PEKING REVIEW

47 and 48

November 30, 1962

北京周報

Sino-Indian Border Dispute

China Takes Initiative in Seeking Peaceful Settlement

1. Government statement announcing ceasefire and withdrawal by Chinese frontier guards (p. 5).
2. Premier Chou En-lai's letter to leaders of Asian and African countries (p. 7).
3. Survey of world opinion (p. 22).

Defend the Purity of Marxism-Leninism

Renmin Ribao and *Hongqi* comment on anniversaries of Moscow Declaration (1957) and Moscow Statement (1960) (pp. 26, 30).

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Just Off the Press

THE SINO-INDIAN BOUNDARY QUESTION

(Enlarged Edition)

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China (October 24, 1962)

Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to the Leaders of Asian and African Countries on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question (November 15, 1962)

(Appendices: Maps and Reference Maps)

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China (November 21, 1962)

Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to Prime Minister Nehru (November 7, 1959)

Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China to the Indian Embassy in China (December 26, 1959)

More on Nehru's Philosophy in the Light of the Sino-Indian Boundary Question by the Editorial Department of "Renmin Ribao" (October 27, 1962)

Also available in Russian, French, Spanish and Japanese

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

Nov. 30, 1962 Vol. V Nos. 47-48

CONTENTS

Note to Readers

In view of the rapid developments relating to the Sino-Indian border, we have combined Nos. 47 and 48 in one issue.

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

ROUND THE WEEK

For the Farms

All-out and all-round aid to agriculture has paid off in a significant boost in farm output this year. The way the campaign is going ahead looks good for a still better harvest next year.

Chemical Fertilizers. Chemical works throughout the country are stepping up the production of various kinds of fertilizers for the farms. Two of the largest, in Talien and Lanchow, have already fulfilled their year's quota. The Talien Chemical Industry Company in northeast China has, to date, topped its production plan by more than 77,000 tons. In the first ten months of this year, it shipped more than twice as much fertilizer to various parts of the country as it did in the same span last year.

The chemical works in Lanchow in the northwest fulfilled its year's quota by the end of October. It achieved this by improving its equipment and production techniques. With two extra months in hand, it will present the rural people's communes with a sizable year's end bonus of fertilizer.

The Nanking Chemical Industry Company, also one of the largest in the country, had by mid-October already topped its year's quota for urea by 50 per cent. This company has China's first experimental workshop for producing urea, designed and built by its own staff in 1958. Urea is particularly effective in increasing soil fertility in paddyfields. Other plants have also reported increases in the output of nitrogenous and phosphate fertilizers and synthetic ammonia. Various technical innovations in these plants have considerably raised their productivity.

Farm Machines and Tools. The machine building, light and handicraft industries are turning out more and better machines, farm tools and consumer goods as their contribution to the farms. Emulation drives have been launched in a number of cities, and the workers are doing their best to meet the needs of their peasant brothers.

The No. 1 Tractor Plant at Loyang, Honan Province, in the first eight months of this year overfulfilled its production plan for tractors and tractor parts by 7.2 and 6.8 per cent respectively. The steel works in Chungking in Szechuan Province have succeeded in producing special high carbon and low carbon steels for the manufacture of small farm tools. Factories in Shanghai, besides boosting their output of various kinds of steels for farm machines and tools, are making new models of water pumps better suited to the topographical and technical conditions of specific localities. At the same time they are working at full tilt to produce the various kinds of consumer goods for which they are famous. Considerable as is their output of sewing machines, bicycles, thermos bottles, aluminium ware, rubber shoes and other goods, it still falls short of the ever increasing demands of the rural areas.

State Loans. The state, besides providing the people's communes with technical aid and additional qualified personnel, also lends a helping hand with money.

Broadening the scope of their work in this respect government financial departments are beginning to issue long-term, interest-free loans to farms. From July, when loans of this kind were instituted, to the end of September, the People's Bank had already lent some 300 million yuan on these terms to rural people's communes.

Most of this money went to production teams in the major grain-producing areas and places where agriculture suffered serious damage from bad weather and other natural causes. It was spent on draught animals, farm implements, irrigation and drainage equipment, carts, boats and fishing nets, etc.

Such loans are repayable within two to five years or even later, either in a lump sum or by instalments.

Oil Output Rises

With such famous oilfields as those at Karamai and Yumen in the northwest settling down to veteran status, China's young petroleum industry is growing fast. Output is rising. In the first eight months of this year, the output of gasoline, kerosene and lubricating oil increased from 28 per cent

New Oilfield — By Tang Yu

to over 100 per cent, compared with the same period last year.

There have been increases, in various degrees, in the output of such by-products as paraffin, asphalt, petroleum coke and ammonium sulphate. In addition, oil workers have boosted their labour productivity by 20 per cent compared with 1961, and lowered costs 9 per cent below the limit set by the state plan.

The industry has introduced a number of new products, too. This year saw two and a half times as many varieties of oil products being made as in 1957, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57). Most of them are being produced for the first time in this country.

Productive capacity for oil extraction and refining increased several hundred per cent in the first four years of the Second Five-Year Plan. There have been further increases this year.

Like other branches of industry the oil industry is making its contribution to the nationwide drive to aid agriculture. An increasing amount of oil products for farm machinery, pumping and irrigation works has been sent to the countryside.

Young as it still is, China's oil industry today is a far cry from pre-liberation status when in fact it hardly existed and foreign scientists declared that China was poor in oil.

Jianming Co-op Showed the Way

Members of the famous Jianming People's Commune in Tsunhua County, Hopei Province, recently held a meeting to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the no less famous Jianming Agricultural Producers' Co-op. It was this co-op which, as the movement for agricultural collectivization developed, amalgamated with several other neighbouring co-ops in 1958 to found the prosperous Jianming People's Commune of today.

Ten years ago when Wang Kuo-fan and two other peasants took the initiative in setting up the co-op, they could only get 23 poor peasant households of the village to join it. They had between them no more than 230 *mu* of hill land, no carts of any kind, hardly any farm tools, and only "three-quarters of a donkey," since one of the peasants sharing ownership of that animal preferred to go it alone. Poor as the co-op was, sneered at by landlords and rich peasants who nicknamed it the "Paupers' Co-op," Wang Kuo-fan and his mates were firm in taking the co-op road; they had full faith in the Communist Party's words that that was the only way which could lead them to prosperity.

Working hard and living frugally, the "Paupers' Co-op" grew and thrived. Within a few years, with a steady rise in output, its members' income increased and living conditions improved. It was not long before every household in the village was asking to join. By 1958, Jianming had grown into a co-op of the advanced type, owning much land, scores of draught animals and a sizable farm inventory. Its liquid capital ran into six figures. That year, Jianming merged with several other co-ops to form the people's commune which bears its name.

This year at the anniversary celebrations it was difficult to believe that this was the site of the old "Paupers' Co-op." All Hsipu Village — home of the former Jianming Co-op — took part in the fete. Red scrolls of happiness and prosperity were pasted on the doors of the peasants' homes. Streets and lanes were swept clean, and spanning them were green arches of interwoven pine branches. Dressed in their holiday best, with bands making music with gongs and drums in traditional festive fashion, over 2,000 peasants of the commune flocked to the celebration. Among the happiest people that day were members of the 23 households who had pioneered the co-op way in the village.

There too, attracting special attention, was that famous donkey whose "three-quarters" had helped to get the co-op started. The sight of the donkey recalled many a story of the "old" days. Close by were parked five lorries and a tractor, and there were many horses of fine breed too — all belonging to the Jianming People's Commune. By the meeting place were charts showing the steady rise in agricultural output. This year, though harassed in succession by a long dry spell and waterlogging, Hsipu Village still succeeded in achieving a higher per *mu* yield than it did in 1957 — the year preceding the formation of the commune. The charts attributed these successes to the "change in conditions": a reservoir built to supply water to the fields; 80 per cent of the poor sandy soil in the village turned into fertile land; and the use of new-type farm tools and machines.

All this has meant a tremendous improvement in the general well-being of the Hsipu peasants. Now they have ample grain and electric lighting in their homes; nearly half of them have moved into new houses. In the past, few people in the village could read and write; now hundreds have attained a standard comparable to that of a middle school student.

In his speech at the meeting Wang Kuo-fan, now director of the Jianming People's Commune and a People's Deputy to the National People's Congress, paid tribute to the spirit of industriousness and thrift displayed by the commune members — the spirit that had put the "Paupers' Co-op" on its feet and which animates the rapid progress the commune has made. He expressed the general confidence of the commune members in marching along the road of collectivization — the only road for the peasants to a happy and prosperous life.

The Chinese Government Statement

From 00:00 hours, November 22, 1962, the Chinese frontier guards will cease fire along the entire Sino-Indian border; from December 1, 1962, they will withdraw to positions 20 kilometres behind the 1959 line of actual control, with checkposts set up at a number of places on the Chinese side of the line of actual control.

These measures taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative demonstrate its great sincerity for ending the border conflict and settling the boundary question peacefully. The Chinese Government hopes the Indian Government will give a positive response.

If Indian troops should continue their attack and again advance to the line of actual control, remain on the line of actual control, or cross the line of actual control, China reserves the right to strike back in self-defence, and the Indian Government will be held fully responsible for the consequences arising therefrom.

Peking, 00:00 hours, November 21, 1962

IN the past two years, first in the western and then in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, Indian troops crossed the line of actual control between China and India, nibbled Chinese territory, set up strongpoints for aggression and provoked a number of border clashes. Relying on the advantageous military positions they had occupied and having made full preparations, the Indian troops eventually launched massive armed attacks all along the line on the Chinese frontier guards on October 20, 1962. This border conflict deliberately provoked by India has been going on for a month.

The Chinese Government served repeated warnings in regard to the increasingly serious Indian encroachments and provocations, and pointed out the gravity of their consequences. The Chinese frontier guards all along maintained maximum self-restraint and forbearance in order to avert any border conflict. However, all these efforts by China proved of no avail, and the Indian acts of aggression steadily increased. Pressed beyond the limits of endurance and left with no room for retreat, the Chinese frontier guards finally had no choice but to strike back resolutely in self-defence. After the present large-scale border conflict broke out, the Chinese Government quickly took initiative measures in an effort to extinguish the flames of conflict that had been kindled. On October 24, that is, four days after the outbreak of the current border clashes, the Chinese Government put forward three reasonable proposals for stopping the border clashes, reopening peaceful negotiations and settling the Sino-Indian boundary question. The three proposals are as follows:

(1) Both parties affirm that the Sino-Indian boundary question must be settled peacefully through negotiations. Pending a peaceful settlement, the Chinese Government hopes that the Indian Government will agree that both parties respect the line of actual control between the two sides along the entire Sino-Indian border, and the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres from this line and disengage.

(2) Provided that the Indian Government agrees to the above proposal, the Chinese Government is willing, through consultation between the two parties, to withdraw its frontier guards in the eastern sector of the border to the north of the line of actual control; at the same time, both China and India undertake not to cross the line of actual control, i.e., the traditional customary line, in the middle and western sectors of the border.

Matters relating to the disengagement of the armed forces of the two parties and the cessation of armed conflict shall be negotiated by officials designated by the Chinese and Indian Governments respectively.

(3) The Chinese Government considers that, in order to seek a friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, talks should be held once again by the Prime Ministers of China and India. At a time considered to be appropriate by both parties, the Chinese

Chinese Frontier Guards Cease Fire

In conformity with the decision announced in the statement of the Chinese Government on November 21, the Chinese frontier guards in the Tibet and Sinkiang regions, on their own initiative, ceased fire simultaneously along the entire Sino-Indian border at 00:00 hours on November 22.

After the Chinese frontier guards ceased fire, two Indian military planes on the very same day provocatively flew over Chinese posts on Chinese territory near Spanggur Lake in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. Since the Chinese Government hoped that the Indian Government would make a positive response to its November 21 statement, the Chinese frontier guards were ordered to exercise restraint and abstain from opening fire on the intruding Indian planes.

Government would welcome the Indian Prime Minister to Peking; if this should be inconvenient to the Indian Government, the Chinese Premier would be ready to go to Delhi for talks.

On the very day it received them, the Indian Government hastily rejected the Chinese Government's three proposals and insisted that the Chinese Government should agree to restore the state of the boundary as it prevailed prior to September 8, 1962, that is to say, India wanted to reoccupy large tracts of Chinese territory so that the Indian troops might regain the position from which they could launch massive armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards at any time. In his reply to Premier Chou En-lai dated November 14, Prime Minister Nehru put forward even more unreasonable demands, which, on the one hand, required the Chinese Government to agree to the Indian troops reverting to their positions prior to September 8, and, on the other hand, required the Chinese frontier guards not only to withdraw to their positions as on September 8, but to retreat farther in the western sector to the so-called positions of November 7, 1959, as defined for them by India unilaterally, that is, requiring China to cede five to six thousand square miles (thirteen to fifteen thousand square kilometres) more of Chinese territory. In the meantime the Indian Government, relying on large amounts of U.S. military aid, again launched powerful attacks in the eastern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border in an obstinate attempt to expand the border conflict.

It is by no means accidental that the Indian Government has taken such an extremely unreasonable attitude. To meet the needs of its internal and external politics, the Indian Government has long pursued the policy of deliberately keeping the Sino-Indian boundary question unsettled, keeping the armed forces of the two countries engaged and maintaining tension along the Sino-Indian border. Whenever it considered the time favourable, the Indian Government made use of this situation to carry out armed invasion and provocation on the Sino-Indian border, and even went to the length of provoking an armed clash. Or else, it made use of the situation to conduct cold war against China. The experience of many years shows that the Indian Government has invariably tried by hook or by crook to block the path which was opened up by the Chinese Government for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. This policy of the Indian Government runs diametrically counter to the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples and the common desires of all the peoples of the world, and serves only the interests of imperialism.

The Chinese Government's three proposals are most fair and reasonable; they are the only proposals capable of averting border clashes, ensuring border tranquillity and bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government perseveres in these three proposals. However, the Indian Government has so far rejected these three proposals and continued to expand the border conflict, thus daily aggravating the Sino-Indian border situation. In order to reverse this trend, the Chinese Government has decided to take initiative measures in order to promote the realization of these three proposals.

The Chinese Government hereby declares the following:

(1) Beginning from the day following that of the issuance of the present statement, i.e., from 00:00 hours on November 22, 1962, the Chinese frontier guards will cease fire along the entire Sino-Indian border.

(2) Beginning from December 1, 1962, the Chinese frontier guards will withdraw to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control which existed between China and India on November 7, 1959.

In the eastern sector, although the Chinese frontier guards have so far been fighting back in self-defence on Chinese territory north of the traditional customary line, they are prepared to withdraw from their present positions to the north of the line of actual control, that is, north of the illegal McMahon Line, and to withdraw 20 kilometres farther back from that Line.

In the middle and western sectors, the Chinese frontier guards will withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control.

(3) In order to ensure the normal movement of the inhabitants in the Sino-Indian border area, forestall the activities of saboteurs and maintain order there, China will set up checkposts at a number of places on its side of the line of actual control with a certain number of civil police assigned to each checkpost. The Chinese Government will notify the Indian Government of the location of these checkposts through diplomatic channels.

These measures taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative demonstrate its great sincerity for stopping the border conflict and settling the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully. It should be pointed out, in particular, that, after withdrawing, the Chinese frontier guards will be far behind their positions prior to September 8, 1962. The Chinese Government hopes that, as a result of the above-mentioned initiative measures taken by China, the Indian Government will take into consideration the desires of the Indian people and peoples of the world, make a new start and give a positive response. Provided that the Indian Government agrees to take corresponding measures, the Chinese and Indian Governments can immediately appoint officials to meet at places agreed upon by both parties in the various sectors of the Sino-Indian border to discuss matters relating to the 20-kilometre withdrawal of the armed forces of each party to form a demilitarized zone, the establishment of checkposts by each party on its side of the line of actual control as well as the return of captured personnel.

When the talks between the officials of the two parties have yielded results and the results have been put into effect, talks can be held by the Prime Ministers of the two countries for further seeking an amicable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government would welcome the Indian Prime Minister to Peking; if this should be inconvenient to the Indian Government, the Chinese Premier would be ready to go to Delhi for the talks.

The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that the Indian Government will make a positive response. Even if the Indian Government fails to make such a response in good time, the Chinese Government will take the ini-

tiative to carry out the above-mentioned measures as scheduled.

However, the Chinese Government cannot but take into account the following possible eventualities: (1) that the Indian troops should continue their attack after the Chinese frontier guards have ceased fire and when they are withdrawing; (2) that, after the Chinese frontier guards have withdrawn 20 kilometres from the entire line of actual control, the Indian troops should again advance to the line of actual control in the eastern sector, i.e., the illegal McMahon Line, and/or refuse to withdraw but remain on the line of actual control in the middle and western sectors; and (3) that, after the Chinese frontier guards have withdrawn 20 kilometres from the entire line of actual control, the Indian troops should cross the line of actual control and recover their positions prior to September 8, that is to say, again cross the illegal McMahon Line and reoccupy the Kechilang River area north of the Line in the eastern sector, reoccupy Wuje in the middle sector, and restore their 43 strongpoints for aggression in the Chip Chap River valley, the Galwan River valley, the Pangong Lake area and the Demchok area or set up more strongpoints for aggression on Chinese territory in the western sector. **The Chinese Government solemnly declares that, should the above eventualities occur, China reserves the right to strike back in self-defence, and the Indian Government will be held completely responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.** The people of the world will then see even more clearly who is peace-loving and who is bellicose, who upholds friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples and Asian-African solidarity and who is undermining them, who is protecting the common interests of the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and who is violating and damaging these common interests.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is an issue between two Asian countries. China and India should settle this issue peacefully; they should not cross swords on account of this issue and even less allow U.S. imperialism to poke in its hand and develop the present unfortunate border conflict into a war in which Asians are made to fight Asians. It is from its consistent stand of protecting fundamental interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and preserving world peace that the Chinese Government has, after considering the matter over and over, decided to take these important measures. The Chinese Government calls upon all Asian and African countries and all peace-loving countries and people to exert efforts to urge the Indian Government to take corresponding measures so as to stop the border conflict, reopen peaceful negotiations and settle the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to Leaders Of Asian and African Countries

Following is a translation of the letter written on November 15, 1962. Subheads and emphases are ours.—Ed.

Your Excellency,

The unfortunate border conflict between China and India has been going on for several weeks. There are indications that this conflict, far from being halted, will grow in scale. The Chinese Government feels deeply disturbed over this situation which has also evoked the profound concern of many Asian and African countries. I am taking the liberty of writing to you in the hope that my letter may be of help to Your Excellency in your endeavours to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

China's Consistent Stand for Peaceful Settlement

(1) **China has worked consistently for the peaceful settlement of questions related to its boundaries.** China has a boundary question not only in relation to India, but also in relation to several of its other southwestern neighbours. Traced to their root, these boundary questions were largely created by the imperialists and colonialists before our countries attained independence. Since we won independence, the imperialists and colonialists have tried to make use of these boundary questions to create disputes among us newly independent states. **The Chinese Government therefore considers that, in dealing with such boundary questions, we should clearly discern that these are issues between Asian and African countries which are not the same as issues between Asian-African countries and the imperialist powers; we should be on guard lest we be taken in by the imperialist attempt to sow discord among us.**

Inasmuch as the boundary questions are a legacy of history, neither New China nor the other newly independent countries concerned should shoulder the blame. **Hence the Chinese Government holds that, in dealing with the boundary questions, both the historical background and the actual situation that has come into being must be taken into account, and that, instead of trying to impose its claims on the other party, each of the parties concerned should seek a settlement that is reasonable and fair to both parties through friendly consultations and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles adopted at the Bandung Conference.**

In this spirit China and Burma have settled in a friendly way their boundary question, which was in fact much more complicated than that between China and India. Similarly, a friendly settlement of the Sino-Nepalese

boundary question was brought about not long ago. In regard to the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese Government has, in the same spirit, striven for a friendly and peaceful settlement with India. Notwithstanding every conceivable effort on the part of China during the past three years or more, the question remains unsettled, and indeed has developed into the sanguinary border conflict of today. Why this is so is a question that deserves serious thought. For this reason I deem it necessary here to review the background of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The Traditional Customary Boundary Line

(2) **Historically, the Chinese and Indian peoples have always lived together in peace and amity.** Although the boundary between China and India has never been formally delimited, no border dispute had ever arisen between them before the British colonialists came to the East. **This was so because a traditional customary boundary line had long taken shape on the basis of the extent of each side's administrative jurisdiction in the long course of time during which the two peoples lived together in peace.** This line was respected by the Indian as well as the Chinese peoples. The eastern sector of this traditional customary boundary runs along the southern foot of the Himalayas, the middle sector along the Himalayas, and the western sector along the Karakoram range (see attached Map 1).

In the eastern sector, the area disputed by the Indian Government north of the traditional customary line has always belonged to China. This area comprises Monyul, Loyul and Lower Tsayul, which are all part of the Tibet region. It covers a total area of 90,000 square kilometres and is equivalent in size to three Belgiums or nine Lebanons. The inhabitants who have long lived in this area are either Tibetans or peoples closely akin to them. A case in point is the Monba people, who speak the Tibetan language and believe in Lamaism. Most of the geographical names here are in the Tibetan language. For instance, a river is called *chu* here, hence the Nyamjang River is called Nyamjang Chu; a mountain pass is called *la*, hence the Se Pass is called "Sela"; a district is called *yul*, hence the Mon district is called "Monyul." The administrative set-up here was the same as that in the other parts of Tibet; the basic administrative unit was called *dzong*, as in the case of Senge Dzong and Dirang Dzong. Up to the time when the British colonialists and the Indians came to this area, the local authorities of China's Tibet region had always maintained administrative organs, appointed officials, collected taxes and exercised judicial authority here. This administrative jurisdiction was never called in question.

In the middle sector, the places disputed by the Indian Government east of the traditional customary line have always belonged to China. They cover a total area of 2,000 square kilometres. The inhabitants are nearly all Tibetans. The Tibet local government had all along exercised jurisdiction over these places, and its archives to this day contain documents pertaining to this exercise of jurisdiction.

In the western sector, the area disputed by the Indian Government north and east of the traditional customary line has always belonged to China. This area consists mainly of Aksai Chin in China's Sinkiang and a part of the Ari district of Tibet. It covers a total area of 33,000 square kilometres and is equivalent in size to one Belgium or three Lebanons. Though sparsely inhabited, this area has always served as the traffic artery linking Sinkiang with Ari in Tibet. The Kirghiz and Uighur herdsmen of Sinkiang are in the custom of grazing their cattle here. The name Aksai Chin is the Uighur term for "China's desert of white stones." To this day, this area remains under Chinese jurisdiction.

The traditional customary boundary was not only respected by both China and India over a long period of time, but also reflected in early official British maps. Before 1865, the delineation of the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary in official British maps coincided roughly with the traditional customary line (see Reference Map 1), and before 1936 their delineation of the eastern sector similarly coincided roughly with the traditional customary line (see Reference Map 2 A and B).

Origin of the Sino-Indian Boundary Dispute

(3) **The Sino-Indian boundary dispute is a legacy of British imperialist aggression.** After it had completely brought India under its domination, British imperialism, taking advantage of the powerless state of the Indian people, turned its spearhead of aggression and expansion towards China's southwestern and northwestern frontiers, using India as its base. From the second half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, British imperialism was actively engaged in conspiratorial activities of aggression against China's Tibet and Sinkiang. Its attempt to force open China's back door was designed to co-ordinate with its aggression along the coast and in the heartland of China. In 1911 there occurred the revolution which overthrew the absolute imperial rule in China. Seizing upon this as an opportune moment to detach Tibet from China, British imperialism sought to negate China's sovereignty in Tibet by recognizing merely China's so-called suzerainty there. It was against this historical background that the Simla Conference was convened in 1914. But even at that conference the British representative dared not openly demand that China cede large tracts of its territory. It was outside the conference and behind the back of the representative of the Chinese Central Government that the British representative drew the notorious "McMahon Line" through a secret exchange of letters with the representative of the Tibet local authorities, attempting thereby to annex 90,000 square kilometres of China's territory to British India. The then Chinese Government refused to recognize this illegal McMahon Line. So have all Chinese Governments since then. That is why even the British Government dared not publicly draw this Line on its maps before 1936.

The illegal McMahon Line was wholly imposed on the Chinese people by British imperialism. Although it contrived this Line, for quite a long time afterwards it dared not intrude into the area lying south of this illegal Line and north of the Sino-Indian traditional customary line. It was not until the last phase of the Second World War that British imperialism, utilizing the opportunity afforded by the then Chinese Government's inability to

look after its southwestern frontiers, seized a small part of this area.

In the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, British imperialism, seeking a short-cut for invading the heart of Sinkiang, laid covetous eyes on the relatively flat Aksai Chin in the eighteen sixties and dispatched military intelligence agents to infiltrate into the area for unlawful surveys. In compliance with the will of British imperialism, these agents worked out an assortment of boundary lines for truncating Sinkiang. The British Government did try at one time to alter according to its own wishes the traditional customary line in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, but was promptly rebuffed by the Chinese Government.

Britain's attempt was to obliterate the traditional customary boundary line formed between China and India over a long period of time, and to attain its imperialist aims of aggression by carving up China's territory and expanding the territory of British India. Yet it dared not completely negate the traditional customary boundary line between China and India or bring out in their entirety the illegal boundary lines it had contrived. From 1865 to 1953 British and Indian maps either did not show any alignment of the boundary in the western sector at all, or showed it in an indistinct fashion and marked it as undefined. It was only from 1936 onwards that the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector appeared on British and Indian maps, but up to 1953 it was still designated as undemarcated (see Reference Map 3).

The Indian Government Inherits British Imperialism's Designs on China's Tibet

(4) India and China attained independence in 1947 and 1949 respectively. Friendly relations were developed by the two countries on a new basis. However, owing to causes from the Indian side, there has been a dark side to the Sino-Indian relations from the very beginning.

Thanks to their mutual efforts, China and India established diplomatic relations quite early, jointly initiated the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and signed the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India. This brought about a definite development in the friendly relations between the two countries. China and India ought to have cast away the entire legacy of imperialism and established and developed their relations of mutual friendship on a completely new basis. The Indian Government, however, inherited the British imperialists' covetous desires towards the Tibet region of China and persisted in regarding Tibet as India's sphere of influence, or sought at least to transform it into a buffer zone between China and India. For this reason, the Indian Government tried its best to obstruct the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1950. When these attempts proved of no avail, India pressed forward in an all-out advance on the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector of the border and completely occupied China's territory south of that illegal Line and north of the traditional customary line. In the middle sector of the Sino-Indian border, apart from long ago inheriting from British imperialism the encroachment on Sang and Tsungsha, India further encroached on Chuva, Chuje, Shipki Pass, Puling-Sumdo, Sangcha, and Lapthal after 1954. After 1954, India also encroached on Parigas in the western sector of the border.

While it was occupying large tracts of Chinese territory, India suddenly made a unilateral alteration of the Sino-Indian traditional customary line in its official map published in 1954. It presented in its entirety the version of the Sino-Indian boundary insidiously contrived by British imperialism and tried to impose this version on China as the delimited boundary between China and India (see Reference Map 4).

The Chinese Government did not accept Indian encroachment on large tracts of Chinese territory, nonetheless it took the position that an amicable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question should be sought through peaceful negotiations, and that, pending a settlement, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained. China does not recognize the so-called McMahon Line, yet in the interest of settling the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations, it refrained from crossing this Line. As for maps of the two parties showing the boundary, they can be brought into conformity only after the boundary question has been settled through negotiations between the two parties. This was the procedure by which maps of China and Burma and maps of China and Nepal showing the boundary lines between them were brought into conformity. The delineation of the Sino-Indian boundary on maps published by China has its historical and factual basis. But in view of the fact that the Sino-Indian boundary has not been formally delimited, China has never imposed its maps on India; at the same time, China will under no circumstances accept the maps unilaterally altered by India.

From 1950 to 1958, tranquillity generally prevailed along the Sino-Indian border because China adhered to the policy of seeking an amicable settlement of the boundary question through peaceful negotiations, although even in that period India was already sowing seeds for provoking future boundary disputes and border clashes.

India's Preposterous Territorial Claims

(5) After the rebellion in Tibet, the Indian Government formally laid claim to large tracts of Chinese territory. In March 1959 a rebellion of serf-owners broke out in the Tibet region of China. The Indian Government not only aided and abetted this rebellion, but gave refuge to the remnant rebels after the rebellion had been put down, and connived at their anti-Chinese political activities in India. Soon after the rebellion broke out in Tibet, Prime Minister Nehru formally presented to the Chinese Government a claim to large tracts of Chinese territory. He asked the Chinese Government not only to recognize as legal Indian occupation of Chinese territory in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, but also to recognize as part of India the Aksai Chin area in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border which India had never occupied (see attached Map 2).

India's territorial claim to Aksai Chin was conjured up and is devoid of any basis whatever. China has always exercised its jurisdiction in this area. In 1950 it was through this area that units of the Chinese Peo-

ple's Liberation Army advanced from Sinkiang into Ari, Tibet. And it was through this area that between 1956 and 1957 the Chinese side constructed the Sinkiang-Tibet Highway, a gigantic task of engineering. As a matter of fact, up to 1958, India had never disputed the fact of China's exercise of jurisdiction over this area. But now the Indian Government asserted that this area had always belonged to India, and that it was not until 1957 that the Chinese had entered it clandestinely. If India had always exercised jurisdiction over this area, it is beyond comprehension how India could have been unaware of the passing of the Chinese People's Liberation Army units through this area to Tibet and of the construction of the gigantic highway. It was only from a pictorial magazine published in China that the Indian Government came to know that China had built the highway. In September 1958 the Indian side sent patrols to intrude into this area, but they were immediately detained by Chinese frontier guards. How could this have happened if India had really exercised jurisdiction over this area? In point of fact, Prime Minister Nehru himself said in the Indian Rajya Sabha on September 10, 1959, that this area "has not been under any kind of administration." On November 23 of the same year, he further stated in the Indian Rajya Sabha, "During British rule, as far as I know, this area was neither inhabited by any people nor were there any outposts." Though Prime Minister Nehru was in no position to assess correctly the situation on the Chinese side, his words nevertheless demonstrate authoritatively that India has never exercised jurisdiction over this area.

Having occupied 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the eastern sector and 2,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the middle sector of the Sino-Indian border, India now wants to occupy another 33,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the western sector. In other words, India views both the parts of Chinese territory it has occupied and the other parts of Chinese territory it has not yet occupied as belonging to India. This represents a demand which even the overbearing British imperialists dared not put to semi-colonial, old China. That a newly independent India should have made such a demand came as a complete shock to China.

The gravity of the situation lies not only in India's extensive claims to Chinese territory, but also in its subsequent use of force to change unilaterally the state of the boundary that had emerged, so as to realize Indian territorial claims. Indian armed forces crossed the illegal McMahon Line in the eastern sector, invaded and occupied Tamaden, Longju and Khinzemane north of the Line, and in August 1959, in the course of invading Longju, provoked the first sanguinary border clash. In October 1959 Indian armed forces crossed the traditional customary boundary line in the western sector and provoked a sanguinary border clash of an even graver nature at Kongka Pass. These two border clashes were omens that India would further aggravate the situation on the Sino-Indian border.

Chinese Measures for Preventing Worsening Of the Situation

(6) **The Chinese Government held that, in order to avert conflict along the border, ways must be found to effect a disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides, and at the same time negotiations must be started quickly to seek a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.** The Chinese Government was determined to take every possible measure within its power to prevent a deterioration of the situation.

On November 7, 1959, the Chinese Government proposed to the Indian Government that the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres from the line of actual control along the entire Sino-Indian border and halt patrols. The line of actual control referred to here coincided with the traditional customary line in the western and middle sectors except for the parts of Chinese territory which India had invaded and occupied as referred to in Section (4) above; in the eastern sector, the line of actual control coincided with the illegal McMahon Line except for Khinzemane which was then still under Indian occupation (see attached Map 3). The Chinese Government also proposed that the Prime Ministers of the two countries hold talks to discuss the Sino-Indian boundary question. But these proposals were rejected by the Indian Government. On November 16, 1959, the Indian Government put forward a counter-proposal which would require all Chinese personnel in the Aksai Chin area of China's Sinkiang to withdraw to the east of the line which India claimed to be the international boundary, and all Indian personnel in this area to withdraw to the west of the line which China claimed to be the international boundary. Since Indian personnel had never actually come into this area, the Indian proposal was tantamount to demanding the unilateral withdrawal of Chinese personnel from vast tracts of their own territory. The Chinese Government then put this question to the Indian Government: Since the Indian Government held that each side should withdraw behind the line claimed by the other side in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, did this mean that the Indian Government agreed that in the eastern sector as well, each side should withdraw behind the line claimed by the other side? — in other words, that India should withdraw to the south of the traditional customary line pointed out by China, while China should withdraw to the north of the so-called McMahon Line claimed by India? The Indian Government was at a loss to answer this question and merely kept insisting that its proposal was only applicable to the western sector. Very clearly, the Indian Government had no interest in an amicable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through peaceful negotiations on a fair and reasonable basis, nor had it any interest in separating the armed forces of the two sides on the basis of the line of actual control with a view to forestalling border clashes. What it was after was only to use armed forces to edge Chinese personnel out of Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border.

Despite this, the Chinese Government still maintained that it was of paramount urgency to avert conflict along the border. Hence, after the Indian Government had rejected the Chinese Government's proposals that each side withdraw its armed forces 20 kilometres from the line of actual control and stop patrols, China unilaterally discontinued patrols on its side of the boundary. The Chinese Government hoped that, by so doing, at least a disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides could

be effected which would be conducive to avoiding border clashes and maintaining tranquillity in the border region.

Premier Chou En-lai's Visit to New Delhi

(7) **With a view to seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Chinese Premier visited New Delhi in April 1960 and held talks with Prime Minister Nehru.** In the course of the talks, I repeatedly explained that the boundary question should be settled peacefully on a fair and reasonable basis; that if there could not be a settlement for the time being, the state of the boundary that had already emerged should be maintained; and that the armed forces of the two sides should be disengaged in order to forestall clashes. **At the conclusion of the talks, I summed up the following six points as points of common ground or of close proximity emerging from the talks, namely:**

1. There exist disputes with regard to the boundary between the two sides.
2. There exists between the two countries a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction.
3. In determining the boundary between the two countries, certain geographical principles, such as watersheds, river valleys and mountain passes, should be equally applicable to all sectors of the boundary.
4. A settlement of the boundary question between the two countries should take into account the national feelings of the two peoples towards the Himalayas and the Karakoram Mountains.
5. Pending a settlement of the boundary question between the two countries through discussions, both sides should keep to the line of actual control and should not put forward territorial claims as preconditions, but individual adjustments may be made.
6. In order to ensure tranquillity on the border so as to facilitate the discussion, both sides should continue to refrain from patrolling along all sectors of the boundary.

I suggested that these points of common ground be affirmed so as to facilitate further discussions by the two Governments. These six points are entirely equitable and involve no demands imposed by one side on the other. They include views expressed to me during the talks by Prime Minister Nehru himself. **Yet Prime Minister Nehru refused to confirm these six points. His refusal in fact meant that the Indian Government was unwilling to recognize the existence of a line of actual control between the two countries, unwilling to agree to observe this line pending a settlement of the boundary question through negotiations and refrain from putting forward territorial claims as pre-conditions to negotiations, unwilling to disengage the armed forces of the two sides so as to forestall border clashes, and even unwilling to recognize the objective fact that there exist disputes between the two sides with regard to the boundary. In those talks, Prime Minister Nehru took the position that the Chinese Government must unconditionally accede to India's territorial claims and refused to leave any room for negotiation. These were claims which even British imperialism dared not put before the Chinese Government. Prime Minister Nehru was fully aware that the Chinese Government would in no circumstances agree to these claims. By pressing them he was clearly seeking, out of unrevealed motives, to keep the boundary question unsettled and the border situation tense indefinitely.**

Subsequently, during the meetings between officials of the two countries held from June to December in 1960, the Chinese side proved with a large volume of conclusive data that the traditional customary boundary line as pointed out by China had a historical and factual basis. But the Indian side, mainly relying on obviously valueless material from British travellers and adventurers, insisted that the illegal McMahon Line was the traditional customary line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, and that Aksai Chin over which China had always exercised jurisdiction belonged to India. Thus, the meetings between officials of the two countries also failed to yield results.

More Serious Armed Provocations

(8) **The sincerity for conciliation demonstrated by the Chinese Government during the talks between the two Prime Ministers was taken by the Indian Government as an indication that China was weak and could be bullied, and China's unilateral halting of border patrols was taken as an opportunity to take advantage of. Therefore, after the meetings between the officials of the two countries had concluded, Indian troops crossed the line of actual control first in the western and then in the eastern sector of the border, occupied more and more Chinese territory and engaged in ever more serious armed provocations.**

In the western sector of the border, beginning from 1961, and particularly from last April on, Indian troops made repeated inroads into Chinese territory, and set up additional military strongpoints. Prior to the recent general outbreak of clashes on the border, India had established a total of 43 strongpoints encroaching on Chinese territory in the western sector of the border (see attached Map 4). Some were set up only a few metres away from Chinese posts, others even behind Chinese posts, cutting off their access to the rear. As Prime Minister Nehru put it in addressing the Indian Lok Sabha on June 20, 1962, "India had opened some new patrol posts endangering the Chinese posts and it was largely due to movements on our side that the Chinese had also to make movements. It is well known in knowledgeable circles in the world that the position in this area had been changing to our advantage and the Chinese are concerned about it." The Indian weekly *Blitz* openly boasted at the time that India had occupied 2,500 square miles of territory there, which the weekly described as a "unique triumph for an audacious Napoleonic planning" worked out by Defence Minister Krishna Menon. Invading Indian troops again and again launched armed provocations against Chinese frontier guards. Indian aircraft again and again violated China's air space and recklessly carried out harassing raids. As a result of these increasingly frequent acts of provocation on the part of India, the situation in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border grew sharply in tension and gravity.

Because China exercised great self-restraint and forbearance, India's encroachments in the western sector of

the Sino-Indian border were not seriously resisted, whereupon India went further to extend its encroachments to the eastern sector of the border. From last June onwards, Indian troops crossed the illegal McMahon Line, intruded into the Che Dong area north of the Line, incessantly expanded their scope of occupation (see attached Map 4), and launched a series of armed attacks on Chinese frontier guards, inflicting forty-seven casualties on them. Thus, before the recent full-scale border conflict broke out, the Indian side had already created in both the eastern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border a grave situation in which an explosion might be touched off at any moment.

China's Self-Restraint and Forbearance

(9) **While the Indian encroachments and provocations increased in gravity and the border situation worsened day by day, the Chinese side maintained maximum self-restraint and forbearance throughout.** Chinese frontier guards were ordered not to fire the first shot under any circumstances, nor to return fire except as a last resort. **On the one hand, the Chinese Government sent protests and warnings to the Indian Government, declaring that it would never accept the Indian encroachments and firmly demanding that India evacuate Chinese territory. On the other hand, it did not relax in the least its efforts to seek an improvement in Sino-Indian relations and a peaceful settlement of the boundary issue through negotiations.**

The Chinese side held that any steps conducive to improving Sino-Indian relations would without doubt also help promote a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. In view of the fact that the 1954 Agreement Between China and India on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India was due to expire in June 1962, the Chinese Government, from December 1961 to May 1962, proposed three times the conclusion of a new agreement to replace the old one. Although the conclusion of such a new agreement would have nothing to do with the boundary question, it would undoubtedly have helped to improve Sino-Indian relations. In advancing this proposal China had the best of intentions. But the Indian Government demanded China's acceptance of India's territorial claims as the pre-condition for the conclusion of such a new agreement, and unjustifiably rejected the proposal.

It was precisely because the Sino-Indian border situation was growing steadily more acute that the Chinese Government pointed more emphatically than ever to the necessity for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question through negotiations. But the Indian Government persisted in a negative attitude. It was not until July 26 this year that it expressed in vague terms a desire for further discussions on the boundary question on the basis of the report of the officials of the two sides. The Chinese Government responded promptly and positively in its note of August 4, and suggested that such discussions be held as soon as possible.

The Indian Government, however, suddenly adopted a different tone in a note dated August 22 and insisted that China must first evacuate large tracts of its own territory in the western sector of the border before any further boundary discussions on the basis of the officials' report could be held. This was a unilaterally posed pre-condition by which India sought to force its territorial claims on China. In its note of September 13, the Chinese Government pointed out that no pre-conditions should be set for further boundary discussions on the basis of the officials' report. It suggested, moreover, that representatives of the two sides begin discussions on the boundary question on October 15, first in Peking and then in Delhi alternately. At the same time, with a view to easing the border tension, the Chinese Government once again proposed that the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres along the entire border.

But the Indian Government, in its note of September 19, rejected China's proposals for separation of the armed forces of the two sides and for holding discussions on the boundary question without pre-conditions. It merely agreed to the date and sites for the discussions proposed by China, while insisting that the discussions should be confined to China's withdrawal from large tracts of China's own territory in the western sector of the border. The Chinese Government, in its note dated October 3, repeated the proposal that the two sides should speedily enter into boundary discussions on the basis of the officials' report, and that in the course of the discussions neither side should refuse to discuss any question that might be raised by the other side concerning the boundary. This proposal was fair to both sides.

Nevertheless, the Indian Government in its reply note dated October 6 not only rejected the above-mentioned fair proposal of the Chinese Government, but added a new pre-condition to the old one, demanding that Chinese troops evacuate the Che Dong area, which is Chinese territory, north of the illegal McMahon Line. Thus, by going back on its own word and putting forward one pre-condition after another, the Indian Government finally blocked the door to negotiations on the boundary question.

India Embarks on the Road of Military Adventure

(10) **Making a series of miscalculations concerning China, India not only turned down China's peaceable proposals, but finally embarked on the road of military adventure.** India thought that China's economic difficulties were so grave that it would not be able to overcome them, and that China's southwestern defences must have been weakened owing to the fact that its national defence forces were tied down by the attempt of the U.S.-supported Chiang Kai-shek clique to invade China's southeastern coastal areas. Therefore India considered the opportunity ripe for launching massive armed attacks along the entire Sino-Indian border. On October 5 the Indian Ministry of Defence announced the establishment of a new corps under the "Eastern Command" for the sole purpose of dealing with China, and the appointment of Lieutenant-General B.M. Kaul as its commander. On October 12 Prime Minister Nehru declared that he had issued orders to "free" what he termed invaded areas, in reality Chinese territory, of Chinese troops. On October 14 the then Indian Minister of Defence, Krishna Menon, called for fighting China to the last man and the last gun. On October 16, upon return-

ing to New Delhi from abroad, Prime Minister Nehru immediately summoned a meeting of high-ranking military officers to accelerate combat preparations. On October 17 Indian troops in both the eastern and western sectors simultaneously began heavy artillery attacks on the Chinese side. On October 18 officials of the Indian Ministry of Defence declared that the Chinese had been "driven back two miles." Finally, in the early hours of October 20, Indian troops, on Prime Minister Nehru's orders, launched massive attacks all along the line. It was only when they had been repeatedly subjected to frenzied attacks by the Indian troops and had suffered heavy casualties that the Chinese frontier guards, pressed beyond the limits of forbearance and left with no room for retreat, struck back in resolute self-defence.

Sino-Indian Border Conflict of Indian Making

(11) **All relevant facts show that the current grave Sino-Indian border conflict was wholly engineered by the Indian Government, deliberately and over a long period of time.** At a mass meeting held in New Delhi on November 11 last, Prime Minister Nehru openly revealed that two years ago India had already drawn up a "plan of operations" against China, which had even worked out such details as the scale of the operations and how advance or falling back was to be made when the battle got under way. But the Indian Government turning facts upside down, falsely accused Chinese frontier guards of crossing the western end of the illegal McMahon Line on September 8 and thereby touching off the current general border conflict. This accusation is an out-and-out lie. Actually, it was Indian troops which had crossed the western end of the illegal McMahon Line long before September 8. This is a fact that cannot be denied. The Chinese Government is in possession of the original 1914 map of the so-called McMahon Line. According to that map, the western extremity of the Line is clearly at latitude 27°44.6′N (see Reference Maps 5 and 6). The Indian Government, in order to justify its occupation of the Che Dong area north of the Line, insists that the western extremity of the Line is at 27°48′N and that the boundary between China and India in this area follows the so-called Thagla ridge watershed. But the co-ordinates on the original map of the so-called McMahon Line are there and cannot be altered, and the name Thagla ridge does not even appear on the map. Moreover, the Indian military sketch maps captured by China during the current border clashes also clearly show the Che Dong area to be north of the illegal McMahon Line. The fact that India intentionally crossed the illegal McMahon Line, occupied the Che Dong area to its north, and publicly declared that India would "free" this area of Chinese frontier guards serves precisely to demonstrate that the current border clashes were solely and deliberately created by India.

The Chinese Government's stand on the illegal McMahon Line is a consistent one. China does not recognize the illegal McMahon Line, yet it refrained from crossing it in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The fact was that India first crossed to the north of the illegal McMahon Line and, using places south of the Line as its base, launched massive armed attacks on Chinese frontier guards. Thus, with its own hands the Indian Government finally destroyed the restrictive effect of this Line. In order to prevent the Indian troops from staging a come-back and launching fresh attacks, the Chinese frontier guards, fighting in self-defence, naturally need no longer be restricted by the illegal McMahon Line. China has consistently striven for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question by peaceful means. The Chinese frontier guards have crossed the illegal McMahon Line because they had no alternative. But when China is compelled to strike back now in self-defence in the border conflict, it still aims at promoting a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, just as it did in exercising forbearance and self-restraint over the past three years. The Chinese frontier guards have crossed the illegal McMahon Line and advanced to certain points, yet the Chinese side does not wish to rely on such a move to settle the question of the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. As in the past, the Chinese Government holds that only through peaceful negotiations can a settlement reasonable and fair to both sides be found not only for the eastern sector, but for the Sino-Indian boundary question as a whole.

The Chinese Government's Three Proposals

(12) **On October 24, that is, four days after the Sino-Indian border conflict broke out, the Chinese Government issued a statement putting forward the following three proposals with a view to stopping the border conflict, reopening peaceful negotiations and settling the Sino-Indian boundary question:**

1. Both parties affirm that the Sino-Indian boundary question must be settled peacefully through negotiations. Pending a peaceful settlement, the Chinese Government hopes that the Indian Government will agree that both parties respect the line of actual control between the two sides along the entire Sino-Indian border, and the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres from this line and disengage.

2. Provided that the Indian Government agrees to the above proposal, the Chinese Government is willing, through consultation between the two parties, to withdraw its frontier guards in the eastern sector of the border to the north of the line of actual control; at the same time, both China and India undertake not to cross the line of actual control, i.e., the traditional customary line, in the middle and western sectors of the border.

   Matters relating to the disengagement of the armed forces of the two parties and the cessation of armed conflict shall be negotiated by officials designated by the Chinese and Indian Governments respectively.

3. The Chinese Government considers that, in order to seek a friendly settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, talks should be held once again by the Prime Ministers of China and India. At a time considered to be appropriate by both parties, the Chinese Government would welcome the Indian Prime Minister to Peking; if this should be incon-

venient to the Indian Government, the Chinese Premier would be ready to go to Delhi for talks.

As explained in the statement of the Chinese Government, **the line of actual control referred to in the three proposals does not mean the line of actual contact between the armed forces of the two sides in the present border clashes, but means the line of actual control which existed along the entire Sino-Indian border at the time when the Chinese Government mentioned it to the Indian Government on November 7, 1959. This shows that, while it will never accept the Indian encroachments on Chinese territory since 1959 by crossing this line of actual control, the Chinese Government will not impose any unilateral demands on India because of the advances it gained in the recent counter-attacks in self-defence.**

The essence of the first of China's three proposals is to restore the state of the Sino-Indian boundary in 1959, that is, before complications arose in the border situation over the past three years, and to have the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres from the 1959 line of actual control. The obligations of both sides under this proposal would be equal. If the Indian Government agrees to this proposal, the Chinese frontier guards would have to withdraw from their present positions south of the so-called McMahon Line not only to the north of the Line, but 20 kilometres further northward. The Indian troops, on the other hand, would only have to withdraw 20 kilometres southward from this Line. If measured from Tawang and its vicinity south of the so-called McMahon Line, which Chinese frontier guards have now reached, they would have to withdraw about 40 kilometres, while Indian troops would need to withdraw only one to two kilometres, or need not withdraw at all (see attached Map 5).

The reason why China has reiterated and emphasized its proposal for a 20-kilometre withdrawal by the armed forces of each side from the line of actual control is that, through its bitter experiences of the past three years, the Chinese Government has become acutely aware that it is very difficult to avoid clashes in border areas under dispute if the armed forces of the two sides are not disengaged. At the same time, it must be pointed out that the line of actual control is not equivalent to the boundary between the two countries. Acknowledging and respecting the line of actual control would not prejudice each side's adherence to its claims on the boundary, but would create a favourable atmosphere for the reopening of peaceful negotiations to settle the boundary question.

Implication of the Indian Government's Term For Negotiation

(13) **The Chinese Government had hoped that the Indian Government would give careful consideration to China's three proposals before making a response. But on the very day they were put forward by the Chinese Government, the Indian Government hastily rejected them and slanderously termed them deceptive.** The Indian Government stated that no negotiations were possible unless the state of the entire boundary as it prevailed before September 8, 1962 was restored, and declared that the Indian Government was only prepared to hold negotiations "on the basis of decency, dignity and self-respect."

What is the implication of the Indian Government's proposed restoration of the state of the boundary as it prevailed before September 8? In the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, it would mean that Indian troops again invade and occupy Chinese territory north of the illegal McMahon Line; in the western sector it would mean that they again invade and occupy the military strongpoints they set up on Chinese territory after 1959. And what kind of a state of affairs would this be? This would again be the state of affairs on October 20 when Indian troops, utilizing the advantageous military positions they had seized, launched large-scale armed attacks against Chinese frontier guards. It would be a state of affairs pregnant with so grave a danger as to make border clashes inevitable. It would not be fair, nor would it bring peace, to revert either to the state of the boundary as of September 8, or to that of October 20.

The fact that the Indian Government refuses to restore the state of the boundary of November 7, 1959, but wants to restore the state of the boundary of September 8, 1962, proves that since 1959 the Indian Government has seized by force large tracts of Chinese territory. What India proposes to restore is the situation that resulted from the Indian troops' crossing the line of actual control and encroaching on Chinese territory over the past three years; whereas the situation which China proposes to restore is one in which tranquillity was basically maintained along the Sino-Indian border three years ago. According to the Indian proposal, only China would withdraw, while India would not withdraw, but advance and again invade and occupy Chinese territory. According to the Chinese proposals, both sides would withdraw, and in the eastern sector the distance the Chinese frontier guards would have to withdraw would far exceed the distance the Indian forces would have to withdraw. Looked at from any angle, India's proposal is a one-sided one by which it attempts to impose its will on China and make China submit; while China's proposals are equitable and in the spirit of mutual accommodation and mutual respect. Furthermore, the Chinese side proposed talks between the Prime Ministers of the two countries, expressed welcome for Prime Minister Nehru to come to Peking and stated that should the Indian Government find it inconvenient, the Chinese Premier was prepared to go to New Delhi once again. Clearly, full consideration had been given to India's prestige and sense of decency when China put forward these conciliatory proposals. The Indian Government has stressed that it is prepared to enter into negotiations only "on the basis of decency, dignity and self-respect." However, its proposal shows that it only considers its own decency, dignity and self-respect, but wants to deny decency, dignity and self-respect to the other party.

The Indian Government's Continued Use of Force

(14) **After my first appeal was rejected by Prime Minister Nehru, I appealed to him a second time, hoping that he would return to the conference table. However, judging by present indications, the Indian Government, far from being ready to conduct peaceful negotiations, is resolved to continue the use of force.** The Indian Government has publicly stated that India is in fact in a state of war with China. It presented in the Indian Parliament a resolution to "drive out the Chinese aggressors

from the soil of India," and this resolution has been adopted. The President of India has proclaimed a "state of emergency" throughout the country. A wartime cabinet has been set up in India; military mobilization has been set in motion; war bonds have been issued; and India's economy has begun to go on "a war footing." War hysteria enshrouds the whole of India. Setting no store by the friendship of the Chinese and Indian peoples, Prime Minister Nehru has publicly spread seeds of hatred for the Chinese people and used every forum to call on the Indian people to wage a long drawn-out fight against the Chinese people. The Indian Government has stepped up its persecution of Chinese nationals in India, arbitrarily ordered the closure of branch offices of the Bank of China in India, crudely restricted the movement of staff members of the Chinese Embassy and Consulates in India, and is even considering severing diplomatic relations with China. Casting off the cloak of "non-alignment," the Indian Government has openly begged for military aid from the United States of America and is receiving a continuous supply of U.S. arms. Large numbers of Indian troops and huge quantities of U.S. munitions are being rushed to the Sino-Indian border areas. Indian troops on both the western and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border have not ceased attacking the Chinese frontier guards. The Indian press has been trumpeting that India is about to launch a big counter-offensive. All this indicates that the threat of border conflicts on a bigger scale is growing perilously.

The Chinese Government's Unremitting Efforts For Amicable Settlement

(15) **There is no reason whatsoever for China and India to fight on account of the boundary question. In the past three years the Chinese Government has made every possible effort to prevent the emergence of such an unfortunate situation.** From the very beginning the Chinese Government has stood for an amicable settlement of the boundary question through peaceful negotiations. In the past three years, nearly all the proposals for negotiations were initiated by China. For the purpose of negotiation, the Chinese Premier went to New Delhi, and is prepared to go again. However, in the last three years the Indian Government usually refused to negotiate, or, after reluctantly agreeing to negotiate, would not settle a single question capable of being settled. The Chinese Government stood for maintaining the state of the boundary which had taken shape, pending a peaceful settlement; concretely speaking, this means maintaining the line of actual control that existed between China and India in 1959. The Indian side, however, started off by crossing the line of actual control in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, and finally even violated the so-called McMahon Line which it claimed itself to be the boundary in the eastern sector. China sought to disengage the armed forces of the two sides, while India persisted in keeping them in contact. To avoid border clashes, the Chinese Government proposed separating the armed forces of the two sides and halting patrols. After these proposals were rejected by India, China unilaterally stopped patrolling on its side of the border. Taking advantage of China's unilateral cessation of patrols, however, India's armed forces intruded into Chinese territory, set up military strongpoints and pressed steadily forward, thus eventually making border clashes between China and India unavoidable. Had the Indian Government entertained the slightest desire to settle the boundary question peacefully, the situation on the Sino-Indian border would never have deteriorated to the unfortunate degree it has. The present unfortunate situation has been brought about solely by the Indian Government. The reasons for these actions of the Indian Government are to be found not so much in the boundary question per se as in its designs of utilizing this situation to whip up an anti-China campaign by which it seeks internally to divert the attention and increase the burden of the people and suppress the progressive forces, and externally to obtain more U.S. aid.

(16) Your Excellency, it is with a heavy heart that I have presented to you the history of the Sino-Indian boundary question in its entirety. But Your Excellency may rest assured that **the Chinese Government is not discouraged, but will look ahead. However complicated the situation may be now, the Chinese Government will never waver in its determination to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. So long as there remains a ray of hope, it will continue to seek a way to conciliation, and take the initiative in creating conditions favouring the cessation of border clashes.** There is no conflict of fundamental interests between China and India, and it is utterly unthinkable to the Chinese Government that the present border clashes should develop into a full-scale war between the two countries. The border clashes must and will eventually be settled peacefully.

Ever since the Sino-Indian border issue arose, leaders of many Asian and African countries have exerted great efforts to promote its peaceful settlement. Almost unanimously they hold that the arch enemy of us Asian and African countries is imperialism and colonialism, that our countries all face urgent tasks of reconstruction to transform the backward state of our economy, and that China and India, the two big Asian countries, should settle their boundary question peacefully, restore Sino-Indian friendship, enhance Asian-African solidarity and together cope with the main enemy before us. They appeal to China and India to halt the armed border clashes and immediately enter into negotiations, and they oppose foreign intervention. Both China and India are big Asian countries. It is only through direct negotiations between China and India that a mutually satisfactory settlement of the boundary question can be secured. The Chinese Government heartily welcomes and sincerely thanks the leaders of friendly Asian and African countries for their fair-minded endeavours to promote direct negotiations between China and India, without themselves getting involved in the dispute. I sincerely hope that Your Excellency will uphold justice and continue to exercise your distinguished influence to promote a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question on a fair and reasonable basis.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed)

CHOU EN-LAI

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

November 30, 1962

红旗
HONGQI

Nehru's Rejection of Peaceful Negotiations

The following editorial was published in "Hongqi," No. 22, November 16, 1962. The original title is "Why Is the Nehru Government Still Rejecting Peaceful Negotiations?" Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE people of the world, first and foremost the people of China and India and of many other Asian and African countries, are becoming more and more seriously concerned about the Sino-Indian border incident. The longer this incident lasts the more clearly do people see that peaceful negotiation is the only way to settle the border conflict and that there is no other way out.

Two Policies: A Glaring Contrast

On November 4, Premier Chou En-lai again wrote to Indian Prime Minister Nehru in connection with the ending of the border conflict and the reopening of peaceful negotiations, appealing to the Indian Government to accept the three proposals put forward in a spirit of friendship by the Chinese Government [*Peking Review*, No. 45, Nov. 9, 1962]. But, on the very same day, Prime Minister Nehru declared that a "National Defence Council" would be set up to take care of overall planning to expand the armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border; he also proposed to put the Indian national economy on a war footing as quickly as possible. On the very same day the Indian President formally announced the establishment of the Ministry of Defence Production. This means that the Indian Government, apart from getting daily increasing supplies of arms from the United States, will engage in large-scale arms production at home. The adoption by the Governments of China and India of two different types of measures on the same day clearly reflects the diametrically opposite policies of the two Governments on the border question: the policy of the Chinese Government is one of peace while that of the Indian Government is one of force. The two policies stand in sharp contrast.

The Indian Government's stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question has been dealt with extensively in the article by the Editorial Department of *Renmin Ribao* entitled "More on Nehru's Philosophy in the Light of the Sino-Indian Boundary Question." [*Peking Review*, No. 44, Nov. 2, 1962.] Here, we shall discuss only the so-called "defence measures" recently adopted by the Indian Government and its acquisition of military aid from the western imperialist countries.

The Chinese and Indian peoples have lived in friendship for generations. The two great nations of China and India have never had any conflict of fundamental interests. The two countries can certainly and should coexist in peace and friendship. The Sino-Indian boundary question is a question left over from British imperialist rule over India and its aggression against China in the past. It is entirely possible to settle this question through negotiations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence affirmed by the two countries.

China absolutely does not want war. In the armed clashes on the Sino-Indian border, China was compelled to act in self-defence. Even after events took this turn, the Chinese people and Government have maintained their consistent stand for peaceful negotiations, and have proposed again and again that peaceful negotiations be reopened. As Premier Chou En-lai has pointed out in his letter, China's proposals are reciprocal and not one-sided, they are equitable and not asking submission of one side, they are based on mutual accommodation and not imposed on others, they are based on mutual respect and not bullying one side, and they are in the spirit of friendly negotiation and not arbitrary or dogmatic. In a word, they are perfectly reasonable. Agreement to enter into negotiations does not restrain either side in reserving its own position on the border issue; furthermore, it provides the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question and prevents continuing clashes on the border.

However, as we have seen, the Indian Government has all along stubbornly refused to enter into negotiations despite all the efforts made by the Chinese Government to this end. The Indian ruling circles headed by Nehru, having trumped up the charge of non-existent "Chinese aggression," did their best to assume the air of a "victim of aggression." They urgently appealed for military aid from the western imperialist countries and stepped up imports of arms and ammunition, while going all-out at home, to inflame and agitate the people by proclaiming a "state of emergency," beginning war mobilization, augmenting their army of aggression, increasing the budget for military expenditure, issuing war bonds, boosting munitions production and clamouring that India "must be prepared to face a long-drawn-out war." At the same time, the Indian aggressor forces have replaced "machine-gun fire" with "heavy artillery fire" and continually shelled the Chinese frontier guards.

What Is Nehru After?

In doing this, what is the purpose of the Indian ruling circles led by Nehru? They do this because they want to persist in their expansionist policy, to oppress and exploit the Indian people, to hit at the progressive forces in

India and to serve U.S. imperialism's anti-China campaign. In the last analysis, they are doing so in accordance with the needs and in the interests of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords.

The Indian weekly *Blitz* (one of the publications of the Indian bourgeoisie) revealed in its editorial of March 24, 1962, that some of India's big enterprises and finance capital, taking advantage of the anti-China campaign, hoped to "make blood-profits from the militarization of our [Indian] frontiers." By November 3, the day before the establishment of the Ministry of Defence Production, this same weekly revealed in a dispatch that "to cope with China's threat," India was being turned into an arsenal and that every effort would be used to produce first-class modern arms. The dispatch also spoke of the steady growth of India's arms production in the past few years. "When Krishna Menon took over as Defence Minister," it said, "the total value of domestic production was only 60 million rupees. He has expanded this production to the value of 600 million rupees — ten times the original. Now a new master plan has been prepared by him which will mean capital investment of a further 2,000 million rupees, and soon the value of production will reach 6,000 million rupees. Defence factories are working at fever pitch in four shifts for twenty-four hours."

During his tenure of office as Minister of Defence, Krishna Menon made great efforts to increase India's arms production. Yet he still failed to strike the fancy of the Indian big bourgeoisie and was recently first relieved of his post as Minister of Defence and later as Minister of Defence Production. Naturally, the Defence Production Ministry which is charged with a special mission, will not limit the increase in investment in arms to the figure of 2,000 million rupees. It is certain that this figure will soon be surpassed under a new and far larger plan. This is because India's monopoly capital, be it bureaucrat-monopoly capital or private monopoly capital, is in dire need of a war atmosphere to live in and needs desperately to fatten itself by "making blood-profits from the militarization of our [India's] frontiers."

Tata and Other War Profit Seekers

Headed by Nehru and including the Tata family, the biggest private monopoly capitalist group in India, the recently formed "National Defence Council" is a body which will assist the Indian Government in provoking continued armed clashes on the Sino-Indian border and in war mobilization. It is also designed to assist the various financial monopoly groups in making arrangements to get war profits.

Of course, the quest for war profits among the various Indian financial monopoly groups does not start from the present time. Historically, they have risen and prospered by going after war profits. For example, the Tata Iron and Steel Company, the oldest and also the biggest iron and steel company run by private monopoly capital in India, grew up during World War I by serving the imperialist war and raking in war profits. At that time, this company won the praise of the British Viceroy Lord Chelmsford, who credited it with having rendered services to British imperialism's "expeditionary wars" in the Near and Middle East and in East Africa. During World War II, India's big bourgeoisie accumulated fabulous profits by providing military supplies to the British forces. The net profit of the Tata Iron and Steel Company for 1939-40 was 53.6 million rupees. It rose to 86.1 million rupees during the war years 1944-45. The total capital of this company increased from 284.79 million rupees in 1934-35 to 533 million rupees in 1945-46. The total profit reaped by the Associated Cement Companies, the largest cement monopoly concern in India (at that time, cement was mostly used for military purposes) was 9 million rupees in prewar 1939-40. It rose to 16 million rupees in 1942-43. After India's proclamation of independence, bureaucrat-monopoly capital, fostered by the Congress government, has developed swiftly and most of its capital has been concentrated in such heavy industrial branches as steel, coal, machine building, locomotives, oil extraction and refining, ship-building, aircraft manufacturing and atomic energy. Many of these industries are of a military nature.

Pinning Hopes on Military Production

It is noteworthy that Indian monopoly capital, which has run into difficulties on both the home and foreign markets, now urgently desires to channel its capital into military production. Although India is a big country, its people are living in appalling poverty and their purchasing power is extremely low because the Congress Party regime, a regime of an alliance between the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords, has been pursuing throughout a policy favourable to monopoly capital and the feudal forces. Consequently, many industrial products such as most jute manufactures, a part of the machine-made cotton cloth and light machinery have no customers in the home market. The Indian big bourgeoisie has tried by every means to expand its markets abroad but Indian capital in general cannot possibly have much competitive power in the international market. India's exports to the Asian and African countries are steadily declining. Its exports of textiles and light machinery to Southeast Asia have decreased owing to the competition of Japanese capital. As a result of competition from France, Belgium and other countries, the proportion of India's exports to Africa in the total volume of its export trade dropped from 3 per cent to less than 1 per cent between 1955-56 and 1960-61. In such circumstances, besides doing its utmost to expand in the Asian-African regions, the Indian big bourgeoisie has increasingly pinned its hopes on military production, which can provide bigger profits than the production of other commodities, and has talked continually about "changing the direction of production."

The *Economic Times* of the Tata group, in an editorial carried on October 21 entitled "Defence Needs," said: "Largely because of the various shortages haunting the [Indian] economy, industrial production has already flattened out into a plateau, and may conceivably lose further ground with the flattened import cut of rupees 30 to rupees 40 crores in the next licensing period." The editorial holds that "it seems imperative that a long-term policy of gearing up domestic defence production should be initiated right now" in India. According to this policy,

bureaucrat-monopoly capital should increase the "production of aircraft, arms and ammunition and other defence equipment" and "several units" in private monopoly capital "could switch over to the production of some of the numerous items that go to make the modern defence machinery."

Indian commentators some time ago discussed the Indian Government's attempt to solve the market problem by increasing its military expenditure. In their opinion, since an increase in the national defence budget and the establishment of an arms industry would under normal circumstances be opposed by the people, the Indian big bourgeoisie was attempting to increase military expenditure by diverting the people's attention. For this purpose, they resorted to dragging out as long as possible India's dispute with China on the boundary question and also various issues with other neighbouring countries and even to raising the deceitful cry that "the nation is in danger!" and that there was a "danger of foreign aggression."

Basic Reason of Sino-Indian Border Conflict

One can clearly see that one of the basic reasons why the Indian Government provokes conflicts over the Sino-Indian boundary question and refuses to hold negotiations is the anxiety of the Indian financial monopoly groups about their profits, coupled with their eager desire to change the "direction of production" and expand armaments production.

The worse economic conditions in India become and the sharper its economic crisis grows, the more feverish and unscrupulous are the activities of Indian monopoly capital in provoking border clashes. This is why as soon as the armed conflict, which it had planned and provoked, broke out on the border, there was a strangely quick and strong response. What are called the "National Defence Fund Committee," the "Ministry of Defence Production" and the "National Defence Council" were born instantly; the gross output value of munitions production shot up sharply and the warlike ravings of the big business bosses about the need to reinforce "the war basis" and gear things to "defence requirements" became the talk of the day. At the "Iron and Steel Advisory Committee" meeting called by the Indian Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries on October 25, the representative of the Tata Iron and Steel Company pledged to go all-out, as the company did in the past, to meet the steel requirements of the emergency. Other enterprises and businesses also hastened to give "assurances" that the production of munitions would be stepped up.

Since the Indian ruling circles are deliberately dragging out the grave situation prevailing on the Sino-Indian border, "new master plans" governing the manufacture of munitions under the Ministry of Defence Production will come out one after another, and more and more begging requests for military supplies will be made to the United States. Nehru announced on November 11 that the production of military equipment in India had more than trebled in the past three weeks. On the same day, the Associated Press reported that Indian officials are discussing with a U.S. military liaison mission in New Delhi the list of another consignment of U.S. arms.

The busy officials of the Indian Ministry of Defence Production and the over-zealous members of the "National Defence Council," including several generals have, in the interests of munitions production and profits, long ago cast to the winds the fundamental interests of the Indian nation. While talking vociferously in public about "Chinese aggression," they are intoxicated with their greed for "blood-profits." They know on which side their bread is buttered, just as they know that the so-called "Chinese aggression" is simply a sheer invention.

Most Heavily Taxed Country

One of the important functions of the so-called "National Defence Council" of the Indian ruling circles is "to suggest to the Central Citizens Committee such measures as may be considered necessary for utilization of public participation in national defence." What the phrase "utilization of public participation in national defence" means in plain language is how to impose on the Indian people the burden of the greatly increased and now enormous military expenditures. In this respect, the most important measures the Indian ruling circles have already taken fall into two categories, namely, the issuance of government bonds and the increase in taxation. The central idea of Nehru's broadcast speech of October 22 was to ask the Indian people to "gird up loins," and "by purchase of bonds to help to finance production and meet the increasing cost of national defence." In early November, the Indian Government set up the "National Defence Fund Committee" headed by Nehru and including Birla and Tata, two big Indian monopoly capitalists and at the same time, announced the issuance of new "defence bonds, deposit certificates, saving certificates and premium prize bonds." Addressing the "National Development Council" on November 4, Indian Finance Minister Morarji Desai, according to a report of the *Indian Express*, made it clear that a bigger tax programme than had been adopted for the third five-year plan was now considered necessary to meet the present "emergency."

The British *Financial Times* recently published an article saying that India is now probably the most highly taxed country in the world. Apart from foreign aid, all funds for the "national plan" of the Indian Government are obtained primarily by raking in the wealth of the people through taxation, government bonds, deficit financing and other means. The burden on the people is snowballing. As the so-called "third five-year plan programme" of India stipulates, there will be a tax increase of 65 per cent (in reality it will be much bigger) in this period compared with the period of the "second five-year plan." About two-fifths of the funds for the "third five-year plan" will come from increased taxation and domestic debt. The increase in taxation is mainly in the form of taxes on commodities and services borne by the broad masses of the people. This is causing a steady rise of discontent among the Indian people. Even an article in the *Financial Times* says that any further increase in taxation will be bound to weigh down hard on the very poorest section of the population. In this situation, how can the financial monopoly groups and the reactionary ruling circles serving them go on amass-

ing wealth by increasing taxation and India's domestic debts if they do not create a special atmosphere, namely, a war atmosphere, and increase military spending?

Lining Up With Imperialism

Since it is their insatiable greed for bigger profits and wealth that prompts the Indian finance monopoly groups to continue and even extend the military conflict and thicken the war atmosphere they have created, they will not easily lose interest in creating such pretexts as these military conflicts and this war atmosphere. But it is obviously impossible for the Indian ruling circles, by relying on their own strength alone, to adopt a policy of force against the socialist People's Republic of China and keep this situation going for long. It is certain that they will throw themselves still deeper into the embrace of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, which, in turn, will tighten its grip on India.

Since the proclamation of India's independence, the U.S. and British imperialists have retained tremendous economic influence in India, controlling many key branches of its economy. In the last few years, U.S. investments in India have shown a steep increase, and the Indian ruling group has become more and more dependent on the United States. In order to strengthen its economic and political control over India, the U.S. imperialists have given great support to the anti-China policy of the Nehru government. In addition, the so-called "Aid India Club" organized by the United States is energetically increasing military aid to the reactionary ruling group of India. According to a USIS report, U.S. State Department Press Officer White announced on November 14 that the United States and India had exchanged notes and reached formal agreement on U.S. military aid to India, which aid, as is known to all, is to attack China.

When it brought U.S. "economic aid" into India in the past, the Nehru government, in an attempt to deceive the people, explained that foreign capital would not do any harm to India's national economy. But the fact is now crystal clear. With the exception of a few Indian monopoly financial groups who have made gains under the wing of U.S. capital, the colonialization of the whole Indian national economy is being steadily increased with penetration into India by massive U.S. monopoly capital in the form of "aid." At the present time, in going a step further to bring in U.S. military aid, the Indian ruling circles are attempting to hoodwink the Indian people with even more deceitful talk and gestures. But the people will see through this all the quicker. Pursuing the selfish ends of the few monopoly financial groups, the Indian ruling circles have already tied India to the U.S. war chariot. Through the trade in arms and ammunition, these financial groups are grabbing the wealth of the people and are making fantastic profits on arms deals. The Indian *Statesman* reported on November 5 that most of the chief ministers of state governments who participated in the "Indian National Development Council," held on November 4, urged "the utilization of the present psychological moment to harness popular energy, especially small savings, to the national purpose." This paper and the *Indian Times* in its editorial of November 6 regarded the decision of the Indian Government to issue gold bonds and to buy weapons with gold as "boldly imaginative wit." Hitherto the Government's gold purchasing schemes have failed to materialize because of the great disparity between the official price and the Indian market price, the latter being almost double the former. The current national "emergency," in the view of India's ruling circles, will make it possible to accelerate the carrying out in a "pragmatic manner" of the measures to mobilize the gold resources of India.

Up to now, the Nehru government still rejects peaceful negotiations and continues to worsen the situation on the Sino-Indian border. In so doing, whom does it serve and whom does it harm? Of course, it gravely impairs the interests of the great Indian people and the Indian nation, and the national economy of India itself. Those who benefit from this are a handful of Indian monopolists, the U.S. imperialists and other imperialists. As far as China is concerned, such actions can bring no harm at all to the great Chinese people, nor can they make the Chinese people and the Chinese Government waver in the least in their consistent policy of settling the boundary question peacefully.

The Indian People Will Have Their Say

In the present great era of the advance of the peoples of all countries, the host of reactionary plots and the actions of those who regard their evil intrigues as bright ideas invariably and speedily have produced the very opposite result of what is intended.

The Indian ruling group is trying to solve the economic crisis and turn India into a great empire through the militarization of its national economy. But in reality, by pursuing such a road, it can only plunge the Indian national economy into an abyss of disaster and drive India further into the position of an appendage of imperialism. Its so-called "national defence" is in fact the dismantling of the national defences in the face of imperialism. The Indian ruling group is attempting, with the myth of "Chinese aggression," to trick the Indian people into turning out the "blood-profits" for the monopoly financial group. It does not understand that this will, on the contrary, make it lose all the faster its last bit of capital in deceiving the people. Deception will lead nowhere. The attempt of the Indian ruling group to prevent a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question is futile. The future of the Indian nation will by no means be determined either by the selfishness of a handful of Indian monopoly financial groups or the wishes of the U.S. and other imperialists. The destiny of the Indian nation will eventually be decided by the Indian people.

It is in the common interest of the Chinese and Indian peoples and their common aspiration to settle the boundary question peacefully through negotiations. Therefore it is our belief that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence will triumph over the policy of force pursued by the reactionary ruling group of India, that the boundary question of the two countries will eventually be settled peacefully through negotiations and that the friendly relations between the 1,100 million people of China and India will continue to grow.

Time for India to Change Course

by CHOU PAO-JU

NO boundary dispute can be settled by force. This is the view China has repeatedly expressed to India. But New Delhi, despite its protestations for peace, has persisted in its reliance on force. It was this that led to the massive Indian attacks on China, followed immediately by big Indian military reverses.

In this connection it is useful to review recent events.

Delhi's War Fever

Following the opening of the Indian Parliament ahead of schedule on November 8, the officially instigated anti-China campaign in India was screwed up to a new fever pitch. In the Lok Sabha Nehru personally introduced two anti-China motions. One, as adopted by both houses of the Indian Parliament, affirms India's resolve to drive out the Chinese, "however long and hard the struggle may be"; the other approves the "state of emergency" proclaimed by the Indian President on October 26. A thundercloud atmosphere of war reigned throughout the parliamentary session. Nehru took the floor on no less than ten occasions during the six days of the session, each time whipping up war hysteria. His words reflected not the slightest response to the appeals for termination of the conflict and proposals for peaceful negotiations made by China and many other Asian and African countries. The London *Times* correspondent covering the session in Delhi reported that India is involved in an "intense commitment to war," and that its present mood "is one of unqualified bellicosity."

New Delhi officials not only clamoured for war with China, but made active preparations for it. On November 6, a "National Defence Council" headed by Prime Minister Nehru had been set up to deal with the so-called national emergency. In addition to recruitment and expansion of the armed forces, the Indian Government also increased the number of people to be given military training. Compulsory military training was prescribed for all Indian university students. Even parliamentarians took up rifle training. U.S. arms, flown into India in an emergency airlift, were and are still being flown to forward positions along the Sino-Indian border. Meanwhile Nehru solicited, and is getting, more arms from abroad. New Delhi made it clear that it was embarking on an all-out war effort.

These activities behind the front and in the international field were the prelude and the accompaniment to action in the field. Orders to launch fresh massive general attacks on China were given to the Indian troops.

Indian Attacks Smashed

These new attacks were launched simultaneously on both the eastern and western sectors of the Sino-Indian border. On November 15, an Indian Defence Ministry spokesman said that the "attack on the enemy position in Walong sector was launched by a strong patrol party stronger than the unit which cleared the Chinese from the vicinity of Walong when the enemy attempted the flanking manoeuvre a few days ago. The action also was larger in scope." PTI reported that this was "the strongest ever patrol" to launch an attack on one of the Chinese-held positions in this area.

Two days before (on Nov. 13), a communique issued by the Indian Defence Ministry said that "there has been active patrolling by our troops in NEFA (Northeast Frontier Agency) and Ladakh." AFP reported that in Chushul the Indians had taken "the initiative in several sectors." AP disclosed that "India has flown light tanks to Chushul for what might develop into the highest tank action ever fought."

In actual fact, Indian heavy artillery south of the Tawang River and in the Walong area began to bombard Chinese frontier guards' positions on October 25. On November 6 and 12, the Indian troops in the Walong area twice attacked the Chinese frontier guards.

In its note of November 16 the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged the strongest protest with the Indian Government against these attacks. The Chinese frontier guards suffered heavy casualties and were compelled to take resolute action in self-defence. After repelling repeated charges by the Indian troops, they launched powerful counter-attacks. The Indian troops, unable to hold their line, retreated southward. The Chinese frontier guards then advanced to Walong, Se Pass, Senge Dzong, Dirang Dzong, Sati, Samuweierh, Bomdila, Mechukha, Tachiu Pass, Talung Dzong and other places in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border. On the western sector, by November 20, the aggressive Indian troops retreated from four strongpoints in Chinese territory west of Spanggur Lake. As a result of these actions, all the 43 aggressive strongpoints set up by the Indian aggressors in Chinese territory were cleared.

Now, with China's initiative of November 21 (see p. 5), there are fresh hopes that peace may be established on the Sino-Indian border.

It may well be asked: Why did this fighting take place? Was it an accident? The answer is clearly "No." Speaking at a mass meeting in New Delhi on November 11, Nehru declared that his government would fight a prolonged war with China and was prepared to launch an offensive on a large scale. "We will naturally fight the Chinese at a point of our own choosing," he said. The subsequent fighting was clearly begun according to the Indian plan, though its results were very far from New Delhi's designs.

Treatment of Captives

The unjust and ill-considered acts of the Indian reactionaries have led to their own undoing. Since the Indian forces launched their armed attacks, according to the Chinese Foreign Ministry's notification on November 16, 927 Indian officers and men have been captured, including Brigadier J.P. Dalvi, Commander of the Seventh Indian Infantry Brigade, and seven field grade officers and nine company grade officers.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry notified the Indian Embassy in China about the condition of the captured officers and men. In pursuance of the policy of leniency adopted by the Chinese People's Liberation Army towards captured personnel, the notification said, the Chinese frontier guards in the Tibet and Sinkiang regions respected the religious belief and habits of life of the captured Indian officers and men, and had made proper living arrangements for them, giving them sufficient clothing and other things needed in the cold weather and seeing to it that the sick and wounded had proper medical care.

Many captured Indian officers and men have expressed gratitude and appreciation for the treatment given them by the Chinese frontier guards. They have written letters home reporting their safety after being captured. A captured Indian field grade officer told officers of the Chinese frontier guards that he had seen action in many battles during World War II but had never seen such good treatment of captives.

U.S. Arms Won't Reverse Situation

Eager to expand and intensify the Sino-Indian border conflict, the United States has been shipping large quantities of arms to India. According to Western press reports, some 1,500 tons of light weapons and other equipment worth U.S. $5 million were flown to India in the first or "emergency" phase of operations which was completed on November 12.

Now a second phase is under discussion between the Indian and U.S. Governments. The U.S. newspaper, *Christian Science Monitor*, reported that a far larger number of items of U.S. arms would be sent to India in the second phase than in the first. The second phase will last several months and the arms will be sent mainly by sea because of their big volume. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that the aid requested by India was divided into two categories: those representing India's immediate needs for the current mountain fighting and "her long-term requirements for building up her military establishment." While U.S. air force jet transport planes are continuing to fly arms and equipment to India, Nehru asked the United States to provide India with more aircraft and tools to manufacture arms in India. The first batch of C-130 jet transport planes arrived on November 22. They will be operated by Americans for the Indian military authorities.

What merits special attention is that even after the Chinese frontier guards implemented the ceasefire, the United States mission led by Assistant Secretary of State Averell Harriman and including senior diplomats and military and intelligence officials arrived in India and immediately began negotiations with New Delhi for more military aid.

The arrival of these U.S. arms, however, no matter in what quantities, will clearly not help India to reverse its military setbacks.

A similar British politico-military mission has also arrived and started joint talks in New Delhi. In addition to his urgent appeals to U.S. and British imperialism for military assistance, Nehru is also begging support from member countries of U.S.-dominated military blocs and even U.S. proteges in south Korea and south Viet Nam.

"We had asked many countries for help including the Soviet Union," Nehru said in his speech at the Rajya Sabha on November 9. He added that he believed that the Soviet Union stood by its commitments made to India so far. Speaking at a rally of government employees in New Delhi on the same day, he announced that the Soviet Union had promised to stand by its agreement to supply India with Mig-21 fighter planes. The first deliveries were expected in December, he said. On November 20, Indian Minister of Defence Production K. Raghuramiah told the Rajya Sabha that India had decided to set up a factory to produce Mig aircraft, and that the factory would have two units — one making engines and the other aeroplane frames.

Anti-China Acts in India

In the past two weeks, the Nehru government's military attacks on China were supplemented by a further deterioration in diplomatic relations with China.

On November 12, Nehru declared ominously in the Lok Sabha that the question of diplomatic relations with China was always under consideration. This was followed by ever cruder attacks on Chinese nationals in India and against Chinese diplomatic personnel.

The Indian Government has openly violated the generally accepted code of international relations and international practice by issuing special orders for illegal discrimination against staff members of the Chinese diplomatic missions in India. It has put unreasonable restrictions on their personal freedom.

According to an order promulgated recently by the Indian Government concerning the departure of Chinese nationals from India, all Chinese diplomatic officials including the Ambassador and the Charge d'Affaires, staff members of the Chinese Embassy and Consulates and other Chinese nationals must obtain special permits from the Indian authorities concerned before leaving India. When the permits would be issued is not specified. Permits will also specify the route, time and place for Chinese nationals to leave India. In carrying out surveillance on Chinese consular officials an Indian police officer even attempted to board a car of the Chinese Consulate-General in Calcutta, and accompany its occupants when they went out of the Consulate.

These unreasonable regulations of the Indian Government and the direct and outrageous infringement upon the personal freedom of the staff of the Chinese Consulate-General in Calcutta crudely obstructs the normal functioning of the Chinese Consulate-General.

It is well known that the treatment accorded by the Chinese Government to all the Indian official missions in China has always been completely equal to that accorded to the official missions of other states in China; no exclusive regulations or discriminatory measures have ever been adopted with regard to them. But this isn't the way of the Indian Government. Nehru has also made no bones about the fact that his government is keeping "a close watch . . . on Chinese missions in India."

At a time when the Chinese Government is making the most strenuous efforts to reverse the trend in the grave situation surrounding the Sino-Indian border conflict, the Indian Government has arrested innocent Chinese nationals en masse and further aggravated the already tense anti-Chinese atmosphere. On November 20, the Indian Government issued an order to arrest and intern all Chinese nationals and those of Chinese descent in Assam state and five districts of West Bengal. The Indian

paper *Statesman* reported on November 24, that 696 Chinese nationals were arrested in West Bengal state alone. It is also announced that the Indian Government has ordered the detention of thirty Chinese nationals who had been ordered to leave India but had not yet departed.

On November 13 and 24, the Chinese Foreign Ministry sent two notes to the Indian Embassy in China lodging serious protest with the Indian Government concerning these matters.

China's Stand

China's consistent stand is to avert border clashes and to effect a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government has done everything in its power to find a way to a peaceful settlement. In the past three years, almost every proposal for negotiations has been put forward on the initiative of the Chinese Government. It is a matter for the utmost regret that the Indian Government has answered the Chinese Government's repeated peace appeals by sending heavy reinforcements to the border and now by the rushing of U.S.-supplied arms to the front. Nevertheless, China remains firm in its sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. In taking its latest peace initiative it hopes that the Indian Government has drawn the necessary conclusions from the grave consequences that have arisen from its wrong policy of seeking to settle the boundary question by force.

The whole world can see that the areas in which the Chinese frontier guards struck back in self-defence were confined in the eastern sector to Indian-occupied Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon Line and, in the western sector, to Chinese territory that had been gradually nibbled away by the Indian troops since 1959. The areas into which the Chinese frontier guards advanced and stationed themselves in their defensive operations are Chinese territory, and the vanguard units of the Chinese frontier guards have reached or are close to the traditional customary line on the Sino-Indian border. Nevertheless, in accordance with the statement of the Chinese Government published on November 21, the Chinese frontier guards will take the initial step of ceasing fire and evacuating large tracts of the territory into which they have advanced until they have withdrawn to positions 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control as it was on November 7, 1959. This is most striking proof of the sincerity of the Chinese Government in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border issue.

There can be no doubt that the Chinese Government's positive measures conform to the common aspirations of the peoples of the Asian and African countries and of all the rest of the world.

Since the outbreak of large-scale clashes on the Sino-Indian border, leaders of many Asian and African countries have one after another appealed for an end to the conflict and have made many efforts to bring about a reconciliation between China and India. The Governments of Guinea, Tanganyika and the United Arab Republic have put forward separate proposals designed to enable Sino-Indian negotiations to settle the border dispute. Premier Chou En-lai has cabled separately to the heads of state or government of these three countries in an exchange of views on the border issue. On November 22, Premier Chou En-lai sent a further message in reply to Guinean President Sekou Toure in answer to his communication dated November 21. Premier Chou En-lai and the British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, have also exchanged several messages concerning the Sino-Indian boundary question. If all friendly countries and peace-loving public figures use their influence to urge the Indian Government to respond positively to the Chinese Government's November 21 statement, then peaceful negotiations may soon be reopened round the table.

Recently the Indian President Radhakrishnan expressed the hope that Sino-Indian differences should be decided round a table and not on the battlefield. Prime Minister Nehru, while still talking of a long drawn-out war with China, also indicated that his government would give the Chinese government statement of November 21 full consideration. He declared that the aim of his government is to live in peace and amity with its neighbours. These are welcome signs. It is time for India to change its course and to make a positive response to the three proposals and recent measures initiated by the Chinese Government.

World Opinion Roundup

A Great Initiative for a Peaceful Settlement

by MAO SUN

China's November 21 ceasefire announcement has received enthusiastic support in all parts of the world. Governments, statesmen, political parties, peace and other popular organizations and the press have called on the Indian Government to respond positively and act in the lofty interests of Asian-African solidarity. The U.S. imperialist scheme to "make Asians fight Asians" is condemned.

FOR several days now, the world press has been flooded with statements acclaiming the Chinese government announcement of November 21. Governments, political parties, popular organizations and public opinion at large — in short, all just-minded people and true supporters of peace and Asian-African solidarity have given enthusiastic support to China's great initiative for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary conflict. With one voice, they urge the Indian Government to reverse its intransigent policy and seek a settlement through peaceful

negotiations. Only the U.S. imperialists and their stooges who are egging on the Indian reactionaries, try to distort and belittle the significance and sincerity of China's historic offer.

Next Move Up to Nehru

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in a statement, welcomed China's announcement as "a great contribution towards frustrating the machinations of the imperialists to exploit the Sino-Indian border question for their own aggressive objectives and towards safeguarding world peace." It declared: "It now depends entirely upon the attitude of the Indian Government whether or not the Sino-Indian border question will be peacefully solved. . . . The peace-loving peoples of the world are closely watching India's attitude."

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam stated in an official announcement: "The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam hail China's goodwill and support the measures put forward by the Chinese Government in its statement of November 21, 1962. We hope that the Indian Government will make a positive response to the endeavours of the Government of the People's Republic of China to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question."

Speaking on a public occasion, Vice-Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers Abdyl Kellezi declared: "We completely and unreservedly support China's reasonable proposals for the settlement of the Sino-Indian border conflict. The Chinese government statement of November 21 is another vivid proof of the correct policy of peace pursued by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government. Nehru's absurd philosophy will go bankrupt. The imperialists and modern revisionists who stand on the side of the Indian aggressors will come to grief."

The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic also issued a statement welcoming China's initiative and expressing the hope that China and India would end their clashes by negotiations.

China's Act of Great Statesmanship

Speaking at an emergency session of the Pakistan National Assembly, Pakistan Foreign Minister Mohammed Ali also praised China's ceasefire initiative. Describing it as "an act of great statesmanship and evidence of China's sincere desire to limit this conflict to the settlement of the border dispute," he declared: "We sincerely and strongly feel that it is now the bounden duty of all the peace-loving nations to encourage the possibilities for a settlement and to ensure that the present boundary conflict will not enter a new phase as a result of the enormous arms supplies now being rushed into India from outside." The Pakistan Foreign Minister stressed that the present Indian-Chinese conflict could have been averted if India had really based its policies on the principles of peace and good-neighbour relations which it had been proclaiming all these years to the world from the housetops.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio told the press that he felt a sense of relief as a result of the ceasefire on the Sino-Indian border and hoped that it would be the first step towards the peaceful settlement of the boundary conflict.

Two Leading Statesmen On Chinese Statement

In a letter to Chairman Liu Shao-chi, President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam welcomed the Chinese Government's November 21 statement on the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. He declared: "This is a splendid expression of the Chinese people's traditional friendship for the Indian people. It is a sincere expression of the desire to oppose all the dark scheming of the colonialists and imperialists and to uphold and consolidate the unity of the Asian and African peoples. This correct Chinese attitude, which is leading to good results in the peaceful settlement of the boundary question of the two neighbours, will surely be welcomed by peace-loving people throughout the world."

Guinea's President Sekou Toure, in a message to Premier Chou En-lai, expressed "deep satisfaction and entire approval" of China's unilateral ceasefire announcement. He stated: "Considering that the unity of the third-force countries of the world is the best bulwark against all imperialist schemes of domination and renewed colonialization as well as a decisive factor in reinforcing the conditions of world peace, we assure you of our full support for the various efforts made by you to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations and to restore the friendly relations between your Government and the Indian Government."

The government heads of many other countries have also been calling for negotiations to settle the Sino-Indian border conflict. President Hubert Maga of the Republic of Dahomey, in an interview with a UPI correspondent, called for Sino-Indian talks. "We believe negotiations are inevitable," he said. Even Malayan Prime Minister Abdul Rahman and Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Razak termed the Chinese ceasefire statement as "good news." The latter said that "if India and China could agree to solve the border dispute by negotiations, it would be good for world peace."

Outside official quarters, political figures, representing a wide range of views, support China's November 21 statement.

Something Exciting and New

Ali Sastroamidjojo, General Chairman of the Nationalist Party of Indonesia, greeted the initiative of the Chinese Government as "something exciting and new." "If this unilateral measure can also become the reason for a ceasefire by the Indian Government, we shall be happier," he said.

In the name of its 1.5 million members, the Indonesian Poor Peasants Movement Association greeted Premier Chou En-lai on the ceasefire decision of the Chinese Government. The Burma Workers' Party and the People's Comrade Party published a joint statement backing China's stand. In Ceylon, Leslie Goonewardene, General Secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, welcomed the Chinese statement as "a valuable step in the direction of the settlement of the border dispute." He pointed out that

China's proposals "leave room for an effective and honourable termination of hostilities," and therefore "it is sincerely hoped that the Indian Government will respond to these proposals."

In Colombo, several Ceylonese mass organizations held a rally and adopted a resolution welcoming the Chinese government statement. It demanded that the Indian Government stop hostilities and start negotiations with China.

China's Policy of Peace Hailed

Poorna Bahadur, Chairman of the Nepalese Association of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, issued a statement which said that the "Chinese government statement attests to the well-known peace policy of the Chinese Government, which works for the solution of the Sino-Indian border dispute through peaceful negotiations and for the maintenance of peace in the Asian and African countries." He expressed the hope that China's initiative for a ceasefire would sober down the Indian leaders and make them agree to a peaceful settlement of the boundary dispute through negotiations.

In Africa, Kamwithi Munyi, General Secretary of the Kenya African Anti-Colonial Movement, told the press: "We Africans appeal again to India in the interests of peace and freedom in Africa and Asia to respond to the peaceful appeal of the Chinese Government and not to allow the imperialists to meddle in the Sino-Indian border dispute." Such a view was typical of those expressed in Cairo by the representatives of various African nationalist parties.

An equally warm response came from world peace movement organizations. In a public statement, Professor J.D. Bernal, Chairman of the World Peace Council, declared: "The world welcomes the ceasefire in the Sino-Indian border conflict initiated by the Government of the People's Republic of China." He stressed that "nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of negotiations leading to a fair and honourable settlement of the issues in dispute."

Many national peace organizations and peace partisans in Asia and the Pacific region expressed hearty approval for what they described as China's "statesmanlike" and "far-sighted" initiative for a peaceful settlement, and urged the Nehru government to make a positive reply. These included the Viet Nam Committee for World Peace, the All-Burma Committee of the World Peace Congress, the Iraqi Peace Movement, the New Zealand Peace Council and Yoshitaro Hirano, Director-General of the Japanese National Peace Committee. The Australian Peace Council cabled congratulations to Premier Chou En-lai for China's outstanding peace move. A group of Syrian peace supporters appealed to the Indian peace movement to bring about negotiations between China and India.

Admirable and Generous Action

The well-known British pacifist and philosopher Bertrand Russell, who had exchanged several messages with Premier Chou En-lai on the Sino-Indian boundary conflict, told the press that "the current offer by China of a ceasefire without prejudice to the territorial claims by the parties should be accepted." He said that he had written to the Indian Prime Minister "expressing my opinions in very emphatic terms and urged him to accept the admirable and generous Chinese unilateral action as a basis for negotiations leading to peace." (*Vancouver Sun* and London *Sunday Times*)

The views of the British Communist Party were representative of the stand of working-class Parties and progressives in the West. Its Political Committee, in a statement, declared: "All supporters of peace will welcome this splendid initiative, which raises hopes for an end to this tragic conflict [between China and India]." "China's withdrawal after repulsing India's military offensive, was without precedent. . . . Never was there such an exposure of all the wild talk about Chinese aggression and expansionist aims against India." The statement denounced the U.S. and British imperialists for their desperate efforts to incite India to continue fanning the flames of war and pointed out that they were pouring in more and more arms and dispatching high-powered political and military missions so as to fasten their grip on India.

Our roundup of world reaction would be incomplete if the comments from the press were not included. Even the imperialist-controlled bourgeois news agencies found it impossible to minimize the influence of China's proposals by a "conspiracy of silence." These were carried under frontpage banner headlines in newspapers in all parts of the world.

The world's progressive press naturally stressed the peace nature of China's proposals and China's peaceful intentions with regard to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute in general. This was a common theme of editorials in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Akahata, organ of the Japanese Communist Party, stated editorially that the November 21 statement made it clear that "China is determined to prevent the enlargement of the Sino-Indian border dispute, that it will never invade any country while doing everything possible to defend its own territory." China, it noted, had shown by deeds its love of peace and its spirit of friendship, and had hit hard at the sinister designs of U.S. imperialism, which had instigated the reactionary forces in India to whip up an anti-China campaign.

The Indonesian *Bintang Timur* wrote: "These Chinese measures have won great sympathy among the people and also demonstrated China's sincere desire to solve this drawn-out dispute peacefully."

The Pakistan paper *Jung* said in an editorial that the ceasefire move of the Chinese Government was "a proof of China's peaceful intentions and its greatness." The paper stressed that "never in human history has it happened that a victorious country made such a gesture purely on account of its principles and peaceful policy at a time when its forces were on the verge of giving a crushing defeat to its enemy."

Mirror (Burma) remarked that "The Chinese Government's initiative in proposing a ceasefire and withdrawing its troops proves that it desires to settle the boundary question peacefully and in a friendly manner rather than resort to force. Nehru has rejected a series of peaceful proposals put forward by the Chinese Government, but we don't think he can reject the present Chinese proposal outright."

"China's dramatic ceasefire in the Himalayas should bring the present fighting to an end. For this, not only

India but the world will be thankful," noted the Singapore *Straits Times.*

Practical and Fair

A commentary in the Nepalese weekly *Samikshya* described the Chinese statement of November 21 as very practical and completely fair to India. It recalled that right from the beginning China had been stressing a just and peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute through negotiations. India, however, put forward preconditions, rejected China's proposals and threatened China with armed clashes. The Chinese Government had ordered a ceasefire, it said, now India should not seek more than this; otherwise, it would certainly be held responsible for any recurrence of armed clashes.

The Syrian *Altalia* lauded China's move as a "great step for peace" and urged India to accept the Chinese offer. The Chinese were always very magnanimous and sensible, the paper said, and now they have written a new brilliant page.

The Afghan paper *Islah* characterized China's initiative as "a useful action and worthy of praise and attention." The same action from India would create a more favourable atmosphere for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the paper said.

Admitting that the people could only rejoice over China's initiative, the U.A.R. *Progres Egyptien* stressed that "neither China nor India would gain anything from a settlement by force. What is essential is to make all possible efforts to assure an atmosphere of serenity, so as to provide the talks which we hope will begin soon with all chances of successes."

The Cuban paper *Hoy* in a commentary on the Chinese government November 21 statement pointed out that "China's initiative and efforts to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question had brought about a ceasefire and this was a relief to the people of Asia and the whole world."

The Uruguayan *El Popular* wrote: "The whole of mankind learns with great satisfaction that the Chinese Government has ordered a ceasefire along the Sino-Indian border. We hope that this will mark the termination of hostilities and will help in the search for a common language in the solution of the disputes between the two major Asian countries."

Dangerous Conspiracy Foiled

Many papers urged the Indian Government to take to heart the interests of the Indian people and seize the present opportunity to settle the dispute through negotiations. Others stressed the importance of Sino-Indian rapprochement to Asian-African solidarity and to the defeat of imperialist schemes of fishing in troubled waters.

Meatophum of Cambodia wrote: "We appeal to India not to be tough any longer. If it really loves peace, now is the time for it to show such an intention." The paper noted that India's reliance on warmongers would result in its own enslavement and the loss of its independence and sovereignty.

The Iraqi paper *Sawt Al Ahrar* said that China's ceasefire decision had foiled the most dangerous imperialist conspiracy to which the Asian continent had been subjected. It stressed that "the Indian Government will bear a grave historical responsibility if it ignores the decision of the Chinese Government and rejects its peace proposals."

El Moudjahid, organ of the Algerian National Liberation Front, wrote that the Chinese ceasefire decision had furnished indisputable proof of China's desire for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute. It stressed that the interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples demanded that the border issue be solved by peaceful means through negotiations in accordance with the spirit of the Bandung Conference, because the continuation of this dispute could only benefit the imperialists. Asian and African solidarity must be upheld and the non-aligned countries should make efforts to enable China and India to maintain good-neighbour relations, it maintained.

Gun Racketeers in a Quandary

The Ghana *Evening News* in an editorial entitled "Imperialist Gun Racketeers in a Quandary" welcomed the Chinese statement and said it was a heavy blow to the U.S. and British imperialists. It said that China's ceasefire initiative had taken the wind out of the sails of the imperialist warmongers who were determined to fish in troubled waters. To the utter disgust of the peace-loving peoples of the world, Britain and America chose to place the fate of mankind on the edge of a precipice by frantically rushing arms from their stockpiles to one of the states engaged in a border dispute.

The Ceylonese weekly *Forward* said that the Chinese proposals had been warmly welcomed in Ceylon. Calling for positive response from the Indian Government which could pave the way for a detente and settlement by negotiations, the paper commented: "The task will not be easy. The imperialist and reactionary monopoly capitalist circles in India itself are doing their utmost to see that fighting continues on one pretext or another. That is why all who want a peaceful settlement of the border dispute should act now and act decisively."

The anti-Chinese slanders spread by the imperialists and reactionaries are having less and less effect on world public opinion because of the peace policy of the Chinese Government so dramatically manifested in these last few days. More and more people are asking pertinent questions even in the West, where the imperialist curtain of lies was thickest and prevented so many people from getting to know the true facts about the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. The British *Tribune* carried a letter from a reader denouncing the Nehru government for its refusal to negotiate with China. A reader wrote to the *New York Times* describing his surprise to find that the *Oxford Atlas* of 1940 had marked the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary exactly as China had stated. Elmore Philpott, Canadian columnist and former M.P., complained about what he called the "inadequate and incompetent handling" of the facts of the Sino-Indian border clashes by the North American press. Truth will out!

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement

— Anniversary —

Following is a translation of an editorial published by "Renmin Ribao" on November 15, 1962, and entitled "Carrying Forward the Revolutionary Spirit of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement." Our subheads and emphases. — Ed.

FIVE years ago, the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries issued the Moscow Declaration. Two years ago, the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties issued the Moscow Statement. These two documents are of great historic significance for the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and for the promotion of the struggle of the people in all lands against imperialism and for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Historic Mission of Communists and Proletarians

The historic mission of Communists and the proletariat is to transform the world, to wage revolutionary struggles to overthrow all social systems of exploitation and oppression of man by man and to realize the ideal of communism.

Ever since Marx and Engels in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* issued the great call "Working men of all countries, unite!", particularly since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the international communist movement has been sweeping the world with the momentum of a landslide and the power of a thunderbolt. One earth-shaking revolutionary storm after another has brought about an unprecedented change in the face of the world. One breach after another has been made in the imperialist front and a number of socialist countries have emerged in Europe, Asia and Latin America. The oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world have won one victory after another in their revolutionary struggles.

Glorious Tasks Ahead. However, the historic mission of the Communists and the proletariat is far from being fulfilled. Great and glorious revolutionary tasks still lie before us. The documents of the two Moscow meetings, on the basis of the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism, analysed the world situation and laid down the revolutionary tasks of the Communists of all countries to struggle to the end for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Main Currents in Present-Day World

The formation and growth of the socialist system and the continuous upsurge of the national-liberation movement are the main currents in the world today. These two great currents of historic significance are shaking the world capitalist system, with the result that the areas under imperialist rule have shrunken greatly and continue to shrink.

The sharp antagonism between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp is a concentrated expression of the fundamental contradiction between the capitalist system and the socialist system, between the international bourgeoisie and the international proletariat. In this bitter struggle, the new-born, great and powerful socialist camp has become ever more firmly consolidated and stronger.

The Weakest Links in Imperialist Rule. The mighty national-democratic revolutionary movement is sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America. These areas are the focus of the contradictions in the capitalist world and are the weakest links in imperialist rule. The ramparts erected by the imperialists and the reactionaries of the various countries have been broken through one by one and the colonialist system is being further disintegrated. The people in these areas which account for more than two-thirds of the total population of the capitalist world have increasingly awakened and plunged themselves into the struggle against imperialism. The heroic struggles of the peoples of Cuba, Algeria, Japan, Indonesia, Laos, the southern part of Viet Nam, the southern part of Korea and the other oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America have dealt heavy blows to imperialism and colonialism.

First Socialist State in Latin America

The victory of the Cuban revolution is a great revolutionary event of our time following on the October Revolution and the Chinese revolution. The heroic Cuban people, with U.S. imperialism at their very doorstep, took up arms and waged an arduous armed struggle. They overthrew the reactionary rule of the lackeys of U.S. imperialism in Cuba and, after completing the national-democratic revolution, have embarked on the

road of socialism and established the first socialist state in Latin America. Free Cuba has taken the lead in breaking the chains of slavery which U.S. imperialism has long imposed on the Latin American peoples. Led by their great revolutionary leader Comrade Fidel Castro, the Cuban people, who have stood up on their own feet, have been armed on a nationwide scale; they have time and again defeated frenzied U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention and resolutely defended the independence and sovereignty of their country and their revolutionary gains, manifesting an indomitable and great revolutionary spirit.

Imperialism Doomed. The decline and disintegration of the world capitalist system is being accelerated. The instability of the capitalist economy is growing. The class struggle in the capitalist world is intensifying and the revolutionary movement of the masses is advancing. The contradictions among the imperialist countries are sharpening. There is no force in the world, nor is there any method, which can save the decadent imperialist system from its decline.

The mass movement of the people of all countries against the aggressive and war policies of U.S. imperialism and other imperialisms and in defence of world peace is spreading throughout the world.

The East Wind Prevails Over the West Wind

All this has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist dictum formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung during the 1957 Moscow meeting: A new historic turning point has appeared in the world situation and the balance of forces in the class struggle throughout the world has undergone a radical change. The direction of the wind in the world has changed. Now it is not the West wind which prevails over the East wind but the East wind which prevails over the West wind. That is to say, the superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, the forces of the national-liberation movement over those of colonialism, the revolutionary forces over the reactionary forces, the forces of peace over those of war has become ever more marked.

In such a favourable world situation, what stand should Marxist-Leninists adopt in the worldwide class struggle?

Locomotive of History. Revolution is the locomotive of history. Marxist-Leninists always take a firm revolutionary stand to promote the advance of history. Marx said, "We do not say to the world: cease struggling — your whole struggle is senseless. All we do is to provide it with a true slogan of struggle." As far as all Marxist-Leninists are concerned, the purpose of a correct understanding of the characteristics of our time and of the world situation is none other than to lay down revolutionary strategy and tactics correctly, guide revolutionary practice and facilitate the advance of history.

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement have pointed out in explicit terms that imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries are the enemies of the peoples of the whole world. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, the centre of world reaction, the bulwark of colonialism, an international gendarme, the biggest international exploiter and the most ferocious common enemy of the peoples of the whole world. The two documents have declared that the source of wars of our time is imperialism, that so long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars and that the danger of imperialism launching a new world war is not yet over. That is why the peoples of all lands must now be more vigilant than ever.

The Leopard Cannot Change His Spots

Numerous facts show that the nature of imperialism and the reactionaries will never change, that they will never quit the arena of history of their own accord and that the nearer they approach their doom, the more desperately will they struggle. John F. Kennedy, chief of U.S. imperialism, is frenziedly challenging the peoples of the world. Ever since it was in office, the Kennedy Administration has carried out arms expansion in preparation for war on a larger scale than ever, shamelessly resorted to nuclear blackmail and launched armed intervention and aggression everywhere, thereby posing a grave threat to world peace. It has been making intense efforts to push ahead its counter-revolutionary dual tactics in its vain attempt to disintegrate the socialist camp, to stamp out the national-liberation movement, to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the people in various countries, to establish a so-called "world community of free nations" covering the whole globe and to subject the peoples of the world to U.S. imperialist enslavement and rule. The contradictions between the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and the peoples of the socialist countries, the oppressed nations and the people of the imperialist countries themselves as well as the peace-loving people of the world are absolutely irreconcilable. For all oppressed peoples fighting for liberation, for all oppressed nations fighting for independence and for the peoples of the world striving to safeguard peace, it is necessary to spearhead their struggle against imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular.

How to Prevent World War and Defend Peace? The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement have shown the world's people the way to prevent a new world war and defend world peace. The forces to safeguard world peace in our time are: the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement, the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and the mass movement for peace. World peace can be preserved and a new world war prevented so long as the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement, the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and the people's peace movement are continuously strengthened, a broad united front against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war is established and resolute blow-for-blow struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are waged. The more the revolutionary forces grow, the greater will be the safeguards for world peace. The revolutionary struggles of the peoples for national liberation, democracy and socialism are completely at one with the movement in defence of world peace.

The Way to Deal With Imperialists and Reactionaries

Imperialism and all reactionaries have always bullied the faint-hearted but feared the firm. They have always bullied the weak but feared the strong. Historical experience shows that the more resolute is the struggle against imperialism, the better will world peace be safe-

guarded. On the contrary, if, in the face of imperialism, one backs down, knuckles under or even begs for peace at the expense of the interests of the revolutionary people, one only encourages imperialism to carry out more rapaciously its policies of aggression and war, thereby heightening the danger of a world war. As Comrade Fidel Castro has said, "The road to peace is not the road of sacrificing the rights of the peoples and infringing on their rights because this is precisely the road leading to war."

There Can Be No Bartering Away Principles. Whether world peace is secured by relying chiefly on mass struggles of the peoples or by relying on the "kind-heartedness" of certain representatives of the imperialist bloc — this is an important question of principle. Marxist-Leninists have never refused to negotiate with the enemy and make the necessary compromise under certain conditions. The socialist countries have always stood for peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and made consistent efforts for the relaxation of international tension. But in any negotiation and compromise, it is absolutely impermissible to barter away principles, nor is it ever permissible to barter away the vital interests of the people and their revolution.

The modern revisionists represented by the Tito group, instead of waging a resolute blow-for-blow struggle against imperialism, are spreading illusions about imperialism, alleging that the nature of imperialism has changed, and wanting people to believe in the "assurances," "promises," "reason" and "goodwill" of such imperialists as Kennedy. The Tito group trumpets the need for achieving "economic integration" and "political integration" of the world, serves openly U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary plans and becomes an important detachment of U.S. imperialism in carrying out its counter-revolutionary grand strategy.

Attitude Towards Imperialism

Marxist-Leninists are distinguished from modern revisionists, first of all, by their attitude towards imperialism. Marxist-Leninists stand at the forefront of the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism and of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. But modern revisionists submit to imperialist pressure and are afraid of U.S. imperialism. They are afraid of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and oppose these struggles to the fight in defence of world peace and have degenerated into the voluntary propagandists, political brokers and stooges of imperialism.

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement highly value the great revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and colonialism and for winning and safeguarding their national independence. The Moscow Statement points out that the national-liberation movement of our time accelerates the process of the disintegration and decline of colonialism and imperialism, and ranks second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.

Policy of Unity and Struggle. The two documents point out that Communist Parties in all colonial, semi-colonial and nationalist countries must carry the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution through to the end. The Moscow Statement also points out that a policy of unity and struggle should be adopted towards the national bourgeoisie in these countries. It says that the Communist Parties "support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation. They expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose."

Progressive Nationalism v. Reactionary Nationalism. Marxist-Leninists must distinguish between anti-imperialist progressive nationalism and reactionary nationalism which collaborates with imperialism, and must, while supporting progressive nationalism, struggle against reactionary nationalism. If they do not wage necessary struggles against reactionary nationalism, but sympathize with, endorse and give support to the reactionary actions of the reactionary nationalists, and become their partners, they will be running counter to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, and fall into the quagmire of bourgeois nationalism.

The successful development of the national-liberation movement is an important contribution to world peace and also a powerful support for the socialist camp. Likewise, the existence of the mighty socialist camp and its assistance to the national-liberation movement provides a favourable condition for the successful development of the national-liberation movement. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out that all the socialist countries, the international workers' movement and communist movement recognize that it is their sacred, bounden internationalist duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny, and to promote the struggle of the various peoples to win and consolidate their national independence.

Armed Suppression Plus Deception and Blackmail. Apart from armed suppression, the imperialists resort to methods of division, deception and blackmail in order to stamp out the national-liberation movement. They viciously slander the struggle of the various peoples for national liberation and to safeguard their national independence as "communist aggression and subversion," and even openly use nuclear blackmail to threaten the socialist countries to give up their internationalist duty. But with all Communists who uphold Marxism-Leninism, with all the revolutionary people, such frenzied attempts of the imperialists will be completely futile.

Tito Group Peddles U.S. Neo-Colonialism. Catering to the needs of imperialism, the modern revisionists represented by the Tito group are doing their utmost to benumb and undermine the national-liberation movement. According to them, imperialism and colonialism seem no longer to exist in the present-day world; nor are there any tasks of the national-liberation movement. They deliberately oppose the national-liberation movement to the world peace movement. They hold that in face of imperialism's armed suppression and armed aggression, the oppressed nations should not wage armed struggles. Under

the signboards of "peace," "neutrality" and "non-alignment," the Tito group peddles in Asian, African and Latin American countries the neo-colonialism of the United States, in an attempt to weaken and disintegrate the national-liberation movement.

Attitude Towards National Liberation

Another important distinction between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism lies in the recognition or non-recognition of the right of the oppressed nations to liberate themselves, and in active support or absence of such support for the national-liberation movement and for wars of national liberation.

State Power: The Fundamental Question. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement have set forth for the broad masses of people in the capitalist countries the revolutionary task of freeing themselves from capitalist enslavement and of striving for socialism. The two documents say that in the present situation, Communists in the capitalist countries should lead the working class and other working people to carry on economic and political struggles against the capitalist monopolies in defence of the people's democratic rights and their right to a livelihood and make the millions of people realize that in socialism alone lies their complete emancipation from class oppression and poverty. Leninism teaches us that the fundamental question of all revolutions is the question of state power. Historical experience has proved that the ruling class will not relinquish state power of its own accord. The Moscow Declaration points out, therefore, that the working class with the Marxist-Leninist Party as its core must lead the working masses to bring about the proletarian revolution in one form or another and establish the proletarian dictatorship in one form or another.

Tito's "Peaceful Growth Into Socialism" Humbug. The modern revisionists represented by the Tito group preach the preposterous theory of so-called "peaceful growth into socialism." They hold that transition to socialism is possible without touching the rule of monopoly capital and the reactionaries, without seizing state power and without smashing the bourgeois state machinery. It is possible, according to them, simply through the road of so-called parliamentary democracy and by relying on the policy of state capitalism of the monopoly capitalist class. This nonsense, betraying Marxism-Leninism, in fact helps the monopoly capitalists to maintain their rule, to benumb the revolutionary will of the proletariat and disintegrate the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people.

Attitude Towards Proletarian Revolution

To uphold or not to uphold the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat — this also is an important criterion by which to differentiate Marxism-Leninism from modern revisionism.

Unity Is Strength. Marxism-Leninism is the basis of the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. Both the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement put special emphasis on the great significance of the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. The two historic documents point out that the resolute safeguarding of the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism is the necessary condition for the world's people to win victory in the struggles for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. In order to safeguard the great unity of the socialist camp, the great unity of the international communist movement and the great unity of the people all over the world, it is necessary for all Marxist-Leninists to fight resolutely against the disruptive, sectarian and chauvinistic activities of the modern revisionists.

Purity of Marxism-Leninism. To defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism is in the fundamental interests of the international communist movement and of the revolutionary people of the whole world. Both the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out that the interests of the further development of the communist movement and the workers' movement call for a struggle on two fronts, against revisionism and also against dogmatism and sectarianism. The main danger in the international communist movement at present is revisionism. The emergence of modern revisionism is not an accidental phenomenon but the product of imperialist policy. As stated in the Moscow Declaration, "the existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source." To defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary interests of the people of the various countries, all Marxist-Leninists must resolutely carry on the struggle against modern revisionism to the end.

China Upholds Revolutionary Principles

The Communist Party of China has consistently and resolutely upheld the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The communique of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, issued in September this year, once again points out: "We should continue to hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, uphold the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and resolutely and thoroughly oppose modern revisionism — the main danger in the international communist movement. This is our main task at present and for a long time to come. At the same time we should resolutely and thoroughly oppose dogmatism, oppose sectarianism and oppose great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. This is also a long-term task. The purpose of all this is to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism."

As the Moscow Declaration has correctly pointed out, "Like any progressive movement in human history, the communist movement is bound to encounter difficulties, and its road will not be a straight one. However, as in the past, no difficulties or obstacles can change now, nor will they be able to change in the future, the objective laws governing historical progress or shake the determination of the working class to transform the old world and create a new one."

Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph. All revolutionary causes are tempered and grow in struggle. The workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, patriotic and revolutionary intellectuals, and patriotic and revolutionary national bourgeoisie of various countries who constitute more than 90 per cent

of the world's population, are always for revolution. The revolutionary cause of the people of various countries will certainly continue to develop. The countries of the socialist camp and the international communist movement will certainly strengthen their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and continue to increase their strength. The imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists may temporarily succeed in spreading dark clouds over the heads of the people of the world. But the sky will never fall and the general situation of the East wind prevailing over the West wind will never change; imperialism and all reactionaries will be dethroned; modern revisionism will go utterly bankrupt; Marxism-Leninism will triumph throughout the world!

红旗
HONGQI

Defend the Purity of Marxism-Leninism

In commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the Moscow Declaration and the second anniversary of the Moscow Statement

Following is a translation of an editorial published by "Hongqi," No. 22, 1962. Subheads and emphases are ours. — Ed.

AFTER World War I, the peoples of the world waged heroic struggles against the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries and won important victories. The emergence of a number of socialist countries in Europe and Asia, the formation and growth of the socialist system, the upsurge of the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and their victories, and the development of the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism have brought about a new situation in the worldwide class struggle, which favours the people of the world. The cause of liberation of the proletariat and all the oppressed peoples of the world has entered a new historic era. And so has the development of Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical weapon of the proletariat. As the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communists of all countries must firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism, the only correct theoretical weapon, and use it to analyse the new situation in the worldwide class struggle and work out their own strategies and tactics in this struggle.

Two Documents of Historic Significance. The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held meetings in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, and issued two documents of great historic significance — the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. These documents have set down clearly the revolutionary spirit of the two Moscow meetings and called on the Marxist-Leninists of all countries to hold high the banner of opposing imperialism and defending world peace, the banner of revolution, the banner of proletarian internationalism, and the banner of Marxism-Leninism; they have pointed out the correct road of uniting the people of the whole world to fight for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism and set forth the militant task of defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and opposing the various types of opportunism, primarily modern revisionism.

Modern Revisionism: The Main Danger. The Communist Party of China participated in drawing up the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and has consistently fought for the defence of the revolutionary spirit and revolutionary principles of these two documents. The communique of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held in September this year stated explicitly: "We should continue to hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, uphold the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and resolutely and thoroughly oppose modern revisionism — the main danger in the international communist movement. This is our main task at present and for a long time to come. At the same time we should resolutely and thoroughly oppose dogmatism, oppose sectarianism and oppose great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. This is also a long-term task. The purpose of all this is to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism."

Social Origin of Revisionism

The Moscow Declaration points out: "The main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, Right-wing opportunism, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyzing the revolutionary energy of the working class and demanding the preservation or restoration of capitalism." The Declaration has also penetratingly exposed the social origin of revisionism. It says: "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source." Modern revisionism is born to meet the needs of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism.

Basic Problems in Revolutionary Struggles. To distinguish clearly between the enemy and ourselves, to appraise correctly the strength of the people and of the enemy and to adopt correct methods to develop the strength of the people so as to attain the goal of defeating the enemy — these are the fundamental problems in revolutionary struggles. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, proceeding from a situation of worldwide class struggle, point out that imperialism and its loyal lackeys in various countries are enemies of the peoples of the world, that U.S. imperialism is the centre of world reaction, the biggest international exploiter, the ferocious international gendarme and the common enemy of the peoples of the world. Communists of all countries

must unite with the workers, peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie, revolutionary patriotic intellectuals, the revolutionary patriotic national bourgeoisie and all other forces with whom it is possible to unite — altogether they account for more than 90 per cent of the world's population — so as to form the broadest possible united front and wage a thoroughgoing struggle against imperialism headed by the United States. In this great struggle Communists must stand in the vanguard and educate the broad sections of the people, constantly raising their own level of consciousness, constantly overcoming in the course of the struggle the various erroneous ideas in their own ranks and adopting correct policies so as to lead the struggle from victory to victory.

If Communists fail to recognize the outwardly strong but inwardly brittle nature of imperialism and the reactionaries of the various countries, are awed by the temporary power of the enemy and overestimate his strength, they will vacillate in the struggle and dare not win victory that can be won. The Right opportunists, that is, the revisionists, grossly exaggerate among the masses the strength of the enemy and underrate the great role of the masses in the struggle. This only adds to the arrogance of imperialism and the reactionaries in the various countries and dampens down the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Method of Class Analysis Discarded

The modern revisionists are scared stiff in face of the "policy of strength" of U.S. imperialism. They have discarded the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis, given publicity to the idea that the nature of imperialism has changed, and tried to prettify the monopoly capitalist class and its representatives. They hold that there is no need for the various peoples to wage mass struggles against imperialism and its lackeys and that by relying on the good intentions of the so-called enlightened section of the imperialist circles alone, lasting world peace can be realized and freedom and happiness bestowed upon the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. They hold that when imperialism still exists and when the systems of exploitation and oppression still exist it is possible to eliminate war and eliminate arms throughout the world. The danger of modern revisionism lies first of all in its confusing the distinction between the enemy and ourselves, obscuring the objective of the struggle, and weakening and undermining the struggle of the world's people against imperialism. Therefore, Communists of all countries, while leading the masses in the struggle against imperialism, must resolutely and thoroughly oppose modern revisionism and defeat revisionism by means of Marxism-Leninism.

Tito Plays Into Imperialist Hands. The Tito group of Yugoslavia is the most conspicuous representative of modern revisionism. It has become the enemy of the international workers' movement and a special detachment of U.S. imperialism in its opposition to the people's revolution all over the world. The Tito group, donning a Marxist-Leninist garb and under the signboard of a socialist country, serves its master in a number of ways. Firstly, it advertises among the socialist countries the so-called Yugoslav road, that is, the road for socialist countries to "peacefully evolve" into capitalist countries, to restore capitalism. Secondly, it tries to popularize among the Asian, African and Latin American countries engaged in national and democratic revolutionary struggles the so-called supra-bloc policy of "positive coexistence" — a policy which eliminates the distinction between the enemy and ourselves — in an attempt to benumb the revolutionary will of the peoples of these countries, undermine their liberation struggle and pave the way for U.S. imperialism to push ahead its neo-colonialism. Thirdly, it peddles among the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries the theory of "peaceful growth" into socialism in an attempt to eliminate the revolution and preserve the reactionary rule of the monopoly capitalist class. Fourthly, it spreads among the peoples struggling in defence of world peace the fallacy that the source of modern war is not imperialism but the antagonism between the so-called two military blocs; it is doing everything it can to attack the socialist camp, the bulwark of world peace, and apologize for the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Anti-Dogmatism — A Sham. The modern revisionists invariably put up their signboard of opposition to dogmatism. But their so-called opposition to dogmatism really means opposing Marxist-Leninist theories on class struggle, on the state and revolution, on imperialism, on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, and on the people's revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. What they oppose is precisely the core of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Common Laws Distorted

The common laws set forth in the Moscow Declaration for socialist revolution and socialist construction sum up the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and must be observed by all countries which have embarked on the socialist road. The modern revisionists distort, tamper with, and oppose these common laws in one way or another. They repudiate Lenin's theory on Party building. They deny that the Communist and Workers' Parties are the vanguard of the proletariat. They renounce proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. They hold that capitalism can pass into socialism by relying on bourgeois democracy and by taking the peaceful parliamentary road without smashing the bourgeois state machinery. They discredit the important significance of carrying out the socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural spheres in the period of socialist construction. On the pretext of the changed conditions of our time, they declare that the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism are out of date. In the name of "creatively" developing Marxism, they revise Marxism-Leninism in accordance with bourgeois ideology. Everywhere they try to suit the taste of the bourgeoisie; they transform proletarian policies into what the bourgeoisie can accept, and the criterion in the formulation of their policies is whether they will please the bourgeoisie. They substitute bourgeois pacificism for anti-imperialist struggle, reformism for proletarian revolution, bourgeois nationalism for proletarian internationalism, and humanitarianism for the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle.

"Initial Elementary Truths of Socialism." The Marxist-Leninist Parties must never abandon the fundamental

theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism, replace Marxism-Leninism with revisionism and renounce basic Marxist-Leninist principles on the pretext of tactical flexibility. To carry out revolution is the task of all revolutionaries. They should at all times keep in sight the future of the revolution and its tasks and should not make opportunist compromises and lose their bearings in the revolution. Of course, when and in what circumstances a revolutionary situation will come about is independent of the will of a particular class but the carrying out of revolutionary work among the masses will never be fruitless. Only by doing such work can conditions be prepared for the victory of socialism. This is what Lenin called the "initial elementary truths of socialism."*

Opposing Dogmatism and Sectarianism

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement have pointed out that while opposing revisionism — the main danger at present, it is also necessary to oppose dogmatism and sectarianism. The development of human society follows common basic laws but different countries and nations have their own characteristics. All countries and nations are experiencing the class struggle and will all advance towards communism along the roads which are basically identical but vary in concrete form. History advances continuously and new situations and new experiences constantly emerge in the class struggle. The Communist and Workers' Parties of the various countries must be adept at integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice in the different countries at different times. Only in this way can revolutionary practice acquire correct theoretical guidance, only in this way can Marxist-Leninist theory be constantly enriched and developed and the peoples' cause of revolution and socialist and communist construction be successful.

The tremendous vitality of Marxism-Leninism lies in its inseparable link with practice. In the cause of the revolutionary movements and socialist construction in various countries, the dogmatic tendency of not proceeding from the concrete conditions in one's own country but mechanically copying the experience of other countries, should be guarded against and overcome and so should the dogmatism that ignores new situations and new experience in the class struggle and merely repeats certain outdated theses. In the struggle for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, it is necessary to guard against and overcome the tendency of "close-doorism," losing touch with the masses and failing to unite with all those with whom unity can be achieved. In the interests of the revolution, work, as far as Communists are concerned, must be undertaken wherever the masses are. All forms of struggle that meet the needs of the revolution should be adopted. Dogmatism and sectarianism make one lose touch with the masses and reality and can in no way lead the cause of revolution and construction to a successful conclusion.

Chinese Communists are well aware of what dogmatism is and its grave harm. During the stage of democratic revolution in China, doctrinaires wanted us simply to copy from the textbooks and mechanically transplant the experience of other countries without any analysis, thus causing exceptionally serious losses to the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung sharply criticized dogmatism and described it as an anti-scientific and anti-Marxist-Leninist subjective method and a manifestation of impure Party spirit. He said: "Marxism-Leninism is the most correct, scientific and revolutionary truth, born out of objective reality and verified by objective reality, but many who study Marxism-Leninism take it as a lifeless dogma, thus impeding the development of theory, and harming themselves as well as other comrades."* Time and again he has stressed that the truths of Marxism-Leninism are not dogmas but guides to action. If the Chinese Communists did not know how to integrate theory with practice, the Chinese revolution would never have won victory. The characteristic of Mao Tse-tung's thought which has guided the Chinese revolution to victory is to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with practice in China.

Integration of Theory and Practice

In the course of socialist construction, our Party has also abided by the principle of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of socialist construction in China. We hold high the three red banners — the general line for the building of socialism, the big leap forward and the people's commune — and have gradually formulated a whole set of specific policies in line with Chinese conditions, thereby keeping China's socialist construction on the right track.

The Fight on Two Fronts. The Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has matured and grown in the struggles on both fronts — against Right-wing opportunism and against "left-wing" dogmatism. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the successes in national construction are the victory of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Communist Party.

We have gained an important experience from the struggles on both fronts — against Right-wing opportunism and against "left-wing" dogmatism. That is, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and on no account should they encourage slavishness."**

We have derived from the struggles on both fronts the formula of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. That is to say, first, it is necessary to abide by the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism which are applicable to the whole world; secondly, it is necessary to proceed from the concrete conditions in China to use the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoints and methods to analyse the reality existing in China and solve the problems of the theory and policies of the Chinese revolution and construction.

What Lenin Taught

As Lenin said: "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we

---

* *Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement*

* *Rectify the Party's Style of Work*

** ibid.

are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of Marx's theory is especially essential for Russian socialists; for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia."* Only by acting as Lenin indicated, can we really effectively oppose dogmatism. Having cast away the general guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism, the revisionists are therefore unable to make a truly scientific analysis of reality. It is for the sole purpose of spreading their revisionist nonsense that the revisionists raise a hue and cry about opposing dogmatism. They use opposition to dogmatism as a cover for their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

All Communists must endeavour to get a better understanding of things: they must be good at distinguishing between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism; they must be able to distinguish between the use of Marxism-Leninism to oppose dogmatism and the use of revisionism to oppose Marxism-Leninism under cover of opposing dogmatism, to distinguish between the use of proletarian internationalism to oppose sectarianism and the use of great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism to oppose proletarian internationalism under cover of opposing sectarianism.

Dialectical Materialism. The Marxist-Leninist world outlook of dialectical materialism is the tool with which to sharpen one's keenness in making such distinctions. As the Moscow Declaration incisively points out, "the theory of Marxism-Leninism derives from dialectical materialism. This world outlook reflects the universal law of development of nature, society and human thinking. It is valid for the past, the present and the future. Dialectical materialism is countered by metaphysics and idealism. Should the Marxist political party in its examination of questions base itself not on dialectics and materialism, the result will be one-sidedness and subjectivism, stagnation of human thought, isolation from life and loss of the ability to make the necessary analysis of things and phenomena, revisionist and dogmatist mistakes and mistakes in policy. Application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of the Party functionaries and the broad masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties."

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out that the strengthening of fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries call for a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy on the part of the Communist and Workers' Parties, for the education of all the working people in the spirit of combining internationalism with patriotism and for a determined effort to overcome the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and great-nation chauvinism.

Origins of Great-Nation Chauvinism and Narrow Nationalism

The emergence of the tendencies of great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism in the ranks of the working class has deep-going historical and social sources.

In the period of imperialism, the nations of the world are divided into a minority of oppressor nations and a majority of oppressed nations. The bourgeois nationalism of the oppressor nations appears in the form of extremely reactionary great-nation chauvinism. In the oppressor nations, bourgeois great-nation chauvinism also contaminates a section of the members of the working class; the labour aristocrats even become captives of bourgeois great-nation chauvinism. Starting from these facts, Lenin pointed out: "It is precisely the standpoint of struggle against the social-chauvinism of the great power nations . . . that must become the decisive, cardinal, basic point in the social-democratic national programme."*

During World War I, in the grip of social-chauvinism, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, then the biggest and the most influential in the world, took the lead in betraying proletarian internationalism, and other social democratic parties of most European countries degenerated into the stooges of the bourgeoisie of their own countries. The Second International went bankrupt. At that time, the Russian Bolsheviks, under the leadership of the great Lenin, held aloft the red banner of proletarian internationalism, united the revolutionary Marxists of various countries and waged firm struggles against the social-chauvinists of the Second International. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was also the victory of proletarian internationalism over social-chauvinism.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin, with his lucid internationalist thought, opposed both great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism, thus setting us a brilliant example.

Principles Governing Mutual Relations

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement explicitly set forth the criteria guiding relations between the socialist countries and relations between the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, that is, the principle of full equality, the principle of independence and sovereignty and brotherly mutual assistance, and the principle of settling questions of common interest through comradely consultations on an equal footing. These principles both ensure internationalist unity and preserve the independent position of each socialist country and each Party; they guarantee both the solidarity of the international communist movement and the initiative and creativeness of each socialist country and each Party in solving their own questions according to the specific conditions of each country. These are the only correct principles for handling relations between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries. Should any Party violate these principles and, in relations between fraternal Parties, impose its own views on others or substitute a method of interference in each other's internal affairs for comradely suggestion and criticism, it would impair the unity of the international communist movement. There is no doubt that any Party, in handling its relations with

*Our Programme

*The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination

fraternal Parties and fraternal countries, should respect the right of the fraternal Parties of these countries to solve their own questions independently; and in tackling questions of common concern to the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries, unanimous agreement should be reached through consultations.

In handling relations with fraternal Parties and countries, the Chinese Communist Party has resolutely and thoroughly opposed bourgeois nationalism and will continue to do so in the future. It resolutely and thoroughly opposes both great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. In mutual relations between fraternal Parties and between fraternal countries, the danger of great-nation chauvinism is much more serious. Since China is a big nation, the Chinese Communist Party has always taught its members to guard against and oppose great-nation chauvinism.

Unity and Independence

The Chinese Communists have always held that the Communist Parties of the various countries must be united, and at the same time must maintain their independence. Historical experience has proved that if these two aspects are not integrated correctly, or if either of them is ignored, mistakes will inevitably be committed. When the Communist Parties of the various countries maintain their relations on an equal footing and reach unanimous agreement on their views and actions through genuine and not merely formal consultations, their unity will be strengthened.

Today, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the modern revisionists try in every way to attack and discredit Marxism-Leninism. In these circumstances, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the various countries must unite closely to repulse the attacks of the imperialists, the attacks of the reactionaries of the various countries, and the attacks of the modern revisionists, to defend the revolutionary principles enunciated in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

In defending world peace and striving for peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, in striving for the liberation of all the oppressed nations and peoples and for the victory of socialism throughout the world, we still face arduous and tortuous struggles. As a result of these struggles, the level of consciousness of the world's people will certainly be raised constantly, the forces of the people will certainly be continuously strengthened and Marxism-Leninism will certainly display its invincibility still more. The imperialists, the reactionaries of the various countries and the modern revisionists are doomed to fail. In the situation where the East wind prevails over the West wind, world peace can be won; the triumph of socialism throughout the world cannot be blocked. By strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist movement and the unity of the people throughout the world under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of proletarian internationalism, we are sure to win great new victories.

Socialist Solidarity

Greetings to Hungarian Party Congress

A CHINESE Communist Party delegation attended the 8th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in Budapest. Wu Hsiu-chuan, leader of the delegation, brought greetings to the congress from the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee of which he is a member.

Paying tribute to Hungary's socialist achievements, Wu Hsiu-chuan, in his speech, said that "every one of your successes strengthens the socialist camp and contributes to our common cause."

Referring to the international situation, Wu Hsiu-chuan pointed out that it was continuing to develop in a direction favourable to the peoples of the world, and that the strength of the socialist camp and its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism were decisive factors for the defence of world peace.

Denouncing U.S. imperialism for its global counter-revolutionary strategy and its latest crime of aggression against Cuba, the Chinese delegate hailed the heroic Cuban people who, he said, "stand mobilized in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism. Their struggle is not only to defend the fruits of their own revolution but also to defend the cause of world peace and the progress of mankind. . . . The people of China, together with the peoples of the other socialist countries and all the peace-loving peoples of the world will resolutely support the just struggle of the Cuban people until they win final and complete victory."

Wu Hsiu-chuan condemned the modern revisionists represented by the leading clique in Yugoslavia for helping U.S. imperialism in its plans for world domination. "Cloaked as Marxist-Leninists," he said, the modern revisionists "wave the banner of socialism and don the mask of positive neutrality to deceive the revolutionary people of the world, in the vain hope of breaking up the struggle of the people of the world against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, disintegrating the liberation struggles of all the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and paralysing the revolutionary will of the peoples of the socialist countries."

Wu Hsiu-chuan laid emphasis on the importance of strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement for the great struggle of the peoples of all lands for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. "Relations among the socialist

countries," he said, "and relations among the proletarian Parties are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and also on the fundamental principles of guiding relations among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries as stipulated in the Moscow Declaration and in the Moscow Statement. Every socialist country and every Marxist-Leninist Party is independent and equal and at the same time they mutually assist, support and co-operate with each other in the cause of building socialism and communism and in the struggle to oppose imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace. If there are differences of opinion between fraternal Parties, they should be resolved by means of consultation on the basis of equality and not by imposing the will of one Party on another fraternal Party, not through interference in the internal affairs of another fraternal Party and certainly not by unilaterally and publicly attacking another fraternal Party at one's own Party congress. Unfortunately, your Party congress, by publicly and unilaterally attacking the Albanian Party of Labour, has once more repeated this practice which is destructive of the international solidarity of the proletariat. This cannot but cause us the deepest regret. We sincerely hope that all of us will treasure the common interests of the proletarian revolutionary cause and the struggle against imperialism, and eliminate our differences and strengthen our unity in conformity with the fundamental principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement."

Pen Probes

The Shark and the Sardines

"LITTLE sardine," said the preacher, "the Shark will be your Big Brother, your protector. You will be the little sister, the protected. . . . You will swear that he is a person of goodwill and that he is an agent of good idealistic causes. You will learn by memory his fourteen points, and the four freedoms . . . destiny reserves for you the glory of serving . . . this giant of the sea. . . . And he will be willing to control you, to help you, to protect you, to have you very near, every day nearer, until one day . . . you will have such peace and security as you have never known; you will be protected by your powerful ally, in the magnanimity of whose belly you will rest some day. . . ."

"You and only you, Oh Shark," said the preacher, "will keep watch around the sand bar where your little sardine-sister, ally today and always, will sleep and rest, free now from danger . . . in full enjoyment of her sovereignty as an untouchable member of your world, Shark — the Free World."

Is there any need to ask who is the shark and who are the sardines? "To the North American millionaires converted into government, Latin America appeared an easy prey, a 'big business.'"

"Geographic pretexts, racial pretexts, financial pretexts and military pretexts have all been used. But the results are always the same — industrial products manufactured in the North, second-hand armaments, and capital which is surplus there and which brings bigger profits here [Latin America] than it does there. The obligation to buy and to import is now agreed to in bilateral treaties between the Shark and the sardine. Of course, the Shark wears formal dress, drinks champagne and makes speeches about brotherhood . . . and likes to show his teeth in public and enjoy giving circus demonstrations of his skill and his strength."

And then, when anyone or anything stands in the way of the bankers and the companies, the marines are dispatched — to Panama in 1903, to Nicaragua in 1909, to Mexico and Haiti in 1914 and to Santo Domingo in 1916. Operating simultaneously with the military apparatus is the new local "revolution" financed by the White House or the Wall Street.

In describing relations between U.S. imperialism and the Latin American countries based on his own experience, former President of Guatemala Dr. Juan José Arevalo has fittingly chosen *The Shark and the Sardines** as the title of his book.

Small wonder that this book sells like hot cakes in Latin America.

Let us Latin Americans, he writes, read to our young people every day at dawn what Brigadier-General Smedley F. Butler formerly of the U.S.M.C. had to say:

> I spent thirty-three years (in the Marines) . . . most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism. . . .
>
> I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City (Bank) boys to collect revenue in. I helped in the rape of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. . . .

Today, once again showing its shark's teeth, blockade-happy U.S. imperialism has made its preparations to invade Cuba: marines standing by, bombers poised. . . .

But there is an unusual pause in the proceedings — yes, sardine-hunting in the Caribbean is not what it was. The shark this time is clearly out of his depth. . . .

---

* Juan José Arevalo, *The Shark and the Sardines*, Lyle Stuart, New York, 1961.

SIDELIGHTS

Tale of a Tub. Our tale is about a bronze tub named the Kuochitzupai Vessel, made over 2,600 years ago in the Chou Dynasty. The story opens in the 20s of the last century, when it was unearthed in Paochi, Shensi Province. It was not long before news got around that the magistrate of Meihsien County in Shensi had a precious relic in his possession, one of the biggest bronze objects inherited from antiquity. Weighing 450 *jin*, the huge rectangular tub is decorated with ogres' heads and inscribed with archaic characters recording an incident in 665 B.C. The workmanship was of the finest, and many a covetous eye was cast upon it.

One night in the year 1864, an officer of the imperial army named Liu Ming-chuan chanced to be in the mansion of a defeated Taiping commander in Kiangsu Province. Hearing the peculiar sounds which were made by horses eating from a "trough" in the stables, he investigated and discovered this rare antique. He carried it away to his home in Anhwei Province and built a stoutly protected pavilion to house it. Once in a while the Liu family unlocked the pavilion to take rubbings of its inscriptions, but none of the common people around were allowed to take so much as a peep. For scores of years the tub was in solitary confinement. But it was not forgotten. During the time of the Northern warlords in the early 1920s, Liu Chen-hua, a Northern warlord, searched for it by ransacking the Liu family estate, but in vain; when the Kuomintang were in power, Li Tsung-jen's forces also failed in their search for it. As did Li Pin-hsien, another reactionary ruler of Anhwei. During the Japanese occupation, the Japanese also came for it, but buried in the ground beneath a latrine, it again escaped discovery. Neither bribes nor threats could wrest the secrets of its whereabouts from the Lius.

Soon after liberation, in 1949, the Liu family had it dug up and made a gift of it to the People's Government. The ancient tub today stands serene and dignified in a place of honour at the Museum of Chinese History in the capital.

•

Patriot and Internationalist. Ten years ago in the Sangkumryung battle in Korea, Huang Chih-kuang, a young Chinese People's Volunteer, silenced an enemy machine-gun with his body to save the lives of his comrades and to enable them to advance. Since then, his name has been known and loved by the peoples of China and Korea. On October 20, a commemoration meeting was held and a memorial hall opened and dedicated to him in his home town in Chungchiang County, Szechuan Province. At the ceremony were Huang's mother, his former company commander in the C.P.V., and representatives of the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party and Communist Youth League. Speakers recalled the life of this selfless and heroic youth. From a poor peasant family, he had become the family breadwinner at the age of 11 and had worked for a landlord as a farmhand. Others told of his bravery as a volunteer in Korea — a great young patriot and internationalist and an example to all revolutionary youth.

•

Forestry - Institute Graduates. A first batch of 135 forestry students including Mongolians, Hans, Huis, Tahurs and Koreans has graduated from the Inner Mongolian Forestry Institute in Huhehot. They have now gone out to work in the vast forests of the Great Khingan Mountains and other timber reserves in the autonomous region, which contains one-third of the country's forests and one-tenth of China's deserts and waste lands, both of which await large-scale afforestation. The forestry institute, established after liberation, is well equipped with laboratory apparatus, an extensive library and experimental grounds. It has a student body of 750 comprising students of many nationalities.

•

Better Pastries, Sweets and Wines. Peking's shops and markets are offering the capital's citizens a bigger range of better-quality breads, cakes, biscuits, fruit juices, canned fruit, ice-creams, soft drinks, beers and wines. This is testified to not only by average customers but officially after a recent six-day examination of foods, drinks, and sweetmeats sponsored by the Peking Foodstuffs Corporation. Connoisseurs including makers and dealers took part in the survey.

The check-up, one of the series made in Peking every three months since 1959, was made apart from the regular sampling of foods and wines before they leave their makers. It aims by mutual comparisons and swapping of experience to raise the quality and enlarge the variety of pastries, sweets and wines produced by the different manufacturers.

•

A Swan Lake that Tchaikovsky never dreamt of was one of the places visited by a team of glacialists during a recent survey in the Pamirs. The lake, known locally as the "Pearl in the Sea of Snow," lies 3,500 metres above sea-level in a bowl beneath the three highest peaks of the Pamirs—Muztagh Ata, Kongur, and Kongur Tiubie Tagh. All three peaks cast their reflections on the placid face of the lake whose waters record in a myriad different colours the changes in the weather. The scientists found here flocks of white and black swans who have made their homes on a little island in the lake. Here in these pristine and secure surroundings they carry on their daily life — seeking food, hatching their young, teaching the cygnets their first steps to graceful flight and swimming — the inspiration and despair of the world's finest ballerinas.

Forest Riches *Woodcut by Feng Chung-pieh*

PAINTING

Pan Tien-shou's Art

There was quite exceptional interest in the recent Peking exhibition of paintings and calligraphy by the Hangchow artist Pan Tien-shou. Now 65 years old, this southern (Chekiang Province) artist paints landscapes and flower-and-bird scrolls in the traditional Chinese manner with equal facility whether he is using his brushes or fingers. A poet and calligrapher as well, he is an adept at "melting poetry, calligraphy and painting in one pot." In this he follows the best classical tradition. Even more: he is also an expert seal-carver. The seal always occupies an important place on a classical Chinese scroll painting, so his artistry in seal-making enables him to produce the classical ensemble of painting, inscribed poetic colophon, signature and seal in a particularly accomplished way.

A New Artist Emerges

All this, however, was known before. Pan Tien-shou's work has long been known and admired in Peking. But in these latest works of his a new artist has emerged. He has achieved a new boldness of artistic conception reflected in his compositions, the freshness of his brushwork and new colour harmonies. It is the general consensus of opinion that these new elements in Pan's work breathe the spirit of the time. This has aroused the liveliest interest among critics and especially among the landscape and flower-and-bird painters of the traditional school because this problem of infusing new, contemporary themes and content into works in these genres is one that many have been trying to solve now for many years and especially in recent years.

Pan Tien-shou takes his subjects from the ordinary things of everyday life: a mountain view, details of brushwood and flowers, a lonely pine, a corner of a lotus pond, a cluster of bamboos. At first glance he seems sometimes simply to splash his ink on the paper with brush or finger and the painting is done. But then you discover that these "splashings" have a new rhythm, that he has infused a new content into these ordinary objects and one is not surprised to learn that before he actually put brush to paper, he has made careful preparations including studies of his subject, composition of the lines of verse for the accompanying colophon, the placing of the signature and the design of the seals on the scroll.

Fleet Transports Sail the Misty River is a notable example of his new work. Most of the picture space is taken up by a massive shoulder of a mountain and a vigorously painted pine bough. Behind and far below that gnarled limb you glimpse the river flowing from left to right; it is dotted with sails. A handsomely written colophon in seven-character lines says: "Within the thousand mountains lie infinite riches of iron and coal. Fleets of sailing-boats, full-loaded, busily ply the misty river."

In the European tradition a title is like a grace note to a painting: possibly delightful or expository but not essential. In traditional Chinese painting as practised by Pan Tien-shou, painting and colophon (title) are one: in this scroll he creates a visual and poetic image which conjures up, as an extension to itself, a great world of natural beauty, rich resources and buoyant people absorbed in building socialism.

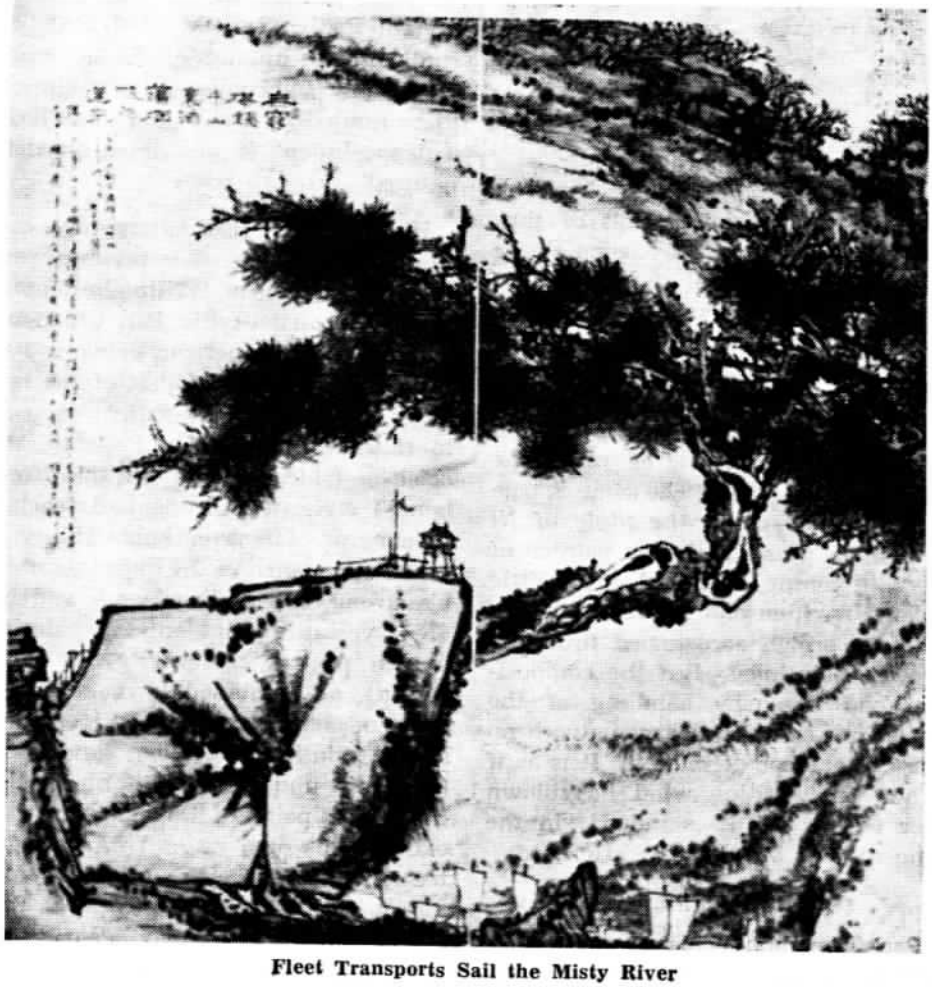
Laconic Metaphor

Pan Tien-shou delights in the laconic metaphor and symbolism typical of classical Chinese poetry and painting. His scroll *To a Rich Harvest* pictures a rock and a frog and three lines of verse which read: "The southern fields are well watered. Loud croak the frogs, singing paeans to bumper crops in the years to come." Some may object perhaps that this is too succinct, too concise, but to those familiar with rural life in our southern lands it is surely enough. Those few lines and the picture they complement speak volumes and speak in truly Chinese tones.

Pan Tien-shou brings a sense of the new even to old subjects done in the traditional style. His *Landscape in the Style of the Mi School** is executed

---

*The Mi school is represented by Mi Fei (1051-1107 A.D.) and Mi Yu-jen (1086-1165 A.D.), father and son, well known for their delicate renderings of mountains and trees wreathed in clouds and mists.



Fleet Transports Sail the Misty River

Landscape in the Style of Ni Yun-li

with the typical dot strokes of that school of painting, but by using steely white space instead of the traditional light ink wash to represent the mists and fogs clouding the waist of the mountains, he succeeds in giving the picture a metallic note which is emphasized again in the colophon as "The thousand mountains after rain look like fresh cast iron." The same is true of his *Landscape in the Style of Ni Yun-lin* (a great landscape painter of the 14th century). This has the little isolated pavilion and the scrawny tree we have grown accustomed to seeing in such paintings. But the composition and the new handling of the brushwork certainly leaves us with no sense of chill or desolation. It is as if a new invigorating wind has blown over the scene. It is indeed "in the style of Ni," but with a difference.

Unorthodox Methods

Pan Tien-shou achieves special effects by unorthodox methods of composition. In some scrolls, such as his *Sleeping Cat*, he places his main subject in one corner while leaving the central part of the picture space empty. In his *Ink Orchid*, the few leaves run almost horizontally towards the bottom edge of the scroll; close to the right-hand side rises a thin stem topped with an orchid flower. In this unusual composition, he avoids the danger of monotony by painting the leaves of the orchid in dark ink and with a rich variety of forms and by giving prominence to the flower. This done, he has balanced the whole with an interestingly inscribed four-character signature on the left-hand side.

Pan Tien-shou is a diligent student of the techniques of such Ming and Ching masters of the 16th to late 19th centuries as Hsu Wei, Pa Ta Shan Jen, the Monk Shih Tao and Jen Po-nien, and the influence of these painters is still discernible in his paintings. But he is no slavish imitator. He has evolved a style peculiarly his own and it is not difficult to see the close connection between his brushwork in painting and calligraphy and his style of seal-carving. In a recent discussion on Pan Tien-shou's paintings arranged by the Union of Chinese Artists, several Peking artists noted that "he studies the techniques of the old masters deeply but never allows himself to be limited by them" and that "he is a deep student of but not a slave to nature."

His art was also extensively discussed in the press. The reviews were exceptionally warm. Writing in *Renmin Ribao*, the artist-critic Pan Chieh-tzu made a bold comparison between Pan Tien-shou's work and that of the late great master Chi Pai-shih: "I used to think that with Chi Pai-shih, the *hsieh-yi* ("idea-writing" or the "free-hand") style of painting had reached its summit. His remarkable ability to capture the spirit of the object painted; his strong, superb brushwork and his great versatility not only in painting but in poetry, calligraphy and seal-carving, all combined to make him a great master hard to rival. Pan Tien-shou's paintings, however, have shattered my unquestioning faith in this belief. As painters, Chi and Pan each excel in his own way. I have no intention of venturing on rash comments here. All I want to say is that I feel I must revise my ideas about this."

Minas
Traditional Chinese paintings by Pan Tien-shou

Speaking at the Artists' Union discussion, the flower-and-bird painter Wang Chu-chiu paid tribute to the power and strength of Pan's brushwork. "In this I should say that Pan is along with and in some respects even ahead of the late modern masters Wu Chang-shih and Chi Pai-shih," he said.

Pan's unflagging creative energy has been much discussed too. Most of the 91 paintings on view were done in the last few years since 1958, and most of them in the last two years. Once, he used to sign himself "The Lazy Old Chap," but his diligence, shown in the big pieces done in the last year or two especially, has proved that he has completely done away with his "laziness." The new spirit he has injected into his works also makes one doubt the aptness of that epithet "old." A buoyant and flourishing spirit has banished the melancholy and nostalgia which were often found in his works before the liberation. The seething life he has seen and sensed around

him, the dynamic spirit of socialist construction, has inspired him. The new development in his art is born of this urge to reflect our times.

— *KAI HSIEH*

SHORT NOTES

Bulgarian Art Group. A number of talented Bulgarian artists now on tour in China gave a successful opening performance on November 23, at Peking's Nationalities Cultural Palace Theatre.

The programme the seven-member group presented included arias from the classical operatic repertorie — *Aida, Eugene Onegin, La Boheme, Carmen,* and Bulgarian songs and classical *pas de deux* to the music of Tchaikovsky and Liszt. The audience highly appreciated the impeccable artistry of both singers and dancers and called for encore after encore.

* * *

Pictures of Cuba. Here are more than a hundred pictures showing the life and achievements of the Cuban people in socialist revolution and construction. Huge crowds in Peking and other major Chinese cities have already seen it. Now it is drawing fresh crowds in Changsha, the provincial capital of Hunan, in central China, especially interested in the pictures reflecting the current struggle waged by the Cuban people for the defence of their sovereign rights.

Meanwhile, in Peking, people are flocking to see Jose Venturelli's paintings now on show at the Artists' Union Gallery. Here are some of the works this well-known Chilean artist painted recently in Cuba as well as photographs of details of his famous mural *Camilo Cienfuegos* and photos showing him working on it and his methods of work.

* * *

Soviet Dance Ensemble. The State "Lezginka" Dance Ensemble of the Daghestan A.S.S.R., gave its premiere on November 8, in Peking. The programme presented a fascinating glimpse of the folk dance, the costumes and lively temperament of the peoples of this part of the Soviet Caucasus Mountains. The audience was delighted by the vigour and speed of the dances performed by the men strongly contrasting with and set off by the sedate and graceful movements of the women dancers. Variations on Chinese folk dance themes presented by the troupe received an ovation.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi was among the audience.

* * *

G.D.R. Musicians. Professor Horst Förster, musical director of the Halle State Symphony Orchestra, was guest conductor of China's Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in four concerts given in the capital in mid-November. Their first programme, which was repeated at the second concert, featured Brahms' *First Symphony*, Beethoven's *Third Piano Concerto* and Tchaikovsky's *Violin Concerto.* Guest soloists Roland Brettschneider, pianist, and Manfred Scherzer, violinist, are also from the G.D.R. In the last two concerts they presented an all-Beethoven programme that included the *Seventh Symphony,* the *"Emperor" Concerto* and *Romance in F* for violin and orchestra.

* * *

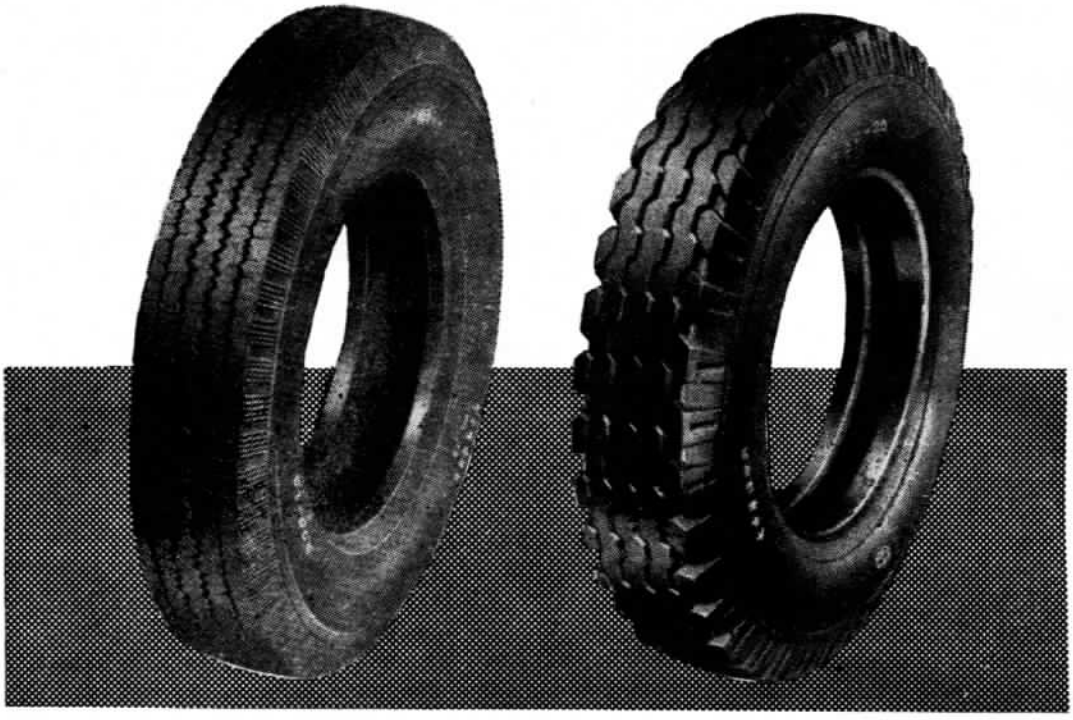
Vietnamese Lacquerware. An exhibition of Vietnamese lacquerware is on show in Peking. The 110 objects on display include lacquer paintings, ornaments and objects for daily use. They are winning warm appreciation from Chinese visitors.

Viet Nam's lacquerware has grown out of the soil of the ancient Vietnamese handicrafts. The exhibits on display preserve the old national art traditions but have developed them to deal with such modern themes as episodes of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people both in opposing imperialist aggression and in building socialism.

* * *

Chinese Table Tennis Team Ends Visit. During its stay in Japan, the Chinese team played a series of six matches in Nagoya, Tokyo, Tokushima, Osaka and Yokohama. In the men's contests, China won 5 matches and lost 1 while Japan won 4 of the women's matches and lost 2.

北京周报第四十七—四十八期（一九六二年十一月三十日出版）邮政代号二—九二二



DOUBLE COIN

BRAND

We welcome trade enquiries

High quality tyres made in China for export

We recommend DOUBLE COIN brand

Made entirely of NATURAL rubber with rayon or cotton cord body

CHINA NATIONAL CHEMICALS IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION

SHANGHAI BRANCH

Address: 27 Chungshan Road E. 1, Shanghai, China

Cable Address: "SINOCHEMIS" Shanghai