nepal to the north and Ceylon to the south have both criticized India for ganging up with the United States against the interests of the Asian peoples. The Nepalese paper, *Samaya Daily*, for example, in an editorial on December 21, said that the planned presence of the U.S. 7th Fleet equipped with nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean posed a threat to Southeast Asia. New Delhi's agreement to U.S. warships cruising in the vicinity of Indian waters, the paper pointed out, laid bare its military relationship with the United States.

In a Djakarta speech last week, President Sukarno condemned the U.S. move and ridiculed its attempts to frighten the peoples of Asia into giving up their struggles against imperialism. "Indonesia will not be



frightened by the U.S. 7th Fleet," he said. "We will continue our struggle to smash 'Malaysia,' even if there are two or three 7th Fleets." He recalled how the 7th Fleet had cruised menacingly in Pacific waters when the Indonesian people recovered West Irian and suppressed the rebel gangs inside the country. The United States, he said, should remember that it is meeting with rebuffs in south Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and should draw the proper lessons.

While the opposition is gathering force, the Indian Prime Minister has been hedging. For the third time in five days he took up the cudgels for his Washington friends, and, playing the innocent, dismissed the American move as of no significance because, he said, the Indian Ocean is "open to all." But the storm of criticism is tearing at the already tattered flag of his non-alignment. Even Indian bourgeois papers are showing anxiety that too close a collaboration with American imperialism might put India in a still more unfavourable light in Asia and Africa. "The argument that the U.S. move is intended to contain China further is not deserving of serious examination, for the China Seas are admittedly more suitable for such a purpose," said the Indian *Free Press Journal*. It reminded Nehru that this is not a happy position to be in, nor a comfortable one.

### NATO Meeting

#### The Leadership Vacuum

In recent years, each session of the NATO Council has provided a graphic illustration of weakening U.S. hegemony in the Western world. From the latest meeting (Dec. 16-17), it is clear that, taking advantage of the leadership vacuum created by Kennedy's death, the junior partners in the "Atlantic alliance" are asserting themselves ever more forcefully.

The contradictions between the United States and the West European countries are becoming deeper day by day. In the military field, France has openly called for a far-reaching revision of Washington's NATO strategy, a strategy which assigns to the West European countries the subordinate role of supplying conventional armed forces while reserving for the U.S. sole control over nuclear weapons. Along with France, Britain

has boycotted, and nearly all the other West European countries except West Germany have cold-shouldered, the U.S.-contrived "multilateral nuclear force." In the economic field, Washington faces the threat of being squeezed out of Western Europe by the Common Market Six. Trade discriminations and retaliations have ranged from chicken to steel, and a general tariff war is in the offing.

The Kennedy Administration failed to find a cure for these headaches. The Johnson Administration with its hands full at home is in a worse position. To avoid a direct challenge to Johnson's leadership, the U.S. delegation in Paris bypassed detailed discussion of pressing problems to concentrate on what it called the issue of East-West relations. All the same, while Rusk and McNamara boasted about U.S. nuclear strength and tried to sell the "multinational nuclear missile surface fleet," British Defence Minister Thorneycroft countered with a proposal for a "multilateral tactical nuclear force" in order to retain Britain's independent "strategic nuclear force." And France's Armed Forces Minister Messmer treated the U.S. statements with disdain, not even bothering to reply. In the end, as AFP commented, "troublesome problems such as quarrels over nuclear strategy, East-West trade and the multilateral nuclear force were swept under the rug."

Western official propaganda is trying to hide the differences between the U.S. and its partners. But they stick out like sore thumbs. We need only quote C.L. Sulzberger's dispatch (Dec. 11) in the *New York Times* to see Washington's ire at the eagerness of its allies to go their own way. With Kennedy slain and Adenauer retired, he wrote, the British Prime Minister

Douglas-Home "is suddenly looked to by his own Conservative Party as a kind of new leader in the West. . . . Britain hopes to resume its favourite role of diplomatic broker. It hopes to keep its particular bond with the U.S. but also to serve as a middleman in extricating Europe from its Parisian embrace. Furthermore, the British are again reminding themselves that they are still a world power with their own small nuclear deterrent." But, he continued, "a year hence the power scales, temporarily upset by human events, will have returned to normal. The British will be again consigned to that more modest role allotted by current history. And the United States will have fully resumed the personal leadership required by economics and atomics." This was supposed to be a warning to Britain, but in the context of what happened in Paris, was it not also meant for the French eye? However, the way things are shaping up in the Western world these days indicates that the U.S. position is fast deteriorating.

#### Diplomatic Winds

Washington reports indicate that Johnson the new U.S. President has no intention of meeting the Soviet leader Khrushchov in the foreseeable future.

In a television interview on December 15, Under-Secretary of State Ball said there were no plans in view for such a meeting. Johnson was ready to meet Khrushchov if it was felt concrete results would be achieved. But for the moment circumstances did not justify it, Ball stressed.

\* \* \*

Khrushchov has accepted an invitation to visit India. This was announced by Nehru to the *Lok Sabha* on December 16.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Oh, to Be a Neurotic!

How come the rich get richer and the poor poorer in the U.S.? According to New York psychiatrist Thomas S. Langner and his colleagues, it is primarily because the poor man, due to the mental stresses of poverty, develops a kind of psychotic behaviour which prevents him from ever playing the "success game" while the rich man has neuroses, which help rather than hinder him to get ahead.

The Langner formula:

Oh, to be rich and neurotic;  
never poor and psychotic!

# ART EXCHANGE

## Chinese Art Abroad

There is a lively exchange of art delegations, troupes and exhibitions between New China and other countries. Each exchange has been enthusiastically welcomed and has added to the international fund of better understanding and friendship among the peoples.

An incomplete listing shows in the last month of 1963 the following Chinese films being shown and art troupes and exhibitions visiting or just concluding visits abroad.

An exhibition of **modern traditional Chinese paintings**, after a highly successful showing in Tirana, is currently touring other parts of **Albania**. The exhibition displays 52 originals by some of China's foremost contemporary traditional painters. They include bird-and-flower, landscape and figure paintings by Li Ko-jan, Kuang Shan-yueh, Ho Tien-chien, Ho Hsiang-ning, Chien Sung-yen and Wu Tso-jeu. All were done in recent years and the exhibition is of particular interest as showing the development of an ancient artistic medium to reflect modern life.

The **Wuhan Acrobatic Troupe** of China is currently giving performances for typhoon victims in Santiago, in **Cuba's** eastern Oriente Province. The troupe has just concluded 22 performances in Havana and nearby suburban towns where it received the warmest of welcomes. Havana audiences called again and again for encores and the stormy applause was accompanied with shouts of "Long Live Fidel!" and "Long Live Mao Tse-tung!" Many went backstage or gathered outside the theatre entrances to congratulate the performers and exchange souvenirs with them. In *The World*, Cuban art critic Valdes Rodriguez gave high praise to the troupe's performances as reflecting the optimistic and courageous spirit of the Chinese people.

A **show of Chinese embroidery** opened in **Cairo** on December 3. On

display were over 70 pieces of embroidery from Hunan Province, the home of some of the finest embroiderers in China, as well as porcelain wares, stone carvings and bamboo work. "Wonderful," "excellent" and "impressive" were some of the adjectives used about the exhibition by the general public. One of the pieces which won the most praise was an embroidered landscape of Shaoshan County in Hunan, the birthplace of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Two Chinese films, *The White-Haired Girl* and *The Red Detachment of Women*, were warmly applauded by **Algerian** audiences when shown in three cinemas in Algiers on Dec. 8.

After one showing of *The Red Detachment of Women*, many of the audience and members of the Algerian People's Cinema Federation, which sponsored the showing, held a discussion on problems concerning the emancipation of Algerian women and their role in the revolution.

The Algerian weekly *African Revolution* carried an article in its latest issue warmly recommending the two Chinese films to readers. Commenting on *The White-Haired Girl*, the paper *Alger Republicain* described the heroine as a victim of the privileged class who had regained hope only after the people had won victory; now, it concluded, "the white-haired girl, with all Chinese women, is singing and laughing while building her happiness, for she has become the master of her destiny." "*The Red Detachment of Women*," the paper continued, "has told us not only about one woman but also about the many women in China who, with guns in their hands, fought against their oppressors and capitalism."

A **Chinese traditional painting and papercut exhibition** in Bamako, **Mali**, attracted wide attention. The 9-day exhibition displayed 80 originals and reproductions of classical and contemporary Chinese paintings and some one hundred papercuts.

Malian visitors delighted in the sketches drawn by the Chinese painter Chen Yin, who accompanied the exhibition. They were done by the artist in Mali and included one of the Bamako Bridge.

Malian Development Minister Seydou Badian Kouyate wrote in the visitors' book: "This is an excellent exhibition of Chinese art and thought. It has left a deep impression on visitors." A Bamako technician wrote his praise of "the rich and deep thought of Chinese popular art." Another termed the papercuts an "exquisite and vivid art."

Two full-length **coloured documentaries** recording the fourth visit of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to China and that of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to Cambodia earlier this year were enthusiastically received by **Cambodian** audiences in Phnom Penh in recent public showings. The films were produced by China's Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio and presented to Prince Sihanouk as gifts.

Tep Chhieu Kheng, well-known Cambodian cinema critic and director of the Cambodian News Agency, wrote in *Depeche Cambodge* that "it is absolutely necessary to see these two films." It was good to see what a rousing welcome the Chinese people gave to Prince Sihanouk, he said, and he praised the beautiful sequences of Chinese scenery. He congratulated the Chinese cameramen for making the films a work of art in praise of Cambodian-Chinese friendship.

During its month-long visit in **Pakistan** the **Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe** of China gave a total of 24 performances to over 130,000 people in Chittagong, Dacca, Lahore and Karachi. The troupe is one of China's best.

"Audiences were held spellbound," wrote the art critic of *Dawn* in an article commenting on the performances. The consensus of opinion, the article said, was that it was one of the best shows ever to come to Pakistan from any foreign country. "The visit of the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe had given the people of this country a much better idea of the characteristics of their Chinese neighbours and created a favourable and lasting impression. A people who can produce such perfect artists can produce men and women of skill and genius in every field. A nation which has such an excellent sense of humour must be endowed with the best of human qualities."

# PEKING REVIEW SUBJECT INDEX

Vol. VI. Nos. 27—52, 1963

	<i>Issue No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>		<i>Issue No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>		<i>Issue No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
<b>I. POLITICAL</b>								
<b>GENERAL</b>								
Make a Serious Study of the Marxist Theory of Knowledge	34	: 16	Urumchi Today	42	: 15	Solidarity With Negroes' Struggle in the United States	34	: 13
Cadres' Participation in Collective Productive Labour Is Vital to Socialism	35	: 15	Scenes of an Ili Autumn	48	: 20	Salute the Victory of the Hiroshima Conference	35	: 13
Why I Came to China at the Age of 72	38	: 19	Nahsi Literary Work Translated	50	: 27	The Torch That Sets Alight the Hearts of All Negro Peoples	35	: 22
Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at the National Day Reception	40	: 5	<b>The Week</b>			"Mao Tse-tung's Emancipation Proclamation for Afro-Americans"	35	: 23
Comrade Peng Chen's Speech at the National Day Celebrations in Peking	40	: 7	National Minority College Graduates	38	: 23	Uphold the Revolutionary Line of the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement	35	: 24
14th Anniversary of the Great People's Republic of China	40	: 13	Tibet's Fifth Bumper Harvest	42	: 5	Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Statement Opposing Aggression Against Southern Viet Nam and Slaughter of Its People by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem Clique	36	: 6
How We See China	43	: 18	Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region Anniversary	44	: 6	"Underdeveloped Economy": A Neo-Colonialist "Theory"	44	: 16
New Victory Over U.S.-Chiang Gang	45	: 15	More Workers of Minority Origin	46	: 5	A Tale of Two "Times"	44	: 19
The Victorious Road of National-Liberation War	46	: 6	No More Wooden Ploughs in Tibet	48	: 5	Lenin and Stalin on the Road of the October Revolution	45	: 7
A Blow at U.S. Policies of Aggression and War	46	: 19	More Schools for Minorities	49	: 5	The World Council of Peace Must Return to the Correct Path	49	: 12
Educational Exhibition	47	: 27	<b>II. INTERNATIONAL</b>					
"Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" (Vol. III) in Uighur	48	: 27	<b>GENERAL</b>					
Press Communique of National People's Congress	49	: 6	At the World Congress of Women	27	: 8	China Favours Increased Afro-Asian Representation in Principal U.N. Organs	51	: 20
Oppose Revisionism and Study Contemporary Revolutionary Problems	49	: 26	Common Task of the Women of the World	27	: 10	Premier Chou En-lai's Press Conference	52	: 12
<b>The Week</b>								
Armed U.S.-Chiang Agents Annihilated	27	: 25	Statements of the Chinese Women's Delegation	27	: 12	China Supports Broader Afro-Asian Representation in U.N.	52	: 14
N.P.C. Standing Committee Meets	28	: 6	Chinese, Korean and Japanese Trade Unionists Meet	27	: 19	<b>The Week</b>		
Army Day	32	: 6	The World Congress of Women	29	: 14	Workers' Solidarity	29	: 6
National Day Celebrations	40	: 3	Peking Acclaims Women Delegates From Asia, Africa and Latin America	29	: 17	Peking Welcomes Home Chinese Women's Delegation	30	: 3
N.P.C. to Meet	42	: 3	Report on the Moscow World Congress of Women	30	: 49	Support for 9th World Conference Against A-Bomb and H-Bomb	32	: 5
China Condemns Hostile U.S. Act	44	: 3	Resolution of Support for Actions of Chinese Women's Delegation Adopted by Peking Rally of Welcome	30	: 50	Peking Welcomes Asian-African Writers	33	: 5
Second Generation Revolutionaries	45	: 4	Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Statement Calling Upon the People of the World to Unite to Oppose Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism and Support the American Negroes in Their Struggle Against Racial Discrimination	33	: 6	Chairman Mao Receives Visitors	35	: 4
National People's Congress Opens	47	: 3	At the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs	33	: 28	World Scientists' Peking Centre	41	: 4
Supreme State Conference	47	: 4	Greetings to 9th Anti-A and H-Bombs Conference	33	: 29	1,200th Anniversary of Famous Monk's Death	41	: 19
National People's Congress Closes	49	: 3	Appeal for International Common Action	33	: 32	Buddhist Conference	43	: 4
C.P.P.C.C. Session Closes	50	: 4	A Proposal to World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs	33	: 33	Chairman Mao Receives Foreign Guests	45	: 3
Marshal Lo Jung-huan Dies	51	: 5	<b>Round the World</b>					
<b>NATIONAL MINORITIES</b>								
A Glimpse of Huhehot	28	: 19	Tin and Rice Dumping	27	: 22	Struggle Between Two Lines	31	: 21
China's Minority Nationalities Advance	39	: 27	A Demarche Thwarted	38	: 25			

	Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.
Accent on Anti-Imperialism	39	: 32	Peace Can Only Be Won Through Struggle	34	: 19	Resolutions of the National Committee of the C.P. of New Zealand	49	: 25
To Meet in Djakarta	45	: 30	The World Revolution's Van- guard and Leading Force	35	: 27	V.G. Wilcox's Report	49	: 26
Extraordinary Move	49	: 30	Marxist-Leninists, Unite!	36	: 28	An Example of Modern Re- visionism in Art	50	: 6
Conference in Karachi	51	: 25	We Have Friends and Com- rades All Over the World	36	: 41	Two Different Lines at the Warsaw Session	50	: 13
Those For and Against	52	: 23	The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves	37	: 6	Ceylon Marxist-Leninists to Convene C.P. 7th Congress to Establish Revolutionary Leadership	50	: 15
The Leadership Vacuum	52	: 25	The Indonesian Revolution and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party of In- donesia	37	: 26	"To All Marxist-Leninists In- side the Ceylon Communist Party"	50	: 16
Diplomatic Winds	52	: 25	Comrade Kang Sheng's Wel- coming Speech	37	: 27	Japanese Communist Party's Views on the "International Dispute"	50	: 17
<b>INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN RE- VISIONISM</b>			Outstanding Contributions of the Communist Party of In- donesia	37	: 36	Peaceful Coexistence — Two Diametrically Opposed Poli- cies	51	: 6
Chinese Communist Party Del- egation Leaves Peking for Moscow	27	: 4	Some Questions of the Indo- nesian Revolution and the Communist Party of Indo- nesia	37	: 37	The Leadership of the C.P.S.U. Has Taken the Revisionist Path	52	: 16
Statement of the Central Com- mittee of the Communist Party of China (July 1, 1963)	27	: 5	Reply to Khrushchov	37	: 39	<b>The Week</b>		
Statement of the Central Com- mittee of the Communist Party of China (July 5, 1963)	27	: 6	We Have Friends and Com- rades All Over the World	37	: 44	Indonesian C.P. Delegation	28	: 5
The Tito Group Sabotages In- ternational Communist Move- ment	27	: 15	Mounting Barrage of Slanders	37	: 46	Chairman Mao Receives E.F. Hill	31	: 4
The Tito Group's New Con- stitution	27	: 15	On the Question of Stalin	38	: 8	"Renmin Ribao" Publishes Khrushchov's Speech	31	: 6
Modern Revisionism Must Be Refuted	27	: 17	Khrushchov's Fairy Tales About the "Ruins of Impe- rialism"	38	: 15	Talks Between Chinese and Indonesian C.P. Comrades	36	: 4
Statement of the Central Com- mittee of the Communist Party of China	28	: 7	Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Coun- try?	39	: 14	Chairman Mao Tse-tung Meets New Zealand C.P. Leader	37	: 3
Statement of the Central Com- mittee of the C.P.S.U.	28	: 8	Kavelin Logic	39	: 29	Comrade Aidit — Honorary Member of Chinese Acad- emy	37	: 4
Self-Reliance and Independent National Economic Con- struction	28	: 9	Resolutions Adopted by Aus- tralian Communists at Mel- bourne Meeting	40	: 25	Aidit Returns to Peking	38	: 5
We Want Unity, Not a Split	29	: 7	E.F. Hill's Speech at Mel- bourne Meeting	40	: 26	Chairman Mao Meets Japa- nese C.P. Delegation	39	: 4
No Meddling in Sino-Soviet Differences by U.S. Imperia- lism	29	: 9	Hill Denounces Australian C.P. Leaders for Betraying Marx- ism-Leninism	40	: 27	Aidit Leaves Peking for South China	39	: 5
A Demarcation Line Must Be Drawn With the Renegade Tito Group	29	: 10	The New "Holy Alliance" Will End Up No Better Than the Old	41	: 12	Chairman Aidit Leaves for Home	40	: 28
Refutation of Revisionists' Calumnies Against National- Liberation Wars	29	: 19	Making a Momentous Choice	41	: 17	Norwegian Communist Par- ty's 40th Birthday	45	: 4
Safeguarding the Unity of the International Communist Movement	29	: 21	Peace or Violence?	42	: 17	Soviet Press Steps Up Slan- der	47	: 5
Peking Greeted Returning Chi- nese Communist Party Dele- gation	30	: 6	Apologists of Neo-Colonialism	43	: 6	Message to Japanese C.P. Leader	48	: 4
Communique on Talks Be- tween Delegations of C.P.C. and C.P.S.U. in Moscow	30	: 6	China's Staunch Stand Exerts Tremendous Influence	43	: 23	Japanese C.P. Leader Arrives in Peking	51	: 5
Statement by a Spokesman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China	30	: 9	Comprehensive Preparations Necessary for a World Meet- ing of Communist Parties	44	: 19	Soviet Press Continues At- tacks	51	: 5
A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the Interna- tional Communist Movement	30	: 10	The Truth About How the Leaders of the C.P.S.U. Have Allied Themselves With In- dia Against China	45	: 18	<b>Round the World</b>		
Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Its Party Organizations at All Levels and to All Its Party Members	30	: 27	Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace	47	: 6	Full-Scale Campaign Against C.P.C.	30	: 60
Once More the Chorus	31	: 18	Statement of Ten Central Com- mittee Members of the Ceylon Communist Party	48	: 9	Following the Baton	30	: 60
The Chorus Is Getting Increas- ingly Wild	33	: 35	Protesting the Revisionist Leadership of the Ceylon Communist Party	48	: 17	Indonesian C.P. Delegation	30	: 61
			Declaration of Australian Marxist-Leninists	49	: 20	<b>FOR THE TOTAL BANNING AND DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS</b>		
						U.S. Nuclear Fraud Exposed	30	: 47
						Statement of the Chinese Gov- ernment	31	: 7

	Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.
Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to All Government Heads	32	: 7	<b>Round the World</b>			Facts Speak for Themselves	40	: 29
People of the World, Unite! Strive for the Complete Prohibition and Thorough Destruction of Nuclear Weapons!	32	: 8	The Test-Ban Talks	30	: 61	No Peace With Imperialism	41	: 20
A Betrayal of the Soviet People!	32	: 10	<b>GANEF0</b>			Second Agrarian Reform	41	: 20
Thoroughly Expose the Reactionary Nature of the Tripartite Treaty	32	: 12	Team Selection for GANEF0	40	: 31	Cuba Indicts U.S.A.	42	: 25
Down With U.S. Nuclear War Plots, Destroy All Nuclear Arms	32	: 17	Special Radio Coverage of GANEF0	45	: 31	Teaching Washington a Lesson	45	: 30
For the Total Banning and Destruction of Nuclear Weapons	32	: 19	Hail the First Games of the New Emerging Forces	46	: 21	<b>CZECHOSLOVAKIA</b>		
On the Partial Nuclear Weapons Test Ban	32	: 20	GANEF0: New Wave in Sports and Friendship	47	: 16	Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement	35	: 9
The Tripartite Treaty—A Refreshed Version of the U.S.-British Draft	32	: 22	First GANEF0 Comes Through With Flying Colours	48	: 18	<b>The Week</b>		
The "General Line of Peaceful Coexistence" Leads to Capitulation	32	: 26	<b>The Week</b>			Protest Against Czechoslovakia's Unreasonable Demand	30	: 4
Right-About Turn	32	: 27	China Ready for GANEF0	27	: 26	Peking Welcomes Hsinhua Correspondents	31	: 5
U.S. Imperialism Rejoices at the Treaty, Its Appetite Grows With the Eating	32	: 34	Selecting Teams for GANEF0	38	: 5	Czechoslovak Government's Outrageous Action	35	: 3
Smash the Test Ban Treaty Fraud!	32	: 36	Chinese Sports Delegation for GANEF0	41	: 4	New Provocation in Prague	37	: 43
Statement by the Spokesman of the Chinese Government	33	: 7	<b>Round the World</b>			<b>GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC</b>		
Premier Kim Il Sung Supports Chinese Government Proposal	33	: 9	Breakthrough in Sports	40	: 29	Undermining the G.D.R.'s Position	35	: 12
The New Zealand Communist Party Supports Chinese Government Statement	33	: 10	<b>SOCIALIST COUNTRIES</b>			<b>KOREA</b>		
Statement of the Soviet Government	33	: 16	<b>ALBANIA</b>			Support for Korea's Anti-U.S. Patriotic Struggle	31	: 9
Why the Tripartite Treaty Does Only Harm and Brings No Benefit?	33	: 20	<b>The Week</b>			Korean People's Great Day	37	: 24
Smash the Imperialists' Nuclear War Schemes!	33	: 34	Albanian Army Day	28	: 5	Brilliant Chapter in Sino-Korean Friendship	38	: 6
Albanian Government's Statement	34	: 13	Albanian Army Day Reception	29	: 5	Chairman Liu Shao-chi in Korea	39	: 6
Premier Pham Van Dong Supports Chinese Government Proposal	34	: 14	Homage to Victims of Aeroplane Disaster	30	: 62	Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Speech at Pyongyang	39	: 8
More Exposure of the Tripartite Fraud	34	: 15	Birthday Greetings to Comrade Hoxha	43	: 3	Chairman Liu Shao-chi Returns From Korean Visit	40	: 15
Chairman Shehu's Reply to Premier Chou En-lai	35	: 11	Chairman Mao Receives Albanian Guests	47	: 4	Press Communique on Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Visit to Korea	40	: 16
Statement by the Spokesman of the Chinese Government	36	: 7	Sino-Albanian Friendship	48	: 4	Grave Distortions of Korean History by "World History"	49	: 18
Statement of the Soviet Government	36	: 16	Albania's Liberation Anniversary	49	: 4	<b>The Week</b>		
Further Exposure of Soviet Leaders' Acts of Betrayal	36	: 26	Sino-Albanian Trade	50	: 4	Sino-Korean Solidarity	29	: 3
<b>The Week</b>			<b>BULGARIA</b>			Korea's Liberation Anniversary	34	: 3
Partial Nuclear Test Ban—What the Chinese Press Says	31	: 3	<b>The Week</b>			Chairman Liu to Visit Korea	37	: 3
Mass Organizations Oppose Tripartite Treaty	34	: 4	Bulgarian Anniversary	37	: 5	Support for Korea	40	: 28
			<b>CUBA</b>			Anniversary of C.P.V.'s Entry Into Korean War	44	: 4
			China Celebrates Cuba's July 26	31	: 12	Report on Chairman Liu's Korean Visit	46	: 3
			Chinese Party and State Leaders' Message of Greetings to Cuban Leaders	31	: 13	Anniversary of Sino-Korean Agreement	48	: 3
			No Hurricane Can Overpower the Cuban People	43	: 22	Liu Shao-chi Receives Korean Artists	51	: 4
			<b>The Week</b>			Important Korean Medical Find	51	: 5
			Supporting Cuba	35	: 4	<b>Round the World</b>		
			Chairman Mao Receives Cuban Guests	43	: 4	Trouble-Making on 38th Parallel	33	: 37
			Chairman Mao Receives Cuban Poet	49	: 4			
			<b>Round the World</b>					
			New Moves Against Cuba Aggression Unlimited	29	: 29			
				35	: 20			

	Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.
<b>MONGOLIA</b>								
<b>The Week</b>								
Anniversary of Mongolian People's Revolution	29	: 5	Boundary Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Afghanistan	48	: 7	Big Station for Big Lies	29	: 24
<b>RUMANIA</b>						Negotiations for More Arms	30	: 61
<b>The Week</b>						Buttering Up to the Chiang Gang	31	: 20
Sino-Rumanian Co-operation	28	: 5	<b>The Week</b>			New Delhi Cries "Wolf!"	33	: 37
Rumania's Liberation Anniversary	35	: 5	Sino-Afghan Boundary Negotiations	32	: 6	Soviet Helps Military Build-Up	34	: 25
<b>SOVIET UNION</b>			Draft Sino-Afghan Boundary Treaty Approved	44	: 5	Shoot or Shut Up	40	: 29
Chinese Foreign Ministry Strongly Protests Against Unreasonable Soviet Demand	27	: 7	<b>CAMBODIA</b>			War Drums Beat Louder	44	: 21
Statement of Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman	27	: 8	Prince Sihanouk's Reply to Premier Chou En-lai	35	: 12	Soviet Shot in the Arm	45	: 30
Speculators at Large in Moscow	34	: 21	The Voice of Peace and Justice From Phnom-Penh	43	: 16	Joint Air Exercise	46	: 25
What a "Collective Farm"!	34	: 22	Chinese Government's Statement	48	: 8	7th Fleet on the Prowl	51	: 24
"Cucumber Plague"	35	: 28	<b>The Week</b>			A Cat's-Paw	52	: 24
Private "Hotels" Mushroom in Orenburg	35	: 29	Chairman Liu Shao-chi Receives Cambodian Guests	38	: 5	<b>INDONESIA</b>		
Operation Restraint	41	: 19	Resolute Support for Cambodia	39	: 4	Chinese Leaders Receive Indonesian Artists	43	: 31
Peking Celebrates the October Revolution	45	: 5	Cambodia's Complete Independence Anniversary	46	: 4	<b>The Week</b>		
<b>The Week</b>			Sino-Cambodian Air Transport Agreement	48	: 5	Chairman Liu Receives Indonesian Sports Delegation	30	: 62
Unreasonable Soviet Demand for Recall of Chinese Personnel	27	: 3	<b>Round the World</b>			Indonesian Air Force Delegation	31	: 5
Provocative Incident in Moscow	27	: 25	Judging by Facts	39	: 31	Chairman Mao Receives Indonesian Women's Delegation	33	: 5
Peking Welcomes Five Chinese Back From Moscow	28	: 3	Some Pertinent Questions	47	: 24	Indonesia's National Day	34	: 4
Anti-China Provocation in Moscow	37	: 5	Red Faces in Washington	48	: 24	Indonesian Minister in Peking	42	: 4
New Soviet Provocations	38	: 4	A Slap in the Face	51	: 24	<b>JAPAN</b>		
Welcome for Expelled Chinese	39	: 3	"Terribly Machiavellian"	52	: 23	The Japanese Industrial Exhibition	41	: 15
Message of Greetings	45	: 6	<b>INDIA</b>			<b>The Week</b>		
Premier Chou En-lai Receives Soviet Amity Delegation	48	: 4	Masquerade and Truth	27	: 20	Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement	39	: 4
<b>Round the World</b>			Indian Reactionaries in the Anti-China Chorus	29	: 12	China-Japan Friendship Association Founded	41	: 3
Where Silence Speaks Volumes	38	: 25	India's Grave Step to Menace Asian Peace	31	: 14	Government Leaders Receive Japanese Ensemble	41	: 22
Barghoorn — and the Back-down	47	: 24	Statement by the Spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs	34	: 6	Sino-Japanese Fisheries Agreement	46	: 4
<b>VIET NAM</b>			No One Can Save the Indian Reactionaries From Their Political Bankruptcy	35	: 6	Liu Shao-chi Meets Japanese Comrades	49	: 4
<b>The Week</b>			New Delhi's "Great Debate"	38	: 22	<b>Round the World</b>		
China Backs Vietnamese People's Demands	30	: 5	India Has No Sincere Wish for Negotiations	42	: 6	Justice for Matsukawa Victims	38	: 24
V.D.R. National Day Celebrated	36	: 5	Chinese Foreign Ministry's Note	42	: 9	China, Yes! U.S., No!	46	: 25
China Supports Vietnamese People	38	: 3	The Brooding Storm Over India	46	: 14	Reflecting the Basic Trend	49	: 29
Chairman Liu Receives Vietnamese Journalists	42	: 4	<b>The Week</b>			<b>LAOS</b>		
<b>ASIA</b>			Forgeries in Indian Press	34	: 5	<b>The Week</b>		
<b>AFGHANISTAN</b>			Call to Free Victimized Chinese	36	: 5	"Two Chinas" Plot in Laos	43	: 5
The Sino-Afghan Boundary Treaty Signed	48	: 6	One More Indian Minister Discredited	43	: 4	China Protests at Nosavan's Slanders	47	: 5
<b>Round the World</b>			India Returns Evil for Good	44	: 5	<b>Round the World</b>		
Why the Rumour-Mongering?	28	: 15	<b>Round the World</b>			One Anniversary, Two Policies	28	: 15
<b>Round the World</b>			Behind the Vientiane Incident	38	: 24	Plotters Will Get Wet	46	: 25

	Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.		Issue No.	Page No.
<b>U.S. AGGRESSION AGAINST SOUTH VIET NAM</b>			A Visit for Friendship, Solidarity and Peace			Chinese Exhibition in Mexico		
Support the South Vietnamese People's Heroic Struggle	36	: 24	Premier Chou En-lai's Visit to U.A.R.	51	: 19			50 : 5
Curfew Shall Not Ring Tonight!	39	: 30	China-U.A.R. Joint Communique	52	: 6	<b>Round the World</b>		
The New Supply Sergeant	41	: 18	<b>The Week</b>			Washington and the Coup	31	: 20
Foreign Ministry Statement	43	: 15	"South African Freedom Day"	27	: 26	Two Coups, One Lesson	42	: 25
U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of South Viet Nam!	45	: 28	Ghanaian National Day Reception	27	: 27	. . . Tweedledee	43	: 30
The Saigon Coup—What Does It Mean?	47	: 19	Algeria's Anniversary	28	: 5	Whitehall Reneges	46	: 26
<b>The Week</b>			Support for African Peoples	30	: 62	Oil Consortium's Big Squeeze	47	: 25
U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of South Viet Nam!	29	: 4	Peking Welcomes Somalia's Prime Minister	32	: 3	Shaky Alliance, No Progress	48	: 24
Chairman Mao Receives South Vietnamese Delegation	36	: 3	Chairman Mao Receives John D. Marks	32	: 5	"The O.S. Ministry of Colonies"	50	: 25
The People Oppose U.S. Imperialism	52	: 4	Chairman Mao Receives African Guests	33	: 3	<b>U.S.A.</b>		
<b>Round the World</b>			Sino-Somali Friendship	33	: 4	The American Negroes Will Triumph	33	: 24
U.S.-Dien Rule Tottering	35	: 30	Sino-Ghanaian Friendship	34	: 4	A New Chapter in Kennedy's "Strategy of Peace"	40	: 22
Behind U.S.-Inspired Commission	42	: 25	Guests From Africa	36	: 4	China Reaffirms Support for American Negroes' Struggle	42	: 10
The World Must Know	43	: 29	Welcome for Kenyan Friends	37	: 4	U.S. Plot to Use U.N. Against China Will Fail	44	: 14
Backing S. Viet Nam's Struggle	44	: 21	Sino-Guinean Friendship	38	: 5	"Kennedy Notes From All Over"	44	: 20
The Ways of Imperialism	49	: 29	Mali Republic Anniversary	39	: 5	The American Way of Death	50	: 21
New Label, Old Policy	51	: 24	Guinean, National Day	41	: 5	<b>Round the World</b>		
<b>OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES AND REGIONS</b>			Sino-Algerian Friendship	42	: 3	"Strategy of Peace"	27	: 21
"Malaysia"—Offspring of Neo-colonialism	40	: 23	Tanganyikan Guest in Peking	42	: 4	Armaments, Not Disarmament	29	: 23
<b>The Week</b>			Chairman Mao Receives Tanganyikan Guests	44	: 3	Uncle Sam in the Red	31	: 21
China-Pakistan Air Link	36	: 4	Chairman Mao Receives Mozambique Guest	48	: 4	War Preparations Go On	33	: 37
Nepalese Guests	44	: 4	Tanganyikan President to Visit China	49	: 4	To the Streets	35	: 30
<b>Round the World</b>			Vice-Premier Chen Yi Arrives in Kenya	50	: 3	Sunday School Murder	41	: 21
The Food Crises	27	: 21	Premier Chou to Visit African Countries	50	: 3	Worldwide War Preparations	47	: 24
The Maphilindo Proposal	28	: 16	Zanzibar's Independence Day	50	: 4	What Price U.S. Aid	52	: 23
Malaysia Scheme Under Fire	29	: 24	Premier Chou En-lai in Cairo	51	: 3	<b>OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD</b>		
No to U.S. Dictation	31	: 20	Exchange of Ambassadors With Zanzibar and Kenya	51	: 4	Britain Sees an Opportunity Not to Be Missed	32	: 36
An Unwanted Child	39	: 31	Premier Chou En-lai in Algiers	52	: 3	<b>The Week</b>		
U.S. Pressure Tactics	39	: 32	Diplomatic Relations With Burundi	52	: 11	Edgar Faure Visits Peking	44	: 5
Dollars and the Mailed Fist	41	: 21	<b>Round the World</b>			Chinese Leaders Receives Edgar Faure	45	: 3
Tweedledum. . .	43	: 30	One Vast Prison	27	: 22	<b>Round the World</b>		
U.S. Moves In	44	: 22	Cat Out of the Bag	29	: 23	The Fight Goes On	27	: 21
Peace Talks Break Down	48	: 25	Successful Armed Struggle	33	: 38	The Loosening U.S. Grip	28	: 15
Dutiful Pow-wow	49	: 29	Arms for Apartheid	34	: 25	Buddies Together	35	: 31
Inspired Discrimination	49	: 29	Nationalization Measures	41	: 20	Exit Macmillan	43	: 29
First Year, First Round	51	: 25	Initial Victory	41	: 20	Pedlar of Shoddy Goods	44	: 22
<b>AFRICA</b>			The Cup Is Brimming Over	44	: 21	"Centre-Left" Government	50	: 25
Africa's Rising Star	28	: 13	Militant Journalism	47	: 25	<b>III. ECONOMIC</b>		
Joint Communique of Chinese and Somali Governments	33	: 26	Africans Seek Peaceful Solution	48	: 24	<b>GENERAL</b>		
China Hails Independent Algeria	45	: 17	Double-Dealing	50	: 25	All-Round Improvement in China's Economy	34	: 8
Africa Will Be Free	49	: 16	<b>LATIN AMERICA</b>			Building a Prosperous Land	40	: 10
The Burning Fire of the Equator	50	: 20	<b>The Week</b>					
			Support for Venezuelan People's Struggle	48	: 5			

	Issue No.	Page No.
1963 Successes of China's Economy	40	: 17
Building an Independent, Comprehensive and Modern National Economic System	49	: 9
<b>The Week</b>		
Chinese Exhibitions Abroad	41	: 5
Autumn Export Commodities Fair	43	: 5

**INDUSTRY**

Chemical Industry Serves Agriculture	29	: 25
Situation in Industry — Good	31	: 16
The Socialist Industrialization of China	41	: 6
Loyang Tractor Plant	47	: 22
Machine-Building Industry Grows	50	: 22

**The Week**

New Successes in Steel	29	: 6
Thriving Pharmaceutical Industry	32	: 39
Anshan Rings the Bell	35	: 4
Industry Flourishes in Sinkiang	42	: 5
New Developments in Metallurgical Industry	43	: 5
New Metallurgical Records	46	: 5
Emulating Shanghai	48	: 5
Peking's Growing Textile Industry	49	: 5
To Catch More Whales	49	: 5
Electronic Computers Aid Economy	50	: 5
Maritime Industry	50	: 5

**RURAL PEOPLE'S COMMUNE, AGRICULTURE AND WATER CONSERVANCY**

Kwangtung Beats 200-Day Drought	28	: 17
People's Communes Register Big Gains	42	: 12
Collectivization of Agriculture in China	44	: 7
Visit to a People's Commune at Harvest Time	46	: 23
Stockbreeding Flourishes in the Pasturelands	52	: 20

**The Week**

Good Wheat Harvest	28	: 6
Good Early Rice Crop	31	: 5
Brisk Fruit and Vegetable Market	32	: 38
North China Fights Flood Menace	34	: 5
National Cotton Conference	37	: 5
Good Industrial Crops	44	: 6
Successful Land Reclamation in Sinkiang	45	: 4

	Issue No.	Page No.
Latest Reports on Good Harvests	46	: 4
Agricultural Bank of China Inaugurated	47	: 4
Anti-Erosion Programme for Loess Plateau	49	: 4

**IV. CULTURAL**

**ART, HANDICRAFT, PHOTOGRAPHY**

Foochow Papercut Exhibition	28	: 23
Japanese Painting Exhibition	29	: 31
40 Years Behind the Camera	33	: 39
Pictures of Frontline Fighters	38	: 26
The Works of Ghanaian Artist Prof. E.V. Asihene	38	: 27
Sketches of the Frontier	38	: 27
Nahsi Artist	40	: 31
New Things in Peking Crafts	42	: 27
Hsu Pei-hung Exhibition	46	: 27
Hsu Pei-hung and His Art	51	: 26

**LITERATURE, POETRY, PUBLISHING**

Revolutionary Art and Literature: Their Educative Role	27	: 23
Poets Celebrate Dragon-Boat Festival	28	: 23
Peking Commemorates Mayakovsky	31	: 22
Poets Back Negro Struggle	37	: 47
Story-Telling: Modern Style	40	: 30
Albums of Contemporary Artists	41	: 22
"The Dream of the Red Chamber" and Its Author	43	: 25
Collective Farmers Tell Their Story	44	: 23
Children's Literature	46	: 27
Peasants' Library Publishing House Founded	49	: 31
Peking Library — Treasure House of Culture	51	: 21

**THEATRE, CINEMA, MUSIC, DANCING**

Preview: Animated Films	28	: 22
Science and Educational Films Festival	28	: 23
Comedies From Fukien and Shanghai	29	: 29
The Army's Own Entertainers	31	: 23
Peking Troupes Back From Villages	34	: 26
Chinese Pianist for Cuba	38	: 27
Korean Film Week	38	: 27
Getting Ready for National Day	39	: 33
"The Younger Generation"	40	: 30
Peking Greets Japan's "Warabiza"	41	: 22

"Naval Battle of 1894"	42	: 26
Solidarity Is the Theme Song	43	: 31
A Unique Vocal Recital	46	: 27
After-Harvest Fun	47	: 26
Shanghai Acrobats in Djakarta	47	: 27
Korean "Red Flag" on Chinese Stage	48	: 26
"Gate No. 6"	50	: 26
Peasants' Singing Contest	50	: 26
Chinese Art Abroad	52	: 26

**EDUCATION, SCIENCE, ARCHAEOLOGY**

Mongolian Language Developments	42	: 26
New Ape-Man Fossil Discovered	45	: 31
Treasury of Stone Sculpture	48	: 27
Huo Chu-ping Tomb Carvings Exhibited	48	: 27
Wildlife Study on Chinghai Highlands	50	: 27

**The Week**

More Books on Science	31	: 6
New Forces for Socialist Construction	31	: 6
More Post-Graduates	43	: 28
Students in Suburban Farms	44	: 15
Modern Labs Spur Research	47	: 4

**HEALTH, SPORT**

Shanghai "Weiqi" Tournament	28	: 23
Indonesian Badminton Team in China	29	: 31
A Major Success in Chinese Surgery	34	: 23
Indonesian Sportsmen Visit China	34	: 27
Japanese Volleyball Teams in China	34	: 27
Physical Exercises to Music	45	: 31
"Weiqi" in China	49	: 31

**The Week**

Socialist Armies' Basketball Championship Opens	35	: 5
Socialist Armies' Basketball Championship	37	: 5
National Congress on Surgery	39	: 5

**V. SOCIAL**

Readers Compare Yesterday and Today	34	: 24
Artificial Hands for Fisherman's Boy	47	: 26

**The Week**

Fresh Water for Hongkong	27	: 27
More Bank Savings	45	: 4