

PEKING REVIEW

51

December 20, 1963

Peaceful Coexistence — Two Diametrically Opposed Policies

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and *Hongqi* commenting on the open letter of the Central
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Other Features*

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

by the Editorial Departments of
Renmin Ribao and *Hongqi*

(Published in various languages)

**The Origin and Development of the Differences
Between the Leadership of the C.P.S.U. and Ourselves**

– Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

On the Question of Stalin

– Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (II)

Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?

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– Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (IV)

Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace

– Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (V)



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December 20, 1963 Vol. VI No. 51

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Cairo on a friendly visit at the invitation of President Nasser and Chairman Aly Sabry. He is given a rousing welcome by the U.A.R. Government and people.

- The editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* published "Peaceful Coexistence — Two Diametrically Opposed Policies" — their sixth commentary on the July 14 open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

- China has established diplomatic relations with Zanzibar and Kenya, the two African countries which proclaimed independence last week.

- A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement stressing the Chinese Government's unswerving support for the efforts of Asian and African countries to increase their seats in the main U.N. organs. The statement exposed the Soviet delegate's distortion of China's attitude in this connection at the Special Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly.

- Twenty Chinese people's organizations sent messages to their Korean counterparts denouncing the U.S. aggressive troops in south Korea who killed peaceful civilians with an atomic shell.

- Many industrial enterprises report fulfilment or overfulfilment of their 1963 production plans.

- Carrying forward the fine revolutionary tradition of serving the working people, more than 170 well-known writers, artists and musicians recently left Peking in seven groups for the rural areas in various provinces. They are the second group from the capital this year to take revolutionary culture to the countryside.

- Under the heading "The U.S.-Supported 'Malaysia' Plan Must Be Smashed," *Renmin Ribao* reported the meeting in Djakarta of the Central Council of the Indonesian National Front marking the first anniversary of the founding of the North Kalimantan Unitary State.

- *Renmin Ribao* published the full text of the thesis "On the *Kyungrak* System" by Professor Kim Bong Han of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and his research group. The paper hailed the Korean scientists' discovery of this system in the human body as a major scientific achievement of world significance.

Premier Chou En-lai in Cairo

Premier Chou En-lai was given a rousing welcome when he and his party arrived in Cairo on December 14 on a visit of friendship at the invitation of Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, and Aly Sabry, Member of the Presidential Council and Chairman of the Executive Council of Ministers.

Premier Chou's special plane landed at Cairo International Airport at 11 a.m. As soon as he alighted, Chairman Aly Sabry went forward to welcome him on behalf of President Nasser. These two old friends who first made each other's acquaintance at the Bandung Conference in 1955 and who renewed their friendship when Chair-

man Sabry visited Peking last April exchanged warm handshakes as they greeted each other. Also welcoming the Chinese Premier at the airport were Kamaledin Rifaat, Member of the Presidential Council and Chairman of the U.A.R. Mission of Honour, and other high-ranking officials and officers. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi, who had arrived in Cairo earlier to join Premier Chou on his visit after attending the independence ceremony in Nairobi of Kenya, was also present.

An impressive welcoming ceremony was held at the airport. A 21-gun salute boomed out. Accompanied by Chairman Sabry, Premier Chou re-

viewed a guard of honour. Then two little girls in festive costumes presented him with bouquets. A burst of thunderous applause from the welcoming crowds greeted the Chinese guests as they walked to the hall of the airport building.

Premier Chou issued a written statement at the airport. He expressed thanks for President Nasser's invitation to visit the United Arab Republic, and paid tribute to its people, to the new emerging and independent African states and their peoples, and to all the militant peoples of Africa. In the company of Chairman Aly Sabry, Premier Chou then drove in a car to the Republican Palace at Kubba where he would stay during his visit. On his way through the city, China's Premier was greeted by thousands upon thousands of people lining the beflagged thoroughfares and squares.

On the evening of his arrival, Premier Chou paid a call on President Nasser. When his car drew up at the President's residence at Manchiet El Bakri, President Nasser was waiting at the door for him. They embraced and greeted each other as old friends who first met at the Bandung Conference and together laid the cornerstone for Chinese-U.A.R. friendship. The Premier presented gifts to the President who personally conferred on his distinguished guest the "Collar of the Republic," a high award of the U.A.R.

That same evening, President and Madame Nasser gave a reception in honour of their Chinese guests at the brightly illuminated Abdin Palace. Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, also attended. In their speeches at the reception, both President Nasser and Premier Chou spoke warmly of the growing friendship between the two countries and the two peoples. President Nasser expressed his warm welcome for Premier Chou and gave his best wishes to the Chinese people. Said the President: "Here, you will find many who have long awaited your visit to the United Arab Republic; you will find them all filled with boundless admiration for and appreciation of the revolution of great China and its decisive victory. You will find them all following with the greatest interest the achievements of the gigantic Chinese revolution, wishing it every success from the bottom of their hearts." Recalling the develop-



Premier Chou En-lai, President Nasser, and Vice-Premier Chen Yi at the Reception

ment of the national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa since the Bandung Conference and the struggle of the people of the U.A.R. in taking back the Suez Canal, the President said that the peoples of the world stood by his people. "It pleases me," he added, "to hail and express appreciation of the great people of China who were foremost among those peoples."

Expressing thanks to President Nasser, Chairman Aly Sabry and the U.A.R. Government and people for the warm welcome, Premier Chou En-lai said that the Chinese Government and people had always supported the U.A.R. people and the 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 due rights. "Our two countries," said Premier Chou, "have concluded trade and cultural agreements and have been fruitfully co-operating 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." The Premier expressed the hope that his visit would further promote mutual understanding and strengthen the ties of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

On December 15, the Premier and the President held talks. Later the Premier, in the company of the President, saw a special performance of

Egyptian folk dances at the Cairo Opera House.

Exchange of Ambassadors With Zanzibar and Kenya

China has established diplomatic relations with Zanzibar and Kenya — the two new African countries which proclaimed independence last week. This was announced in joint communiques issued by the Governments concerned. Diplomatic representatives at ambassadorial level will be exchanged.

In their messages of greetings on this happy occasion, Premier Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Chen Yi wished the two new countries continual successes in the cause of safeguarding their national independence and national construction.

Renmin Ribao in its editorial columns hailed the establishment of diplomatic relations with these two countries as important landmarks in the development of China's friendly relations with the peoples of Zanzibar and Kenya. It expressed wishes for the further strengthening and development of this friendship forged in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Liu Shao-chi Receives Korean Artists

Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, received and had a cordial, friendly talk on December 14 with the Korean

dance-drama delegation led by Chang Woong Hwan.

The same evening, he attended the joint performance of the well-known Korean dance-drama *Red Flag* given by the visiting Korean artists and Chinese dancers. After the show, he congratulated the Korean and Chinese dancers on a most successful performance.

Marshal Lo Jung-huan Dies

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced with deep sorrow that Marshal Lo Jung-huan died on December 16 in Peking at the age of 61.

Marshal Lo had been sick for some time. He was a Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and a Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council.

Japanese C.P. Leader Arrives In Peking

Katsumi Kikunami, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, arrived in Peking on December 10 as guest of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He was welcomed at Peking airport by Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the C.P.C.'s Central Committee.

Important Korean Medical Find

Chinese scientists have enthusiastically acclaimed a remarkable new discovery in modern biology and medical science made by a group of their Korean colleagues. Working as a team under Professor Kim Bong Han, they have discovered what is called the *Kyungrak* System, an independent functional-morphological system which runs through the whole human body. It consists of structures found at a number of points in the body (*Kyunghyul* positions) and in tubular structures linking them. It has been established that the former exists not only in the skin but also deep in the body and that tubular structures run inside the blood vessels and the lymphatic vessels. The liquid that flows inside the tubular structures contains much desoxyribo nucleic acid.

Formal announcement of the new discovery was given at a meeting held on November 30 in Pyongyang, Korea, and attended by many noted Korean professors, doctors and specialists in biology and medicine. It was here that Professor Kim Bong Han read his paper "On the *Kyungrak* System" describing the new discovery and the work of his research group.

The scientists attending the meeting gave a high appraisal of the discovery made by Professor Kim and his colleagues. They unanimously agreed to the proposal made at the meeting that the structures newly discovered in the *Kyunghyul* positions be named "Bonghan Corpuscles," the tubular structures linking them be called "Bonghan Ducts" and the liquid running inside the tubular structures, "Bonghan Liquid," in honour of Professor Kim Bong Han.

Writing in the Chinese press, Chang Hsi-chun, Professor of Physiology of the Chinese Academy of Medical Science and the China Medical College, declared that the brilliant achievements of Professor Kim and his research group were of world significance in the fields of morphology, experimental physiology, biochemistry, and histochemistry. He pledged that Chinese medical scientists would cherish these new achievements and would work wholeheartedly together with the Korean scientists for the further development of science.

Hailing the successes scored by the Korean scientists, *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator said that these achievements blazed new paths for scientific research on many basic problems in biology such as genetics, cell differentiation, the functions of protein and metabolism. "The new findings," continued Commentator, "have created favourable conditions for the investigation and elucidation of certain problems of importance to human life relating to modern biochemistry, normal control of the functions of organisms, the causes and development of diseases, recuperation, improvement of health and longevity. The successes made by the Korean scientists will no doubt open broad new prospects for modern biology and medical science."

Soviet Press Continues Attacks

Despite its so-called appeal to put an end to "open polemics," the Soviet

press has continued to publish attacks and slanders against China.

When Khrushchov, leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, met a group of Soviet and foreign journalists on October 25, he told them that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. "have always believed and still believe that the most sensible thing" would be "to put an end to the polemics between Communist Parties." On November 24, *Pravda* published its opinion that Khrushchov's suggestion accorded with the "supreme interests" of the communist movement and of all the forces of socialism. In an editorial in its issue No. 48, *New Times* also took the same line, saying that the C.P.S.U. firmly stood against open polemics.

But in spite of these statements, the Soviet press has continued the unbridled anti-Chinese campaign started by it more than four months ago. An incomplete check shows that even after Khrushchov made his statement to the journalists, from October 28 to November 10, Soviet national and local papers published 38 anti-Chinese editorials, articles, "letters from readers," dispatches and cartoons. And during the period from the end of October to the latter part of November, 65 more editorials and articles attacking Chinese leaders and slandering the Chinese Communist Party were printed in national and local journals, including *Communist*, *International Affairs*, *World Economy and International Relations*, *Political Self-Study*, *Vneshnaia Torgovlia* (Foreign Trade), *New World* and *Sovietskaya Latvija* (Soviet Latvia). *Asia and Africa Today*, in its issue No. 11, published five anti-Chinese articles in an attempt to poison China's relations with other Asian and African countries.

The Soviet journals, with lame arguments, have also continued their attacks on China's line in building socialism, the people's communes and the general policy of economic construction with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. Such anti-Chinese propaganda in the Soviet press has completely exposed the hypocrisy and ulterior motives lying behind the C.P.S.U. leadership's call for an end to open polemics.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE—TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED POLICIES

Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee Of the C.P.S.U. (6)

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

SINCE the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Khrushchov and other comrades have talked more about the question of peaceful coexistence than about anything else.

Again and again the leaders of the C.P.S.U. claim that they have been faithful to Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence and have creatively developed it. They ascribe to their policy of "peaceful coexistence" all the credit for the victories won by the peoples of the world in prolonged revolutionary struggles.

They advertise the notion that imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, supports peaceful coexistence, and they wantonly malign the Chinese Communist Party and all Marxist-Leninist parties as being opponents of peaceful coexistence. The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. even slanders China as favouring "competition in unleashing war" with the imperialists.

They describe the words and deeds by which they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian world revolution and the revolutionary cause of the oppressed peoples and nations as being in conformity with Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

But can the words "peaceful coexistence" really serve as a talisman for the leaders of the C.P.S.U. in their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism? No, absolutely not.

We are now confronted with two diametrically opposed policies of peaceful coexistence.

One is Lenin and Stalin's policy of peaceful coexistence, which all Marxist-Leninists, including the Chinese Communists, stand for.

The other is the anti-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, the so-called general line of peaceful coexistence advocated by Khrushchov and others.

Let us now examine Lenin and Stalin's policy of peaceful coexistence and the stuff Khrushchov and others call the general line of peaceful coexistence.

Lenin and Stalin's Policy of Peaceful Coexistence

It was Lenin who advanced the idea that the socialist state should pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence towards countries with different social systems. This correct policy was long followed by the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

The question of peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist countries could not possibly have arisen prior to the October Revolution, since there was no socialist country in existence. Nevertheless, on the basis of his scientific analysis of imperialism, Lenin foresaw in 1915-16 that "socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time." ("The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Vol. 1, Part 2, p.571.) In other words, within a certain period of time, socialist countries would exist side by side with capitalist or pre-capitalist countries. The very nature of the socialist system determines that socialist countries must pursue a foreign policy of peace. Lenin said, "Only the working class, when it wins power, can pursue a policy of peace not in words . . . but in deeds." ("Draft Resolution on the Current Moment in Politics," *Collected Works*, fourth Russian ed., Gospolitizdat, Moscow, Vol. 25, pp.291-92.) These views of Lenin's

can be said to constitute the theoretical basis of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin proclaimed to the world on many occasions that the foreign policy of the Soviet state was one of peace. But the imperialists were bent on strangling the newborn socialist republic in its cradle. They launched armed intervention against the Soviet state. Lenin rightly pointed out that confronted with this situation "unless we defended the socialist republic by force of arms, we could not exist." ("Report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party [Bolsheviks] at the Eighth Party Congress," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. 8, p.33.)

By 1920 the great Soviet people had defeated the imperialist armed intervention. A relative equilibrium of forces had come into being between the Soviet state and the imperialist countries. After trials of strength over several years, the Soviet state had stood its ground. It began to turn from war to peaceful construction. It was in these circumstances that Lenin advanced the idea of a policy of peaceful coexistence. In fact, from that time onwards the imperialists had no choice but to "coexist" with the Soviet state.

During Lenin's lifetime, this equilibrium was always highly unstable and the socialist Soviet Republic was subject to stringent capitalist encirclement. Time and again Lenin pointed out that owing to the aggressive nature of imperialism there was no guarantee that socialism and capitalism would live in peace for long.

In the prevailing conditions, it was not yet possible for him to define at length the content of the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. But the great Lenin laid down the correct foreign policy for the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and advanced the basic ideas of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

What were Lenin's basic ideas on this policy?

First, Lenin pointed out that the socialist state existed in defiance of the imperialists' will. Although it adhered to the foreign policy of peace, the imperialists had no desire to live in peace with it and would do everything possible and seize every opportunity to oppose or even destroy the socialist state.

Lenin said:

International imperialism . . . could not . . . live side by side with the Soviet Republic, both because of its objective position and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class which are embodied in it. . . . ("Report on War and Peace," Delivered to the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party [Bolsheviks], *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. 2, Part 1, p.422.)

Further:

. . . the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable. ("Report of the Central Committee of the

Russian Communist Party [Bolsheviks] at the Eighth Party Congress," *Selected Works*, New York, Vol. 8, p.33.)

He therefore stressed time and again that the socialist state should maintain constant vigilance against imperialism.

. . . the lesson all workers and peasants must master is that we must be on our guard and remember that we are surrounded by men, classes and governments openly expressing their extreme hatred for us. We must remember that we are always at a hair's breadth from all kinds of invasions. ("On the Domestic and Foreign Policies of the Republic, Report Delivered at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets," *Collected Works*, fourth Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 33, p.122.)

Secondly, Lenin pointed out that it was only through struggle that the Soviet state was able to live in peace with the imperialist countries. This was the result of repeated trials of strength between the imperialist countries and the Soviet state, which adopted a correct policy, relied on the support of the proletariat and oppressed nations of the world and utilized the contradictions among the imperialists.

Lenin said in November 1919:

That is the way it always is—when the enemy is beaten, he begins talking peace. We have told these gentlemen, the imperialists of Europe, time and again that we agree to make peace, but they continued to dream of enslaving Russia. Now they have realized that their dreams are not fated to come true. ("Speech Delivered at the First All-Russian Conference on Party Work in the Countryside," *Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p.326.)

He pointed out in 1921:

. . . the imperialist powers, with all their hatred of Soviet Russia and desire to throw themselves upon her, have had to reject this thought, because the decay of the capitalist world is increasingly advancing, its unity is becoming less and less, and the pressure of the forces of the oppressed colonial peoples, with a population of over 1,000 million, is becoming stronger with each year, each month and even each week. ("Speech at the Conclusion of the Tenth National Conference of the Russian Communist Party [Bolsheviks]," *Collected Works*, fourth Russian ed., Vol. 32, pp.412-13.)

Thirdly, in carrying out the policy of peaceful coexistence, Lenin adopted different principles with regard to the different types of countries in the capitalist world.

He attached particular importance to establishing friendly relations with countries which the imperialists were bullying and oppressing. He pointed out that "the fundamental interests of all peoples suffering from the yoke of imperialism coincide" and that the "world policy of imperialism is leading to the establishment of closer relations, alliance and friendship among all the oppressed nations." He said that the peace policy of the Soviet state "will increasingly compel the establishment of closer ties between the R.S.F.S.R. [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and a growing number of neighbouring states." ("The Work of the Council of People's Commissars, Report Delivered at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets," *Selected Works*, New York, Vol. 8, pp.251 and 252.)

Lenin also said:

We now set as the main task for ourselves: to defeat the exploiters and win the waverers to our side—this task is a worldwide one. The waverers include a whole series of bourgeois states, which as bourgeois states hate us, but on the other hand, as oppressed states, prefer peace with us. ("Report on the Work of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars," *Collected Works*, fourth Russian ed., Vol. 30, p.299.)

As for the basis for peace with the imperialist countries, such as the United States, he said: "Let the U.S. capitalists refrain from touching us." "The obstacle to such a peace?" From our side, there is none. From the side of the American (and all the other) capitalists, it is imperialism." ("Reply to Questions by the Correspondent of the American Newspaper, *New York Evening Journal*," *Collected Works*, fourth Russian ed., Vol. 30, p.340.)

Fourthly, Lenin advanced the policy of peaceful coexistence as a policy to be pursued by the proletariat in power towards countries with different social systems. He never made it the sum total of a socialist country's foreign policy. Time and again Lenin made it clear that the fundamental principle of this foreign policy was proletarian internationalism.

He said:

Soviet Russia considers it her greatest pride to help the workers of the whole world in their difficult struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. ("To the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Red Army Deputies," *Collected Works*, fourth Russian ed., Vol. 33, p.379.)

In the Decree on Peace issued after the October Revolution, while proposing an immediate peace without annexation or indemnities to all the belligerent countries, Lenin called upon the class-conscious workers in the capitalist countries to help, by comprehensive, determined, and supremely vigorous action, "to bring to a successful conclusion the cause of peace, and at the same time the cause of the emancipation of the toiling and exploited masses of the population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation." ("Report on Peace," delivered at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 2, Part 1, p.331.)

The Draft Programme of the Party which Lenin drew up for the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party laid down explicitly that "support of the revolutionary movement of the socialist proletariat in the advanced countries" and "support of the democratic and revolutionary movement in all countries in general, and particularly in the colonies and dependent countries" constituted the important aspects of the Party's international policy. (*Selected Works*, New York, Vol. 8, p.334.)

Fifthly, Lenin consistently held that it was impossible for the oppressed classes and nations to coexist peacefully with the oppressor classes and nations.

In the "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International," he pointed out:

... the bourgeoisie, even the most educated and democratic, now no longer hesitates to resort to any fraud or crime, to massacre millions of workers and peasants in order to save the private ownership of the means of production. (*Selected Works*, New York, Vol. 10, p.164.)

Lenin's conclusions were:

... the very thought of peacefully subordinating the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of the peaceful, reformist transition to Socialism is not only extreme philistine stupidity, but also downright deception of the workers, the embellishment of capitalist wage slavery, concealment of the truth. (ibid.)

He repeatedly pointed to the hypocrisy of what the imperialists called the equality of nations. He said:

The League of Nations and the whole postwar policy of the Entente reveal this truth more clearly and distinctly than ever; they are everywhere intensifying the revolutionary struggle both of the proletariat in the advanced countries and of the masses of the working people in the colonial and dependent countries, and are hastening the collapse of the petty-bourgeois national illusion that nations can live together in peace and equality under capitalism. ("Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 2, Part 2, p.464.)

The above constitute Lenin's basic ideas on the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Stalin upheld Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence. In the thirty years during which he was the leader of the Soviet Union, he consistently pursued this policy. It was only when the imperialists and reactionaries made armed provocations or launched aggressive wars against the Soviet Union that she had to wage the Great Patriotic War and to fight back in self-defence.

Stalin pointed out that "our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of two opposite systems is possible" and that "the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us." ("Political Report of the Central Committee" delivered at the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. [B.], *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, Vol. 10, p.296.)

He also pointed out:

The peaceful coexistence of capitalism and communism is quite possible provided there is a mutual desire to cooperate, readiness to carry out undertaken commitments, and observance of the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. (Stalin, "Replies to Questions of American Editors," *Pravda*, April 2, 1952.)

While upholding Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence, Stalin firmly opposed withholding support from other people's revolutions in order to curry favour with imperialism. He forcefully pointed out two opposite lines in foreign policy, "either one or the other" of which must be followed.

One line was that "we continue to pursue a revolutionary policy, rallying the proletarians and the oppressed of all countries around the working class of the U.S.S.R. — in which case international capital will do everything it can to hinder our advance."

The other was that "we renounce our revolutionary policy and agree to make a number of fundamental concessions to international capital — in which case international capital, no doubt, will not be averse to 'assisting' us in converting our socialist country into a 'good' bourgeois republic."

Stalin cited an example. "America demands that we renounce in principle the policy of supporting the emancipation movement of the working class in other countries, and says that if we made this concession everything would go smoothly. . . . perhaps we should make this concession?"

And he answered in the negative, ". . . we cannot agree to these or similar concessions without being false to ourselves. . . ." ("The Work of the April Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission," *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 11, pp.58-60.)

These remarks of Stalin's are still of great practical significance. There are indeed two diametrically opposed foreign policies, two diametrically opposed policies of peaceful coexistence. It is an important task for all Marxist-Leninists to distinguish between them, uphold Lenin and Stalin's policy and firmly oppose the policy of betrayal, capitulation and withholding support from revolution as well as the policy which converts a socialist country into a "good" bourgeois republic — policies which Stalin denounced.

The Communist Party of China Upholds Lenin's Policy of Peaceful Coexistence

The open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. alleges that the Chinese Communist Party "lacks faith in the possibility of peaceful coexistence" and slanderously accuses it of opposing Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

Is this true? No. Of course not.

Anyone who respects facts can see clearly that the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China have unswervingly pursued Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence with great success.

Since World War II, a fundamental change has taken place in the international balance of class forces. Socialism has triumphed in a number of countries and the socialist camp has come into being. The national-liberation movement is growing apace and there have emerged many nationalist states which have newly acquired political independence. The imperialist camp has been greatly weakened and the contradictions among the imperialist countries are becoming increasingly acute. This situation provides more favourable conditions for the socialist countries to carry out the policy of peaceful coexistence towards countries with different social systems.

In these new historical conditions, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have enriched Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence in the course of applying it.

On the eve of the birth of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

. . . we proclaim to the whole world that what we oppose is exclusively the imperialist system and its plots against the Chinese people. We are willing to discuss with any foreign government the establishment of diplomatic

relations on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, provided it is willing to sever relations with the Chinese reactionaries, stops conspiring with them or helping them and adopts an attitude of genuine, and not hypocritical, friendship towards People's China. The Chinese people wish to have friendly co-operation with the people of all countries and to resume and expand international trade in order to develop production and promote economic prosperity. ("Address to the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. 4, p.408.)

In accordance with these principles set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we laid down our foreign policy of peace in explicit terms first in the Common Programme adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949 and subsequently in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted by the National People's Congress in September 1954.

In 1954 the Chinese Government initiated the celebrated Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. They are mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Together with other Asian and African countries, we formulated the Ten Principles on the basis of the Five Principles at the Bandung Conference of 1955.

In 1956 Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up our country's practical experience in international affairs and further explained the general principles of our foreign policy.

To achieve a lasting world peace, we must further develop our friendship and co-operation with the fraternal countries in the camp of socialism and strengthen our solidarity with all peace-loving countries. We must endeavour to establish normal diplomatic relations on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit with all countries willing to live together with us in peace. We must give active support to the national independence and liberation movement in countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as to the peace movement and to just struggles in all countries throughout the world. ("Opening Address to the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.")

In 1957 he said:

To strengthen our unity with the Soviet Union, to strengthen our unity with all socialist countries — this is our fundamental policy, herein lies our basic interest.

Then, there are the Asian and African countries, and all the peace-loving countries and peoples — we must strengthen and develop our unity with them.

As for the imperialist countries, we should also unite with their peoples and strive to coexist in peace with these countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbour any unrealistic notions about them. (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.)

In our foreign affairs over the past 14 years, we have adopted different policies towards different types of countries and varied our policies according to the different conditions in countries of the same type.

1. We differentiate between socialist and capitalist countries. We persevere in the proletarian international-

ist principle of mutual assistance with regard to socialist countries. We take the upholding and strengthening of the unity of all the countries in the socialist camp as the fundamental policy in our foreign relations.

2. We differentiate between the nationalist countries which have newly attained political independence and the imperialist countries.

Although fundamentally different from the socialist countries in their social and political systems, the nationalist countries stand in profound contradiction to imperialism. They have common interests with the socialist countries—opposition to imperialism, the safeguarding of national independence and the defence of world peace. Therefore, it is quite possible and feasible for the socialist countries to establish relations of peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation with these countries. The establishment of such relations is of great significance for the strengthening of the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and for the advancement of the common struggle of the peoples against imperialism.

We have consistently adhered to the policy of consolidating and further developing peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation with countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time, we have waged appropriate and necessary struggles against countries such as India which have violated or wrecked the Five Principles.

3. We differentiate between the ordinary capitalist countries and the imperialist countries and also between different imperialist countries.

As the international balance of class forces grows increasingly favourable to socialism and as the imperialist forces become daily weaker and the contradictions among them daily sharper, it is possible for the socialist countries to compel one imperialist country or another to establish some sort of peaceful coexistence with them by relying on their own growing strength, the expansion of the revolutionary forces of the peoples, the unity with the nationalist countries and the struggle of all the peace-loving people, and by utilizing the internal contradictions of imperialism.

While persevering in peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems, we unswervingly perform our proletarian internationalist duty. We actively support the national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working-class movements of Western Europe, North America and Australasia, the people's revolutionary struggles, and the people's struggles against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for world peace.

In all this we have but one objective in view, that is, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as the nucleus, to unite all the forces that can be united in order to form a broad united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

On the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the Chinese Government over the past ten years and more has established friendly relations with many countries having different social systems and promoted economic and cultural exchanges with them. China has

concluded treaties of friendship, of peace and friendship or of friendship, mutual assistance and mutual non-aggression with the Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana. She has successfully settled her boundary questions with Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc., questions which were left over by history.

No one can obliterate the great achievements of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government in upholding Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

In manufacturing the lie that China opposes peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. are prompted by ulterior motives. To put it bluntly, their aim is to draw a veil over their own ugliness in betraying proletarian internationalism and colluding with imperialism.

The General Line of "Peaceful Coexistence" Of the C.P.S.U. Leaders

It is not we, but the leaders of the C.P.S.U., who in fact violate Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have lauded their concept of peaceful coexistence in superlative terms. What are their main views on the question of peaceful coexistence?

(1) The leaders of the C.P.S.U. maintain that peaceful coexistence is the overriding and supreme principle for solving contemporary social problems. They assert that it is "the categorical imperative of modern times" and "the imperious demand of the epoch."¹ They say that "peaceful coexistence alone is the best and the sole acceptable way to solve the vitally important problems confronting society"² and that the principle of peaceful coexistence should be made the "basic law of life of the whole of modern society."³

(2) They hold that imperialism has become willing to accept peaceful coexistence and is no longer the obstacle to it. They say that "not a few government and state leaders of Western countries are now also coming out for peace and peaceful coexistence,"⁴ and that they "understand more and more clearly the necessity of peaceful coexistence."⁵ In particular they have loudly announced a U.S. President's "admission of the reasonableness and practicability of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems."⁶

(3) They advocate "all-round co-operation" with imperialist countries, and especially with the United States. They say that the Soviet Union and the United States "will be able to find a basis for concerted actions and efforts for the good of all humanity"⁷ and can "march hand in hand for the sake of consolidating peace and establishing real international co-operation between all states."⁸

(4) They assert that peaceful coexistence is "the general line of foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp."⁹

(5) They also assert that "the principle of peaceful coexistence determines the general line of foreign policy of the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties,"¹⁰ that it is "the basis of the strategy of communism" in the

world today, and that all Communists "have made the struggle for peaceful coexistence the general principle of their policy."¹¹

(6) They regard peaceful coexistence as the prerequisite for victory in the peoples' revolutionary struggles. They hold that the victories won by the people of different countries have been achieved under "conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems."¹² They assert that "it was precisely in conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems that the socialist revolution triumphed in Cuba, that the Algerian people gained national independence, that more than forty countries won national independence, that the fraternal Parties grew in number and strength, and that the influence of the world communist movement increased."¹³

(7) They hold that peaceful coexistence is "the best way of helping the international revolutionary labour movement achieve its basic class aims."¹⁴ They declare that under peaceful coexistence the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in capitalist countries has grown. They believe, moreover, that the victory of socialism in economic competition "will mean delivering a crushing blow to the entire system of capitalist relationships."¹⁵ They state that "when the Soviet people will enjoy the blessings of communism, new hundreds of millions of people on earth will say: 'We are for communism!'"¹⁶ and that by then even capitalists may "go over to the Communist Party."

Just consider. What do these views have in common with Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence?

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence is one followed by a socialist country in its relations with countries having different social systems, whereas Khrushchov describes peaceful coexistence as the supreme principle governing the life of modern society.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence constitutes one aspect of the international policy of the proletariat in power, whereas Khrushchov stretches peaceful coexistence into the general line of foreign policy for the socialist countries and even further into the general line for all Communist Parties.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence was directed against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, whereas Khrushchov's peaceful coexistence caters to imperialism and abets the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence is based on the standpoint of international class struggle, whereas Khrushchov's peaceful coexistence strives to replace international class struggle with international class collaboration.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence proceeds from the historical mission of the international proletariat and therefore requires the socialist countries to give firm support to the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations while pursuing this policy, whereas Khrushchov's peaceful coexistence seeks to replace the proletarian world revolution with pacifism and thus renounces proletarian internationalism.

Khrushchov has changed the policy of peaceful coexistence into one of class capitulation. In the name of

peaceful coexistence, he has renounced the revolutionary principles of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960, robbed Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary soul, and distorted and mutilated it beyond recognition.

This is a brazen betrayal of Marxism-Leninism!

Three Differences of Principle

On the question of peaceful coexistence the difference between the leaders of the C.P.S.U., on the one hand, and ourselves and all Marxist-Leninist parties and indeed all Marxist-Leninists, on the other, is not whether socialist countries should pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is an issue of principle concerning the correct attitude towards Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence. It manifests itself mainly in three questions.

The first question is: In order to attain peaceful coexistence, is it necessary to wage struggles against imperialism and bourgeois reaction? Is it possible through peaceful coexistence to abolish the antagonism and struggle between socialism and imperialism?

Marxist-Leninists consistently maintain that as far as the socialist countries are concerned, there is no obstacle to the practice of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The obstacles always come from the imperialists and the bourgeois reactionaries.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were advanced to combat the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Under these principles, it is impermissible in international relations to encroach upon the territory and sovereignty of other countries, interfere in their internal affairs, impair their interests and equal status or wage aggressive wars against them. But it is in the very nature of imperialism to commit aggression against other countries and nations and to desire to enslave them. As long as imperialism exists, its nature will never change. That is why intrinsically the imperialists are unwilling to accept the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Whenever possible, they try to disrupt and destroy the socialist countries and they commit aggression against other countries and nations and try to enslave them.

History shows that it is only owing to unfavourable objective causes that the imperialists dare not risk starting a war against the socialist countries, or are forced to agree to an armistice and to accept some sort of peaceful coexistence.

History also shows that there have always been sharp and complex struggles between the imperialist and socialist countries, which have sometimes culminated in direct military conflicts or wars. When hot wars are not in progress, the imperialists wage cold wars, which they have been ceaselessly waging ever since the end of World War II. In fact, the imperialist and the socialist countries have been in a state of cold-war coexistence. At the same time as they actively expand their armaments and prepare for war, the imperialist countries use every means to oppose the socialist countries politically, economically and ideologically, and even make military provocations and war threats against them. The imperialists' cold war

against the socialist countries and the latter's resistance to it are manifestations of the international class struggle.

The imperialists push on with their plans of aggression and war not only against the socialist countries but throughout the world. They try to suppress the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples and nations.

In these circumstances, the socialist countries, together with the people of all other countries, must resolutely combat the imperialist policies of aggression and war and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism. This class struggle inevitably goes on, now in an acute and now in a relaxed form.

But Khrushchov is impervious to these inexorable facts. He proclaims far and wide that imperialism has already admitted the necessity of peaceful coexistence, and he regards the anti-imperialist struggles of the socialist countries and of the people of the world as incompatible with the policy of peaceful coexistence.

In Khrushchov's opinion, a socialist country has to make one concession after another and keep on yielding to the imperialists and the bourgeois reactionaries even when they subject it to military threats and armed attack or make humiliating demands which violate its sovereignty and dignity.

By this logic, Khrushchov describes his incessant retreats, his bartering away of principles and docile acceptance of the U.S. imperialists' humiliating demands during the Caribbean crisis as "a victory of peaceful coexistence."

By the same logic, Khrushchov describes China's adherence to correct principles on the Sino-Indian boundary question and her counter-attack against the military onslaught of the Indian reactionaries, an act of self-defence by China when the situation became intolerable, as "a violation of peaceful coexistence."

At times, Khrushchov also talks about struggle between the two different social systems. But how does he see this struggle?

He has said, "The inevitable struggle between the two systems must be made to take the form exclusively of a struggle of ideas. . . ."¹⁷

Here the political struggle has disappeared!

He has also said:

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing socio-economic and political systems does not mean just an absence of war, a temporary state of unstable ceasefire. It presupposes the maintenance between these states of friendly economic and political relations, it envisages the establishment and development of various forms of peaceful international co-operation.¹⁸

Here, struggle has disappeared altogether!

Like a conjurer, Khrushchov plays one trick after another, first reducing major issues to minor ones, and then minor issues to naught. He denies the basic antagonism between the socialist and capitalist systems, he denies the fundamental contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, and he denies the existence of international class struggle. And so he transforms peace-

ful coexistence between the two systems and the two camps into "all-round co-operation."

The second question is: Can peaceful coexistence be made the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries?

We hold that the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries must embody the fundamental principle of their foreign policy and comprise the fundamental content of this policy.

What is this fundamental principle? It is proletarian internationalism.

Lenin said, "Alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against any and all the imperialists — such is the external policy of the proletariat." ("The External Policy of the Russian Revolution," *Collected Works*, fourth Russian ed., Vol. 25, p.69.) This principle of proletarian internationalism advanced by Lenin should be the guide for the foreign policy of socialist countries.

Since the formation of the socialist camp, every socialist country has had to deal with three kinds of relations in its foreign policy, namely, its relations with other socialist countries, with countries having different social systems, and with the oppressed peoples and nations.

In our view, the following should therefore be the content of the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among the countries of the socialist camp in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are interrelated and not a single one can be omitted.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have one-sidedly reduced the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries to peaceful coexistence. We would like to ask: How should a socialist country handle its relations with other socialist countries? Should it merely maintain relations of peaceful coexistence with them?

Of course, socialist countries, too, must abide by the Five Principles in their mutual relations. It is absolutely impermissible for any one of them to undermine the territorial integrity of another fraternal country, to impair its independence and sovereignty, interfere in its internal affairs, carry on subversive activities inside it, or violate the principle of equality and mutual benefit in its relations with another fraternal country. But merely to carry out these principles is far from enough. The 1957 Declaration states:

These are vital principles. However, they do not exhaust the essence of relations between them. Fraternal mutual aid is part and parcel of these relations. This aid is a striking expression of socialist internationalism.

In making peaceful coexistence the general line of foreign policy, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have in fact liquidated the proletarian internationalist relations of mutual assistance and co-operation among socialist countries

and put the fraternal socialist countries on a par with the capitalist countries. This amounts to liquidating the socialist camp.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have one-sidedly reduced the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries to peaceful coexistence. We would like to ask: How should a socialist country handle its relations with the oppressed peoples and nations? Should the relationship between the proletariat in power and its class brothers who have not yet emancipated themselves or between it and all oppressed peoples and nations be one of peaceful coexistence alone and not of mutual help?

After the October Revolution, Lenin repeatedly stressed that the land of socialism, which had established the dictatorship of the proletariat, was a base for promoting the proletarian world revolution. Stalin, too, said, "The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, as a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries." ("The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists," *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6, p.415.) He added that "it constitutes . . . a mighty base for its further development [i.e. of the world revolution]." (*ibid.*, p.419.)

In their foreign policy, therefore, socialist countries can in no circumstances confine themselves to handling relations with countries having different social systems, but must also correctly handle the relations among themselves and their relations with the oppressed peoples and nations. They must make support of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations their internationalist duty and an important component of their foreign policy.

In contrast with Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchov makes peaceful coexistence the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries and, in so doing, excludes from this policy the proletarian internationalist task of helping the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. So far from being a "creative development" of the policy of peaceful coexistence, this is a betrayal of proletarian internationalism on the pretext of peaceful coexistence.

The third question is: Can the policy of peaceful coexistence of the socialist countries be the general line for all Communist Parties and for the international communist movement? Can it be substituted for the people's revolution?

We maintain that peaceful coexistence connotes a relationship between countries with different social systems, between independent sovereign states. Only after victory in the revolution is it possible and necessary for the proletariat to pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence. As for oppressed peoples and nations, their task is to strive for their own liberation and overthrow the rule of imperialism and its lackeys. They should not practise peaceful coexistence with the imperialists and their lackeys, nor is it possible for them to do so.

It is therefore wrong to apply peaceful coexistence to the relations between oppressed and oppressor classes and between oppressed and oppressor nations, or to stretch the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence so

as to make it the policy of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary people in the capitalist world, or to subordinate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations to it.

We have always held that the correct application of Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries helps to develop their power, to expose the imperialist policies of aggression and war and to unite all the anti-imperialist peoples and countries, and it therefore helps the people's struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. At the same time, by directly hitting and weakening the forces of aggression, war and reaction, the people's revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its lackeys help the cause of world peace and human progress, and therefore help the socialist countries' struggle for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems. Thus, the correct application of Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries is in harmony with the interests of the people's revolutionary struggles in all countries.

However, the socialist countries' struggle for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and the people's revolution in various countries are two totally different things.

In its letter of June 14 replying to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Central Committee of the C.P.C. states:

. . . it is one thing to practise peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. It is absolutely impermissible and impossible for countries practising peaceful coexistence to touch even a hair of each other's social system. The class struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the transition from capitalism to socialism in various countries are quite another thing. They are all bitter, life-and-death revolutionary struggles which aim at changing the social system. Peaceful coexistence cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people. The transition from capitalism to socialism in any country can only be brought about through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country.

In a class society it is completely wrong to regard peaceful coexistence as "the best and the sole acceptable way to solve the vitally important problems confronting society" and as the "basic law of life for the whole of modern society." This is social pacifism which repudiates class struggle. It is an outrageous betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

Back in 1946, Comrade Mao Tse-tung differentiated between the two problems and explicitly stated that compromise between the Soviet Union and the United States, Britain and France on certain issues "does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." ("Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, Vol. 4, p.87.)

This is a correct Marxist-Leninist policy. Guided by this correct policy of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, the Chinese people firmly and determinedly carried the revolution through to the end and won the great victory of their revolution.

Acting against this Marxist-Leninist policy, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. equate one aspect of the policy to be pursued by the proletariat in power in its state relations with countries having different social systems with the general line of all the Communist Parties, and they try to substitute the former for the latter, demanding that Communist Parties and revolutionary peoples should all follow what they call the general line of peaceful coexistence. Not desiring revolution themselves, they forbid others to make it. Not opposing imperialism themselves, they forbid others to oppose it.

This the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Khrushchov's recent remarks have strenuously denied. It has been asserted that it is "a monstrous slander" to accuse the leaders of the C.P.S.U. of extending peaceful coexistence to relations between the oppressed and oppressor classes and between the oppressed and oppressor nations. They have even hypocritically stated that peaceful coexistence "cannot be extended to the class struggle against capital within the capitalist countries and to national-liberation movement."

But such prevarication is futile.

We should like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: Since the policy of peaceful coexistence constitutes only one aspect of the foreign policy of socialist countries, why have you asserted until recently that it represents "the strategic line for the whole period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale"?¹⁹ In requiring the Communist Parties of all the capitalist countries and of the oppressed nations to make peaceful coexistence their general line, are you not aiming at replacing the revolutionary line of the Communist Parties with your policy of "peaceful coexistence" and wilfully applying that policy to the relations between oppressed and oppressor classes and between oppressed and oppressor nations?

We should also like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: Since the peoples win victory in their revolutions by relying primarily on their own struggles, how can such victory be attributed to peaceful coexistence or described as its outcome? Do not such allegations of yours mean the subordination of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples to your policy of peaceful coexistence?

We should further like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: Economic successes in socialist countries and the victories they score in economic competition with capitalist countries undoubtedly play an exemplary role and are an inspiration to oppressed peoples and nations. But how can it be said that socialism will triumph on a worldwide scale through peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition instead of through the revolutionary struggles of the peoples?

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. advertise reliance on peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition as being enough to "deliver a crushing blow to the entire system of capitalist relationships" and bring about worldwide peaceful transition to socialism. This is equivalent to saying that the oppressed peoples and nations have no need to wage struggles, make revolution and overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and colonialism and their lackeys, and that they should just wait quietly — until the production levels and living standards of the Soviet

Union outstrip those of the most developed capitalist countries, when the oppressed and exploited slaves throughout the world would be able to enter communism together with their oppressors and exploiters. Is this not an attempt on the part of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to substitute what they call peaceful coexistence for the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and to liquidate such struggles?

An analysis of these three questions makes it clear that our difference with the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is a major difference of principle. In essence it boils down to this. Our policy of peaceful coexistence is Leninist and is based on the principle of proletarian internationalism, it contributes to the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace and accords with the interests of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations the world over; whereas the so-called general line of peaceful coexistence pursued by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is anti-Leninist, it abandons the principle of proletarian internationalism, damages the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace, and runs counter to the interests of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations.

The C.P.S.U. Leaders' General Line of Peaceful Coexistence Caters to U.S. Imperialism

The general line of peaceful coexistence pursued by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is firmly rejected by all Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary people but is warmly praised by the imperialists.

The spokesmen of Western monopoly capital make no secret of their appreciation of this general line of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. They see in Khrushchov "the West's best friend in Moscow"²⁰ and say that "Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchov acts like an American politician."²¹ They say, "Comrade Khrushchov is considered, as far as the free world is concerned, the best Prime Minister the Russians have. He genuinely believes in peaceful coexistence."²² They declare that "this possibility of better Soviet-American relations has led to the feeling in U.S. State Department circles that, within certain limits, the U.S. should facilitate Khrushchov's task."²³

The imperialists have always been hostile to the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence, exclaiming "the very phrase 'coexistence' is both weird and presumptuous" and "let us relegate to the scrap heap the concept of a transitory and uneasy coexistence."²⁴ Why do they now show so much interest in Khrushchov's general line of peaceful coexistence? Because the imperialists are clear on its usefulness to them.

The U.S. imperialists have invariably adopted the dual tactics of war and peace in order to attain their strategic objectives of liquidating the people's revolutions, eliminating the socialist camp and dominating the world. When they find the international situation growing unfavourable to them, they need to resort increasingly to peace tricks while continuing their arms expansion and war preparations.

In 1958 John Foster Dulles proposed that the United States should dedicate itself to "a noble strategy" of "peaceful triumph."²⁵

After assuming office, Kennedy continued and developed Dulles' "strategy of peace" and talked a great deal about "peaceful coexistence." He said, "... we need a much better weapon than the H-bomb ... and that better weapon is peaceful co-operation."²⁶

Does this mean that the U.S. imperialists genuinely accept peaceful coexistence, or, in the words of the leaders of the C.P.S.U., admit "the reasonableness and practicability of peaceful coexistence"? Of course not.

A little serious study makes it easy to see the real meaning and purpose of "peaceful coexistence" as advocated by the U.S. imperialists.

What is its real meaning and purpose?

1. In the name of peaceful coexistence, the U.S. imperialists try to tie the hands of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and forbid them to support the revolutionary struggles of the people in the capitalist world.

Dulles said:

The Soviet Government could end the "cold war," so far as it is concerned, if it would free itself from the guiding direction of international communism and seek primarily the welfare of the Russian nation and people. Also the "cold war" would come to an end if international communism abandoned its global goals. . . .²⁷

Kennedy stated that if U.S.-Soviet relations were to be improved, the Soviet Union would have to abandon the plan of "communizing the entire world" and "look only to its national interest and to providing a better life for its people under conditions of peace."²⁸

Dean Rusk has put the point even more bluntly. "There can be no assured and lasting peace until the communist leaders abandon their goal of a world revolution." He has also said that there are "signs of restiveness" among the Soviet leaders "about the burdens and risks of their commitments to the world communist movement." And he has even asked the Soviet leaders to "go on from there, by putting aside the illusion of a world communist triumph."²⁹

The meaning of these words is only too clear. The U.S. imperialists describe the revolutionary struggles by the oppressed peoples and nations in the capitalist world for their own emancipation as being the outcome of attempts by the socialist countries to "communize the entire world." They say to the Soviet leaders: Do you wish to live in peace with the United States? Very well! But on condition that you must not support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations in the capitalist world and must see to it that they will not rise in revolution. According to the wishful thinking of the U.S. imperialists, this will leave them free to stamp out the revolutionary movements in the capitalist world and to dominate and enslave its inhabitants, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population.

2. In the name of peaceful coexistence, the U.S. imperialists try to push ahead with their policy of "peaceful evolution" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to restore capitalism there.

Dulles said, "the renunciation of force . . . implies, not the maintenance of the status quo, but peaceful change."³⁰ "It is not sufficient to be defensive. Freedom must be a positive force that will penetrate."³¹ "We hope to encourage an evolution within the Soviet world."³²

Eisenhower asserted that whatever the United States could do by peaceful means would be done, "in order that those people who are held in bondage by a tyrannical dictatorship might finally have the right to determine their own fates by their own free votes."³³

Kennedy said that the "task is to do all in our power to see that the changes taking place . . . in the Soviet empire, on all continents . . . lead to more freedom for more men and to world peace."³⁴ He declared that he would "pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring tyranny" towards the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, so as to provide "free choice" for the people of those countries.³⁵

The meaning of these words, too, is very clear. The U.S. imperialists malign the socialist system as "dictatorial" and "tyrannical" and describe the restoration of capitalism as "free choice." They say to the Soviet leaders: Do you wish to live in peace with the United States? Very well! But this does not mean we recognize the status quo in the socialist countries; on the contrary, capitalism must be restored there. In other words, the U.S. imperialists will never reconcile themselves to the fact that one-third of the world's population has taken the socialist road, and they will always attempt to destroy all the socialist countries.

Briefly, what the U.S. imperialists call peaceful coexistence amounts to this: no people living under imperialist domination and enslavement may strive for liberation, all who have already emancipated themselves must again come under imperialist domination and enslavement, and the whole world must be incorporated into the American "world community of free nations."

It is easy to see why the general line of peaceful coexistence of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is exactly to the taste of U.S. imperialism.

On the pretext of peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. do their best to curry favour with U.S. imperialism and serve its fraudulent peace policy by constantly proclaiming that the representatives of U.S. imperialism "are concerned about peace."

On the pretext of peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. apply the policy of peaceful coexistence to the relations between oppressed and oppressor classes and between oppressed and oppressor nations, and they oppose revolution and try to liquidate it; this exactly suits the U.S. imperialists' requirement that the socialist countries should not support people's revolutions in the capitalist world.

On the pretext of peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. try to substitute international class collaboration for international class struggle and advocate "all-round co-operation" between socialism and imperialism, thus opening the door to imperialist penetration of the socialist countries; this exactly suits the needs of the U.S. imperialist policy of "peaceful evolution."

The imperialists have always been our best teachers by negative example. Let us here cite extracts from two speeches by Dulles after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

He stated:

... I had said ... that there was evidence within the Soviet Union of forces toward greater liberalism. ...

... if these forces go on and continue to gather momentum within the Soviet Union, then we can think, and reasonably hope, I said within a decade or perhaps a generation, that we would have what is the great goal of our policy, that is, a Russia which is governed by people who are responsive to the wishes of the Russian people, who had given up their predatory worldwide ambitions to rule and who conform to the principles of civilized nations and such principles as are embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.³⁶

He also stated:

... the long-range prospect—indeed, I would say the long-range certainty—is that there will be an evolution of the present policies of the Soviet rulers so that they will become more nationalist and less internationalist.³⁷

Apparently, Dulles' ghost has been haunting the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and they have become so obsessed with the so-called general line of peaceful coexistence that they do not pause to consider how well their actions accord with the desires of U.S. imperialism.

Soviet-U.S. Collaboration Is the Heart and Soul of the C.P.S.U. Leaders' General Line of Peaceful Coexistence

While harping on peaceful coexistence in recent years, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have in fact not only violated the principle of proletarian internationalism but even failed to conform to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their attitude towards China and a number of other socialist countries. To put it plainly, their ceaseless advocacy of peaceful coexistence as the general line of their foreign policy amounts to a demand that all the socialist countries and the Communist Parties must submit to their long-cherished dream of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

The heart and soul of the general line of peaceful coexistence pursued by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. is Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world.

Just look at the extraordinary statements they have made:

"The two greatest modern powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have left far behind any other country in the world."³⁸

"Each of these two powers is leading a large group of nations—the Soviet Union leading the world socialist system and the United States the capitalist camp."³⁹

"We [the Soviet Union and the United States] are the strongest countries in the world and if we unite for peace there can be no war. Then if any madman wanted

war, we would but have to shake our fingers to warn him off."⁴⁰

"... if there is agreement between N.S. Khrushchov, the head of the Soviet Government, and John Kennedy, the President of the United States, there will be a solution of international problems on which mankind's destinies depend."⁴¹

We would like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: Since the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement say clearly that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of the world and the main force making for aggression and war, how can you "unite" with the main enemy of world peace to "safeguard peace"?

We would like to ask them: Can it be that more than a hundred countries and over three thousand million people have no right to decide their own destiny? Must they submit to the manipulations of the two "giants," the two "greatest powers," the Soviet Union and the United States? Isn't this arrogant nonsense of yours an expression of great-power chauvinism and power politics pure and simple?

We would also like to ask them: Do you really imagine that if only the Soviet Union and the United States reached agreement, if only the two "great men" reached agreement, the destiny of mankind would be decided and all international issues settled? You are wrong, hopelessly wrong. From time immemorial, things have never happened in this way, and they are much less likely to do so in the nineteen-sixties. The world today is full of complex contradictions, the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and the contradictions among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups in the imperialist countries. Would these contradictions disappear once the Soviet Union and the United States reached agreement?

The only country the leaders of the C.P.S.U. look up to is the United States. In their pursuit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration, they do not scruple to betray the Soviet people's true allies, including their class brothers and all the oppressed peoples and nations still living under the imperialist-capitalist system.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. are trying hard to wreck the socialist camp. They use every kind of lie and slander against the Chinese Communist Party and exert political and economic pressure on China. As for socialist Albania, nothing short of its destruction would satisfy them. Hand in hand with U.S. imperialism, they brought pressure to bear upon revolutionary Cuba, making demands on it at the expense of its sovereignty and dignity.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. are trying hard to sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the peoples against imperialism and its lackeys. They are acting as preachers of social reformism and are sapping the revolutionary fighting will of the proletariat and its political party in various countries. To cater to the needs of imperialism, they are undermining the national-liberation movement and becoming more and more shameless apologists of U.S. neo-colonialism.

What do the leaders of the C.P.S.U. get from U.S. imperialism in return for all their strenuous efforts and for the high price they pay in pursuit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration?

Since 1959, Khrushchov has become obsessed with summit meetings between the Soviet Union and the United States. He has had many fond dreams and spread many illusions about them. He has extolled Eisenhower as "a big man" who "understands big politics."⁴² He has enthusiastically praised Kennedy as one who "understands the great responsibility that lies with the governments of two such powerful states."⁴³ The leaders of the C.P.S.U. made a big fuss about the so-called spirit of Camp David and proclaimed the Vienna meeting to be "an event of historic significance." The Soviet press claimed that once the heads of the Soviet Union and the United States sat at the same table, history would arrive at a "new turning-point," and that a handshake between the two "great men" would usher in a "new era" in international relations.

But how does U.S. imperialism treat the leaders of the C.P.S.U.? A little over a month after the Camp David talks, Eisenhower declared, "I wasn't aware of any spirit of Camp David." And seven months after the talks he sent a U-2 spy plane to intrude into the Soviet Union, thus wrecking the four-power summit conference. Not long after the Vienna meeting, Kennedy put forward the following insolent conditions for twenty years of peace between the Soviet Union and the United States: no support by the Soviet Union for any people's revolutionary struggles, and the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. A year or more after the Vienna meeting Kennedy ordered the piratical military blockade of Cuba and created the Caribbean crisis.

Searching high and low among the quick and the dead, where can one find the much vaunted "spirit of Camp David," "turning-point in the history of mankind" and "new era in international relations"?

After the signing of the tripartite treaty on the partial nuclear test ban, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. gave great publicity to the so-called spirit of Moscow. They spoke of the need to "strike while the iron is hot," asserted that "all the favourable conditions are there" for the Soviet Union and the United States to reach further agreements, and declared that it was bad to take the attitude that "time can wait" or "there is no hurry."⁴⁴

What is the "spirit of Moscow"? Let us look at recent events.

To create more of an atmosphere of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation," the leaders of the C.P.S.U. held a rally in Moscow in celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. At the same time, they sent a cultural delegation to the United States for celebrations there. But what came of the enthusiasm of the leaders of the C.P.S.U.? The entire staff of the U.S. Embassy in the Soviet Union refused to attend the Moscow rally, and the U.S. State Department issued a special memorandum asking the American public to boycott the Soviet cultural delegation, whom they denounced as "extremely dangerous and suspicious people."

While the leaders of the C.P.S.U. were advocating "Soviet-U.S. co-operation," the United States sent the agent Barghoorn to carry on activities in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government very properly arrested this agent. But, after Kennedy made the threat that the success of the wheat deal between the United States and the Soviet Union "depends upon a reasonable atmosphere in both countries," which he said had been "badly damaged by the Barghoorn arrest," the Soviet Government hurriedly released this U.S. agent without any trial, on the grounds of "the concern of the U.S. high officials over F.C. Barghoorn's fate," over the fate of an agent who "the investigation confirmed . . . had been engaged in intelligence activities against the U.S.S.R."

Are all these manifestations of the "spirit of Moscow"? If so, it is indeed very sad.

Moscow! Bright capital of the first socialist country and glorious name cherished by so many millions of people throughout the world since the Great October Revolution! Now this name is being used by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to cover up their foul practice of collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. What an unprecedented shame!

All too often have the leaders of the C.P.S.U. said fine things about the U.S. imperialists and begged favours from them; all too often have they lost their temper with fraternal countries and Parties and put pressure on them; all too many are the tricks and deceptions they have practised on the revolutionary people in various countries — solely in order to beg for "friendship" and "trust" from U.S. imperialism. But "while the drooping flowers pine for love, the heartless brook babbles on." All that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have received from the U.S. imperialists is humiliation, again humiliation, always humiliation!

A Few Words of Advice to the Leaders of the C.P.S.U.

During the bitter days of resistance to armed imperialist intervention and amidst the raging fires of the Patriotic War, was there ever an occasion when the great Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin bowed to difficulties? Did they ever kneel before the enemy? Today, the world situation is most favourable to revolution and socialism is stronger than ever, while imperialism has never been in such difficulties; yet how ignominiously has the first socialist country, the state founded by Lenin, been bullied by U.S. imperialism and how grossly has the socialist camp been disgraced by the leaders of the C.P.S.U.! How is it possible for us, for any Marxist-Leninists or revolutionary people, not to feel distress?

Here we should like to offer sincere advice to the leaders of the C.P.S.U.

The United States, the most ferocious imperialist country, has the mad strategic aim of conquering the world. It is frantically suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations and has openly declared its intention of bringing Eastern Europe back into the so-called world community of free nations.

How can you imagine that the heaviest blows of the U.S. imperialists in pursuit of their aggressive plans for conquering the whole world will fall on others and not on the Soviet Union?

The United States is an imperialist country and the Soviet Union a socialist country. How can you expect "all-round co-operation" between two countries with entirely different social systems?

There is mutual deception and rivalry even between the United States and the other imperialist powers, and the United States will not be satisfied until it has trampled them underfoot. How then can you imagine that the imperialist United States will live in harmony with the socialist Soviet Union?

Leading comrades of the C.P.S.U.! Just think the matter over soberly. Can U.S. imperialism be depended upon when a storm breaks in the world? No! The U.S. imperialists are undependable, as are all imperialists and reactionaries. The only dependable allies of the Soviet Union are the fraternal countries of the socialist camp, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and all oppressed peoples and nations.

The laws of historical development operate independently of any individual's will. No one can possibly prevent the growth of the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples and nations, let alone destroy them. He who betrays the people of the socialist camp and the world and dreams of dominating the globe by colluding with U.S. imperialism is bound to end up badly. It is very mistaken and dangerous for the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to do so.

It is not yet too late for the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to rein in at the brink. It is high time for them to discard their general line of peaceful coexistence and return to Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence, to the road of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

NOTES

¹ B.N. Ponomaryov, "Victorious Banner of the Communists of the World," *Pravda*, November 18, 1962.

² A. Romyantsev, "Our Common Ideological Weapon," *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, No. 1, 1962.

³ N.S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960.

⁴ N.S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Gadjah Mada University, Djokjakarta, Indonesia, February 21, 1960.

⁵ N.S. Khrushchov, Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., January 14, 1960.

⁶ Editorial article in *Izvestia*, December 4, 1961.

⁷ Telegram of Greetings From N.S. Khrushchov and L. Brezhnev to John F. Kennedy, December 30, 1961.

⁸ Same as in Note 3.

⁹ N.S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Reception Given by the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Soviet Union, July 5, 1961.

¹⁰ B.N. Ponomaryov, "Some Problems of the Revolutionary Movement," *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, No. 12, 1962.

¹¹ *Kommunist* (Moscow), No. 2, 1962, p.89.

¹² B.N. Ponomaryov, "A New Stage in the General Crisis of Capitalism," *Pravda*, February 8, 1961.

¹³ Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, March 30, 1963.

¹⁴ Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Party Organizations and All Communists in the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

¹⁵ Same as in Note 10.

¹⁶ Programme of the C.P.S.U., adopted by the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.

¹⁷ Same as in Note 5.

¹⁸ N.S. Khrushchov, "Answers to the Questions of the Austrian Professor Hans Thirring," *Pravda*, January 3, 1962.

¹⁹ "For the Unity and Solidarity of the International Communist Movement," editorial article in *Pravda*, December 6, 1963.

²⁰ "How Nice Must We Be to Nikita?" in the U.S. magazine *Time*, March 9, 1962.

²¹ U.S. Under-Secretary of State Harriman's television interview, August 18, 1963.

²² "Kennedy Helps Khrushchov," in the British magazine *Time and Tide*, April 18-24, 1963.

²³ Agence France Presse dispatch from Washington, July 14, 1963, on U.S. government officials' comment on the open letter of the C.P.S.U.

²⁴ Formerly U.S. Under-Secretary of State Douglas Dillon's address on U.S. foreign policy, April 20, 1960.

²⁵ Dulles' speech before the California State Chamber of Commerce, December 4, 1958.

²⁶ Kennedy's speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 20, 1963.

²⁷ Dulles' speech before the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, January 28, 1959.

²⁸ Kennedy's interview with Adzhubei, Editor-in-Chief of *Izvestia*, November 25, 1961.

²⁹ Rusk's address at the National Convention of the American Legion, September 10, 1963.

³⁰ Dulles' address to the Award Dinner of the New York State Bar Association, January 31, 1959.

³¹ Same as in Note 25.

³² Dulles' testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, February 8, 1959.

³³ Eisenhower's speech at the Polish-American Congress at Chicago, September 30, 1960.

³⁴ Kennedy, *The Strategy of Peace*, p.199.

³⁵ Kennedy's speech at the Polish-American Congress at Chicago, October 1, 1960.

³⁶ Dulles' press conference of May 15, 1956.

³⁷ Dulles' press conference of October 28, 1958.

³⁸ N.N. Yakovlev, *After 30 Years . . .*, a pamphlet written for the 30th anniversary of Soviet-American diplomatic relations.

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Khrushchov's interview with the U.S. correspondent C.L. Sulzberger, September 5, 1961.

⁴¹ A.A. Gromyko, Speech at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., December 13, 1962.

⁴² Speech by N.S. Khrushchov at the luncheon in his honour given by the Mayor of New York on September 17, 1959.

⁴³ N.S. Khrushchov, Radio and Television Speech, June 15, 1961.

⁴⁴ Article by Observer in *Izvestia*, August 21, 1963.

A Visit for Friendship, Solidarity And Peace

Premier Chou En-lai's African Tour

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial on December 14 entitled "A Visit to Enhance Friendship, Strengthen Solidarity and Consolidate Peace." Subheads are ours. — Ed.

AT the invitation of the Governments of the United Arab Republic, the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, the Kingdom of Morocco and those West African countries that have diplomatic relations with China, Premier Chou En-lai has left on a goodwill visit of Africa. Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi will join the Premier on the tour after attending the independence celebrations in Kenya.

This is the first time that Chinese state leaders have toured African countries on an official goodwill visit. It is of vital significance in developing China's friendship with the African countries, strengthening solidarity between peoples and consolidating world peace.

Age-Old Ties Renewed

Despite the great distance that separates China from Africa, the friendly contacts and economic and cultural exchanges between the Chinese and African peoples date back to ancient times. According to historical records, China had trade relations with Egypt as early as the second century A.D. The famous Chinese scholar Chao Ju-shih in his *A Record of Foreign Nations*, written in 1225 gave fairly detailed accounts of Egypt and what are now Somalia, Zanzibar and Malagasy. As early as the Ming Dynasty, there were two-way visits between official representatives of China and African countries. On his well-known expeditions, Cheng Ho, representing the Chinese Government, visited some East African countries which had also sent envoys to China. These journeys further developed the amicable relations existing between China and Africa as well as the economic and cultural interflow. The friendly contacts were not broken off until after the 16th century when Western colonialists forced their way into Africa and China.

The flames of the national-liberation movement are destroying the criminal colonial system, while bringing new life to the age-old friendship between the Chinese and African peoples. Having cleared their country of imperialists, the Chinese people have proclaimed the People's Republic of China. Thirty-four of the 59 countries and regions in Africa have declared independence. The imperialists and colonialists can no longer prevent friendly contacts. Feelings of brotherhood and kinship between the Chinese and African peoples have grown and flourished from their common lot as victims of imperialist

aggression. These close ties are being continuously strengthened by their common cause of fighting old and new colonialism and striving for or preserving and consolidating their independence.

Basis for Friendship

Since the 1955 Bandung Conference, the friendly relations between China and African countries have developed daily on the basis of the ten principles of the Bandung Conference and the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. China has established diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Sudan, Algeria, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Somalia, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar and Kenya and maintains trade relations with other African countries. China has concluded treaties of friendship with Guinea and Ghana and signed agreements with many African countries for economic and technical co-operation, for cultural co-operation, and on trade and payments, which have helped to promote economic and cultural interflow. Frequent goodwill visits of state and government leaders and delegates from trade, cultural, scientific, press and religious circles have been exchanged. These have immensely enhanced mutual understanding, sympathy and friendship.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's goodwill visit will not only return similar visits made to China by many state and government leaders of Africa but will also bring the 650 million Chinese people's profound sentiments of friendship to the African peoples. This visit will further strengthen the friendship between the peoples of China and Africa and provide a new basis for its growth.

As Wang Po, Chinese poet of the Tang Dynasty, put it:

*Bosom friends afar,
Bring distant lands near.*

The Chinese and African peoples are bosom friends indeed. Prolonged imperialist aggression and plunder have reduced the Asian and African countries to poverty and backwardness. We are friends in need, all anxious to develop our national economies after driving out imperialism and colonialism, so as to throw off our poverty and backwardness. This makes it necessary for us truly to rely on the strength of our own people, fully utilize our own national resources and, on the basis of self-reliance, support each other, supply each other with such aid as can be supplied, and exchange experience in economic construction. Every step forward by the African peoples on the path of opposing imperialism and colonialism and

building their own countries is a tremendous support to China's socialist construction. At the same time, the Chinese people have done their best to support their African friends. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's visit will provide opportunities for better mutual understanding and learning from each other, thereby opening up a still broader path for the development of solidarity and friendly co-operation between the Chinese and African peoples.

Vital for Defence of Peace

In the 14 years since its founding, the People's Republic of China has consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy. Guided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, China has actively promoted unity and co-operation with other Asian and African countries. China has always advocated that all countries, big or small, and irrespective of their different social systems, should live together on an equal footing and in friendship. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's journey is fur-

ther proof that the Chinese Government and people highly treasure the friendship and unity of the Asian and African countries and steadfastly promote friendly co-operation. Afro-Asian solidarity is a most important factor in the defence of world peace. The continued strengthening of the unity and co-operation between China and the African countries and among all Asian and African countries will be a still greater contribution to the cause of safeguarding world peace.

At the outset of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi's goodwill visit to the African countries, we sincerely wish the African people and all newly independent countries in Africa still greater successes in the struggle to combat imperialism and old and new colonialism, consolidate national independence and develop their national economies. May all peoples fighting for independence in Africa win victory after victory so as to achieve the complete emancipation of the African continent.

Long live the friendship between the Chinese and African peoples!

Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement

China Favours Increased Afro-Asian Representation in Principal U.N. Organs

- **China has always supported the reasonable demand of Asian and African countries for more seats in the principal organs of the United Nations.**
- **The Soviet representative's account of China's attitude in his statement to the U.N. Assembly's Special Political Committee was completely at variance with the consistent position of the Chinese Government.**

Following is the text of the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement issued on December 12. Boldfaced emphases are ours.—Ed.

THE demand of Asian and African countries for an increase in the number of their seats in the principal organs of the United Nations is now before the 18th session of the General Assembly.

The Chinese Government has always supported the fair and reasonable demand of the Asian and African countries on this question, and has clearly informed the Governments of the Soviet Union and some Asian and African countries of its position in this connection.

On December 10, 1963, N. Fedorenko, representative of the Soviet Union to the U.N. General Assembly, made a statement at the Assembly's Special Political Committee, in which his account of China's attitude was completely at variance with the consistent position of the Chinese Government. It is especially to be regretted that the Soviet representative has used this as a pretext for opposing the proposals for a fair and reasonable share of seats in the principal U.N. organs for the Asian and African countries. In view of this, the spokesman of the

Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs is authorized to set forth the facts.

In September 1963 the Chinese Government sent a communication to the Governments of the Soviet Union and some Asian and African countries separately stating its position on this question. The full text of this communication reads as follows:

"(1) China's seat in the United Nations has been usurped by the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the People's Republic of China has been unlawfully deprived of its legitimate rights in the United Nations since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. It is the consistent stand of the Chinese Government that the United Nations must drive elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique out of all its organs and fully restore China's legitimate rights. Eviction of the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique is the prerequisite to the restoration of China's legitimate rights.

"(2) Before China's legitimate rights are restored, the Chinese Government considers all activities of the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations as illegal and China cannot be held responsible for any activities of the United Nations. In these circum-

stances, each action of the United Nations will be judged by China on its intrinsic merits. China will 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.

"(3) The present distribution of seats in the principal organs of the United Nations is most unreasonable and unfair to Asian and African countries. China is firmly opposed to such discrimination by the United Nations against the Asian and African countries. The Chinese Government consistently stands for an active role by the Asian and African countries in international affairs and has never failed in its active support for the efforts of the Asian and African countries to obtain an increase in the number of their seats in the principal U.N. organs.

"(4) At present, Asian and African countries constitute more than half of the members of the United Nations excluding the five permanent members of the Security Council, and their aggregate population more than two-thirds. Therefore, the Chinese Government holds that Asian-African countries should occupy at least half of the non-permanent seats in the Security Council, with the rest to be divided among countries from the other regions through consultation, and that the same principle should apply to the distribution of seats in the Economic and Social Council and other organs. Only thus will the true proportion occupied by the Asian and African countries in the United Nations be reflected fairly and reasonably.

"(5) There may be two ways to increase the seats for Asian-African countries in the principal organs of the United Nations. One is to revise the related articles of the U.N. Charter, but this method involves very complicated questions and procedures. Another is to leave the Charter as it is for the time being, i.e., while not altering the total number of seats as stipulated in the Charter, to make reasonable readjustments in the distribution of seats after consultation among the various parties concerned,

so that at least half of the seats may go to Asian-African countries. This method is simpler and easier to carry out in the present circumstances.

"(6) The Chinese Government wishes to point out that the question of revising Charter articles concerning the total number of seats in the principal U.N. organs and the question of restoring China's legitimate rights in the United Nations are two matters of entirely different nature. They should not and need not be bundled together. While it continues to be excluded from the United Nations, China will undertake no commitment on the question of revision of these articles by the United Nations."

On October 2, 1963, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chen Yi made a public statement affirming the Chinese Government's active support for all the efforts of Asian and African countries to obtain an increase in the number of their seats in the principal U.N. organs.

On October 4, 1963, when the Soviet Ambassador to China asked for a clarification on the Chinese communication quoted above, Tseng Yung-chuan, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, made a clear-cut explanation right away in accordance with the position of the Chinese Government.

On December 5, 1963, the Soviet Ambassador to China delivered a memorandum to the Chinese Government on the same question. And the above-cited consistent position of the Chinese Government was reiterated in its memorandum of December 8 in reply to the Soviet Government.

The spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry deems it necessary to stress once again that the Chinese Government has unswervingly supported all the efforts of Asian and African countries to obtain an increase in the number of their seats in the principal U.N. organs. The distribution of seats in those organs, which is most unreasonable and unfair to the Asian and African countries, must be changed. This is a duty not to be shirked by any country which is now represented in the United Nations.

Peking Library—Treasure House of Culture

by CHOU PAO-CHEN

THE Peking Library not only contains the nation's largest collection of books and journals, but it has the best collection of ancient Chinese works, some of which go back to the 5th century. Moreover, so heavy has been the increase in the library's new books that in the past few years floor space has expanded several fold.

Located west of picturesque Beihai Park, Peking Library is open daily to local residents as well as out-of-towners. The rapid development of culture and science plus the general public's great thirst for knowledge since the founding of New China has had its impact on the library. From all walks of life—workers and scientists, armymen and students, cadres and scholars—come the library's ever increasing daily attendance. Since China's libera-

tion in 1949 Peking Library truly has become a people's library. As a result, it has geared its work so that the library now caters to the diversified needs of ordinary readers, government organizations, factories, mines, colleges and universities, and research institutes in particular.

Serving Socialist Construction

One of the main tasks of this library is to aid scientific research and serve socialist construction in China.

Out of the sizable funds supplied by the People's Government, Peking Library has purchased a large number of reference materials on science and technology

together with numerous scientific and technical journals published both at home and abroad. The library keeps its readers abreast of latest developments in these fields.

The library serves its readers in many ways. Staffed by experienced specialists and well-qualified employees, its reference department is always available to answer questions and provide data and material in the social and natural sciences. This invaluable service has made it highly popular among scientists and scholars as well as the general public.

Among the thousands of enquiries made to the reference department through letters, telephone calls or personal visits, there is no lack of "headache-causing questions." In answering them, staff members often have to turn to a multitude of books and other source material. Although this is both time and labour consuming, yet the staff consistently provides prompt answers, for their motto is: Be good assistants to our readers.

Use of facilities at Peking Library is frequently made by leading Chinese scholars and specialists. One who often utilizes the library is the well-known scholar Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The reference department has helped him in his research by supplying needed material and data, and also in checking on factual information.

Conscientious and expert service is rendered to all, whether it be Coching Chu, renowned meteorologist with questions on ancient Chinese meteorology, or an applied art institute searching for clues to help it trace the original form of a damaged antique *objet d'art*, or an ordinary citizen from the remote Kweichow Province who is interested in tobacco planting, or a national minority worker in town from far-off Yunnan Province who is anxious for information about how certain machinery is made. Requests from abroad are not infrequent and the reference department does its best to be of service.

At the time of the big leap forward in 1958, the reference department set up a special reading room with a well-compiled science and technology index. Included in this are catalogues and excerpts of up-to-date important treatises on natural sciences, engineering and agricultural technology, and medicine and health, taken from hundreds of books and periodicals published in China and abroad. These, together with related dictionaries and encyclopaedias, are found on shelves all within easy access of visitors. Many scientists, technical personnel, research workers, and others often have spent days or even months here digging into material on special subjects. Time and again their problems on matters pertaining to production or research work were solved with the aid of these highly specialized indexes.

As part of the nationwide drive by the entire Party and people to go in for agriculture in a big way, the library compiled a catalogue on the subject of the modernization of agriculture for the Chinese Academy of Agriculture which includes the latest acquisitions on this subject.

Peking Library performs another service by recommending books or organizing specialized exhibitions of books and periodicals to satisfy the needs of China's cur-

rent socialist production and construction. An example of this was the exhibition of catalogues and brief accounts of hundreds of newly gathered periodicals on metallurgy. More recently two exhibitions of books and journals on agriculture were warmly received. The library has made this service a regular feature of its work.

Service is not limited to readers who come to the library. The library staff also takes the initiative in offering regular service to the Ministries of Machine Building, Coal Industry, Metallurgical Industry, and Petroleum Industry, to the Chinese Academy of Agriculture and nearly 800 other government organizations, research associations, and 3,600 scholars, scientists and engineers. In addition, the library has extended its service to readers outside Peking by post. Nearly 100,000 volumes including microfilms and photostats are on this circulating list. The library makes full use of its modern photographic processes to micro-copy precious editions and items not available on the premises; it borrows from other libraries in Peking and all over China as well as from abroad to satisfy the needs of readers. Its service also reaches out to the most distant areas such as Sinkiang, Tibet, and even abroad.

Precious Cultural Relics

The Peking Library's efficient service is nothing extraordinary compared with other public libraries in New China. What makes it specially attractive to scholars and experts is that, apart from its vast store of ordinary books and journals, it has the richest collection of works of antiquity in China.

The library inherited in part the collection of the ancient works of the imperial libraries of successive dynasties dating back to the 13th century. Its Rare Books Department consists of a wealth of unique and rare books, hand-copies, manuscripts, early block prints, rubbings of inscribed "oracle bones" and tortoise shells and bronzes, and sutras carved on stone. All these are invaluable for the study of Chinese history, culture, science and technology.

For instance, among the library's rare ancient Chinese volumes are manuscripts of the Buddhist scriptures which were found early in this century in a grotto at the Tunhuang Caves in Kansu Province. These are of great value in the study of ancient Chinese culture and art. The library now possesses some 8,000 scrolls of this treasure-trove, but the best part was stolen by imperialist agents soon after its discovery.

The *Yung-lo Encyclopaedia*, compiled during the Ming Dynasty in the 15th century, is the world's largest encyclopaedia. The original was made up of more than 10,000 volumes, the greater part being destroyed or stolen by the imperialists when they looted Peking in 1901. Peking Library has the remaining 218 volumes, most of which were acquired in the past 14 years, including 67 volumes returned to China by the Soviet Union in 1951 and 1954 and by the German Democratic Republic in 1955.

The library also has the *Ssu Ku Chuan Shu* which is the biggest series of books in China and was compiled more than 180 years ago. Totalling 36,300 volumes, it includes some of the most important works on philosophy,

history, literature and science since the dawn of Chinese civilization. The whole series was hand-copied. The edition the library now possesses was transferred here in 1915 from Wentsinko, the Imperial Library of the Ching Dynasty in Chengteh, Hopei Province. The shelves and 6,000 wooden boxes now used for the *Ssu Ku Chuan Shu* date back to the 18th century.

Many rare works are all the more precious because of the historical events which affected them. The *Kin Tripitaka* (Collected Buddhist Scriptures of the Kin Period) records many Buddhist scriptures and legends. The wood-blocks from which it was printed took 20 years to carve in the 12th century during the Kin Dynasty. Made up of prints mounted on scrolls 10-25 metres in length, this rare edition was a valuable addition to the material available for the study of the history of Buddhism and printing in China. Originally these scrolls were kept in a temple in Chaocheng County in Shansi Province. When the Japanese invaders occupied the county in 1942 they tried to steal these precious books. However, patriotic monks alerted the nearby Eighth Route Army, and after serious fighting in which some soldiers gave their lives, the treasure was preserved. Throughout all the years of war which raged in China thereafter, these Buddhist scriptures were successfully hidden in many places and were finally handed over to the Peking Library after liberation. At that time, some of the scrolls were not readable; some were as hard as wood as a result of drying after a wetting; still others were quite brittle because they had been scorched. A number of craftsmen worked for 12 years on them and finally restored all 4,000 scrolls to their original form. Today, they are a cherished part of the nation's cultural heritage.

Encouraged by the care given to ancient cultural relics by the People's Government, many private collectors have voluntarily donated rare books to Peking Library as a means of making them available to the public.

Donations together with purchases from around the country out of state funds has enriched the library's collection of rarities. The number of rare editions has been increased to 230,000 volumes.

Chou Shu-tao, Vice-Mayor of Tientsin and owner of the largest and most famous private library in north China, presented his sizable collection to the nation through the Peking Library. Now in his seventies, this old man spent scores of years in collecting, and the books he contributed are noted for their literary and historic value. Many of his wood-block prints and hand-copies were not to be found elsewhere. Upon presenting his gift Chou said that he was pleased to do so because he knew of the Government's policy towards cultural relics; he also was impressed by conditions in the library and the diligent attitude of the librarians and staff members of Peking Library.

Chou Shu-tao's conclusions are verified by a visit to the Rare Books Department. Rare editions are placed horizontally, according to Chinese custom, in wooden cupboards or steel cupboards with glass doors. And the most rare are kept in boxes made of *Machilus Nanmu* (an even-grained, yellowish, fine wood used for furniture). Aromatic camphor boards are used to prevent damage from moisture or termites.

This department contains donations by a number of families from different parts of China. For example, the Chu family of Changshu County in Kiangsu Province had long been assembling wood-block prints of the 12th to the 16th century and other rare printed volumes; the Chus were known as one of the four biggest collectors of books in China a hundred years ago. Their gifts to the library won widespread acclaim.

In recent years the library has many anecdotes to tell about enthusiastic readers. There was water conservancy engineer Chao Shih-hsien who bought in Nanking a book on archaeology by a Sung Dynasty scholar entitled *Catalogue of Engravings on Ancient Bronzes and Tombs*. Some time later he discovered it was printed from wood-blocks carved in the 12th century in the Southern Sung Dynasty, the earliest book of its kind extant, and he offered it to the Peking Library.

As hoped for by contributors, the rare editions are more used and more enjoyed once they have become part of the people's property. Their wider use is ensured by the scientific classification by the library of volumes acquired by donation. The rare books catalogues and the catalogue of the generous gift by the family of the late Vice-Minister of Culture Cheng Chen-to, a well-known bibliophile, has greatly helped circulation of the library's precious editions. In the special reading room for rare books one daily finds many avid readers. A large number of fragile volumes have been microfilmed so as to be made more easily available to the public.

Aware of its rich and varied collection of old and new books and its attitude of serving many readers, one writer's remark has become a byword for the Peking Library: "In the past its facilities were mainly for the academic, but today it is a working encyclopaedia for the many."

Facts About Peking Library

- * Founded in 1912, it has the largest collection of books in China.
 - * Since liberation the number of books has grown at the rate of 400,000 copies annually; before liberation the rate was 30,000 per year.
 - * There are seven general and special reading rooms. In addition to the former there are rooms for periodicals, scientific literature, rare editions, microfilm and books on librarianship. There is also a science and technology research room.
 - * The library is in active contact with 2,800 libraries, research institutes and social organizations in foreign lands, including the Lenin State Library, the British Museum and the Bibliotheque Nationale in France.
 - * Relations with Asian, African and Latin American countries have become more widespread in recent years. As a result of gifts, book exchanges and mutual assistance, cultural exchange has been reinforced and friendly relations further developed between China and the peoples of these regions.
-

ROUND THE WORLD

Indian Ocean

7th Fleet on the Prowl

Washington's new frontiersmen have extended the frontiers of the U.S. again — this time in Asia and beyond. The operational sphere of the U.S. 7th Fleet, which for years has been used against China in the Taiwan Straits, will now extend "to the Indian Ocean area to fill the power vacuum from Indonesia to Saudi Arabia and confront the Chinese with a formidable deterrent force in this part of Asia," the *Times of India* reported on December 12. The paper also said that Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, who is visiting New Delhi, would put the finishing touches to the scheme during his discussions with the Indian Government.

Reports from New Delhi say that the U.S. 7th Fleet, equipped with both conventional and nuclear weapons, will have a task force of one aircraft-carrier, one cruiser, five or six destroyers and an unspecified number of other vessels in the Indian Ocean from February next. These warships will "patrol the strategic Indian Ocean area from Australia to East Africa" (*Washington Post*, December 9) and call at the Indian ports of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay.

This projection of American armed forces into the Indian Ocean, with the blessings of the reactionary Indian Congress government, is being done under the pretext of providing "a continuing deterrent to Chinese aggression." This is an old bogey but it also conveniently hides several sinister motives. The *Washington Post* revealed that "Indonesia's military pressure in neighbouring areas such as Malaysia would be inhibited by the presence of the U.S. force." The *Baltimore Sun* said the U.S. was "displeased" with Pakistan for maintaining normal, friendly relations with China and that the move was calculated to impel Pakistan to knuckle under to U.S. pressure.

This "sea umbrella," as the London *Times* described it on December 13, is a follow-up of the Pentagon's "air umbrella" operations in India last month and its establishment of a new U.S. "strike command" for the Middle East, Africa and South Asia. It is

all part of the U.S. strategy for world domination. A "threat to Ceylon" is the comment of Colombo's *Observer*. Even the *Times of India*, mouthpiece of Indian Big Business, realizes that the presence of American warships in Indian waters means stricter American control and finds the grasping hand of American imperialism a little too close for comfort. The introduction of a conventional fleet into the Indian Ocean is disturbing enough, it said, but the presence of a nuclear-armed fleet will be infinitely more provocative.

Cambodia

A Slap in the Face

Prince Sihanouk has announced the recall of the Cambodian Ambassador and all members of the Cambodian Embassy in Washington. Following Cambodia's rejection of "U.S. aid," this is another stinging rebuff to the American imperialists who think their dollars and arms qualify them to call the tune.

The U.S. was always threatening to cut off its "aid" to Cambodia, noted Sihanouk in his announcement. Recently, it had been hinting at the suspension of diplomatic relations. With this latest move, the wind has been taken out of Washington's sails. "Cambodia will never retreat before

violence and she will not be cowed," declared Prince Sihanouk. Nor would she even if the Americans threatened aggressive war or the use of atom bombs. Earlier, the Prince pointed out that "U.S. aid" was an instrument of American policy and the humiliating conditions Washington imposed for such aid were incompatible with Cambodia's sovereignty.

Because Sihanouk would not bow to U.S. dictation, Washington stepped up its subversive moves through the so-called "free Khmers." When this was brought to light and the double-edged "U.S. aid" rejected, American officials and propaganda machines went hog-wild in their attacks. They even used the deaths of Kennedy and the Thai dictator Sarit to heap abuse on Prince Sihanouk.

The U.S. imperialists got a good slap in the face. More will be forthcoming from nations which treasure their independence for so long as the swaggering Yankees continue their policy of pressure and subversion.

South Viet Nam

New Label, Old Policy

A new moralistic label has been given to the hated concentration camps into which U.S. imperialism tried but failed to herd the south Vietnamese people. Instead of the martial-sounding "strategic hamlets," they are now — "new life villages." As reported by the Saigon press, all is the same except the name and the slogans.

The revamped programme will be "psychological." It must "win the allegiance of the people," "develop the countryside" and "start a new life movement." Emphasis will be laid on "the quality of the villages" and the "useless ones will be abandoned."

This hollow change is a concealed admission of the bankruptcy of Washington's undeclared and dirty war in south Viet Nam. "Strategic hamlet" was itself a new name for the original "concentration settlements," a U.S. variation of old-style colonialist methods to quell the people when they rebel against enslavement. Introduced in 1961, the "hamlets"



Unwanted "Gift"

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

were vaunted as part of a new campaign and 16,000 were targeted for the first eight months. Despite the appalling violence with which the deceased Kennedy and Diem pushed the programme, this goal was never reached because of the people's resistance. Of those set up, even the Western press admitted that only 10 to 20 per cent were "viable." After the Saigon coup, thousands of these modern concentration camps were destroyed by the people's forces.

The "new life" farce is only one of Washington's many recent moves. Although U.S. policy in south Viet Nam is on the rocks, the new Administration is pursuing the undeclared war with the ferocity of the old. President Johnson has sent Secretary of Defence McNamara again to Saigon to get "maximum efficiency" out of the war. He has particularly stressed to State Department officials the importance of "winning" in south Viet Nam. At the same time, U.S. propaganda is making a fuss over the supposed withdrawal of 1,000 from the 17,000 American troops there. This is a sham aimed at convincing the world, and particularly the American public, that the war is going nicely and nearing victory.

Washington's increasing recourse to deception is a reflection of its dilemma. It is afraid to face the truth, which it is trying desperately to hide from the south Vietnamese people, the American people and the people of the world.

North Kalimantan

First Year, First Round

The North Kalimantanans opened a new chapter in the history of their freedom cause when they staged an uprising a year ago. Despite the initial difficulties, they have persisted in their struggle and the insurgent National Army is making frequent attacks against British posts and controls large tracts of the jungle areas.

True to type, the British colonialists have answered the North Kalimantanans' aspirations for independence with ever more ruthless repression. Rushing to the area thousands of British and Gurkha soldiers, commandos and air and naval units, they thought they could put down the rebellion by weight of arms. But the test of strength has proved the oppressors wrong. Six months ago, the British High Commis-

sioner in Brunei boasted that the rebels had been crushed; recently, a British officer complained to Sarawak's Third Divisional Advisory Council that the "terrorists" have the "full and willing co-operation" of the population!

Just as the North Kalimantan struggle is a component part of the liberation fight in Southeast Asia, it also is a good test of who are the true friends of the Asian peoples and who are the false. U.S. imperialism which professes friendship and sympathy, backs the British colonial war to the hilt. It does so because it feels that the North Kalimantan armed struggle is a stumbling block to its own neo-colonialist ambitions. And it is exerting direct pressure on Indonesia trying to frighten her into abandoning support of the North Kalimantan cause. Here is another example of U.S. imperialism as Enemy No. 1 of the world's peoples.

Without doubt, the road to national independence will be long and tortuous for the North Kalimantanans. But with internal unity, Indonesia's backing and the growing support of the peoples of Asia and the whole world, their righteous cause will triumph.

Afro-Asian Co-operation

Conference in Karachi

AFRASEC (Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Co-operation) ended its fourth congress in Karachi with the election of the Pakistan delegate to take over from the Indian

representative as president. During the 5-day session the delegates from the two continents discussed how best to strengthen the economic ties between their countries and how to develop their national economies.

This discussion led to an exposure of the United States which as the leading imperialist power tries to get a stranglehold on the newly independent countries. "Aid" as a U.S. foreign policy instrument to achieve this end claimed the conference's attention.

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, in his inaugural speech, spotlighted the question. He said that "to provide aid and to deny trade to the less developed countries amounts to giving with one hand but taking away with the other." And Sakhawat Hussain, President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Dacca, East Pakistan, instanced how the United States in giving aid to Afro-Asian countries insisted not only on a "buy American" policy but on "ship by American vessels only." It is now very clear, he said, that the aid or loans are not philanthropy but a device to further America's own interests.

If there was one single lesson driven home at the conference, it is that the new emerging countries in Asia and Africa, to be really independent, must build up economies of their own free from outside control. Political independence has no meaning unless countries can also stand on their own feet economically.

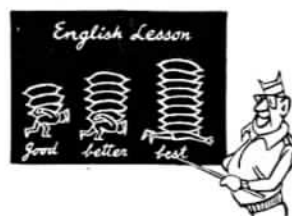
THE PASSING SHOW

The Truth Is Too Much for Them

The Indian Secondary Education Board has notified the publishers that they must either make certain changes and deletions in history textbooks or see their publications removed from the approved list. The censor objects to such sentences as — "The newly awakened China is making history. She has made tremendous progress in the fields of education, agriculture and industry."

Sorry, But You Don't Speak English

The 50,000 Japanese workers employed at the U.S. base in Okinawa now face an additional discrimination. As part of their new Okinawa policy, the occupation authorities have cut by 10 per cent the pay of those who can't speak English or don't use it in daily conversation. This serves the double aim of saving dollars while bringing Okinawa into the same category as the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico and perhaps even Hawaii.



Hsu Pei-hung and His Art

The 10th anniversary of the death of the distinguished painter Hsu Pei-hung (Ju Peon, 1895-1953) was widely commemorated in China. Tens of thousands saw the exhibition of his work in Peking's Museum of Chinese Art. It was a comprehensive collection including sketches and paintings from his earliest period shown to the public for the first time.

Commemorative articles by noted critics and artists were published in *Renmin Ribao* and other major papers and magazines, but indeed, since his death ten years ago, his memory has been kept fresh by frequent mention of his name in the press and popular reproductions of his works. A permanent exhibition established in his former Peking residence is daily thronged with visitors. His pupils are found throughout the country working for the advancement of socialist art.

Hsu Pei-hung was a pioneer of the reforms in art which took place in the period of China's democratic revolution—from the May Fourth Movement of 1919 up to the time of liberation. He was an enthusiastic advocate of maintaining and developing the traditions of Chinese national art, while seeking at the same time to assimilate useful influences from abroad. In his creative thought he was for realism and against formalism. In his works, he gave expression to a spirit of patriotism, a deep love of life, and a bond of sympathy for the work-

ing people. In character, he was ever upright and a diligent worker.

His Life

As the son of a poor peasant in Kiangsu Province, a folk artist who painted and practised calligraphy and seal-engraving, Hsu Pei-hung learnt to paint at the age of ten while he still tilled the land.

At 16 he had to make his own living as best he could by teaching and selling a few pictures in Shanghai and smaller neighbouring towns. In 1917, friends assisted him to go abroad to study in Japan. Later, on a government scholarship, he went to Paris, Berlin, Brussels, Switzerland and Rome, where he made the most of his chance to study the works of European masters of different periods. In Paris, he studied sketching and oil painting. Throughout this period he was a poor and struggling student.

Back in China, at the age of 31, Hsu at various times held the posts of head of the art departments of universities in Shanghai, Nanking and Peking. He was much sought after by the Kuomintang but he held firm to his ideals and refused to be a paid hanger-on of the ruling class. In this period he also became good friends with the great traditional painter Chi Pai-shih, who was still relatively unknown and not much thought of by the official critics. Hsu, however, recognized Chi Pai-shih's genius and respected and admired him for his attainments in traditional painting. He edited and published a volume of Chi Pai-shih's works with a foreword of appreciation.

Before and during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), Hsu felt deeply the crisis of the nation and was greatly incensed by the Kuomintang's policy of non-resistance against the Japanese aggressors. He painted many pictures reflecting these sentiments.

From 1944 on, living in Chungking, Hsu threw himself actively into the democratic and progressive movement against the reactionary Kuomintang government. He signed a declaration of artists and writers headed by Kuo Mo-jo demanding

that the Kuomintang agree to form a national democratic coalition government; he courageously defied the subsequent threats of Kuomintang thugs and eventually saw the Kuomintang flee to Taiwan in 1948.

Hsu Pei-hung welcomed the liberation of the nation with open arms. He became head of the Central Institute of Fine Arts in Peking and was the first chairman of the Union of Chinese Artists. Although frail in health, he was a tireless teacher. Determined to learn from the masses of the labouring people, he joined the land reform movement and stayed at many construction sites, drawing and painting. In 1953, at the age of 58, he died of a haemorrhage of the brain.

His Artistic Ideas

The reform of traditional art is a key event in China's art history. It began as part of the cultural revolution sparked by the May Fourth Movement. Hsu Pei-hung was among the first to urge reform. In an article he pointed out that traditional art, as practised by most artists at the time, had been reduced to the mechanical, lifeless copying of the old masters, bringing the art to a state of progressive degeneration; he called on artists to take over the useful traditions of classical art, study and preserve all that was good in it, cast out what was useless and retrograde, and assimilate whatever is helpful from Western art. In his own teaching he put great stress upon learning from nature as a corollary of studying the classical heritage. One incident is vividly illustrative of his ideas on this. He painted over 1,000 studies of horses and became famous in this genre, but when a schoolboy wrote to ask him how to draw horses, he replied: "Don't learn from me; let the horse be your teacher!" He was enthusiastic in developing Chinese figure painting which he regarded as an important part of China's national art. He actively opposed the cry raised by some for the complete Westernizing of Chinese art and warned against theories of "art for art's sake."

He maintained that art should reflect reality and be useful to society, and should not be relegated to a merely decorative role. His artistic ideas influenced many patriotic young artists of the time, and helped lay the foundations for the development of a modern realistic art in China. On the



other hand, the rather narrow sphere of his life cut him off from the turbulent revolutionary movements of the time. His political and artistic thought remained for the most part those of a simple patriot and democrat until the last decade of his life, when he came in touch with revolutionary artists and art and reality.

Historical Paintings

Hsu was accomplished in sketching in various media and painting in oils and in the traditional Chinese techniques. The most memorable works of his early period, however, are his large paintings with themes taken from history or legend. *The Five Hundred Martyrs of Tien Heng*, in oils, depicts Tien Heng, an ancient noble of the vanquished State of Chi, as he takes leave of his 500 loyal followers before setting off to see the Han emperor, a journey from which he never returned as he chose suicide to surrender. His 500 men later followed his example. This painting was obviously a sharp barb directed at the Kuomintang ruling circles who were kowtowing to the imperialist powers.

Waiting for the Liberator, another large oil, shows peasants looking anxiously to the sky for rain. It was meant to portray the people under the despotic Shang Dynasty yearning for emancipation from oppression. Its allusion too is crystal clear.

A large scroll in traditional style, *Chiu Fang-kao*, depicts this hero of the ancient State of Chin, a true connoisseur and lover of horses. He is shown admiring a scraggly, common-looking horse which everybody else was scoffing at but which, as legend records, later turned out to be a prize steed. Here Hsu Pei-hung was satirizing the ruling classes which could not recognize the true worth of people.

These three works, especially the oils, exerted a wide influence in their time. Modern oil painting had a history at that time of only a score or so years in China. Few works of such size and complexity of composition had yet been produced in a realistic style. They display some signs of immaturity in technique, but with them Hsu Pei-hung nevertheless pioneered the use of this medium to express profound national sentiments.

Animal Paintings

It is his traditional paintings of horses, however, that have made Hsu



Spring Rain Over Likiang River

Traditional Chinese paintings

Pei-hung known far beyond the borders of China. These are more than just studies of animals. Through them he revealed profound feelings and ideas. The horse he draws is not your sleek, tame creature that fattens in the stables of palaces and noblemen, and such as many Chinese animal painters had painted before him. It is a wild, strong, noble animal without harness or bridle, eyes flashing and mane flying in the wind.

Lions, cats, birds, ancient pines and bamboos are other favourite topics of his. They all reflect some part of his sentiments.

In his landscapes Hsu Pei-hung experimented a great deal, striving to evolve a new art style which combined Western with traditional Chinese techniques. He employed Western methods of composition, perspective and watercolour techniques to express the mood of the Chinese landscape. *Spring Rain Over Likiang River* is a most successful example of this.

Progressive Influences

Hsu Pei-hung had that sterling quality of open-mindedness, which made him unprejudiced and quick to accept new, progressive ideas. He was struck with admiration for the vitality and realism of the works displayed at an exhibition of woodcuts from the Communist-led Liberated Areas in 1942. These included engravings by Ku Yuan, the well-known artist, and Hsu Pei-hung praised them unre-

servedly. At a time when Chungking was under the ruthless domination of the Kuomintang, this was no easy thing to do. In a later article, Hsu Pei-hung declared that he was "thinking constantly" of Ku Yuan and his "meticulous and sober realistic style." It was under these influences that, in the early 1940s, he began to realize that a vital creative art must be linked with the life and struggles of the labouring masses. This inspired him to go out sketching in the streets, and take his students out to the villages on artistic hikes.

Post-Liberation Works

Hsu Pei-hung was quick to embrace Chairman Mao Tse-tung's call for art and literature to serve the worker, peasant and soldier masses—the people. He realized that he had finally found the correct road for the advance of the nation's art. He started several large oils including *Chairman Mao Among the People*, *Lu Hsun* and *Chu Chiu-pai*, and made many sketches of peasants, armymen and model workers. It is a deep loss that they were unfinished due to his untimely death.

Hsu Pei-hung bequeathed to New China a rich store of works which today form a valuable part of China's treasury of modern art. He trained for posterity a number of talented young artists who are now serving in the cause of socialism. His contribution to life and culture will never be forgotten by the Chinese people.

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