

PEKING REVIEW

40

October 4, 1960

Special National Day Issue

The Thought of Mao Tse-tung Is the Victorious Banner of the Great Revolution of the Chinese People

*Hongqi and Renmin Ribao editorials on the publication
of the fourth volume of the Selected Works of
Mao Tse-tung (p. 7).*

China Celebrates National Day

The nation rejoices in the new great victories of the
general line, the big leap forward and the people's
communes (p. 3).

The China-Burma Boundary Treaty Signed

A good example of peaceful coexistence among Asian
countries on the basis of the Five Principles and a
brilliant model of the peaceful settlement of interna-
tional disputes. Full text of the Treaty (p. 29).

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*Prime Minister U Nu, General Ne Win, Premier Abbas  
And Vice-Chairman Kellezi and Other Guests in Peking*

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China and Cuba Establish Diplomatic Relations

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LONG LIVE LENINISM

This book contains: "Long Live Leninism!", an article written by the Editorial Department of *Hongqi* (Red Flag) in commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin; "Forward Along the Path of the Great Lenin!", an article written by the Editorial Department of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily); and "Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!", a report delivered by Comrade Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, at a meeting held on April 22, 1960, to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

108 pp.

Editions in Russian, Spanish and Japanese and revised English, French and German translations are now available. Cloth and paper covers for editions in all languages.

Raise High the Red Flag of the General Line And Continue To March Forward

This booklet is written by Comrade Li Fu-chun, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Chairman of the State Planning Commission. It reproduces an article published originally in *Hongqi* (Red Flag), No. 16, 1960, in which Vice-Premier Li explains in an all-round way the great victory of the continued big leap forward of the national economy over the past two and more years from 1958 to August 1960. This victory was gained under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and under the bright light of the general line for building socialism. On the basis of the past two years' experience and the current situation, the author outlines the principles and tasks of China's economic construction, present and future. This booklet will help the reader to understand fully the great achievements and rich experience of socialist construction in China.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

October 4, 1960 Vol. III No. 40

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Round the Week

National Day, 1960

October 1. With what joy our people celebrated this day of days! In cities, towns and in fact all over our vast homeland, millions paraded and still more millions rejoiced. They rejoiced not only in the 11th birthday of their own state—the People's Republic of China—but also in the hard-won victories scored in the past year.

The year's achievements have been tremendous. Led by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and holding high the three red banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, the Chinese people have continued their advance full steam ahead on the road of socialist construction. They have maintained a continued leap forward in the national economy following two years of big leap forward. On the international front, holding fast to the policy of peace they have waged successful struggles against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and given unstinted support to the national and democratic revolutionary movements throughout the world.

Several major events contributed to this year's heightened jubilation. There was the publication of the fourth volume of *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. There were the signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, the announcement of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Cuba and the visit of an unprecedentedly large number of distinguished foreign guests and friends from various parts of the world. Clustered as they were around October 1, they brought added splendour to the festival.

Peking Parade

As on every National Day, all eyes and thoughts in China turn to Peking. Here, in vast Tien An Men, the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his comrades-in-arms review the march past and join in the celebrations.

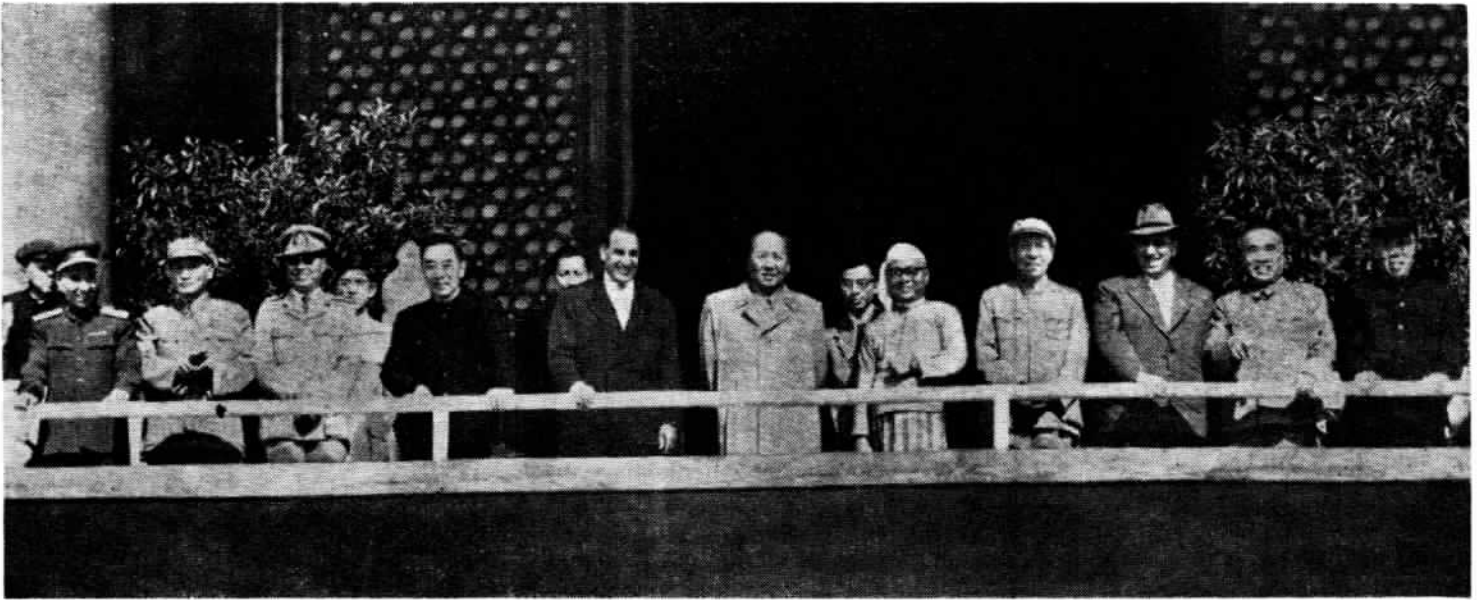
Half a million people participated. At the break of dawn, to the beat of drums and the clash of cymbals, the exultant crowd converged on the heart of the city. They turned Peking into

a sea of glowing faces, flags and flowers. Facing Tien An Men Gate in the southern end of the great square, 100,000 workers, students, Young Pioneers, members of people's communes and government cadres took their places to weave a giant floral design of the national emblem. Overhead five traditional Chinese lanterns floated. Suspended on balloons, their five golden Chinese characters—Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung—glowed resplendent in the morning sun.

The spacious square shook with cheers and applause as Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Communist Party and government leaders and distinguished foreign guests mounted the flag-bedecked rostrum. A prolonged ovation greeted the speech of Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, analysing the current favourable domestic and international situation and the tasks of the nation (for full text see page 21).

A 13,000-strong guard of honour opened the parade. Carrying portraits of Chairman Mao and of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin the paraders displayed huge streamers inscribed "Forward, hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism" and "Forward, hold high the revolutionary banner of the Moscow Declaration." They marched in serried ranks of 150 keeping perfect formation. Floats, charts and graphs proclaimed and hailed the victory of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes and pledging increased production and economy.

Workers' columns followed, lively and spirited to the rhythmic beat of the drums. Marching in the van were Peking's steel makers. Straight from the furnaces they came, their monumental achievements blazoned on a giant-sized chart. In the first eight months of this year, these same steel workers successfully boosted Peking's steel production by nearly 100 per cent compared with the same period last year! The miners of Chingsi Colliery on the city's outskirts dis-



On the Tien An Men rostrum reviewing Peking's National Day parade (front row left to right); Lin Piao, Chen Yun, Ne Win, Chou En-lai, Abbas Ferhat, Mao Tse-tung, U Nu, Liu Shao-chi, Abdyl Kellezi, Chu Teh and Tung Pi-wu

played a bold Chinese character *hsi* in red — the sign of double happiness. And they had good reason! Their charts announced that Chingsi's coal output was upped by 39 per cent during the first nine months of this year compared with the corresponding period last year. Workers in the machine-building, chemical, textile and other industries marched past in impressive array. In highly ingenious charts, floats and diagrams they told the joyful tale of tremendous growth in all branches of the capital's industry.

And what is true for Peking is true for the whole nation. Guided by the general line for building socialism, the workers had by the end of August boosted the country's output of such major industrial products as steel, iron, rolled steel, iron ore, coke, electricity, crude oil, sulphuric acid and cement by some 40 per cent compared with the corresponding period last year. During the first eight months of this year, steel output, the core of the current drive in industry, was 70 times what it was in 1949, and equalled the total achieved in the first eleven months of 1959.

The parade not only spotlighted these impressive victories, but also the moving force which made them possible. Marching in the ranks of the paraders was a 1,500-strong contingent of Peking's advanced workers. Red flowers pinned to their chests and hundreds of prize banners in their hands, they bore the stirring slogan: "Tackle difficulties, give honours to

others, learn from the advanced and help those who lag." Resounding applause followed them along the whole line of march.

The mass movement to support agriculture was another parade highlight. Workers and engineers, scientists, doctors, trade personnel and government cadres — all point proudly to their contributions to agriculture. Never has the countryside been the recipient of such a stream of industrial equipment and products as now. Steel products for agriculture in the first half of this year equalled the whole of last year's. Up to the end of August, output of chemical fertilizer exceeded that of the same period last year by 120 per cent, chemical insecticides by 82 per cent and agricultural irrigation machines by 18 per cent. Mechanical power newly added to agriculture in this year alone was equivalent to the manpower of nearly 20 million. It is playing a big role in introducing technical transformation to China's agriculture.

To echoing cheers of "Long live the people's communes!" column after column of commune members swung by. Singing and dancing to the strains of their own commune bands, their banners and charts extolled the people's commune and the bright prospects it opened to them. Direct from their strenuous labours on the three all-important autumn jobs of harvesting, ploughing and sowing and marching side by side with the peasants were workers and cadres who had gone

to work in the countryside. Displaying huge model sheaves of wheat, vegetables and livestock, they demonstrated the great production drive now sweeping the countryside. During the past year, despite the fact that the country had suffered the worst natural calamities since the founding of the People's Republic the peasants, exploiting all the great potentialities and advantages of the commune form of organization and backed by the entire nation, successfully combated nature at its fiercest, greatly alleviated the damages and undertook many projects hitherto considered impossible. This is indeed a great victory for the nation.

Prominent, too, in this year's parade were the members of the more than 30 urban people's communes organized in Peking early this year. Former housewives demonstrated the radical change in their lives with decorated vans displaying machine tools, farm implements, chemical fertilizer, electrical appliances and household goods produced in their own factories. Their buoyancy, their smiling faces, the cheers with which they answered the applause of the spectators, the glowing contingent of more than 100 healthy, happy commune-run nursery tots wheeled in gaily decorated prams by proud nurses — all provided an insight into the new lease of life the people's communes have given to these housewives-turned-workers.

Impressive too was the march past of the armed people's militia. Workers, peasants and students, these young

men and women paraded in ten phalanges, carrying tommy-guns, heavy machine-guns and even mortars. The crowds in the square greeted them shouting "Defend the motherland!" "Liberate Taiwan!" and "U.S. aggressors, get out of Taiwan!" The preparedness and high spirit of China's militia underscored its growing importance in national defence and in checking imperialist aggression and safeguarding world peace.

University students carried a huge portrait of Chairman Mao and a model of *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. These young intellectuals of New China are arming themselves with the teachings of Mao Tse-tung and devoting themselves to the cause of the people. 500 Tibetan students of the Institute of Nationalities, all former serfs, danced their traditional festival dance past the cheering Tien An Men. For them it was a dual celebration of National Day and their own liberation. In the past year, democratic reform has in the main been completed in Tibet; 90 per cent of the peasant households have joined the mutual-aid teams; and this year Tibet is harvesting the biggest crop in its history.

Actors and artists provided a vivid presentation of China's flourishing culture guided by the policy — "Literature and art in the service of workers, peasants and soldiers." Before the eyes of the happy spectators there unfolded a dazzling pageant of the

rich and varied repertoire of Chinese and foreign, contemporary and classical plays, operas and films now being shown in China's theatres — a striking expression of the fruitful policy of "A hundred flowers blossoming, and a hundred schools of thought contending." In the ranks of the athletes marched members of the Chinese mountaineering expedition which successfully climbed Mount Jolmo Lungma. Bearing a huge model of the scarlet five-starred national flag which floats over the world's highest peak, these heroes, along with some 700 colleagues dressed in mountain climber's green and blue, were a fitting symbol of the resolve of the Chinese people to scale the heights in building their homeland into a powerful socialist state with modern industry, agriculture, science and culture.

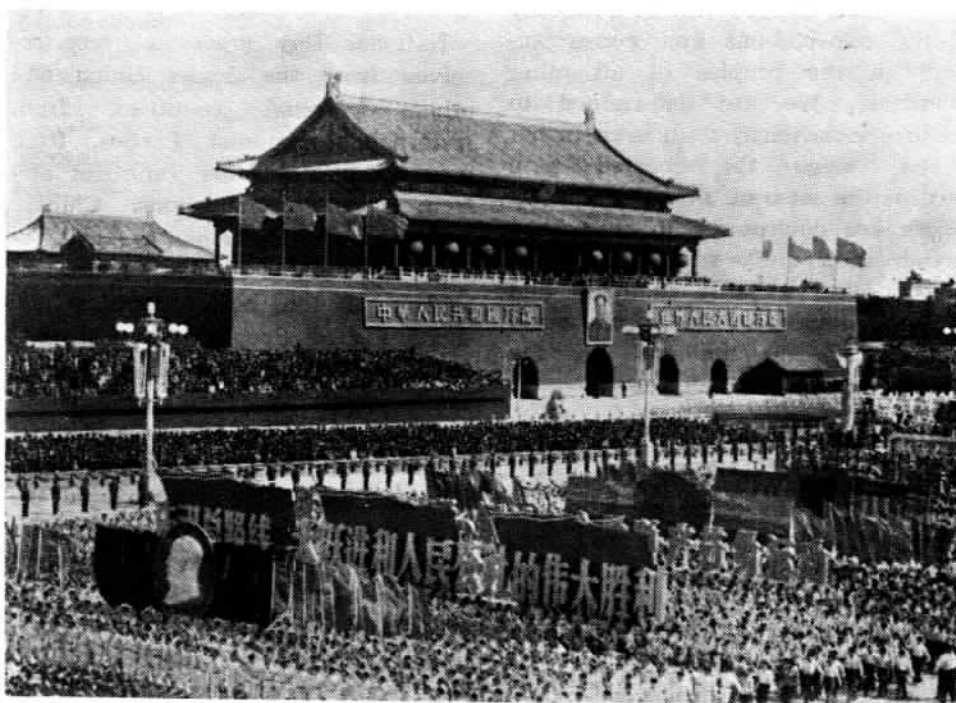
International Solidarity

International solidarity stood out in bold relief in the Peking celebrations. Some 2,000 foreign guests from more than 70 countries and regions of all five continents took their place in the reviewing stands. Recurrent in the parade were the vibrant shouts of "Long live the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union!" "Resolutely support the national and democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America!" "Oppose U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war!" "Strive for disarmament and banning of

nuclear weapons!" "Resolutely safeguard world peace, uphold the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence!" and "Long live world peace!" Tsinghua University students displayed a huge globe capped by a burning torch, symbolizing the flames of worldwide struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Around the globe boys and girls, dressed in varied national costumes, linked hands in a portrayal of the unity of the peoples. As they entered the square there rose from their midst and hovered over the delighted spectators a whole flight of peace doves.

The paraders enthusiastically cheered their foreign guests and were in turn cheered by them. Many workers shouted expressions of gratitude for the aid and help extended to China's socialist construction by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and the support given by the world's peoples. They shouted: "Long live the unbreakable friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples!" "Long live the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union!" and "Resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries!" There was a most moving scene when the delegates from the fraternal socialist countries joined the ranks of the members of the eight friendship people's communes on the city's outskirts, exchanged souvenirs and lustily raised their voices as one in the Chinese song *Socialism Is Good*.

Throughout the two-hour parade, one could sense the deep ties linking the marchers with the foreign delegates on the reviewing stands. They shared the joys of the Chinese people, understanding that every success of China's strengthens the common cause. Faber Paul, Chief Procurator of the Republic of Guinea and head of the Guinean Lawyers' Delegation, exclaimed: "Here we find the real great wall of China—the Chinese people, the truly great strength of humanity." Members of the Cuban Cultural Delegation shouted "Cuba-China" again and again. Dr. Vicentina Antuna Tavio, head of the delegation, expressed her feelings in these words: "We felt in the parade how profoundly the Chinese people support their revolution and how hard they are working in its cause." Cuban friends, many of whom are themselves militiamen in Cuba, were especially



The parade in front of the Tien An Men

moved by the spirit of the people's militia. Someone among them exclaimed: "With a whole people in arms, the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys will get nowhere." And an Algerian delegate, pointing his finger at the militia women, declared: "This has special significance for us. We, too, will take this path. It has been increasingly clear to our country and people that only by taking up arms could we deal a telling blow to the imperialists." The head of the Japan-China Friendship Association Delegation Shinichiro Omori said with deep emotion: "Standing on this reviewing stand, I feel even more strongly that the peoples of the world are one big family. We are determined to drive U.S. imperialism out of our country and out of all of Asia!"

At the end of the parade, when the vast crowds surged forward to the Tien An Men Gate and when Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders and distinguished foreign guests walked to both ends of the rostrum warmly greeting the spectators, a wave of excitement passed through the reviewing stands and the foreign delegates broke into a great ovation.

That evening, several hundred thousand Peking citizens again streamed into Tien An Men Square to wind up the great day in a mammoth carnival of singing and dancing. While Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, other Party and government leaders and distinguished foreign guests watched the jubilation from atop Tien An Men Gate, hundreds of foreign guests mingled with the festive crowds. Against a glittering sky lit up by colourful firework displays and searchlight, they danced, sang or simply joined the general gaiety till well after midnight.

Grand On-the-Eve Reception

On the previous night, the eve of National Day, Premier Chou En-lai gave a grand reception at the Great Hall of the People. There in the colourfully decorated banquet hall, leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, government and people's organizations, representatives of the various nationalities and overseas Chinese sat side by side with the 2,000 foreign guests in Peking for the festivities. Dressed in multi-coloured costumes and

chatting in all tongues, their presence once again highlighted the great unity of Chinese people and the popularity of their cause.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi proposed a toast. "We thank all our friends who have come to China to attend our National Day celebrations," he said. "Let us unite. Unite, people of the world! Let us drink to the friendship of the people of various countries, to world peace, to independence and liberation for all oppressed nations, to democracy and freedom, to social progress and to the health of all the guests attending the reception."

Premier Chou En-lai spoke early in the reception (for full text see page 19). Extending a heartfelt welcome to the foreign guests on behalf of the Chinese people and Government, the Premier expressed the deep gratitude of the Chinese people for the international support given them. He said: "The Chinese people will never be unworthy of the expectations and encouragement of the peoples of all other countries. We are determined to advance victoriously with even firmer resolve along the charted path towards the set goal. . . . The Chinese people are determined to strengthen further their unity with the peoples of the other socialist countries and with the peoples of the whole world and struggle to the end for the victory of our common cause."

Nationwide and Worldwide Celebrations

Celebrations in other parts of the country though different in scale from Peking's were like in spirit. From Shanghai on the coast to Urumchi in westernmost Sinkiang, from Harbin in the northeast to Kunming in the southwest, the people rejoiced on this great anniversary in the great triumph



Happy paraders passing the reviewing stand

of Marxism-Leninism in China and in their achievements under the leadership of the Communist Party. On the Fukien front, the P.L.A. marked the anniversary with a special order: on October 1 and 3 no shells would be fired on Quemoy and other Chiang Kai-shek occupied coastal islands.

National Day greetings were received from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, from fraternal Communist Parties, from governments of other countries and from people's organizations. Chinese embassies and legations gave gala receptions attended by the government leaders of the host countries and thousands of People's China's well-wishers. Friendship weeks and celebration activities were organized in many countries. In Moscow, a pictorial exhibit on China's economic construction was held. It introduced the great achievements of China's Second Five-Year Plan and the people's communes. In the Congo, in the city of Leopoldville, a Congo-China association was formed. In Cuba, celebrations were on a mass scale. New China counts her friends the world over.

Slighting the Enemy Strategically and Taking Full Account of Him Tactically

Following is a translation of an editorial published in "Hongqi," No. 19, October 1, 1960.—Ed.

THE fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Chinese edition—Ed.) was published on the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. We enthusiastically celebrate the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and the publication of the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

The victory won in the Chinese revolution 11 years ago was a great turning point in Chinese history. It overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism which weighed down on the Chinese people, established a new China of the people's democratic dictatorship and ushered in a new era in Chinese history. As a result of this victory, the Chinese people have stood up and the day has come at last when the Chinese people have emerged from their humiliation and taken an honoured position. The victory of the Chinese revolution is a world event of great historic significance following the victory of the October Revolution in Russia and the victory of the world anti-fascist war. It has breached the imperialist front in the East, dealt a mortal blow to the colonialist system of imperialism, greatly strengthened the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, further changed the face of the world, and tremendously inspired the people the world over who are struggling for liberation from oppression by imperialism and reaction.

The victory of the Chinese revolution is a victory of Marxism-Leninism, a victory of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The theoretical guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung played an extremely great and decisive role in the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggles to win victory over their domestic and foreign enemies. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a master at integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; he creatively developed Marxism-Leninism in the complex circumstances of the Chinese revolution and in extremely sharp class struggles. The Third Revolutionary Civil War was the period when revolution and counter-revolution fought their decisive battle during the stage of the Chinese democratic revolution and when the Chinese revolution advanced from local to countrywide victories. During this period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories on the Chinese revolution were put into practice on an overall scale and further developed. Marx said: "Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses." During the Third

Revolutionary Civil War, guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories, the Chinese people brought their revolutionary spirit fully into play and became an invincible force. It was this force that utterly smashed the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang backed by U.S. imperialism.

CHINA stood at the crossroads after the victory of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique wanted to reduce China into a U.S. colony. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people wanted to turn it into a new China belonging to the masses of the people and led by the proletariat. In these circumstances, whether our Party should take the revolutionary line and resolutely lead the people of the whole country to overthrow the reactionaries or take an opportunist line, throw away the fruits of the people's victory and compromise with and surrender to imperialism and its lackeys became a momentous issue which concerned the destiny of the Chinese nation. At the start of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, the Chinese people faced extremely difficult conditions in their struggles. At that time, the balance of forces was in favour of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang. They had a military force of more than four million men, controlled an area with a population of more than 300 million people, held the big cities, had taken over all the equipment of the one million-strong Japanese invading army in China, and received enormous military and financial aid from the U.S. Government. The People's Liberation Army at that time, however, had only 1,200,000 men; the liberated areas had a population of only a little over 100 million and, owing to the fact that the agrarian reform was not yet completed and counter-revolutionaries had not been completely weeded out, the revolutionary rear was still not consolidated. In these circumstances, the fire-breathing U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries vainly hoped to overwhelm the Chinese people with a counter-revolutionary civil war. Taking the stand of a thorough proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Mao Tse-tung displayed the great, heroic spirit of the Chinese proletariat; he pointed out to the Party and the people that the domestic and foreign reactionaries must and could certainly be defeated. He pointed out that we must firmly oppose those timid and impotent right opportunist ideas which feared U.S. imperialism, overestimated the strength of the Kuomintang reactionaries, and did not dare to defeat them and to win victory. It was under the guidance of the revolutionary line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the Chinese people defeated their strong enemies and won victory.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung sees it, all reactionaries are paper tigers. When the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries launched the countrywide civil war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said to the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, they are frightening, but in reality they don't amount to much. From the long-term point of view, it is the people who really have great strength, and not the reactionaries."* In the light of rich historical experience, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the powerful tsar of Russia was just a paper tiger which was swept away by one blast of the Russian revolution; the same was the case with reactionaries like Hitler, Mussolini and Japanese imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, were also paper tigers. In regarding all reactionaries as paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung sees completely eye to eye with Lenin who called the imperialists and the "world-mighty" Anglo-French imperialism as "colossi with feet of clay."

Concerning the international situation at that time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the anti-democratic, imperialist camp headed by the United States was organized "to oppose the entire democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union, and are preparing for war in the hope that some day—in the distant future—they can launch a third world war and defeat the democratic forces. This is a vain and mad scheme. All the democratic forces of the world must defeat it and they certainly can. The world anti-imperialist camp is more powerful than the imperialist camp. It is we, not the enemy, who enjoy superiority." "All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong. Together with all the democratic forces of the world, we certainly can, if we make strenuous efforts, defeat the imperialist plan of enslavement, prevent a third world war, overthrow all reactionary rule and win lasting peace for mankind."** Speaking of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique which was armed to the teeth by the United States and which at that time appeared to be very strong, Comrade Mao Tse-tung scornfully pointed out that the people's "millet plus rifles" was more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's aircraft plus tanks. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that, so far as the size and equipment of the army was concerned, we were for the time being not as strong as the reactionaries, but "the day will certainly come when these reactionaries will fail and we shall win. There is no other explanation for this than the fact that the reactionaries represent reaction, while we represent progress."† In "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" Comrade Mao Tse-tung again pointed out: "Chiang Kai-shek's military superiority was only temporary and could play only a temporary role and that likewise the aid from U.S. imperialism could play only a temporary role, while the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek's war and the feeling of the people were factors that would play a constant role; it is precisely here that the People's

Liberation Army enjoys superiority. Patriotic, just and revolutionary in character, the war waged by the People's Liberation Army is bound to receive the support of the whole nation. This is the political foundation for victory over Chiang Kai-shek." It was precisely on the basis of such a scientific analysis of our own and the enemy's strength that Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward his idea of slighting the enemy strategically.

TO regard imperialism and all reactionaries as paper tigers is a fundamental strategic thinking of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us that all Marxist-Leninists who genuinely want to lead the oppressed people to overthrow reactionary rule must dare to wage struggle and dare to win victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out many times that from the strategic point of view, and in appraising the situation as a whole we slight the enemy and difficulties, while from the tactical point of view and in regard to any particular situation we take full account of the enemy and difficulties; these two aspects must be closely integrated. In summing up the experience of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that "our strategy is to pit one against ten, while our tactic is to pit ten against one—this is one of the fundamental principles by means of which we beat the enemy."** This guiding principle of Comrade Mao Tse-tung applies not only to our military struggles but to political struggles as well; not only to defeating our enemy, but to doing a good job in all kinds of work and overcoming all difficulties in the path of advance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

We oppose overestimation of the enemy's strength. For example, fear of U.S. imperialism; fear of fighting battles in the Kuomintang areas; fear of abolishing the comprador-feudal system, of dividing up the land of the landlords and of confiscating bureaucrat-capital; fear of prosecuting a long-drawn-out war, and so on. All this is wrong. Imperialism throughout the world and the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique in China are already rotten and have no future. We have reason to slight them and we are certain and confident that we shall defeat all enemies of the Chinese people, both internal and external. But in regard to any particular situation or specific struggle (military, political, economic or ideological), we must never slight the enemy; on the contrary, we can win victory only when we take full account of him and devote all our efforts to the fight. While we correctly point out that in appraising the situation as a whole and from the strategic point of view we should slight the enemy, we must never slight him in regard to any particular situation or on any specific question. If we overestimate the strength of our enemies as a whole and hence do not dare to overthrow them and win victory, we shall be committing errors of right opportunism. If in any particular situation or on any specific question we do not use caution, do not study carefully the art of struggle, do not devote all our efforts to the fight and do not pay attention to winning over all the allies that should be won over (middle peasants, self-employed handicraftsmen and small traders, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and intellectuals in general, the ordinary government employees, the professionals and

*"Interview with Anna Louise Strong, American Correspondent."

**"The Present Situation and Our Tasks."

†"Interview with Anna Louise Strong, American Correspondent."

**"Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War."

the enlightened gentry), we shall be committing errors of "left" opportunism.*

During the Chinese revolutionary wars, our army adopted the operational method of "mustering an overwhelming force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal" and this is a concentrated expression of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea of taking full account of the enemy tactically. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized that to fight a battle needs serious preparation and no battle should be fought unless preparations have been made beforehand and the outcome is assured. An absolutely overwhelming force must be mustered in each battle, two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength, so as to completely wipe out the enemy. He always stressed that in doing any kind of work it is necessary to make careful investigation and study and know how things are going. In fighting a battle, for instance, the balance of forces between us and our enemy needs to be calculated accurately and on this basis our operational plans are then mapped out to wipe out the enemy in a systematic, planned way. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always stressed, it is necessary to split the enemy and be skilful in making use of the enemy's contradictions to smash the enemy piecemeal. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has constantly emphasized the need to unite with all the forces that can be united with, including even temporary allies or neutral forces. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has consistently stressed the necessity of adopting appropriate forms of struggle and organization to mobilize the masses to carry out revolutionary struggles, according to time, place and conditions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized that consideration should be given to all kinds of situations which might arise, striving for the best and preparing for the worst, so as to ensure that we can, under any circumstances, hold the initiative and make our position invincible. During the Third Revolutionary Civil War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on the basis of these ideas, correctly directed the major campaigns on all the battlefields; correctly guided the development and consolidation of all the liberated areas; correctly formulated the fundamental policies leading to victory, such as on the agrarian reform, the united front, urban work, consolidation and building of the Party, consolidation and building of the army, the weeding out of counter-revolutionaries and development of production; and thereby ensured the victory of the revolution.

THE comrades within our Party who committed right or "left" errors have all of them gone contrary to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea of slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically. Right opportunism, the Chen Tu-hsiu's right opportunism during the First Revolutionary Civil War, for instance, always looked on the counter-revolutionary forces as being powerful and dared not slight them strategically, dared not struggle against them, dared not mobilize and lead the masses of people to win victory, and adopted a capitulationist policy towards the reactionaries. "Left" opportunism, the "left" opportunism that appeared on three occasions during the Second Revolutionary Civil War, for instance, always adopt-

ed a rash attitude in waging struggles against the enemy, did not take full account of the enemy tactically, did not recognize that revolution calls for preparation of organized subjective strength, did not know how to make use of the enemy's internal contradictions and unite with all the allies that could be united with, and adopted adventurist policies. Both right and "left" opportunist lines in the history of our Party resulted in reducing the size of our revolutionary forces and led to setbacks and failures in the revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea of slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically is precisely a scientific summation of the historical experience gained in combating these erroneous lines. This idea not only manifests boundless devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution, utterly fearless courage, determination and confidence in daring to win revolutionary victory; but it also indicates the wisdom of Marxism-Leninism, and adeptness in waging struggles against the enemy and winning victory step by step. The history of the Chinese revolution proves that the revolutionary line based on this idea, in contrast to the results yielded by opportunist lines, has augmented the revolutionary forces and led them from defeat to victory, from local to countrywide victories.

THE idea of slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically is built on the basis of the world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and on firm confidence in the people's strength. This is an important development of the Marxist-Leninist strategic and tactical theories made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. That the forces of reaction are bound to perish and the new-born forces are bound to triumph is an objective law independent of man's will. Therefore, we have every reason and justification to slight the forces of reaction strategically and we are confident and certain that by relying on the people's strength we can defeat them. At the same time, every revolutionary must understand that the extinction of the forces of reaction and the triumph of the new-born forces cannot be brought about over-night; a process of struggle with twists and turns, a process proceeding from quantitative to qualitative change, a process proceeding from partial qualitative change to full-scale qualitative change must be gone through. Therefore, we should not adopt a rash attitude in our struggle against the enemy; we must take full account of the enemy tactically, work hard, accumulate strength gradually and wipe out the enemy step by step.

There are some people who, proceeding from a metaphysical world outlook, consider that to slight the enemy strategically and regard all reactionaries as paper tigers represents an "adventurist" point of view. On the other hand, they hold that to take full account of the enemy tactically manifests an overestimation of the strength of the enemy and an underestimation of one's own strength. These people do not understand that just as all things in the world have a dual character, imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual character too. Their ways of thinking are subjective and one-sided. They hold that it is incompatible to slight the enemy strategically and to take full account of him tactically at the same time. In their view, since we slight the enemy strategically we should slight him tactically too; or since we take full account of the enemy tactically we should take full account of him

*"Some Important Problems of Our Party's Present Policy."

strategically too. It is quite obvious that these people do not understand Marxist dialectics at all. A passage in a speech made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in Wuchang in December 1958 gave the best answer to this question. He said: All the reactionary, backward and decadent classes, in face of the decisive struggle waged by the people, also have their dual character. "On the one hand, they are real tigers; they eat people, eating up people by the million or by tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle undergoes a period of difficulties and hardships, and its path presents many twists and turns. To eliminate the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China, it had taken the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them something like tens of millions of lives before victory was achieved in 1949. You see, weren't imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But, on the other hand, they changed in the end into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Haven't people witnessed or heard of these facts? Indeed, there are thousands upon thousands of them! Literally thousands upon thousands! Therefore, imperialism and all reactionaries, when judged by their essence and on a long-term and strategic view, must be taken for what they really are, namely, paper tigers. On this point our strategic thinking should be based. But then they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers, capable of eating up people. And on this point our tactical thinking and ideas on how battles are to be fought out should be based."*

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung's idea of slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically has armed and inspired Chinese Communists and the Chinese people, enabling them to have a firm revolutionary confidence and determination, to grasp the correct method of waging struggles to defeat the enemies and overcome difficulties, to combine revolutionary boldness with revolutionary wisdom and the revolutionary spirit of daring to win victory with the dextrous art of struggle. This is of tremendous significance in overthrowing the enemy and winning revolutionary victories. To slight the enemy strategically and at the same time take full account of him tactically is a fundamental law in defeating the enemy. This law has been proved by revolutionary experience in past history and by the experience of the Chinese revolution and it will continue to be proved by the victorious development of the revolution of the people of the world in days to come.

On the occasion of celebrating the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the people of our country, holding high the three red banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, are striving to speed up the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Together with the peoples of the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the people all over the world, the people of our country are fighting against imperialism and colonialism, against modern revisionism, for the defence of world

* Introductory note to "Interview with Anna Louise Strong, American Correspondent," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume IV, Chinese Edition.

peace, and for national independence, democratic freedom and the victory of the socialist cause. To win victories in these struggles, we still have to apply well this fundamental strategic and tactical idea of slighting the enemy and difficulties strategically and taking full account of them tactically. Many articles in the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* give a very good exposition of this idea. It is a volume with an extremely rich content. On the basis of the practical experience of the revolutionary movement, it presents a creative development of many theoretical questions of Marxism-Leninism, such as on the understanding of the class nature of reactionaries and the tactics in the struggle against the enemy, on revolutionary two-tactics against counter-revolutionary two-tactics, on defeating favourably placed enemies with inferior armed forces, on building the people's army, on uniting with more than 90 per cent of the people to form the broadest revolutionary united front, on the principles and policy of the agrarian reform, on Party building, on the transformation of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, on the theory and policy of the people's democratic dictatorship, and on the analysis of the international situation after the Second World War. This volume is a great Marxist-Leninist work. We must study it seriously, and through these studies, raise our Marxist-Leninist ideological level, strengthen our unity, build our country industriously and thriftily, work hard and get our work done well and march forward bravely to build our country into a great socialist power with a modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.

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The Thought of Mao Tse-tung Is the Victorious Banner of the Great Revolution of The Chinese People

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on September 30, 1960, in celebration of the publication of the fourth volume of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung." — Ed.

THE fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* has been published. It brings together Comrade Mao Tse-tung's important writings of the period from the Japanese surrender in 1945 to the time before the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. This period is generally known as the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War or the period of the Chinese People's War of Liberation. During this new period of the Chinese people's great revolution, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, finally and completely overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and established a republic of the people's democratic dictatorship, led by the proletariat and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and so brought to completion the cause of the national and democratic revolution of the Chinese people of the past century and more. During this period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung carried further the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and continued to enrich and develop the theory and tactics of the Chinese revolution. The victory won by the Chinese people under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung was another great victory in the history of mankind, following on the victory of the Great October Revolution and of the anti-fascist war. It created a new epoch in China's history and breached a big gap in the imperialist front in the East, greatly strengthening the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and once again changing the face of the world. The victory of Marxism-Leninism in so big a country in the East proved with irrefutable facts that Marxism-Leninism is universal truth, ever-victorious and applicable everywhere.

When the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression ended, China's ruling clique of big landlords and big bourgeoisie, represented by Chiang Kai-shek, tried to seize the fruits of victory in the War of Resistance. The Japanese imperialists had been driven out by the Chinese people, but the U.S. imperialists burst in. The Chiang

Kai-shek ruling clique was bent on keeping China under the control of U.S. imperialism as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state, under the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. This was the reactionary and counter-revolutionary road. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were resolutely opposed to this reactionary and counter-revolutionary road taken by Chiang Kai-shek, to the sell-out of China once again by Chiang Kai-shek to U.S. imperialism. They wanted to safeguard the fruits of the Chinese people's victory and advocated the founding of a new China of the masses of the people and under the leadership of the proletariat. This was the revolutionary road of the people's liberation. The decisive struggle between the two destinies, the two futures, facing China is the historical background to the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

THE Chinese people had experienced dozens of years of civil war and the eight years of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. So when the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression ended, they longed for internal peace and opposed Chiang Kai-shek's unleashing once again a counter-revolutionary civil war. The Chinese Communist Party saw through Chiang Kai-shek's schemes for preparing a counter-revolutionary civil war; however, it still exerted the utmost efforts and exercised the greatest patience in seeking ways to avoid civil war and realize peace. To this end, Comrade Mao Tse-tung went to Chungking in person and held talks with Chiang Kai-shek for more than a month. The Chinese Communist Party put forward proposals to bring peace to the country. When one proposal was rejected, a second was put forward. When the second was turned down, a third and a fourth were presented. This was repeated a number of times, and, keeping to the prerequisite of not damaging the basic interests of the people, possible concessions were made. The patience and magnanimity displayed by the Chinese Communist Party earned it the sympathy of the whole people. Under popular pressure, Chiang Kai-shek was forced to sign the agreement on "peaceful national reconstruction" with the Chinese Communist Party. But from beginning to end Chiang Kai-shek obstinately refused to recognize the legal status of the people's army and the democratic state power in the liberated areas and was unwilling to reach agreement

with the Chinese Communist Party on the questions of the people's army and the liberated areas. Later, the Chinese Communist Party and other political parties held a political consultative conference with the Kuomintang and adopted the "programme for peaceful national reconstruction" and the five principles for the reorganization of the national government. All these agreements were the result of the great efforts made by the Chinese Communist Party and the people of the whole country.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "Even such agreement as has been reached is only on paper. Words on paper are not deeds. Facts have shown that a very big effort must be made before they can become deeds." Therefore, despite the peace agreement, it was still necessary to maintain keen vigilance towards the Kuomintang's plot to undermine peace.

In short, while conducting peace talks, we should do our best to win peace but at the same time constantly expose the enemy's "peace" fraud so as to show up the enemy to the masses in his true colours; we should stick to principles and defend the basic interests of the people, but at the same time it is permissible to make certain necessary concessions so long as the principle of not damaging the basic interests of the people is observed; we should not readily trust the enemy's promises, nor should we fear the threats of the enemy; we should firmly uphold the agreements already reached and at the same time prepare well for any sudden attack by the enemy when he tears up those agreements, and resolutely deal counter-blows to the enemy's attacks.

THE last thing the reactionaries hope for is peace. In July, 1946, Chiang Kai-shek tore up all the agreements reached in the talks between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang and in the political consultative conference and launched an all-out offensive against the liberated areas. In so doing, he himself exposed his utterly ruthless and treacherous nature and completely isolated himself from the whole people. On the revolutionary side, the broadest people's democratic united front was formed, led by the proletariat and its political party and based on the worker-peasant alliance; politically, the revolution was in an unprecedentedly favourable position, with an overwhelming superiority over the enemy. This change in the political situation fully confirmed the conclusion drawn by Comrade Mao Tse-tung from his concrete, class analysis of Chinese society at that time in the light of Marxism-Leninism. This conclusion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung ideologically armed the people throughout the country and greatly enhanced their confidence in the fight for the victory of the revolution. In the first year of the War of Liberation (from July 1946 to June 1947) Chiang Kai-shek, with large-scale assistance from U.S. imperialism, was able temporarily to maintain a strategic offensive while the People's Liberation Army was strategically on the defensive. At this stage, the central task for our Party was to smash Chiang Kai-shek's armed offensives thoroughly by a war of self-defence. In the many important documents which he wrote in this period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly

pointed out the road to victory in the revolutionary war, repudiated right opportunist ideas and the theory that "weapons decide everything" which overestimate the strength of the enemy and dare not fight against him, set forth the operational principles of the People's Liberation Army and formulated the line of developing the Liberation War into a broad people's war. On the basis of a penetrating analysis of the domestic and international situation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the well-known thesis that "All reactionaries are paper tigers." He held that, taking the very essence of things, judging from the trend of historical development and the situation of the struggle as a whole, all the reactionaries, who appeared strong, should be treated as paper tigers; the revolutionary people had good reason to slight them and should formulate their strategic thinking on that basis. Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out that while slighting the enemy strategically, we should take full account of him tactically. The operational method of "mustering an overwhelming force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal" put forward by him embodies in military affairs the principle of taking full account of the enemy tactically. The application of this operational method in the War of Liberation transformed the enemy's strategic superiority over our army into the superiority of our army over the enemy in campaigns and battles under conditions in which the enemy forces were strong and ours were weak and the enemy forces were big and ours were small, and helped us achieve the objective of continuously annihilating the effectives of the enemy until the People's Liberation Army finally passed over from the defensive to the offensive and the enemy from the offensive to the defensive.

IN the report on "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," made in December 1947, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "In the part of the world which is China, the People's Liberation Army has turned round the wheel of counter-revolution of U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, and sent it down the road to destruction and is pushing forward its own chariot of revolution along the road to victory. This marks a turning point in history." With this tremendous development in the revolutionary situation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out: "The enemy is now completely isolated. But his isolation does not mean our victory. We still cannot win victory if we make mistakes in policy." In order to win victory in the revolution, it was necessary to place all the Party's policies on the correct path. At the same time, to ensure that the Party's policy was correctly carried out, it was necessary to further strengthen discipline in the Party and the revolutionary ranks and overcome certain manifestations of indiscipline and anarchy. The contents of many of the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in this stage deal with the Party's policies in various fields and its organizational line. These include the ten major military principles, the three-point major economic programme, the general line and general policy for agrarian reform, the revolutionary united front, the people's political power, Party building and methods of work, etc. The

series of policies and principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung ensured the countrywide victory of the revolution.

After the successful conclusion of the three major decisive campaigns—the Liaosi-Shenyang Campaign, the Huai-Hai Campaign and the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign which were fought in the autumn and winter of 1948 and in the spring of 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation War entered the stage of final victory, and victory in the Chinese revolution became a foregone conclusion. At that time, to save itself from doom, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique played a new peace trick in an attempt to preserve the remnant forces of the Kuomintang government, win a respite and then stage a comeback and stamp out the revolution. Notwithstanding, the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung still favoured negotiations with the Kuomintang on condition that they really benefited the people, for the purpose of quickly ending the war, achieving real peace and alleviating the sufferings of the masses of people. At the same time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with the revolutionary firmness and thoroughness of a Marxist-Leninist, made a timely exposure of the deceptions practised by the reactionaries and dispelled the illusions about peaceful compromise spread by the right-wing elements of the bourgeoisie and the idea of so-called "taking the third road" they advocated. Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued the great call to "carry the revolution through to the end." He pointed out that the question confronting the Chinese people was "should we carry the revolution through to the end, or should we abandon it half-way? If we want to carry the revolution through to the end, we should use revolutionary methods to wipe out all the forces of reaction resolutely, thoroughly, unreservedly and completely; . . . set up on a national scale a republic of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its main body." To carry the revolution through to the end meant that we should completely eliminate the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China and, at the same time, prepare to turn China's bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. Precisely at this juncture, Comrade Mao Tse-tung creatively put forward a series of principles and policies concerning the question of the transformation of the Chinese revolution. In his report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, and the article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Tse-tung theoretically expounded in detail the principles and policies concerning the question of the transformation of the revolution and placed these tasks before the whole Party and the people throughout the country. The Chinese revolution advanced precisely in the direction pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

CHINA'S new democratic revolution is a typical example of a bourgeois democratic revolution led by the proletariat. Lenin in his book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* outlined the following basic tactical principles for the Party in the new type of bourgeois democratic revolution: the proletariat can and must become the leader of the bourgeois democratic

revolution; at the moment when revolution is ripe, armed uprising by the people is the most important means to overthrow despotism and strive for a democratic republican system; the political party of the proletariat should make every preparation to start turning the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. These Marxist-Leninist principles have all been creatively applied and developed in the Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Chinese Communist Party. Their creative application and development find concentrated expression in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works, especially the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* now published. The Chinese revolution, led by the proletariat and its political party, is a genuine great revolution of the people. During China's Third Revolutionary Civil War, the Chinese Communist Party firmly and thoroughly carried out the great policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, that is, "boldly rouse the masses to action, expand the people's strength and, under the leadership of our Party, defeat the aggressors and build a new China," and thus indeed mobilized the widest sections of the people, mainly the workers and peasants who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, and at the same time also the revolutionary progressive intellectuals, and drew them into the revolutionary struggle. This gave the Chinese revolution unprecedented depth and breadth.

IN his article "Cast Away Illusions and Get Ready for Struggle," Comrade Mao Tse-tung summarized the logic of imperialism and all reactionaries in dealing with the people's cause and the logic of the people's revolutionary cause, the former being "disrupt, fail, again disrupt, again fail, and so on till doom" and the latter being "fight, fail, again fight, again fail, but fight on and on till victory." The history of the century and more of the Chinese people's struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the 28 years' history of the new democratic revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party and the four years' history of the War of Liberation have borne witness to this truth. The contradiction is irreconcilable and the only solution to the contradiction is through struggle. Anybody who does not recognize this will fall into the quagmire of opportunism and revisionism. Class struggle takes all manner of forms. Revolutionary armed struggle cannot be carried out at will at any time, anywhere, merely on the basis of subjective wishing. Revolutionary armed struggle must take into account objective and subjective possibilities and the degree of ripeness of the revolutionary crisis at the given time and place. It is wrong to wage armed struggle at will without taking these conditions into consideration or without the readiness to do the hard work needed to build up the revolutionary forces. But whenever and wherever the revolutionary crisis is already ripe, when the ruling class uses violence to suppress the revolution and when the might of the revolutionary class has already grown so strong as to have, as Lenin stated, "the ability . . . to carry out revolutionary mass actions strong enough to break (or to undermine) the old government," daring or not daring to take up arms and engage in resolute struggle to overthrow the rule of reaction is a question

of fundamental principle which involves loyalty or disloyalty to the interests of the people and adhering or not adhering to the revolutionary stand. When Comrade Liu Shao-chi dealt with China's Third Revolutionary Civil War in his political report to the Eighth National Congress of the Party, he said: "Unlike the reactionaries, the people are not warlike. . . . But when the people were compelled to take up arms, they were completely justified in doing so. To have opposed the people taking up arms and demanded that they submit to the attacking enemy would have been to follow an opportunist line. Here, the question of following a revolutionary line or an opportunist line became a major issue involving the question whether our 600 million people should or should not capture political power when conditions were ripe." It was precisely because our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, followed the revolutionary line, irreconcilable with opportunism, and dared to struggle and dared to win victory that today we have the Chinese People's Republic of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The publication of the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* on the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China adds par-

ticular lustre to our festivities. We warmly celebrate this great anniversary and the publication of this great Marxist-Leninist work which crystallizes the experience of the victorious Chinese revolution. We are convinced that publication of the fourth volume of the *Selected Works* will bring about a new upsurge in the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's works all over the country. Through such study, all our functionaries and people in the country will advance further in their understanding and mastery of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung which integrates the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of China, will raise their theoretical and ideological-political levels and use this great ideological weapon, develop the spirit of integrating boundless enthusiasm with scientific analysis, energetically push the socialist revolution and socialist construction forward, step up the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and for the defence of world peace, and strive to build China into a great socialist country with a modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.

Let us raise high the banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and march forward in triumph!

An Introduction

Volume IV of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung"

A NEW volume, the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, in Chinese, edited by the Publication Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party for the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, was published by the People's Publishing House in late September. On October 1 it was put on sale by the Hsinhua Bookstore and its branches all over the country.

The fourth volume of the *Selected Works* includes Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings during the period from August 1945 to September 1949, that is, the period from the conclusion of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression to the founding of the People's Republic of China. This is the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, also known as the period of the Chinese People's Liberation War. It was a new period in the great revolution of the Chinese people, the period of the decisive battle between China's armed revolution and armed counter-revolution. The decisive struggle between the two destinies and the two futures facing China—a new China of the broad masses of the people and under the leadership of the proletariat or the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China under the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie—constitutes the basic content of this period. Under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people, through four years of struggle, after a civil war of unprecedented scale, finally achieved the great countrywide victory of overthrowing the rule of imperialism and its

lackeys and founding a new China. The fourth volume of the *Selected Works* is a great record of this victorious struggle.

THE fourth volume of the *Selected Works* contains 70 pieces of writings by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, 35 of which are made public for the first time. This volume includes the following main items: "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression," "On Peace Talks with the Kuomintang—Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party," "Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946," "Some Appraisals of the Present International Situation," "Interview with Anna Louise Strong, American Correspondent," "Muster an Overwhelming Force to Wipe Out the Enemy Piecemeal," "Strategic Principles for the Second Year of the Liberation War," "Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army," "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," "Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy," "Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area," "Carry the Revolution Through to the End," "Report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," "Cast Away Illusions and Get Ready for Struggle." This volume includes many other inner-Party documents and political commentaries by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. These 70 articles represent the great development of the thought of Mao Tse-

tung during the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, and are the crystallization of the experiences of the Chinese revolution and the great achievements made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in solving problems of the Chinese revolution through applying the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. They played a gigantic role in mobilizing and organizing the Party and the people.

"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression" is a report made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at an inner-Party conference of cadres when Japanese imperialism had just announced its surrender. Based on the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis it made a penetrating study of the basic political situation in China after the victory in the War of Resistance and set forth the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the big landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek, supported and instigated by U.S. imperialism, were bent on wresting the fruits of victory in the War of Resistance from the hands of the people, and that they wanted to maintain China as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state. The Chinese Communist Party, the champion of the interests of the proletariat and the masses of the people, on the one hand, should do its best to strive for peace and oppose civil war and, with the utmost effort and patience, lead the people to seek a road to avoid war and realize peace and democracy; on the other hand, it should resolutely safeguard the fruits of victory of the people in their struggles and be fully prepared for Chiang Kai-shek's plot to launch a civil war. In this report, Comrade Mao Tse-tung called the attention of the whole Party to the historical lesson of the defeat of the revolution in 1927 as a result of Chen Tu-hsiu's right opportunism and explained that we must not have illusions about imperialism and reaction, must not be deceived by them or scared by their reactionary bluster, but must carry on a tit-for-tat struggle against them. All this was a guarantee for the Party to be able to keep clear-headed in the complicated circumstances, to keep the revolutionary forces intact during the peace hoax and armed attacks by Chiang Kai-shek, and after Chiang Kai-shek launched the countrywide civil war, thanks to the long preparedness of the Party and the people, to smash the enemy's attacks and send to destruction the reactionary forces who had fondly hoped to wipe out the people's forces.

OF the two articles "On Peace Talks with the Kuomintang — Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" and "On the Chungking Talks," the former is an inner-Party circular drafted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the eve of his departure for Chungking to hold peace talks with the Kuomintang, and the latter is his report at a cadres' meeting in Yen-an after returning from Chungking. These two articles expound the line of the Party in regard to the peace talks with the Kuomintang. The Party should do everything possible to win peace and, in the talks, certain concessions were permissible so long as the principle of not damaging the basic interests of the people was observed; at the same

time, it should show up U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek in their true colours as counter-revolutionaries so as to educate the broad masses of the people. Comrade Mao Tse-tung told the whole Party that it must be highly vigilant and firmly preserve the people's armed forces; that it should in no case relax in its struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's anti-popular policy on account of the talks, should in no case expect the Kuomintang to show kindness, but should rely on the people, on the strength in the hands of the people and on the unity of the whole Party; that it should in no case readily trust Chiang Kai-shek's promises, because the agreement reached during the talks had not yet been realized and, even if it had, the reactionaries might still tear it up at any time when they no longer needed it; that the Party should firmly uphold the agreement already reached and continue in its effort to secure peace and at the same time it must resolutely hit back in the face of the military offensive of the Kuomintang, because "peace will not come unless we strike a hard blow at the reactionaries who dare attack the liberated areas." The line put forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung enabled the Party politically to gain complete initiative, while putting U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek in a passive position and defeating their intrigues one after another.

"Rent Reduction and Production: Two Big Tasks in the Defence of the Liberated Areas" and "Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946" laid down the fundamental policy of defending and consolidating the liberated areas and mobilizing the people to defeat the offensive of the reactionaries. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that there would still be twists and turns in the course of the people's struggle, that many difficulties still lay ahead of us and we must plan all our work on a long-term basis and guard against any wishful thinking about easy success through good luck, and that we must do our best to make a success of the three tasks of army training, rent reduction and production development, before we could overcome difficulties, sustain the war and make our position invincible.

"Some Appraisals of the Present International Situation" combated the rightist view found in the Party at that time of making a pessimistic estimate of the international situation and of overestimating the strength of the enemy and underestimating that of the revolutionary forces. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that it was possible to overcome the danger of a new world war provided the forces of the people throughout the world waged resolute and effective struggles against the world's reactionary forces, and at the same time he pointed out that, on some questions, including certain major ones, it was possible for imperialist countries and socialist countries to reach compromises. Compromises between imperialist countries and socialist countries were only a matter of relations between countries, which was different from, and should not be confused with, the class struggle inside a capitalist country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that such compromises "by no means require the people in the capitalist countries to follow suit by making compromises at home," and that "the people in various countries will still wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." The subse-

quent development of the international situation has proved that these theses are entirely correct.

IN the interview with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong, Comrade Mao Tse-tung analysed the essence of the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and explained that, given different conditions, there were two different possibilities: One was that a new world war could be averted and the other was that it might break out; whether a third world war could be averted or not depended on the people's struggles. He said: "The people of the United States and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite to beat back the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their lackeys in these countries. Only victory in this struggle can prevent a third world war; it cannot be prevented in any other way." In this interview Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward his famous thesis: Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. He held the view that, judging from the overall situation of the struggle, from the development in the balance of forces and from the essence of things, all reactionaries who appeared strong were only paper tigers, and therefore the revolutionary people had good reason to slight them and should build their strategic thinking on the basis of the above thesis. Comrade Mao Tse-tung later expounded his viewpoint as follows: "In 1946 when Chiang Kai-shek launched his attacks against us, many of our comrades and people throughout the country were very much worried: Could the war be won? I myself was also worried about this. But of one thing we were confident. At that time an American journalist named Anna Louise Strong came to Yanan. We discussed many questions in our talks, including Chiang Kai-shek, Hitler, Japan, the United States, the atom bomb, etc. I said that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers. The reason was that they were divorced from the people. You see, wasn't Hitler a paper tiger? Wasn't Hitler overthrown? I also said that the tsar was a paper tiger, the Chinese emperor was a paper tiger, Japanese imperialism was a paper tiger. You see they were all down and out. U.S. imperialism has not yet fallen and it has the atom bomb. I believe it will also fall. It is also a paper tiger. Chiang Kai-shek was very powerful. He had more than four million regular troops. But we said Chiang Kai-shek was only a paper tiger and we would certainly defeat him. In order to struggle against the enemy, we have formed the concept over a long period, namely, strategically to slight all enemies, and tactically to take full account of all enemies. That is also to say, we must slight the enemy as a whole but take full account of him as far as each and every concrete question is concerned. If we do not slight the enemy as a whole, we shall be committing the mistake of right opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two people. In their time they already said that capitalism throughout the world would be overthrown. But on concrete questions and on questions concerning each and every particular enemy, if we do not take full account of the enemy, we shall be committing the mistake of adventurism. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy can only be annihilated bit by bit. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot

by plot. This is called one by one solution. And in military literature, it is called smashing the enemy one by one." Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea of slighting the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically has ideologically armed the Chinese Communists, educated and inspired the Chinese people and instilled the broad masses with revolutionary confidence and determination. Like Lenin's view in his "The Results of the Party Week in Moscow and Our Tasks" that the "world-mighty" imperialism is only a "colossus with feet of clay," Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Marxist verdict—imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers—has already been borne out by the great victory of the Chinese people and will be further borne out by the development of the revolutionary cause in China and in the whole world.

THE articles "Smash Chiang Kai-shek's Offensive by a War of Self-Defence," "Muster an Overwhelming Force to Wipe Out the Enemy Piecemeal" and "A Three-Month Summary" are documents on operational principles written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung after Chiang Kai-shek launched the countrywide civil war. On the basis of the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves and of various political and economic factors, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that in the People's Liberation War the chief aim should be to annihilate the effectives of the enemy and not to hold or seize cities or places; that in order to annihilate the enemy, attacks should be made on dispersed and isolated enemy units first and on concentrated, strong enemy units later, and that in every battle an overwhelming force several times the enemy's strength should be mustered to surround the enemy and leave him no loophole for escape. These operational principles were later brilliantly summarized in the article "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," and have become well known as the ten major military principles. They form a new development of Marxist-Leninist military science brought about by Comrade Mao Tse-tung under Chinese conditions. By adhering to these principles, the People's Liberation Army, although evacuating many cities and places during the initial stage of the war, annihilated large numbers of Kuomintang troops, and moreover equipped itself with captured arms and replenished itself with captured soldiers after remoulding them. Thus, in the course of fighting, the People's Liberation Army grew stronger, while the Kuomintang forces became weaker.

"Strategic Principles for the Second Year of the Liberation War" is a document on operational principles written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung when the People's Liberation War turned from the defensive to the offensive. He pointed out that in turning to the offensive, the basic task of the People's Liberation Army was to use its main force to carry the war into the Kuomintang areas, switching from interior-line to exterior-line operations. This turn from the defensive to the offensive, from interior-line to exterior-line operations, marked the turning-point in the Liberation War, a turning-point at which the century-old imperialist rule in China changed from expansion to extinction.

"Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" is a political manifesto drafted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung

on behalf of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. It put forward the slogan, "Overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and Liberate All China," and announced the eight-point basic political programme of the People's Liberation Army, which was also that of the Chinese Communist Party.

"The Present Situation and Our Tasks," a report made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in December 1947, is a programmatic document of the Party dealing with political, military and economic questions for the entire period of overthrowing the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime and the founding of a new China — an epoch-making proclamation of the great Chinese revolution. It analysed the home situation in China after the switch-over of the People's Liberation War to the offensive, summed up further the chief experiences of the war in various spheres, and expounded most penetratingly a series of problems which the Party had to solve after the switch-over of the war to the offensive, such as operational principles, agrarian reform, consolidation of Party organizations, economic policy and the revolutionary united front. It explained with special emphasis the Party's three-point major economic programme during the people's democratic revolution: the land of the feudal classes should be confiscated and turned over to the peasants, bureaucrat-capital should be confiscated and turned over to the people's democratic state, and industry and commerce operated by the national bourgeoisie should be protected. These fully prepared, in the matter of policy, the ground for the Chinese people to win country-wide victory.

IN the last section of "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a profound analysis of the international situation after World War II, and further dealt with the problem of opposing the war plot of imperialism and safeguarding world peace. He pointed out that as U.S. imperialism has mustered the reactionary forces in different countries and organized them into an anti-democratic, imperialist camp to oppose the democratic forces of the world and actively prepare a new world war, the people throughout the world should be fully on their guard; but U.S. imperialism could be defeated because it rested upon a fragile basis and was torn by internal splits and strife, divorced from the people and faced with inextricable economic crisis. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "This is a historic epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are moving towards their doom, while world socialism and people's democracy are advancing towards victory"; "all views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong. Together with all the democratic forces of the world, we certainly can, if we make strenuous efforts, defeat the imperialist plan of enslavement, prevent a third world war, overthrow all reactionary rule and win lasting peace for mankind."

The article "Some Important Problems of Our Party's Present Policy" discusses the Party's fight against right and "left" errors under different conditions, certain specific policies in agrarian reform and the mass movement, the nature of the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship, and the relationship between the leader

and the led in the revolutionary united front, that is the question of the leadership of the proletariat. During the long period of the revolutionary movement, the Party has garnered abundant experience on all these problems, and the present document drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung represents a Marxist-Leninist summation of that experience.

IN "The Problem of the National Bourgeoisie and the Enlightened Gentry," Comrade Mao Tse-tung further elucidated the question of the motive forces in, as well as the character of, the Chinese revolution. He explained that the main forces in the Chinese revolution were people engaged in manual and mental labour who made up 90 per cent of the country's population and that the left-wingers of the national bourgeoisie who attached themselves to the working people and opposed the reactionaries and the few enlightened gentry who broke away from the feudal class, were also members of the revolutionary united front, but they did not constitute a force determining the character of the revolution, and therefore a policy of uniting with such people, not the attitude of "left" sectarianism, should be adopted.

"Different Tactics for Carrying Out the Agrarian Programme in Different Areas," "Rectify 'Left' Errors in Agrarian Reform Propaganda," "Essential Points in Agrarian Reform in the New Liberated Areas," "On the Policy Towards Industry and Trade," "Telegram to the Headquarters of the Loyang Front After the City's Recapture," "Tactical Problems in Rural Work in the New Liberated Areas" and "Agrarian Reform and Party Consolidation in 1948" are all inner-Party directives drafted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. They set forth the Party's policy of uniting the overwhelming majority of the rural and urban population to restore and develop industrial and agricultural production, and corrected certain "left" deviations which appeared during the upsurge of the people's great revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung explained that in order to unite the overwhelming majority of the urban and rural population, it was necessary in the countryside to rely on the farm labourers and poor peasants, unite solidly with the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants; to carry out agrarian reform by distinguishing between different kinds of areas, dividing the reform into stages and proceeding after due preparations and step by step; to vary the treatment between the big, middle and small landlords and between those landlords and rich peasants who were local tyrants and those who were not, and to confine the main target of attack to the counter-revolutionaries who sided politically with the Kuomintang and stubbornly opposed the people; while in the cities, it was necessary to distinguish, in our treatment, between the feudal exploitation practised by landlords and rich peasants, and the industrial and commercial enterprises run by them; to distinguish, in our treatment, between bureaucrat-capital and non-bureaucrat-capital; to unite all the toiling masses, win over the intellectuals and strive to draw to the people's side as many members of the national bourgeoisie as possible. When the People's Liberation War had switched over to the offensive, the question of the Party's policy became a crucial one in deciding whether the revolution could win victory on a countrywide scale. Comrade Mao Tse-tung

said: "The enemy is now completely isolated. But his isolation does not mean our victory. We still cannot win victory if we make mistakes in policy." "Only when the Party's entire policies and tactics are placed on the correct path will it be possible for the Chinese revolution to win victory."

In the article "On Setting Up a System of Reporting" as well as in "Agrarian Reform and Party Consolidation in 1948," part six, and "On the September Meeting—Circular Issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party," section four, Comrade Mao Tse-tung explained the importance of strengthening discipline in the Party and the revolutionary ranks and eliminating manifestations of indiscipline and anarchy when, with the tremendous development of the revolutionary situation, many liberated areas had become contiguous and many cities had been or soon would be liberated. This was an important guarantee for carrying out correctly the Party's policy and formed another crucial question in preparing for the winning of countrywide victory.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's speech at a conference of cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area made an overall summation of the experiences in agrarian reform and Party consolidation, and expounded the Party's general line and general policy in the period of the people's democratic revolution. He summed up the line and the policy into the following formula: "The revolution of the broad masses of the people, under the leadership of the proletariat and against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism."

"Operational Principles for the Liaosi-Shenyang Campaign," "Operational Principles for the Huai-Hai Campaign" and "Operational Principles for the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign" are three outstanding documents on military affairs. The campaigns in question are the three major campaigns of decisive significance in the People's Liberation War. In these three campaigns, the main forces with which the Kuomintang unleashed the counter-revolutionary civil war were fundamentally wiped out and the advent of the countrywide victory of the Liberation War was greatly accelerated.

WHEN the countrywide victory of the People's Liberation War was a foregone conclusion and Chiang Kai-shek's policy of counter-revolutionary civil war ended up in a blind alley, the reactionary Kuomintang clique, at the instigation of the U.S. imperialists, conducted under those circumstances a peace plot with the aim of preserving its remnant forces and winning a respite to prepare for a comeback. At the same time, the right wing of the bourgeoisie also spread among the people various ideas of peace and compromise, attempting to moderate the character of the people's revolution. In his article "Carry the Revolution Through to the End," Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave a timely exposure of the new peace trick of the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and called on the Party and the people to smash completely the enemy's political scheme just as they had his military attack and to carry the great people's revolution to the end. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The enemy will not perish by himself. Neither the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive U.S. imperialist forces in China will step down from the stage of history of their own will." By means of vivid historical

facts he proved that the Chinese people had hoped to bring about internal peace with the reactionary Kuomintang clique, but no amount of good wishes could in any way change one iota of the class character of the people's enemy, and that only by revolutionary means to eliminate resolutely the reactionary rule of the reactionary forces and to set up the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship in the whole country would it be possible for the people to shake off completely the crushing burdens on their back—the three huge mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, to transform semi-colonial and semi-feudal China into an independent and democratic China, to achieve unification and peace and furthermore to create the prerequisites for the transition of Chinese society to socialism. This article, together with the statement on the current situation that he wrote on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and a series of commentaries, such as "On the War Criminal's Suing for Peace," written for the Hsinhua News Agency, thoroughly revealed to the people the truth about the Kuomintang reactionaries' attempt to use peace talks to preserve their strength, cleared away the reactionary political influence exerted by the right-wing bourgeoisie and enabled the revolution to achieve complete victory under the leadership of the proletariat.

"Report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" is an article of tremendous historic significance written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the eve of the victory of the people's democratic revolution. In this report, he set forth the policies for speeding up and organizing the countrywide victory of the revolution; he pointed out that while the Party's work had long centred on building up our strength in the countryside and from there surrounding and eventually seizing the cities, this task had been completed, and the Party should now shift the centre of its work from the countryside to the cities and from the cities give leadership to the countryside; he analysed the two kinds of basic contradictions—contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie at home and contradiction between China and imperialism abroad—which would exist for a long period after the countrywide victory of the revolution; and defined the Party's basic policies in the political and economic spheres and in foreign affairs after victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung devoted special attention to the analysis of the main sectors of the economy of the People's Republic soon to be founded and set forth the basic line of developing the socialist state economy, carrying out, step by step, the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and trade, and accomplishing, step by step, the socialist industrialization of the country. It is a brilliant plan for turning China's bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, transforming China from a new-democratic into a socialist society and from an agricultural into an industrial country. This report by Comrade Mao Tse-tung already outlined the basic ideas of the general line for the period of transition in our country.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" is another article of great historic significance written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the eve of the victory of the people's democratic revolution. It gives a comprehensive summation of the historical experience of China's revolutionary

struggles and defines the nature of the state power of the People's Republic as well as its basic domestic and foreign policies. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "To sum up our experience and crystallize it into one essential point, it is the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite completely with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme." The people's democratic dictatorship is a form of carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat under the conditions of our country. The establishment of the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship is the concentrated expression of the result of the revolutionary struggles of our people; it in turn paves the way for the socialist revolution of our country. This article by Comrade Mao Tse-tung lay the foundation of the theory and policies of the people's democratic dictatorship in our country.

THE five commentaries—"Cast Away Illusions and Get Ready for Struggle," "Goodbye, Leighton Stuart," "Why Is It Necessary to Discuss the White Paper," "Friendship' or Aggression?" and "The Bankruptcy of the Idealist View of History"—written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the U.S. State Department's White Paper on "Sino-U.S. Relations" and Dean Acheson's letter of transmittal to Truman exposed the aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialist policy towards China and its deep-seated hatred of the Chinese people, criticized certain people for harbouring unrealistic, illusory ideas about imperialism and called on them to "Cast Away Illusions and Get Ready for Struggle." Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote: "When we say that 'imperialism is ferocious,' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay

down their cleavers, that they will never become buddhas till their doom." ". . . It is futile to persuade the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries in the hope that they will become kind-hearted and turn over a new leaf. The only course open to us is to organize our forces to fight them, as for example in our People's Liberation War and the agrarian revolution, to expose the imperialists, 'provoke' them, overthrow them, punish them for offences against the law and 'make them behave themselves and forbid them to say or do what they ought not.' Only then can we hope to deal with the foreign imperialist countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit." In these commentaries Comrade Mao Tse-tung also criticized idealistic interpretations of the Chinese revolution and gave a theoretical explanation of the occurrence of revolution in modern China and of the victory of the Chinese revolution.

The articles in the Fourth Volume, like those in the previous ones, are arranged in chronological order and supplied with the necessary introductory and explanatory notes by the Selected Works Publication Committee.

The publication of the Fourth Volume of the *Selected Works* is an important event for the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, as well as for the dissemination and scientific study of Marxism-Leninism in China. The volume is not only of great historical significance but also of tremendous significance for present reality; it will become a powerful ideological weapon for accelerating the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and for intensifying the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. Its publication will usher in a new high tide in the movement of studying Mao Tse-tung's works among the broad masses of functionaries and the people.

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at National Day Reception

Following is a translation of Premier Chou En-lai's speech at the National Day reception on September 30.—Ed.

**Respected Distinguished Guests,
Comrades, Friends,**

On the eve of the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, we are very much honoured and overjoyed to be able to gather joyously with you—nearly 2,000 distinguished guests from more than 70 countries and regions—to celebrate together the great festival of our people. Present here today are: Prime Minister U Nu and General Ne Win from the Union of Burma, our kinsman-like friendly neighbour; Premier Abbas, the leader of the Algerian people who are persisting in their national liberation war; Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers Kellezi, the envoy of our heroic Al-

banian brothers; and other well-known figures in the political, economic, military, cultural, scientific, sports and other fields from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as other countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Western Europe, North America and Australasia. You have brought us the profound friendship of the peoples of your countries and added great honour to our festival with your presence. On behalf of the Chinese people and Government, I would like to extend to you, our distinguished guests, our heartfelt thanks and high respect.

IN the past year, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, holding high the three red banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, have achieved tremendous new successes in all fields of our socialist construction and have continued to enrich

our experience in construction. The lofty aspiration and great resolve of the Chinese people is to build our motherland, within not too long a period and at a comparatively high speed, into a country with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture. Our experience in the past 11 years, particularly that in the last three years, has proved that we can accomplish this gigantic and arduous task. Of course, we have soberly estimated that we shall certainly encounter all kinds of difficulties on our road of development. However, no difficulty, coming from whatever quarter, can cow the Chinese people who experienced long suffering and who are armed with Marxism-Leninism; it will only arouse us to make even greater efforts to overcome difficulties and advance bravely. At the same time, we are clearly aware that there are in the world a handful of persons—the imperialists and their followers—who have never harboured good intentions towards us, never stopped for a single day cursing and slandering us and have always calculated on the failure of our cause. However, their day-dream will never come true. The more they attack us, the more it proves that the cause of the Chinese people is just and that the road taken by the Chinese people is correct. A prosperous and strong socialist New China, like other socialist countries, will only benefit the world, and absolutely will not be a threat to anybody. Precisely for this reason, our cause has won the support of all peoples, and first of all, of the people of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The Chinese people are deeply grateful for such international support and will always need it. The Chinese people will never be unworthy of the expectations and encouragement of the peoples of all other countries. We are determined to advance victoriously with even firmer resolve along the charted path towards the set goal.

THE Chinese people and Government have consistently adhered to a foreign policy of peace, advocated peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems, stood for the settlement of all international disputes through peaceful negotiations without resorting to force and, together with the peace-loving people and countries of the whole world, made persistent and untiring efforts to oppose imperialist aggression and defend world peace. The Chinese people and Government have unswervingly safeguarded the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and supported the peace proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for general disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the easing of international tension. The Chinese Government has always faithfully abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and striven to develop relations of friendship and co-operation with all other peace-loving countries. This year, we have successively signed treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or of peace and friendship with the Governments of the Union of Burma, the Kingdom of Nepal, the Kingdom of Afghanistan and the Republic of Guinea respectively. With the Government of the Union of Burma, we have finally reached, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, an overall and complete settle-

ment of the long-outstanding boundary question left over by imperialism and will tomorrow formally sign a boundary treaty between our two countries. We have also reached agreement with the Indonesian Government on the implementation of the treaty on dual nationality and are conducting friendly and fruitful negotiations with the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal for a complete settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. Despite the fact that U.S. imperialism stubbornly persists in its policy of hostility and aggression against China, the Chinese Government has still maintained the greatest self-restraint and patience in holding 100 meetings in its ambassadorial talks with the U.S. Government. The Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed that the countries in Asia and around the Pacific, including the United States, conclude a peace pact of mutual non-aggression to make this region an area free of nuclear weapons. All these facts fully show how sincerely and practically the Chinese people and Government have acted and made concrete efforts for the cause of defending world peace. Imperialism and its followers have always vainly attempted to impair China's international prestige and isolate China in the world by slandering it as being "warlike" and "aggressive." But their scheme will not succeed. The Chinese people's determination to struggle for peace can stand the test of time and is for ever unshakable.

THE present overall situation is continuing to develop in a direction favourable to peace and to the people. Although the imperialist forces of war have made a series of frantic attacks in an attempt to reverse the current, they are unable to prevent the growth of the forces of peace and the forces of the people or to extricate themselves from increasing isolation and passivity. With the support of the mighty and united socialist camp, a gigantic people's movement to oppose imperialism and colonialism and to win and safeguard world peace, national independence, democracy and freedom is unfolding on a world scale and is co-ordinated more and more closely with each passing day. This cannot but cause great fear and uneasiness among the imperialists and colonialists. Nevertheless, countless facts tell us that imperialism and colonialism will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord. The nearer their doom draws, the more desperately will they put up struggle. The imperialist bloc headed by the United States is stepping up its arms expansion and war preparations, carrying out continuous military provocations and war threats against the socialist countries and, in disregard of the repeated proposals made by the Soviet Union, doing its utmost to obstruct reaching agreement on general disarmament by stubbornly insisting on control and inspection without disarmament. Particularly worthy of note is the fact that U.S. imperialism is attempting to extend its whole set of criminal activities of aggression against the Congo carried out under the United Nations flag to the whole of Africa and the other parts of the world. It is the plot of U.S. imperialism to further use and manipulate the United Nations to put into effect its new colonialism by, on the one hand, stepping up its plunder and intervention under the guise of "aid" to underdeveloped countries and, on the other hand, instigating Asians to fight Asians, Africans

to fight Africans and Latin Americans to fight Latin Americans, so as to disintegrate and suppress the national and democratic struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The sweet but poisonous speech just made by U.S. President Eisenhower at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly is exactly a wholesale exposure of this vicious plot. All these facts show that the people of the whole world are still confronted with arduous and complicated fighting tasks. The forces of socialism, the forces of the national independence movement, the forces of the people's revolutionary struggle and all the forces of peace throughout the world should further rally together to form the broadest united front and wage a persistent struggle. Only thus will it be possible to continue to frustrate the activities of war preparations and aggression of imperialism headed by the United States and win ever greater victories for the noble cause of winning a lasting peace and human progress.

The Chinese people suffered a long time from the evils of imperialism and colonialism and are today still subjected to aggression and threat of war by U.S. imperialism. Therefore, whether in the past, present or future, we always stand by the oppressed nations and people. The Chinese people resolutely support the peoples of Japan, Laos, Algeria, the Congo and Cuba in their just struggles. The Chinese people resolutely support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence; resolutely support the

peoples in Western Europe, North America and Australasia in their struggle for democracy, freedom and social progress; resolutely support the peoples of all countries in their struggle for general disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the abolition of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops. The Chinese people consider the struggles of other peoples as a powerful support to the Chinese people as well as an indispensable factor in safeguarding world peace. The Chinese people are determined to further strengthen their unity with the peoples of the other socialist countries and with the peoples of the whole world and struggle to the end for the victory of our common cause.

Comrades and Friends! Let us drink a toast

To the prosperity and flourishing of the socialist camp,

To the victory of the national and democratic movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America,

To the victory of the cause of the peoples of the world to defend world peace and secure human progress,

To the solidarity and friendship of all the peace-loving people and countries,

To the health of our distinguished guests and friends from various countries attending this reception!

Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Speech at National Day Celebration

Following is a translation of the speech made by Comrade Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the celebration meeting of the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China held in Peking. — Ed.

Compatriots, Friends and Comrades:

Today is the glorious day of the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. We are very glad that nearly two thousand foreign guests from more than seventy countries and regions throughout the world have come to take part in today's celebration. We feel particularly honoured that Prime Minister U Nu and General Ne Win, our distinguished guests from our friendly neighbour, the Union of Burma; Premier Abbas of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria, the leader of heroic Algeria, and Comrade Kellezi, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, the envoy of our fraternal country, are

also attending our celebration. We would like to extend heartfelt thanks and a warm welcome to all our distinguished guests and friends.

Participating in today's celebration are also representatives of all circles and advanced workers from all parts of the country of various nationalities, representatives of patriotic overseas Chinese and our patriotic compatriots from Hongkong and Macao. We would like to extend to them a warm greeting and welcome.

In the past year, the Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and holding high the three red banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, have scored a series of tremendous successes on all fronts of socialist construction. We would like to extend warm congratulations to the workers, peasants, intellectuals and people of all circles who work industriously on all fronts as well as the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who defend the motherland. Let us celebrate together the victory of the movement to increase production and practise economy centring

on grain and steel, and celebrate the establishment and development of the urban people's communes and the consolidation of the rural people's communes and the victory in the battle of the whole people to combat serious natural calamities.

DURING the past year, the Chinese people, following the great victory of the big leap forward of the national economy for two consecutive years, have achieved a continued leap forward of the national economy.

Our industrial production has scored tremendous new successes. From January to August this year, steel output increased by about 40 per cent over the corresponding period of last year; pig iron, by about 40 per cent; coal, by about 25 per cent; electric power, by about 45 per cent and the volume of freight by modern means of transport, by about 45 per cent. It is particularly noteworthy that industry has played a tremendous role in supporting agriculture. Steel products supplied to agriculture in the first half of this year were equal to the amount supplied in the whole course of last year. Up to the end of August this year, the output of chemical fertilizers exceeded that of the corresponding period of last year by 120 per cent, farm chemicals by 82 per cent and agricultural irrigation machinery by 18 per cent. Iron and steel enterprises of varying sizes have been set up in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, except Tibet. The small mass-run industrial enterprises using modern methods and those using indigenous methods, all over the country, have been further developed and consolidated. Judging from the present favourable situation in the vigorously developing movement to increase production and practise economy in industry, we are fully confident that we shall fulfil or overfulfil the major industrial production targets for this year.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's idea of taking agriculture as the foundation for the development of the national economy has come to be grasped by the people throughout our country. The movement for the whole nation to go in for agriculture in a big way and the movement for all trades and professions to support agriculture, are further unfolding. This year, the newly added agricultural mechanical power is already nearly equivalent to the manpower of 20 million. The rural people's communes have achieved important successes in implementing the policy of developing a diversified economy with grain as the key lever. This year has seen the severest natural calamities in our country since the founding of our People's Republic. However, thanks to the fact that the advantages of the people's communes have been brought into full play and because of the concerted efforts and heroic struggle waged by the commune cadres, the broad masses of commune members and the people throughout the country, the losses which might have been incurred and the areas which might have been afflicted by the natural calamities were eventually greatly reduced. This is a tremendous victory for the people of our country.

Along with the healthy development of the rural people's communes, there has emerged this year an upsurge in the establishment of urban people's communes. By the end of August, over 1,000 urban people's communes had been set up throughout the country. Like the rural people's communes, the urban people's communes have already played a significant role in the development of production and in the reform of the life of society.

In the past year, an important new characteristic of our country's economic construction has been the vigorous development of the mass movement for technical innovations and technical revolution centring on full or semi-mechanization and on full or semi-automation. As a result of the unfolding of the technical revolution, the productive potentialities of the existing enterprises have been brought into play, labour productivity greatly raised, and certain weak industrial departments greatly reinforced, thus opening up a broad path for the continued leap forward of the national economy.

The upsurge in economic construction has brought an upsurge in cultural construction. The cultural revolution the main content of which is to enable the masses of workers and peasants to become well educated and to enable the intellectuals to become labourers has in the past year made even greater headway. Scientific research, literature and art in our country, advancing in the correct direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and the great cause of socialism and communism and guided by the policy of a hundred flowers blossoming and a hundred schools of thought contending, have become more flourishing than ever.

THE great achievements in all fields of our socialist construction in the past year are a victory for our Party's general line for building socialism, a victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung and a victory for Marxism-Leninism in China. Practice in the past year further proved that our Party's general line for building socialism is entirely correct, that it has great vitality and that it truly reflects the objective laws of social and economic development in China as well as the Chinese people's strong revolutionary will and great revolutionary courage. A product of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China, our Party's general line for building socialism will certainly be further developed and perfected and will continue to bring into play its immense power to lead the Chinese people from victory to victory.

Each success achieved in our country's socialist construction is a contribution to the forces of the people of the world striving for human progress and world peace and, therefore, enjoys the wide sympathy and encouragement of the peoples of all countries. Support from the people of the whole world, first of all, the assistance from the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, is an important factor contributing to the suc-

cess of our construction work. The Chinese people will for ever bear in mind such assistance and support. I would like to take this opportunity to express once again our sincere gratitude to all our foreign friends who are present and through you to the peoples of all foreign countries.

Unlike the peoples of all countries, the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists have a deep-seated envy and hatred for the advance and success of China's construction work. Particularly since the Chinese people began the big leap forward, they have gone further in levelling vicious attacks and slanders at our country's general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's communes. They have always vainly and fondly hoped that the Chinese people's cause would fail. However, the course of events runs completely contrary to the wishes of the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists, the Chinese people's cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction has not fallen back, but has advanced with giant strides. No force on earth can prevent China from advancing victoriously to its great goal.

THE Chinese Government and people have consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace and made positive contributions to the cause of opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace. The Chinese Government and people have unswervingly safeguarded the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, spared no efforts to strengthen the relations of mutual help and cooperation between China and the other socialist countries in their common cause, and supported the peace proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for general disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the relaxation of international tension. The Chinese Government and people have consistently exerted efforts, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, to develop friendly relations with countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other peace-loving countries. This year, we have furthermore established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Guinea, the Republic of Ghana and the Republic of Cuba. Our Government has concluded treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or of peace and friendship with the Government of the Union of Burma, the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal, the Government of the Kingdom of Afghanistan and the Government of the Republic of Guinea. The negotiations on the boundary question conducted between our Government and the Government of the Union of Burma, through the joint efforts of both sides, have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty is to be formally signed today. Our Government has also reached an agreement with the Government of Indonesia on the implementation of the Treaty of Dual Nationality and is conducting smooth negotiations with the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal for a complete settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. All these facts fully show that the Chinese

people who ardently love peace can never be impaired by any lies nor isolated by any slanders.

The present international situation is highly favourable to the peoples of all countries in their cause of opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace.

The forces of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union are mightier than ever. The economic construction in the socialist countries is forging ahead daily. The gross output value of the industry of the socialist camp already accounts for nearly 40 per cent of the world's total, while the gross output value of its agriculture already exceeds 40 per cent. What is particularly heartening is that, in the realm of advanced science and technology, the Soviet Union has already left the United States far behind. The daily consolidation and strengthening of the socialist camp is exerting an ever greater influence on the progress of human history.

THE national revolutions of the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and colonialism are surging ahead. This year, the peoples in many countries and areas in Asia, such as Japan, the southern part of Korea, Turkey, the southern part of Viet Nam and Laos, have successively launched heroic struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, dealing heavy blows at the U.S. imperialists' plans for war and aggression in Asia. The heroic Algerian people, under the leadership of the Algerian Provisional Government headed by Premier Abbas, have persisted victoriously in their war of national liberation. The flames of struggles for national independence are spreading all over the African continent. In the past ten months, 14 African countries have successively proclaimed their independence. The imperialist colonial system in Africa is facing complete collapse. Recently, the Congolese people's struggle to oppose the U.S. imperialists' brutal aggression and intervention against the Congo using the United Nations flag has taught the African peoples a profound lesson, enabling them to see more clearly the true colours of U.S. imperialism. The Congolese people's struggle has won the sympathy and support of all the other African peoples and the people all over the world. In Latin America, the heroic Cuban people have carried on a struggle directed squarely against U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression, and victoriously defended the fruits of their revolution. Their struggle and victory have fired the other Latin American peoples with hope and furnished an example for them, thereby greatly inspiring and promoting the national and democratic movements of the Latin American peoples.

In the capitalist countries in the West, the just struggle waged by the working class and other working people for better living and working conditions and for democratic freedom has further developed in the past year.

The world peace movement has further gained in strength. Increasingly broad sections of the people are joining the ranks of the fight against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Under the blows of the mighty forces of peace and the people, the policies of war and aggression of imperialism headed by the United States have suffered a series of defeats. In an attempt to extricate itself from its deteriorating position, U.S. imperialism is engaging in frantic attacks and struggles to counter the trend. But U.S. imperialism and its lackeys absolutely cannot stop the advancing wheel of history. So long as the peoples of the world further unite to form a powerful, broad anti-imperialist united front and wage an unremitting struggle, they will certainly be able to frustrate the policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States and score continuous new victories for the peoples' cause of world peace, national independence, democratic freedom and socialism.

The Chinese people are always loyal to the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and peoples and always stand in the forefront of the struggle to oppose imperialist aggression and defend world peace. The Chinese people resolutely support the just struggles of the peoples of Japan, Laos, Algeria, the Congo and Cuba. The Chinese people resolutely support the national and democratic movements of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the struggles of the peoples in capitalist countries for democratic freedom and social progress. We Chinese people have always regarded the struggles of other peoples as a powerful support to us, as a component part of the common struggle for world peace and human progress. The Chinese people will always stand in one and the same battle-line with the other peoples. Together, we will encourage and support each other and fight to the finish for the victory of the common cause.

THE present situation, both at home and abroad, is more favourable than ever. It is the task of the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to persist in the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's communes, strive to catch up with and outstrip Britain in the output of major industrial products in less than ten years, strive to realize ahead of schedule the National Programme for Agricultural Development and the 12-Year Plan for Scientific Development, so as to build our country, in several more years after that, into a great socialist power with a modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.

The people of our country are determined to make full use of all advantageous conditions, mobilize all forces that can be mobilized, carry forward to ever greater depth the movement to increase production and practise economy centring on grain and steel and further develop the fine tradition and common practice in society of the whole people practising economy. We will be down-to-earth and hard-working in our endeavours, build our country industriously and thriftily, exert energetic efforts to make ourselves strong and strive by every possible

means to fulfil and overfulfil the current year's national economic plan.

The Chinese people are determined to liberate their own territory—Taiwan. This is their sacred and inviolable right. The Chinese people are resolutely opposed to all the plots of U.S. imperialism and its followers to create "two Chinas" in whatever form, and to the provocations of U.S. imperialism in invading our air space and territorial waters. In order to defend the peaceful construction of our country and realize the final unification of our motherland, all the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army must further intensify their political and military training, and increase their mastery of modern military technique and military equipment. All militiamen, without affecting their productive work and studies, must intensify their training and be well prepared to defend their homes and motherland.

THE fundamental guarantee of our still greater victories on all fronts is to persist in putting politics in command, seriously study Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung, and apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung to our practical work. In the past, it is under the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung that we have won great victories; in future we should, under the guidance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, continuously raise the level of our consciousness, strengthen our unity, work with one heart and one mind, make continued leaps forward and score still greater victories.

Let us advance bravely, raising aloft the great banner of the struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and the great banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune.

Long live the great unity of the people of the whole country!

Long live the great unity of the people of the whole world!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of our people of all nationalities!

Now, let us request Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of our people of all nationalities, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leading comrades of the Party and the state, let us invite our distinguished guests, Prime Minister U Nu and General Ne Win of the Union of Burma, Premier Abbas of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria, Comrade Kellezi, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, and our other distinguished guests and friends from various countries of the world to review our capital's parade.

Joint Communiqué of the Chinese and Burmese Governments

Following is the text of the Joint Communiqué of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma issued on October 4, 1960.—Ed.

AT the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, a Government Delegation of the Union of Burma, headed by U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, arrived in Peking on September 28, 1960 on a six-day visit to join in the celebrations of the National Day of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1960 and to sign the Chinese-Burmese Boundary Treaty on this auspicious occasion. Also arriving in Peking for the occasion was General Ne Win, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Union of Burma, who as Prime Minister signed the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question in January last on behalf of the Government of the Union of Burma. The Government Delegation includes Sama Duwa Sinwa Naung, Minister for the Kachin State; Dr. E Maung, Minister for Education and Judicial Affairs; U Yan Aung, Attorney-General of the Union of Burma; Sao Tun Aye, Minister for Education and Health in the Shan State Government; Duwa Zaw Rip, Minister for Public Works and Education in the Kachin State Government and U Ohn, Advisor to the Prime Minister.

Accompanying Prime Minister U Nu on his visit, a military delegation, a trade delegation, a cultural delegation, a sports delegation and a press delegation from the Union of Burma also arrived in Peking on the eve of the Chinese National Day to participate in the celebrations on this doubly auspicious occasion of historic importance to the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma. The Burmese Delegation on the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee, headed by Brigadier-General Aung Gyi, had earlier arrived in Peking to attend the fourth session of the Joint Committee where the Chinese-Burmese Boundary Treaty and the arrangements for its signature on October 1, 1960 were finalized.

During their visit, Prime Minister U Nu, General Ne Win and other distinguished guests from Burma were received by Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

On October 1, 1960 the Burmese delegations attended the National Day parade staged in Tien An Men Square in Peking and joined their Chinese friends in the festivities to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the inauguration of the People's Republic of China. On behalf of the Burmese people, they conveyed fraternal greetings to the Chinese people, heartily congratulated them on their achievements since the inauguration of the People's Republic of China, and wished them further successes and victories in the stupendous task of national reconstruction.

ON the same day, at an impressive ceremony held in the Great Hall of the People in Peking, Premier Chou En-lai, acting on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and Prime Minister U Nu, acting on behalf of the Government of the Union of Burma, signed the Chinese-Burmese Boundary Treaty. The signing of this Treaty of historic significance finally settled the question of the boundary between the two countries left over from history and made the boundary between the two countries a permanent boundary of peace and friendship. This is a great victory for the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence and the Bandung spirit.

Among those present at the ceremony of the signing of the Chinese-Burmese Boundary Treaty were, on the Chinese side, Chairman Liu Shao-chi; Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chen Yun, Lia Piao, Teng Tzu-hui, Ho Lung, Chen Yi, Li Fu-chun, Li Hsien-nien, Nieh Jung-chen, Tan Chen-lin, Lo Jui-ching, Hsi Chung-hsun, Vice-Premiers of the State Council; Shen Chun-ju, Kuo Mo-jo, Huang Yen-pei, Li Wei-han, Chen Shu-tung, Saifudin, Cheng Chien, Panchen Erdeni, Ho Hsiang-ning, Lin Feng, Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Lee Ssu-kwang, Burhan Shahidi, Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; Yeh Chien-ying, Chang Chih-chung, Fu Tso-yi, Vice-Chairmen of the National Defence Council; Hsieh Chueh-tsai, President of the Supreme People's Court; Chang Ting-cheng, Chief Procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate; Yeh Chi-chuang, Minister of Foreign Trade; Shen Yen-ping, Minister of Culture; Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Commission for Cultural Relations with

Foreign Countries; Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Yi-mang, Chinese Ambassador to Burma; Yao Chung-ming, Chief Chinese Delegate on the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee; Liu Ming-hui, Vice-Governor of Yunnan Province; Tao Ching-pan, Chairman of the Teh-hung Tai-Chingpo Autonomous *Chou* of Yunnan Province; and on the Burmese side, General Ne Win, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Union of Burma; Sama Duwa Sinwa Naung, Minister for the Kachin State; Dr. E Maung, Minister for Education and Judicial Affairs; U Yan Aung, Attorney-General of the Union of Burma; Brigadier-General Aung Gyi, Burmese Chief Delegate on the Burmese-Chinese Joint Boundary Committee; Sao Tun Aye, Minister for Education and Health in the Shan State Government; Duwa Zaw Rip, Minister for Public Works and Education in the Kachin State Government; Ambassador Kyaw Winn; U Ohn, Advisor to the Prime Minister; Brigadier-General Maung Maung, Leader of the Burmese Military Goodwill Delegation; Colonel Saw Myint, Leader of the Cultural Delegation; U Mya, Leader of the Trade Delegation; Lt.-Col. Maung Win, Leader of the Sports Delegation; U Khin, Leader of the Journalists' Delegation; also present were, U Tha Zan and U Phaw Thin, Members of Parliament; Boh Tin Maung Gyi and U Ohn Nyunt, Representatives of Pyidaungsu Party; Boh Po Kun and U Tee Phee Wun, Representatives of National United Front.

To celebrate this historic event Burmese Government's gifts consisting of 2,000 tons of rice and 1,000 tons of salt were distributed to approximately one million inhabitants of Yunnan living in close proximity to the Sino-Burmese boundary, as previously arranged. For this, the Chinese Government was deeply grateful.

PREMIER Chou En-lai and Prime Minister U Nu took the occasion to review the relations of friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma. They noted with deep satisfaction that, with the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and of the Boundary Treaty between the two countries, the edifice symbolic of Sino-Burmese friendship has been successfully built up through the joint efforts of the two peoples under the guidance of the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence jointly initiated by the two countries and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. The friendly relations of the two countries have thereby entered upon a new stage. The two Premiers are firmly convinced that this happy development in the relations between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma is not only in the interest of the two countries, but also promotes the cause of world peace and friendly relations among nations with different social systems, and that it constitutes a lasting monument to the vitality of the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister U Nu reaffirmed the solemn determination of their two countries to safeguard, consolidate and expand this edifice of Sino-

Burmese friendship, and to this end, to maintain closer contact and promote further expansion of economic and cultural co-operation between them in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

PREMIER Chou En-lai and Prime Minister U Nu also had a frank and friendly exchange of views on the general international situation. They took note that the present development of the international situation is more than ever favourable to the cause of opposing colonialism; the majority of the countries of Asia and Africa have recently emerged from their former colonial or semi-colonial status and are struggling for a new life of independence, dignity, progress and prosperity for their peoples. The two Premiers expressed sympathy and support for this struggle and agreed that these newly independent nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own ways of life, free from any outside interference.

The two Premiers are convinced that the imperative need of the world today is the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace and security and the promotion of good neighbourly and friendly relations among nations, regardless of differences in their political and social systems. It is their profound belief that this objective can be achieved on the basis of respect for and observance of the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. The application of these principles calls for constant and active endeavours to settle all outstanding international problems, especially those which constitute the main source of world tension, in the spirit of friendly negotiation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. The sincere application of the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence and the policy of friendly negotiation would make for the relaxation of international tension, and thus pave the way for the attainment of general disarmament and of an enduring peace. The two Premiers stressed once again the firm resolution of their two Governments to continue their efforts to enlarge the area of peace and friendship through the sincere application of these principles in their relations with other nations.

In this context, Prime Minister U Nu reaffirmed his conviction that the restoration of the rightful place of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will not only strengthen this world organization but also contribute in a large measure to the reduction of tension and the preservation of peace in Asia and the world at large and to the promotion of international co-operation.

On behalf of the Government of the Union of Burma, Prime Minister U Nu formally invited Premier Chou En-lai to pay a friendly visit to the Union of Burma to participate in the National Day Celebrations of the Union of Burma on January 4, 1961 and to exchange with him the Instruments of Ratification of the Chinese-Burmese Boundary Treaty on that auspicious occasion. Premier Chou En-lai accepted the invitation with much pleasure.

Prime Minister U Nu and General Ne Win Visit China

FRIENDLY China-Burma relations have registered major new advances. A historic boundary treaty was signed between the two countries on October 1. And a mighty demonstration of the *paukphaw* (Burmese, meaning kinsmen) friendship between the two peoples took place as Burmese Prime Minister U Nu, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces General Ne Win and over 300 other Burmese guests came to China and attended its National Day celebrations.

A Rousing Welcome

The capital of People's China gave a rousing welcome to its Burmese guests on September 28 when Prime Minister U Nu arrived. As the Burmese Prime Minister and General Ne Win, accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai, rode in an open car through the city to the Guest House, dense crowds numbering several hundred thousands braved the rain and lined both sides of the streets to greet them and the long motorcade carrying the other Burmese guests. Amid the crackle of fireworks and thunderous cheers, the welcomers sounded the traditional drums and cymbals of welcome, waved Chinese and Burmese national flags and showered flowers and confetti on the guests. The city presented a scene of great festivity.

On the same evening, Premier Chou En-lai gave a grand banquet in the Great Hall of the People in honour of Prime Minister U Nu and Madam Nu, General and Madam Ne Win and other members of the Burmese Government Delegation. The other Burmese guests present included members of the Burmese Delegation to the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee headed by Brigadier Aung Gyi, the military goodwill mission headed by Brigadier Maung Maung, the cultural delegation headed by Colonel Saw Myint, the sports delegation headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Maung Win, the press delegation headed by U Khin, and the trade mission headed by U Mya. These delegations are comprised of high-ranking Burmese officials, representatives of Pyidaungsu Party and the Burmese National United Front, leaders of the Kachin and Shan States, and well-known Burmese figures in military, economic, cultural, art, sports and press circles.

Cordial, kinsman-like sentiments animated the assembly in the majestic, brightly-lit banquet hall. Hosts and guests alike rejoiced over the fruition of their common efforts to solve the knotty and long-outstanding boundary question and to erect, as Prime Minister U Nu figuratively put it, a Sino-Burmese edifice of peace and friendship.

Hailing the new stage in Sino-Burmese friendly relations, Premier Chou En-lai in his warmly applauded banquet speech declared: "It is by no means fortuitous that the friendly relations between China and Burma have made such inspiring progress. This is because our two

countries have always cherished unswerving faith in the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence jointly initiated by us, and have made sincere and unremitting efforts for their realization. This is because of the political foresight of the leaders of our two countries and because we have attached primary importance to safeguarding the fundamental interests of the national independence of our two countries, of the friendship between our two peoples and of Asian peace." The Premier particularly pointed out that in dealing with questions directly involving the common interests of the two countries, both Chinese and Burmese sides have, in accordance with the Five Principles, adopted an attitude of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and friendly consultation and made common efforts to seek a reasonable settlement.

The Premier emphatically declared: "The settlement of the boundary question between our two countries has furnished a successful example for the settlement of boundary questions and other outstanding international questions as well as an example for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems."

Amidst warm applause Prime Minister U Nu praised the sentiments of kinship existing between the Burmese and Chinese peoples which finds expression in the word *paukphaw*. And he went on to declare: "The Bandung spirit and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which we both have the honour to jointly create and initiate, have no doubt provided a new, better and firmer basis for strengthening and developing that [Burma-China] fraternal friendship."

The Burmese Prime Minister recalled that last spring, General Ne Win visited Peking during his tenure of office as Prime Minister and signed the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Sino-Burmese Agreement on the Boundary Question. This, he said, well and truly laid the foundation of the "edifice of friendship." Concluding, Prime Minister U Nu expressed the hope that the Chinese and Burmese leaders' spirit of mutual accommodation and friendly co-operation on the basis of the Five Principles will find application in wider spheres and thus promote friendship among nations and world peace.

A Historic Treaty

The historic signing ceremony of the Boundary Treaty came at 5:30 p.m. on October 1. In the magnificent Great Hall of the People, both Prime Minister U Nu and Premier Chou En-lai spoke, enthusiastically greeting the emergence of a boundary of peace and friendship extending over 2,000 kilometres between China and Burma (texts of speeches on pp. 35-36). The two Prime Ministers then affixed their signatures to the document (text of Treaty on p. 29). They exchanged warm handshakes and congrat-

ulations. On the same day, the two Prime Ministers also exchanged notes in connection with the Boundary Treaty (see p. 34).

There was a festive spirit at the banquet given on the same evening by Chairman Liu Shao-chi honouring Prime Minister U Nu, General Ne Win and the Burmese Government Delegation and celebrating the signing of the Boundary Treaty. Proposing a toast, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said that the Boundary Treaty fully reflects the common desire and fundamental interests of the peoples of China and Burma and also helps the friendship and unity of the Asian countries and the cause of world peace. "We are willing," he stressed, "to establish similarly a boundary of peace and friendship with all neighbouring countries so as to strengthen relations of friendship and co-operation with all of them."

Mammoth Rally

Another climax in this Sino-Burmese friendship year — as Prime Minister U Nu aptly called 1960 — came on October 2 when 100,000 Peking citizens assembled at the huge Workers' Stadium to celebrate the signing of the Boundary Treaty. Festively dressed crowds streamed into the stadium long before the rally started, transforming it into a sea of flowers and banners bathed in the bright autumn sunshine. Both Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister U Nu spoke again at the rally, and their speeches were punctuated by stormy applause.

Premier Chou En-lai declared: "The Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty is a milestone in the further development of the friendly relations between the two countries as well as a brilliant model for the Asian peoples to live together on friendly terms and a good example of the settlement of boundary questions and other disputes between Asian countries."

The Premier pointed out that imperialism and its lackeys were very much displeased with the reasonable settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question and the development of Sino-Burmese friendly relations. There are a handful of ill-intentioned persons who, in order to pursue their aggressive expansionist policies, have been bent on undermining the solidarity between the Chinese and Burmese peoples by every means. But, he added, the celebration today is in itself a most powerful answer and also the heaviest blow to them.

Premier Chou En-lai further declared: "The signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty is fresh proof that the foreign policy of peace pursued by the Chinese Government is firm and unshakable. The Chinese Government wishes not only to live in friendship with its neighbours but also to coexist peacefully with all countries which cherish the same desire on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence."

Calling the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty "a great and grand edifice of mutual friendship," Prime Minister U Nu stated that to maintain this edifice in all its original firmness and splendour is a task not only for the present generations of the Chinese and Burmese peoples; it is a task which must be shouldered also by posterity in both countries, so that this edifice may endure undiminished and untarnished generation upon generation.

The Burmese Prime Minister stressed that the successful conclusion of the Boundary Treaty is due to the observance and practice of the Five Principles by both Burma and China. He added: "It is because the People's Republic of China has faithfully observed these Five Principles that it has been possible for our two countries to sign the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, freely, willingly and to our mutual satisfaction."

The *paukphaw* friendship between the two countries was again stressed in speeches made at another banquet on October 3 which was given by Prime Minister U Nu and Madam Nu to bid farewell. "I believe," the Burmese Prime Minister declared, "that the friendship between China and Burma will last because it is built on firm rocks." In reply, Premier Chou En-lai stated that the friendship between the two peoples could stand any test and that the friendly relations between the two countries would certainly undergo great development with the passage of time.

Prime Minister U Nu concluded his fruitful sojourn in China with the issuance, on October 4, of another important document — the Joint Sino-Burmese Communiqué which marks the new heights achieved in the good-neighbourly relations between the two countries (text of communiqué on p. 25).

Diverse Activities

A host of other activities accentuated the atmosphere of Sino-Burmese amity and bore witness to the broadening contacts between the two peoples in all fields. After the mass celebration rally at the Workers' Stadium, the visiting Burmese sportsmen gave performances and played a friendly match with Chinese football players. On October 3, again in the Great Hall of the People, a grand ceremony opened the performances of the visiting Burmese cultural delegation and the Burmese film week. Burma's splendid arts have added lustre to China's National Day festivities. Such special items on the visiting artists' repertoire as the *Song of China-Burma Friendship* and the *Song of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty* have been heartily appreciated as inspiring artistic expressions of the sentiments of the two peoples. All the various delegations from Burma have had a full and varied programme — sightseeing, meeting people and attending receptions and banquets given by their Chinese colleagues.

The friendship activities have not been limited to Peking alone. Along the long stretches of the Sino-Burmese boundary, Chinese and Burmese inhabitants have held many gala get-togethers. In Kunming, leading city of Yunnan Province which borders on Burma, a delegation of the Shan and Kachin States of Burma specially came to take part in celebrating China's National Day and the signing of the Boundary Treaty.

All these events have added up to a vast scene of friendship such as has never been seen before in the history of Sino-Burmese relations. And the triumphant march of Sino-Burmese friendship is continuing. It has been announced that Premier Chou En-lai will visit Burma early next January to take part in its 13th independence anniversary celebrations and to exchange the instruments of ratification of the Boundary Treaty — a treaty which is being warmly acclaimed by peace-loving people in every corner of the world.

Boundary Treaty Between the People's Republic Of China and the Union of Burma

THE Chairman of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Union of Burma,

Being of the agreed opinion that the long outstanding question of the boundary between the two countries is a question inherited from history, that since the two countries successively won independence, the traditional friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries have undergone a new development, and the fact that the Prime Ministers of the two countries jointly initiated in 1954 the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems as principles guiding relations between the two countries has all the more greatly promoted the friendly relations between the two countries and has created conditions for the settlement of the question of the boundary between the two countries;

Noting with satisfaction that the Government of the People's Republic of China and the successive Governments of the Union of Burma, conducting friendly consultation and showing mutual understanding and mutual accommodation in accordance with the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence, have overcome various difficulties, and have eventually reached a successful and overall settlement of the question of the boundary between the two countries; and

Firmly believing that the formal delimitation of the entire boundary between the two countries and its emergence as a boundary of peace and friendship not only represent a milestone in the further development of the friendly relations between China and Burma, but also constitute an important contribution to the safeguarding of Asian and world peace;

Have resolved for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty on the basis of the Agreement on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries signed by Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Ne Win on January 28, 1960 and appointed their respective plenipotentiaries as follows:

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, for the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and

U Nu, Prime Minister, for the President of the Union of Burma,

Who, having mutually examined their full powers and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

October 4, 1960

Article I

In accordance with the principle of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and in the spirit of friendship and mutual accommodation, the Union of Burma agrees to return to China the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang (measuring about 153 square kilometres, 59 square miles, and as indicated in the attached map) which belongs to China; and the People's Republic of China agrees to delimit the section of the boundary from the junction of the Nam Hpa and the Nam Ting Rivers to the junction of the Nam Hka and the Nam Yung Rivers in accordance with the notes exchanged between the Chinese and the British Governments on June 18, 1941, with the exception of the adjustments provided for in Articles II and III of the present Treaty.

Article II

In view of the relations of equality and friendship between China and Burma, the two Parties decide to abrogate the "perpetual lease" by Burma of the Meng-Mao Triangular Area (Namwan Assigned Tract) which belongs to China. Taking into account the practical needs of the Burmese side, the Chinese side agrees to turn over this area (measuring about 220 square kilometres, 85 square miles, and as indicated in the attached map) to Burma to become part of the territory of the Union of Burma. In exchange, and having regard for the historical ties and the integrity of the tribes, the Burmese side agrees to turn over to China to become part of Chinese territory the areas (measuring about 189 square kilometres, 73 square miles, and as indicated in the attached map) under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Panlao tribes, which belong to Burma according to the provision in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and the British Governments on June 18, 1941.

Article III

For the convenience of administration by each side and having regard for the intra-tribal relationship and production and livelihood needs of the local inhabitants, the two Parties agree to make fair and reasonable adjustments to a small section of the boundary line as defined in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and the British Governments on June 18, 1941, by including in China Yawng Hok and Lungnai Villages and including in Burma Umhpa, Pan Kung, Pan Nawng and Pan Wai Villages, so that these boundary-line-intersected villages will no longer be intersected by the boundary line.

Article IV

The Chinese Government, in line with its consistent policy of opposing foreign prerogatives and respecting the sovereignty of other countries, renounces China's right of participation in mining enterprises at Lufang of Burma as provided in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and the British Governments on June 18, 1941.

Article V

The Contracting Parties agree that the section of the boundary from the High Conical Peak to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary, with the exception of the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang, shall be fixed along the traditional customary line, i.e., from the High Conical Peak northwards along the watershed between the Taping, the Shweli and the Nu Rivers and the section of the Tulung (Taron) River above Western Chingdam Village on the one hand and the Nmai Hka River on the other, to a point on the south bank of the Tulung (Taron) River west of Western Chingdam Village, thence across the Tulung (Taron) River and then further along the watershed between the section of the Tulung (Taron) River above Western Chingdam Village and the Tsayul (Zayul) River on the one hand and all the upper tributaries of the Irrawaddy River excluding the section of the Tulung (Taron) River above Western Chingdam Village on the other, to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary.

Article VI

The Contracting Parties affirm that the two sections of the boundary from the High Conical Peak to the junction of the Nam Hpa and the Nam Ting Rivers and from the junction of the Nam Hka and the Nam Yung Rivers to the southeastern extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary at the junction of the Nam La and the Lanchang (Mekong) Rivers were already delimited in the past and require no change, the boundary being as delineated in the maps attached to the present Treaty.

Article VII

1. In accordance with the provisions of Articles I and V of the present Treaty, the alignment of the section of the boundary line from the High Conical Peak to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary shall be as follows:

(1) From the High Conical Peak (Mu-Lang Pum, Manang Pum) the line runs northwards, then southeastwards and then northeastwards along the watershed between the Taping River (Ta Ying Chiang), the Lung Chuan Chiang (Shweli) and the Nu (Salween) River on the one hand and the Nmai Hka River on the other, passing through Shuei Cheng (Machyi Chet) Pass, Panwa Pass, Tasamin Shan, Hpare (Yemawlaunggu Hkyet) Pass and Chitsu (Lagwi) Pass to the source of the Chu-i Ta Ho (Chu-iho Ta Ho).

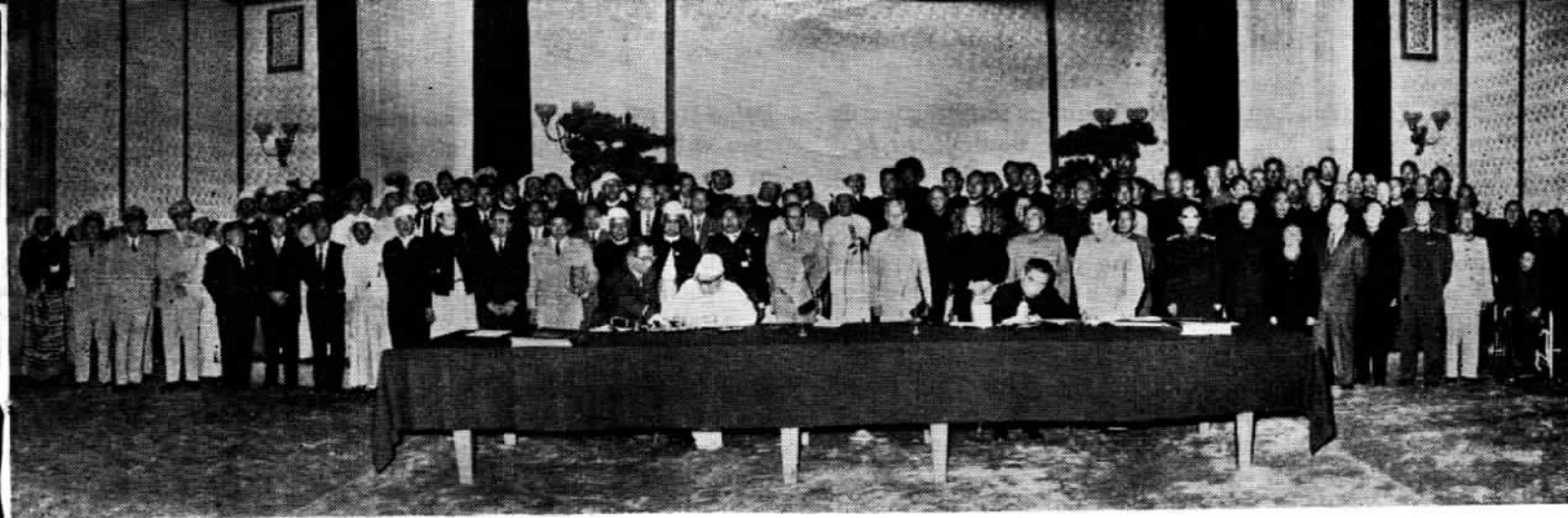
(2) From the source of the Chu-i Ta Ho (Chu-iho Ta Ho) the line runs northwestwards along the Chu-i Ta Ho (Chu-iho Ta Ho) to its junction with its tributary flowing in from the north, thence northwards along this tributary to a point on the watershed between the tributaries of the Hpimaw (Htangkyam Kyaung) River on the one hand and the Wang Ke (Moku Kyaung) River and its tributary, the Chu-i Ta Ho (Chu-iho Ta Ho), on the other, thence westwards along this watershed, passing through Ma Chu Lo Waddy (height 2423 metres, 7950 feet), thence northwards till it crosses the Hpimaw (Htangkyam Kyaung) River west of Hpimaw Village; thence northwards along the ridge, passing through Luksang Bum and crossing the Gan (Kang Hao) River to reach the Wu Chung (Wasok Kyaung) River; thence westwards along the Wu Chung (Wasok Kyaung) River to its junction with the Hsiao Chiang (Ngawchang Hka) River; thence northwards up the Hsiao Chiang (Ngawchang Hka) River to its junction with the Ta Hpawte (Hpawte Kyaung) River. Thence the line runs north of Kangfang Village generally eastwards and then southeastwards along the watershed between the Hsiao Hpawte (Hpawshi Kyaung) River and the Wu Chung (Wasok Kyaung) River on the one hand and the Ta Hpawte (Hpawte Kyaung) River on the other, to a point on the watershed between the Nu (Salween) and the Nmai Hka Rivers.

(3) From the above-mentioned point on the watershed between the Nu (Salween) and the Nmai Hka Rivers, the line runs generally northwards along the watershed between the Nu (Salween) River and the section of the Tulung (Taron) River above Western Chingdam Village on the one hand and the Nmai Hka River on the other, passing through Kia Ngo Tu (Sajyang) Pass, Sala Pass, Ming Ke (Nahke) Pass, Ni Chi Ku (Gi Gi Thara) Pass, Kawchi Thara Pass, Jongit L'ka and Maguchi Pass; thence the line continues to run northwards and then generally westwards, passing through Alang L'ka, Mawa L'ka, Pang Tang Shan (Pumtang Razi), Lonlang L'ka, Hkora Razi to Tusehpong Razi.

(4) From Tusehpong Razi, the line runs generally northwestwards along the ridge, passing through height 2892 metres and height 2140.3 metres, to a point on the south bank of the Tulung (Taron) River west of Western Chingdam Village. Thence it crosses the Tulung (Taron) River to its junction with its tributary on its northern bank, and thence northwestwards along the ridge to Kundam Razi (Lungawng Hpong).

(5) From Kundam Razi (Lungawng Hpong) the line runs generally northwards and northwestwards along the watershed between the section of the Tulung (Taron) River above Western Chingdam Village on the one hand, and the upper tributaries of the Irrawaddy River [excluding the section of the Tulung (Taron) River above Western Chingdam Village] on the other, passing through Thala Pass, Sungya (Amansan) L'ka to Yulang Pass.

(6) From Yulang Pass the line runs generally southwestwards along the watershed between the Tsayul (Zayul) River on the one hand and the upper tributaries of the Irrawaddy River on the other, passing through Gamlang



Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Chou En-lai (right) and Prime Minister of the Union of Burma U Nu (left) sign the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty

L'ka to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary.

2. In accordance with the provisions of Articles I, II, III and VI of the present Treaty, the alignment of the section of the boundary line from the High Conical Peak to the southeastern extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary shall be as follows:

(1) From the High Conical Peak, the line runs generally southwestwards along the watershed between the upper tributaries of the Taping River, the Mong Ka Hka and the upper tributaries of the Ta Pa Chiang (Tabak Hka) Rivers on the one hand and the lower tributaries of the Nmai Hka River on the other, passing through Ta Ya Kou (Lunghkyen Hkyet), and thence northwestwards to Hsiao Chueh Pass (Tabak-Hku Hkyet).

(2) From Hsiao Chueh Pass (Tabak-Hku Hkyet), the line runs down the Ta Pa Chiang (Tabak Hka), the Mong Ka Hka and up the Shih Tzu (Paknoi Hka) River (the upper stretch of which is known as the Hkatong Hka River) to its source.

(3) From the source of the Shih Tzu (Paknoi Hka) River the line runs southwestwards and then westwards along the watershed between the Monglai Hka on the one hand and the Pajao Hka, the Ma Li Ka River and the Nan Shan (Namsang Hka) River on the other, to the source of the Laisa Stream.

(4) From the source of the Laisa Stream, the line runs down the Laisa Stream and up the Mu Lei Chiang (Mole Chaung) and the Ga Yang Hka (Cheyang Hka), passing through Ma Po Tzu (A-law-Hkyet), and then runs southwards down the Nan Pen Chiang (Nampaung Hka) to its junction with the Taping River; thence eastwards up the Taping River to the point where the Taping River meets a small ridge west of the junction of the Kuli Hka Stream with the Taping River.

(5) From the point where the Taping River meets the above-mentioned small ridge, the line runs along the watershed between the Kuli Hka Stream, the Husa (Namsa Hka) River and the tributaries of the Namwan River on the one hand and the tributaries of the Taping River west

of the Kuli Hka Stream on the other, up to Pang Chien Shan (Pan Teng Shan).

(6) From Pang Chien Shan (Pan Teng Shan), the line runs southwards to join the Kindit Hka, then down the Kindit Hka and the Nam Wa Hka (Pang Ling River) to a point on the south bank of the Nam Wa Hka (Pang Ling River) southeast of Man Yung Hai Village and north of Nawng Sa Village, thence in a straight line southwestwards and then southwards to the Nan Sah (Manting Hka) River; then it runs down the course of the Nan Sah (Manting Hka) River as at the time when the boundary was demarcated in the past, to its junction with the Namwan River, thence down the course of the Namwan River as it was at that time, to its junction with the course of the Shweli River as it was at that time.

(7) From the junction of the courses of the Namwan River and the Shweli River as at the time when the boundary was demarcated in the past, to the junction of the Shweli and the Wanting (Nam Yang) Rivers, the location of the line shall be as delineated on the maps attached to the present Treaty. Thence the line runs up the course of the Wanting (Nam Yang) River as at the time when the boundary was demarcated in the past, and the Weishang Hka, then turns northwestwards along a tributary of the Nam Che Hka (Nam Hse) River to its junction with the Nam Che Hka (Nam Hse) River, thence eastwards up the Nam Che Hka (Nam Hse) River, passing through Ching Shu Pass, and thence along the Monglong Hka and the course of the Mong Ko (Nam Ko) River as at the time when the boundary was demarcated in the past, thence up the Nam Hkai and the Nam Pang Wa Rivers, passing through a pass, and then along the Man Hsing (Nam Hpawn) River [whose upper stretch is known as the Nam Tep (Nam Lep) River] to its junction with the Nu (Salween) River, thence eastwards up the Nu (Salween) River to its junction with the Ti Kai Kou (Nan Men) Stream.

(8) From the junction of the Nu (Salween) River with the Ti Kai Kou (Nan Men) Stream, the line runs southwards along the Ti Kai Kou (Nan Men) Stream, then southwestwards then southwards along the watershed between the Meng Peng Ho (the upper stretch of the Nam Peng River) on the one hand and the tributaries of the Nu (Salween) River on the other, up to Pao Lou Shan.

(9) From Pao Lou Shan, the line runs southeastwards along the Wa Yao Kou Stream, the ridge south of the Mai Ti (Mai Ti Ho) River, the Pan Chiao Ho and the Hsiao Lu Chang (Hsin Chai Kou) Stream up to the source of the Hsiao Lu Chang (Hsin Chai Kou) Stream. From the source of the above stream to the junction of the Nam Hpa and the Nam Ting Rivers, the location of the line shall be as delineated on the maps attached to the present Treaty. The line then runs eastwards for about four kilometres (about three miles) up the Nam Ting River and thence southeastwards along the northwest slope of Kummuta Shan (Loi Hseng) to the top of Kummuta Shan (Loi Hseng).

(10) From the top of Kummuta Shan (Loi Hseng), the line runs southeastwards along a tributary of the Kung Meng Ho (Nam Loi-hsa) River to its junction with another tributary flowing in from the southeast; thence up the latter tributary to a point northwest of Maklawt (Ma-Law) Village. Thence, the line runs in a straight line to a point southwest of Maklawt (Ma-Law) Village, and again in a straight line across a tributary of the Yun Hsing (Nam Tap) River to Shien Jen Shan, located east of the junction of the above-mentioned tributary with another tributary of the Yun Hsing (Nam Tap) River; thence along the watershed between the above two tributaries of the Yun Hsing (Nam Tap) River to the source of the one to the west and then turns westwards and southwestwards along the Mong Ling Shan ridge, up to the top of Mong Ling Shan. Thence it runs eastwards and southeastwards along the Nam Pan River to its junction with a tributary, northeast of Yakaw Chai (Ya Kou Sai) Village, which flows in from the southwest; thence in a south-westerly direction up that tributary, to a point northeast of Yakaw Chai (Ya Kou Sai) Village, from where it turns southwards passing through a point east of Yakaw Chai (Ya Kou Sai) Village, and crosses a tributary of the Nam Pan River south of Yakaw Chai (Ya Kou Sai) Village, thence westwards to the source of the Nam It River a little east of Chao Pao (Taklyet No) Village. Thence the line runs southwards along the Nam It and the Nam Mu Rivers, and then turns eastwards along the Nam Kunglong and the Chawk Hkrak Rivers to the northeast source of the Chawk Hkrak River.

(11) From the northeast source of the Chawk Hkrak River, the line runs southwards and eastwards along the watershed between the upper tributaries of the Nam Kunglong River on the one hand and the southern tributaries of the Chawk Hkrak River and the Nan Tin (Nam Htung) River on the other, to a point on the west side of Umhpa Village. Thence it runs eastwards passing a point 100 metres north of Umhpa Village, and then eastwards up to the source of a small river on the above-mentioned watershed; thence along the ridge eastwards to the source of a tributary of the Mongtum (Nam Tum) River (the upper stretch of which is called the Ta Tung River), which it follows in an easterly and north-easterly direction to its junction with another tributary of the Mongtum (Nam Tum) River flowing in from the southeast; thence it follows this tributary to its source on the watershed between the Mongtum (Nam Tum) and the Lung Ta Hsiao Ho (Nam Lawng) Rivers. It then crosses the watershed in an easterly direction to the source of the Lung Ta

Hsiao Ho (Nam Lawng) River which it follows to its junction with its tributary flowing in from the north, thence in a northerly direction along the above-mentioned tributary, passing through a point on the Kanpinau Ridge, thence generally eastwards along a valley, crossing the junction of two sub-tributaries of a tributary of the Lung Ta Hsiao Ho (Nam Lawng) River, then northeastwards to the watershed between the Mongtum (Nam Tum) River on the one hand, and the Nam Ma River on the other, until it reaches height 1941.8 metres (6370 feet). Thence the line runs eastwards, then southwards and then north-westwards along the watershed between the Mongtum (Nam Tum), the La Meng (Nam Meng Ho), the He (He Ho), the Ku Hsing Ho (Nam Hka Lam) and the Nam Hka Hkao (Nam Hsiang Ho) Rivers on the one hand and the Nam Ma River on the other, up to a point on this watershed northwest of La Law Village.

(12) From the point on the above-mentioned watershed northwest of La Law Village, the line runs down the nearest tributary of the Nam Hka Hkao River and thence down the Nam Hka Hkao River to its junction with a tributary flowing in from the southwest. Thence the line runs generally southwestwards up that tributary to its source, which is northeast of and nearest to height 2180 metres (7152 feet). Thence it crosses the ridge at a point 150 metres (492 feet) southeast of the above-mentioned height and then turns southwards to the source of the nearest tributary of the Nam Lung (Nam Sak) River, rising at the above-mentioned height. Thence it runs along this tributary to its junction with the Nam Lung (Nam Sak) River, from where it proceeds along the Nam Lung (Nam Sak), the Nam Hse and the Nam Hka Rivers to the junction of the Nam Hka and the Nam Yung Rivers, and thence up the Nam Yung River to its source.

(13) From the source of the Nam Yung River the line runs in a south-easterly direction to the watershed between the Na Wu (Nam Wong) and the Nam Pei (Nam Hpe) Rivers; thence generally eastwards along the above-mentioned watershed, and then eastwards along the Na Wu (Nam Wong) River, which it follows to its junction with the Nan Lai (Nam Lai) River, thence along the watershed between the Na Wu (Nam Wong) and the Nan Lai (Nam Lai) Rivers to the Anglang Shan (Loi Ang Lawng) ridge; thence northwards along the ridge to the top of Anglang Shan (Loi Ang Lawng), thence generally eastwards along the ridge, crosses the Nam Tung Chik (Nam Tonghkek) River and then follows the watershed between the tributaries on the west bank of the Nam Lei (Nam Lwe) River at the north of the La Ting (Hwe-kye-tai) River and the Nan La Ho [a tributary of the Nan Ma (Nam Ma) River] on the one hand and the tributaries on the west bank of the Nam Lei (Nam Lwe) River at the south of the La Ting (Hwe-kye-tai) River on the other, up to the top of Pang Shun Shan (Loi Pang Hsun).

(14) From the top of Pang Shun Shan (Loi Pang Hsun) the line runs generally eastwards along the La Ting (Hwe-kye-tai) River, the Nam Lei (Nam Lwe) River, the course of the Nan Lo (Nam Law) Stream as at the time when the boundary was demarcated in the past, and the

Nan Wo (Nambok) River to the source of the Nan Wo (Nambok) River at Nan Wo Kai Nan Shan (Loi Kwainang).

(15) From the source of the Nan Wo (Nambok) River at Nan Wo Kai Nan Shan (Loi Kwainang) the line runs generally eastwards along the watershed between the Nan La (Nam Lak) [a tributary of the Nam Lei (Nam Lwe) River], the Nan Pai (Nam Hpe) and the Nan Hsi (Nam Hok) Rivers on the one hand and the Nan Ping (Nam Hpen), the Nan Mau (Nam Mawng) and the Nan Hsi Pang (Nam Hsi Pang) Rivers on the other, up to San Min Po (Loi Hsammong).

(16) From San Min Po (Loi Hsammong) the line runs in a general north-easterly direction to a point on the west bank of the Nam Lam River. Thence it descends the Nam Lam River to the foot of Chiu Na Shan (Kyunak) on the south bank of the Nam Lam River and then runs in a general south-easterly direction passing through Hue Ling Lang (Hwe Mawk-hkio), La Ti (La Tip), Nan Meng Hao (Nam-mong Hau) to Mai Niu Tung (Mai Niu-tawng); thence the line runs in a general north-easterly direction passing through Lung Man Tang (Long-man-tang) to the Hui La (Hwe-La) Stream, which it follows northwards to its junction with the Nam Lam River. Thence the line runs eastwards and southwards along the Nam Lam, the Nan Chih (Nam Se) Rivers and the Nam Chia (Hwe Sak) Stream, to Lei Len Ti Fa Shan (Loi Len Ti Hpa). The line then follows the Nam Mot (Nan Mai), the Nan Tung (Nam Tung) and the Nam Ta Rivers to Hsing Kang Lei Shan (Loi Makhinkawng).

(17) From Hsing Kang Lei Shan (Loi Makhinkawng) the line runs eastwards along the watershed between the Nam Nga River and its upper tributaries on the one hand and the Nam Loi River (including its tributary the Nam He River) on the other, to the top of Kwang Pien Nei Shan (Kwang Peknoi).

(18) From the top of Kwang Pien Nei Shan (Kwang Peknoi) the line runs generally northeastwards along the Hue Le (Nam Luk) River and the course of the Nam Nga River as at the time when the boundary was demarcated in the past, to the junction of the Nam Nga and the Lanchang (Mekong) Rivers; thence down the Lanchang (Mekong) River up to the southeastern extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary line at the junction of the Nam La and the Lanchang (Mekong) Rivers.

3. The alignment of the entire boundary line between the two countries described in this Article and the location of the temporary boundary marks erected by both sides during joint survey are shown on the 1/250,000 maps indicating the entire boundary and on the 1/50,000 maps of certain areas, which are attached to the present Treaty.

Article VIII

The Contracting Parties agree that wherever the boundary follows a river, the midstream line shall be the boundary in the case of an unnavigable river, and the middle line of the main navigational channel (the deepest watercourse) shall be the boundary in the case of a navigable river. In case the boundary river changes its course,

the boundary line between the two countries shall remain unchanged in the absence of other agreements between the two sides.

Article IX

The Contracting Parties agree that:

1. Upon the coming into force of the present Treaty, the Meng-Mao Triangular Area to be turned over to Burma under Article II of the present Treaty shall become territory of the Union of Burma;

2. The area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang to be returned to China under Article I of the present Treaty and the areas under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Panlao tribes to be turned over to China under Article II shall be handed over by the Burmese Government to the Chinese Government within four months after the present Treaty comes into force;

3. The areas to be adjusted under Article III of the present Treaty shall be handed over respectively by the Government of one Contracting Party to that of the other within four months after the present Treaty comes into force.

Article X

After the signing of the present Treaty, the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee constituted in pursuance of the Agreement between the two Parties on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries of January 28, 1960, shall continue to carry out necessary surveys of the boundary line between the two countries, to set up new boundary markers and to examine, repair and remould old boundary markers, and shall then draft a protocol setting forth in detail the alignment of the entire boundary line and the location of all the boundary markers, with detailed maps attached showing the boundary line and the location of the boundary markers. The above-mentioned protocol, upon being concluded by the Governments of the two countries, shall become an annex to the present Treaty and the detailed maps shall replace the maps attached to the present Treaty.

Upon the conclusion of the above-mentioned protocol, the tasks of the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee shall be terminated, and the Agreement between the two Parties on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries of January 28, 1960 shall cease to be in force.

Article XI

The Contracting Parties agree that any dispute concerning the boundary, which may arise after the formal delimitation of the boundary between the two countries, shall be settled by the two sides through friendly consultations.

Article XII

The present Treaty is subject to ratification and the instruments of ratification will be exchanged in Rangoon as soon as possible.

The present Treaty shall come into force on the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification.

Upon the coming into force of the present Treaty, all past treaties, exchanged notes and other documents relating to the boundary between the two countries shall be no longer in force, except as otherwise provided in Article X of the present Treaty with regard to the Agreement between the two Parties on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries of January 28, 1960.

Done in duplicate in Peking on October 1, 1960, in the Chinese, Burmese and English languages, all three texts being equally authentic.

Plenipotentiary of the
People's Republic of China

Plenipotentiary of the
Union of Burma

CHOU EN-LAI

(Signed)

U NU

(Signed)

Premier Chou En-lai's Note to Burmese Prime Minister U Nu

Peking, October 1, 1960

**His Excellency U Nu,
Prime Minister of the Union of Burma,
Peking.**

Your Excellency Mr. Prime Minister,

During the negotiations for the Boundary Treaty Between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma, our two Parties have reached an understanding on points which I now have the honour, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, to confirm as follows:

1. The inhabitants of the areas to be handed over by one side to the other in pursuance of the provisions of Articles I, II and III of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty shall, after the handing over of the areas, be definitely considered citizens of the side to which the areas belong. Any inhabitants of these areas who do not wish to be transferred to the other side along with the areas may within one year of the coming into force of the Treaty, declare their choice of the nationality of the original side and may, within two years, move into the territory of the original side. When moving, the movables of the above-mentioned inhabitants may be taken out of the country and their real estates transferred in return for payments.

2. In accordance with the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and in order to facilitate administration by each side and to avoid disputes between the border inhabitants of the two sides, so as to facilitate the promotion of the development of friendly and amicable relations between the border inhabitants of the two countries, the two sides are of the agreed opinion that the question of the cultivation of trans-frontier lands, which exists now in the Sino-Burmese border areas and may arise from the present delimitation of the boundary and adjustment of boundary-line-intersected villages, should be settled. For this purpose, the following principles are defined:

(1) Each side shall see to it that no new cases of trans-frontier cultivation of lands shall be allowed for its border inhabitants, nor the cultivation or management of

trans-frontier cultivation lands, which has been given up, shall be resumed in the territory of the other side.

(2) Both Governments shall adopt measures to eliminate step by step within three years of the coming into force of the Treaty the situation of the cultivation of trans-frontier lands by border inhabitants.

(3) Border inhabitants of each side, while continuing to cultivate trans-frontier lands within the above prescribed period, shall observe the laws and regulations of the country in which the lands are situated.

(4) To implement the above-mentioned agreements, local officials of the two sides may hold meetings as required by the circumstances to settle related questions through consultation. Procedures for the meetings shall be discussed and determined by the Governments of the two countries.

3. With a view to promoting friendly relations between the two sides in the border areas, local officials of the two countries shall hold meetings as required to settle questions of a local nature which may arise in the border areas of the two sides.

If the above points receive Your Excellency's confirmation, the present note and your reply shall form an agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma and shall come into effect at the same time as the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express, to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) **CHOU EN-LAI**

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

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Editor's note: Prime Minister U Nu of Burma in his reply of October 1, 1960 stated that he had the honour, on behalf of the Government of the Union of Burma, to confirm the above points mentioned in Premier Chou En-lai's note.

# Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at the Signing Ceremony Of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty

**Your Excellency Respected Prime Minister U Nu,**

**Your Excellency Respected General Ne Win,**

**Burmese Delegates on the Sino-Burmese Joint Boundary  
Committee and the Other Distinguished Guests from  
Burma,**

**Comrades and Friends,**

Today, on the occasion of the grand festival when the Chinese people are warmly celebrating the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Governments of our two countries are signing in the capital of our country the Boundary Treaty between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma. This is a great honour to the Chinese Government and people. The signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty has opened up a new chapter in the history of Sino-Burmese friendly relations, set a good example of peaceful coexistence among Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles and provided a brilliant model for all countries in the world in settling international disputes by peaceful means. The conclusion of this Treaty is not only in the best interests of China, but also, as His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu has just said, "in the best interests of Burma and Sino-Burmese friendship and of Asian and world peace." This is a most auspicious event for the Chinese and Burmese peoples as well as the people of the world. I would like, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to extend our warmest and sincerest congratulations to His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu, His Excellency General Ne Win and the brotherly Burmese people!

The boundary question between China and Burma was a result of the long-term aggressive policy of imperialism. After China and Burma respectively freed themselves from imperialist oppression and became independent and mutually friendly countries, the nature of the Sino-Burmese boundary question was fundamentally changed. The initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence by the Prime Ministers of our two countries jointly in 1954 as the codes guiding the relations between the two countries further created favourable conditions for the settlement of this question. In the course of negotiating a settlement of the boundary question, the Governments of our two countries adopted an attitude of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and carried out friendly consultations. This has made possible a speedy settlement of the complicated boundary question, which is reasonable and satisfactory to both sides. Now, the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty will be signed and the Sino-Burmese boundary will be fixed in legal form. This is a victory for the friendship and co-operation between China and Burma, a victory for the friendship and solidarity

among the Asian peoples as well as a victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

I am sincerely grateful for the tribute His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu has just paid to myself and my colleagues. I regard this tribute as a token of the sincere friendship of the Burmese people for the Chinese people. In signing the Boundary Treaty, I have to mention the efforts and contributions the Burmese side has made. As early as 1954, His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu expressed his desire to settle the Sino-Burmese boundary question and has since been making sincere efforts for this. Since then, the successive Burmese Governments have also exerted efforts to seek a proposal to settle the boundary question. In January this year, His Excellency General Ne Win signed in Peking with our Government the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Agreement on the Boundary Question, thus paving the way for a speedy and smooth settlement of the boundary question. Now, His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu has come to Peking in person so that he and I may, on behalf of our respective Governments, sign this solemn and friendly Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, thus ultimately establishing a boundary of peace and friendship which the Chinese and Burmese peoples have long desired. Particular mention should also be made of the fact that, in the Sino-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee, the Burmese delegates headed by Brigadier Aung Gyi have all along adopted a friendly and co-operative attitude in working together with the delegation of our side. Besides, several thousands of Burmese survey, cartographic, military and rear-service personnel are engaged in strenuous work. Today, on the occasion of the Governments of our two countries signing the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, may I, on behalf of the Chinese Government and in my own name, extend our high respect and heartfelt thanks to the Burmese Government, particularly to His Excellency Prime Minister U Nu, His Excellency General Ne Win, His Excellency Brigadier Aung Gyi, His Excellency Ambassador Kyaw Win, the officials of the Foreign Ministry of Burma and the other Burmese friends, who have made valuable contributions to the signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty.

On this great occasion of signing the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, let me hail:

Long live the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty!

Long live the kinsman-like friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples!

Long live the victory of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence!

Long live world peace!

# Prime Minister U Nu's Speech at the Signing Ceremony Of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty

Your Excellency Respected Chairman Liu Shao-chi,  
Your Excellency Respected Premier Chou En-lai,  
Chinese Friends,

The first of October, 1960, will go down in history as a very special date. Not only is it the anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China in the celebration of which we are happy to participate, but it is the date on which a new chapter begins in the relations between Burma and China. The Treaty which our two Governments are about to conclude will, for the first time in history, bring into existence a completely delimited and demarcated boundary between our two countries, a boundary drawn up with the agreement of both sides, and therefore a boundary of peace and friendship.

What I have just said implies no reflection whatsoever on the traditional friendship which has happily existed between our two countries. But in the circumstances of today, when distance and barriers no longer make for inaccessibility, it is of the utmost importance that even the best of neighbours whose relationship is firmly founded on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence should know exactly where the territory of one ends and the territory of the other begins so as to be in a position to apply faithfully the principle of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Thus, what we are about to consummate today is a logical and essential extension of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which our two countries helped to formulate in 1954. As such, it represents an advance in the world's struggle for peace.

As you know, this boundary settlement was not an easy achievement. There were many difficulties to overcome on both sides, some of them being inherent to the problem, and others being carried over from history. No progress could therefore have been made without the will on both sides to reach a settlement. Friendship, understanding, the spirit of mutual accommodation—these qualities, displayed to a high degree by both sides, have contributed to the present happy outcome. On behalf of the Government and people of the Union of Burma, let me take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Government and people of the People's Republic of China for the friendly and understanding attitude they have adopted towards this question. A special word of gratitude is due to Premier Chou En-lai, the principal architect on the Chinese side of this Treaty. Premier Chou En-lai has been associated with this Treaty from its earliest beginnings. In the course of the negotiations on this question, he has always been friendly, courteous, patient and understanding. Even when difficulties seemed insurmountable, these qualities never deserted him. I would also like to mention, in this connection, Vice-Foreign Minister Chang

Han-fu and former Ambassador and currently leader of the Chinese Delegation to the Joint Boundary Committee, Mr. Yao Chung-ming, both of whom have also been closely associated with every phase of this question. As immediate assistants to Premier Chou En-lai regarding this question, their contribution to the present happy consummation has been great and I wish to acknowledge this by thanking both of them.

A special tribute is also due to the Sino-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee for its splendid work in the course of the last few months despite the most forbidding difficulties. Special mention must be made of the military and survey personnel of both sides who were engaged in work in the field during the monsoon period. The strong sense of co-operation and understanding which permeated the work of the Joint Committee, at all levels, is a very good augury for the development of closer relations between our two countries.

Let me take this opportunity to emphasize that the Treaty which we are about to sign, is a freely agreed settlement of the Burma-China boundary question. It would be ridiculous for anyone to suggest that this Treaty was imposed by Burma on an unwilling China. Besides, the whole history of the boundary question shows that the Chinese do not allow things to be imposed on them. The British Government tried for years to prevail on the Chinese to accept the watershed between the Irrawaddy and Salween Rivers as the boundary running north from the High Conical Peak, but the Chinese Government would have none of it, and it was thus that this section of the boundary remained undelimited when the British relinquished sovereignty over Burma. It is noteworthy, however, that in their negotiations with independent Burma, China readily agreed that all but a small portion—approximately 13 miles in the Hpimaw area—of this section of the boundary should follow the watershed. Similarly, the whole history of the Burmese people shows that they also do not allow things to be imposed on them. Even when they lost their independence to superior force, they never lost faith in their religion, their culture, their basic way of life, and strong belief in the indestructibility of these fundamentals sustained them throughout the British occupation, and kept alive their will and determination to be free. It would therefore be equally ridiculous for anyone to suggest that this Treaty was imposed by China on Burma. When we sign it today we do so freely and on a basis of absolute equality, and in the conviction that its conclusion is in the best interests of Burma and Sino-Burmese friendship and of Asian and world peace.

May the Treaty we are about to sign now usher in an era of closer friendship and deeper understanding between our two countries and peoples.

# Warm Greetings to the Signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty

*Following is an editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" on October 2. — Ed.*

**T**HE Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, which is of major historical significance, was formally signed by Premier Chou En-lai of China and Prime Minister U Nu of Burma in Peking yesterday, China's National Day. A boundary line of peace and friendship between China and Burma thus came into being. The signing of the Treaty is undoubtedly a major political event concerning the two countries. The Treaty not only lays a solid foundation for the further development of friendly relations between China and Burma, but is also bound to exert an extremely far-reaching influence upon relations between Asian countries. The Chinese people, while enthusiastically observing their National Day, celebrate, with immense joy and together with the Burmese people, the signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, the birth of the Sino-Burmese boundary line of peace and friendship and the advance of the friendship between the peoples of China and Burma from one high point to another.

The Sino-Burmese boundary question was a long outstanding and highly complicated question created by imperialist aggression. Now every one of the complicated questions involved has been solved fairly and reasonably in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit. The Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty reasonably delimits the undefined section of the boundary from the High Conical Peak to the western extremity of the Sino-Burmese boundary. This section of the boundary, with the exception of the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang, is fixed in its entirety along the traditional customary line. This is the only solution fair and reasonable to both the Chinese and Burmese sides, which respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the two sides. In this Treaty, the Burmese side agreed to return to China the area of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang which belongs to China but was seized by British troops step by step from 1905 to 1911. This brought about the smooth settlement of the complicated question of the northern section of the Sino-Burmese boundary. The Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty also solves in a reasonable way the complicated question of the Meng-Mao Triangular Area. Under the 1897 boundary treaty between China and Britain, this area was defined as a "perpetual lease" by British Burma. Such a "perpetual lease" did not conform to the present relations of equality and friendship between China and Burma. The two sides decided to abrogate the "perpetual lease" held by Burma of the Meng-Mao Triangular Area which belongs to China. Similarly, the Chinese side, in the spirit of equality and mutual benefit and of mutual accommoda-

tion, taking into account the practical needs of the Burmese side, agreed to turn over this area to Burma to become part of the territory of the Union of Burma. In exchange, and having regard for the historical ties and the integrity of the tribes, the Burmese side agreed to turn over to China the areas west of the 1941 line under the jurisdiction of the Panhung and Panlao tribes, which belong to Burma according to the provision in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and British Governments in 1941, thus putting an end to the unreasonable state of things in which the two tribes were artificially divided by the 1941 line into two parts, one in China and one in Burma. In addition, in this Treaty, the Chinese Government, in line with its consistent policy of opposing foreign prerogatives and respecting the sovereignty of other countries, formally renounced China's right of participation in mining enterprises at Lufang in Burma as provided for in the notes exchanged between the Chinese and British Governments in 1941. Other questions are also fairly and reasonably solved in the Treaty.

**I**T is not difficult to see that the reasons why the Sino-Burmese boundary question has been satisfactorily solved are: Firstly, both the Chinese and Burmese sides acknowledged that the Sino-Burmese boundary question was a complicated one left over by history and that they should take into account the historical background and current actual conditions, base themselves on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, adopt an attitude of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and secure an overall settlement through friendly consultations. Before an overall solution to the boundary question was secured, both the Chinese and Burmese sides resolutely maintained the long existing boundary status and did not take unilateral action to change it. In this way, a good prerequisite was provided for the overall settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question. Secondly, through repeated friendly consultations, both the Chinese and Burmese sides made it possible to bring their viewpoints nearer step by step and make them identical. Despite the fact that, in the course of the negotiations, there had existed certain temporary differences between the two sides due to historical, geographical, national, economic and various other complicated factors, there was no wavering because of such differences in the common desire of our two countries for the peaceful settlement of the boundary question. On the contrary, both the Chinese and Burmese sides made even more positive efforts to secure a solution. Thirdly, the talks between China and Burma on the boundary question fully demonstrated the spirit of equality and mutual benefit, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

In the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, the delimitation of the undefined boundary, the solution of disputed questions created historically by imperialist aggression and the necessary and appropriate adjustments in certain places and villages on the boundary were all the result of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation made by the Chinese and Burmese sides in strict observance of the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Quite obviously, the overall, reasonable solution of the Sino-Burmese boundary question is a great victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which were jointly initiated by China and Burma. It is powerful evidence that a reasonable solution to any complicated question left over by history between Asian countries and between countries with different social systems can be secured by way of friendly consultations so long as they faithfully abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. As a result of long-term imperialist aggression, there exist boundary questions left over by history between China and some of its neighbours in South Asia. Since China and these Asian countries successively won independence, we have had the conditions for settling these boundary questions on a new basis whether these questions arose because the boundary concerned had not been historically delimited or demarcated or because the boundary concerned was forcibly imposed by imperialism on either of the two sides. The heart of the matter is whether or not the two sides to the boundary concerned have the sincerity to abide faithfully by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, to adopt an attitude of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and to solve questions through friendly consultations. If the two sides have such sincerity, it is not difficult to settle a boundary question or other dispute.

**I**N the past year and more, imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism and its followers, taking advantage of the boundary question, have unscrupulously traduced and uttered shameless slanders against the Chinese people, viciously attacking China as "belligerent," "not wanting peaceful coexistence," etc. But facts have dealt a fatal blow to U.S. imperialism and its followers. The Chinese Government has not only initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence but also carried them out in deeds and firmly pursued a peaceful foreign policy. China has successively signed treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or treaties of peace and friendship with the Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan and Guinea. Furthermore, the Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed that the countries in Asia and around the Pacific, including the U.S.A., sign a peace pact of mutual non-aggression and set up a nuclear weapon free zone. Now, the signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty provides fresh eloquent proof that the Chinese Government has spared no efforts in steadfastly abiding by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and following a policy of living in amity with its neighbours. In striking contrast to this, isn't U.S. imperialism committing barbarous aggression against its close neighbour, Cuba? Isn't U.S. imperialism occupying the Chinese territory of Taiwan which is thousands of miles away from it in Asia, establishing missile bases and frenziedly preparing for a nuclear war? Isn't U.S. imperialism now massing naval vessels in the South China Sea and directing the reactionaries of Thailand to

interfere in the internal affairs of Laos? Quite clearly it is none other than U.S. imperialism itself, which slanders China as "belligerent" and "not wanting peaceful coexistence," that actually clings to policies of war and aggression and is opposed to peaceful coexistence.

U.S. imperialism and its followers frown upon the growth of friendship between the peoples of China and Burma and between the peoples of China and other Asian and African countries. But the peoples of China and the other Asian and African countries are not to blame for this. The growth of unity and friendship between the peoples of China and the other Asian and African countries is absolutely independent of the will of U.S. imperialism. Contrary to the wishes of U.S. imperialism and its followers, the signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty ushers in a new historical stage in Sino-Burmese friendly relations and makes a positive and major contribution to the expansion of a peace zone in Asia, to the strengthening of unity among Asian countries and to the cause of maintaining peace in Asia and the world.

**C**HINA and Burma are close neighbours. The relationship between the peoples of China and Burma, especially between the border inhabitants, is one not only between neighbours but between *paukphaw*, as closely knit as one family. Aggression by the imperialists and the colonialists and their attempts to sow discord have all failed to obstruct the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. This shows that that friendship is able to stand the test of time. We are convinced that the emergence of a boundary of peace and friendship will in the future open still broader prospects for friendly relations between China and Burma and closer intercourse in the economic, cultural and other fields.

Today, on the solemn occasion when the Chinese and Burmese peoples enthusiastically celebrate the signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, we should like to express our sincere thanks to the successive governments of Burma and all our Burmese friends who have contributed to the creation of the Sino-Burmese boundary of peace and friendship for the future generations of our two peoples. Prime Minister U Nu has from beginning to end shown interest in the friendly settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. On behalf of the Burmese Government, General Ne Win in January this year signed with China the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Agreement on the Question of the Boundary, thus paving the way for a speedy and successful settlement of the boundary question. Let us thank the delegation of the Burmese side to the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee, headed by Brigadier Aung Gyi, for its friendly co-operation and the major efforts it made. Let us also thank the several thousand surveying, cartographic and rear-service personnel of both sides who, under the concrete guidance of the Chinese-Burmese Joint Boundary Committee, worked industriously and completed victoriously the surveying work for the creation of a Sino-Burmese boundary of peace and friendship. Braving bad weather and dangers on high mountains and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, they fulfilled the important trust of the peoples of China and Burma. And in a matter of only three months, they presented concretely

and accurately before the Chinese and Burmese peoples a boundary of peace and friendship. We should also like to thank the National Defence Army of the Union of Burma in particular for its active support for the surveying work. In co-ordination with the Chinese frontier defence troops, they crushed the sabotaging activities of the remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandits who had fled to Burma. The merits of all those who made contributions to the creation of the Sino-Burmese boundary of peace and friendship will be praised by the Chinese and Burmese

peoples as well as all the peace-loving people of the world for generations to come.

Today, on this joyful and inspiring occasion when the Chinese and Burmese peoples enthusiastically celebrate the signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, let us shout: Long live the boundary of peace and friendship between China and Burma! Hail the completion of the edifice of Sino-Burmese friendship! Long live the growing, kinsman-like friendship between the peoples of China and Burma!

## Envoys from a Heroic Land

# Premier Abbas Ferhat in Peking

**T**HE epic struggle of the Algerian people against the French colonialists has long evoked the admiration of the Chinese people who know from their own experience what lies behind the terse communiqués from battlefronts and from embattled villages. That admiration and respect was given powerful expression last week when they welcomed the visiting Delegation of the Algerian Provisional Government headed by Premier Abbas Ferhat. The Algerian Premier has come to China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai for a friendly visit and to take part in China's National Day celebrations.

Members of the Algerian delegation include El Akhdar ben Tubal, Minister of the Interior, Ben Yahia Mohamed, Director of the Premier's Office, Boumen-djel Ahmed, Director of Political Affairs of the Information Ministry, and Khane Lamine, Director of Political Affairs of the Interior Ministry.

The Algerian guests arrived in Peking on September 29. The city already wore a festive atmosphere. As soon as their plane touched ground, the airport was ringing with cheers and applause from the welcoming crowds. Premier Chou En-lai met the guests at plane side.

In his airport speech, Premier Chou En-lai warmly welcoming the guests declared that by their heroic and indomitable revolutionary spirit, the Algerian people had set a brilliant example to all the African peoples and had won the profound sympathy and firm support of the peoples of Asia and of all the world. The Chinese people, said Premier Chou, "have always regarded the Algerian people's victory as their own victory and as a great victory for the world's peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Chinese Government and people will unflinchingly offer you their deep sympathy and full support for your just struggle till you have won final and complete victory." The close friendship between the Chinese and Algerian peoples, Premier Chou said, is daily developing and being strengthened and the current

visit of Premier Abbas will make new contribution to the further development of that friendship.

In his reply, Premier Abbas expressed the profound friendship of the Algerian people for the Chinese people. He said that the boundless courage and enthusiasm of the Chinese people have set an inspiring example for many peoples who are still under slavery; and that the Algerian people are happy to have such Chinese friends.

In strong terms, the Algerian Premier denounced U.S. imperialism and NATO for supporting the French imperialists in their criminal, aggressive war against Algeria. He declared with confidence that the Algerian people are invincible today and will be the victors tomorrow. The Algerian people, waging an unremitting struggle for their own liberation are effectively supporting the liberation cause of the entire African continent. All the emancipated peoples, the people of the great People's Republic of China, are on Algeria's side, Premier Abbas said.

**P**REMIER Abbas, accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Ho Lung, rode in an open car through the city to the Guest House. Hundreds of thousands of Peking citizens, workers, students, People's Liberation Army men and fully armed militiamen, stood along the route and cheered the progress of the motorcade. The road was bright with coloured bunting and banners. The crowds waved Chinese and Algerian national flags and bouquets, beat drums and gongs and let off firecrackers. "Salute the Heroic Algerian People!" "Long Live the Victory of Algeria's National Liberation Struggle!" and "Long Live Friendship Between the Chinese and African Peoples!" These were the slogans shouted in unison.

On the evening of their arrival, Premier Chou En-lai gave a banquet in the Great Hall of the People in honour of the Algerian guests. On this occasion Premier Chou in his address (see text of speech on p. 40) hailed the national liberation struggle waged by the Algerian people as

an important development in the present revolutionary movement in the colonies whose significance and influence have far exceeded the confines of Algeria. "We will do everything we can to support the Algerian people's struggle for national liberation. We have done so and will continue to do so in the future," he stressed. Premier Chou pointed out that the imperialists will by no means abandon their policies of aggression and war just because they are in a difficult situation; recently, he said, at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Eisenhower glibly talked about the establishment of a so-called "United Nations system" in the Congo and Africa, the gist of which is to use the United Nations as a tool to carry out U.S. imperialism's big plot to supplant the old colonialists and subject Africa to its aggression and domination in every field.

Speaking about the independence war of Algeria, Premier Abbas said in his banquet speech (see text of speech on p. 42) that the Algerian people have given an active, direct and revolutionary form to their struggle. This struggle came to speed up the process of decolonization and liberation on the African continent.

Denouncing the NATO countries led by the United States which helps in permitting a war of colonial reconquest to be carried on within the framework of the Atlantic Pact, Premier Abbas said that the French war machine would have been defeated as early as 1957 by the Algerian National Liberation Army if it had not at its service the whole NATO apparatus and chiefly, American armaments, money and equipment.

On September 30, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi received Premier Abbas and the Delegation he leads and they had a cordial and friendly talk. Premier Chou En-lai and Premier Abbas have been holding talks in a friendly atmosphere.

Meanwhile, a 24-member Algerian art troupe has also come to China at the invitation of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association. They too attended the celebrations of China's National Day and will give performances soon. This is the first African art troupe to visit China.

As we go to press, Premier Abbas and the other Algerian guests are continuing their visit in China.

## Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at Banquet In Honour of Premier Abbas Ferhat

*Following is a translation of Premier Chou En-lai's speech at the banquet he gave on September 29 in honour of Algerian Premier Abbas Ferhat. — Ed.*

**Your Excellency Respected Premier Abbas Ferhat,**

**Respected Distinguished Guests of the Delegation of the  
Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria,  
Friends and Comrades,**

We are very glad that His Excellency Premier Abbas Ferhat, the leader of the heroic Algerian people, heading the Delegation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria, has come from afar to visit our country, bringing the precious militant friendship of the Algerian, Arab and African peoples for the Chinese people. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I would like to express to His Excellency Premier Abbas our warmest welcome and heartfelt thanks.

Over the past 100 years and more, the Algerian people, in order to oppose the French colonialist rule and win national independence and freedom, have been waging struggles in various forms. They have displayed in full a valiant and indomitable revolutionary will, taking up the positions of the fallen and rising to fight one after another. Particularly worthy of mention is the Algerian people's nationwide armed uprising against armed sup-

pression by the French colonialists in November 1954, which was an important turning point in the history of the Algerian national liberation struggle. Since then, the Algerian people and the National Liberation Army have continuously scored victories and steadily augmented their own strength in the struggle. Although the French colonialists resorted to all kinds of brutal armed suppression and cunning political deception, they were all unable to save their colonial rule. The establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria, headed by Premier Abbas, on September 19, 1958, further signified that the Algerian people's national liberation struggle had entered upon a new stage. We are glad to see that the Algerian National Liberation Army has already freed vast areas in Algeria inhabited by more than half of its population, and has established in these areas its organs of state power. This is a great victory for the just struggle of the Algerian people. The tremendous change that has taken place in Algeria proves once again that the situation in which the enemies are strong while we are weak is only temporary; it will change to its reverse. This is because imperialism which represents forces of decay, though outwardly strong, is actually weak. Its temporary rampancy is merely a death-bed struggle. It is absolutely not decaying imperialism, but the awakened, united and fighting Algerian people, that is truly powerful and invincible. We are deeply convinced that so long as the Algerian peo-



ple continue to persist in struggle, they will certainly win final victory. At present, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria, headed by His Excellency Premier Abbas, is leading the Algerian people to overcome all difficulties, persist in and develop their national liberation struggle and bravely advance towards the goal of complete and thorough liberation of their own territory. The Chinese people express great admiration for the Algerian people's valiant struggle and heartily wish you ever greater victories.

**T**HE national liberation struggle waged by the Algerian people is an important development in the present revolutionary movement in the colonies. Its significance and influence have far exceeded the confines of Algeria. Not only has the brilliant example set by the Algerian people in waging a persistent struggle and heroic war greatly inspired the other peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America striving for national liberation, but it has also lent a direct powerful support to the other peoples on the African continent fighting against imperialism and for national independence and served the interest of world peace, because the Algerian people and National Liberation Army have continuously whittled away and pinned down the main body of the French colonialist army. Now, the blazing flames of the national independence movement have already spread over the entire African continent, and the day has dawned over the so-called "Dark Continent." By October this year, on two-thirds of African territory, about three-fourths of the whole population of Africa will have won their independence or preliminary independence. They are carrying on valiant struggles to go a step further in ridding themselves of the political, economic and military control of imperialism. The stubborn struggles for national independence waged by those African peoples who have not yet won independence have formed an irresistible torrent. The relations of mutual assistance and unity built up among the African peoples in their common struggle against colonialism are also being continuously strengthened and developed. The imperialist colonial system on the African continent is facing total collapse and disintegration. It is certain that no force on earth can halt the struggle of the great African peoples for national independence and that the day is already not far off when they will again become masters of their own land.

Friends and Comrades! The present development of the international situation is becoming more and more favourable to the struggles of the peoples of the world for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, and more and more unfavourable to the imperialist bloc headed by the United States. The imperialists, however, will by no means abandon their policies of aggression and war just because they are in a difficult situation. Now, the old imperialist powers, while persisting in their policies of suppression and massacre, have also made certain nominal concessions under the compelling circumstances, so as to maintain their real colonialist interests. U.S. imperialism, on the other hand, has spared no effort to undermine and interfere with the national independence movement and attempts to step into the shoes of the old

colonialists and rivet new colonialist shackles once again upon the African peoples. Recently, at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Eisenhower glibly talked about the establishment of a so called "United Nations system" in the Congo and Africa, the gist of which is to use the United Nations as a tool to carry out the big plot of U.S. imperialism to supplant the old colonialists and subject Africa to its aggression and domination in all fields. This cannot be covered up with any amount of honeyed words. But what calls for special vigilance is that U.S. imperialism has all along been supporting French imperialism in its armed suppression and political intrigue against the Algerian people and supporting the colonialist authorities of the Union of South Africa in its barbarous policy of racial discrimination. Of late, U.S. imperialism has been making use of the United Nations to interfere flagrantly in the internal affairs of the Congo and openly engages in activities to dismember the Congo and subvert the legal Congolese Government. In order to realize its ambition of swallowing the Congo and the whole of Africa, U.S. imperialism is plotting to use Congolese to fight Congolese and Africans to fight Africans and split up the Congo and Africa. Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism is plotting subversion and intervention against Laos in Asia and carrying out subversion and intervention against Cuba in Latin America. More and more facts have enabled the people of the world to see with increasing clarity that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the arch enemy of the cause of world peace. The people of the world must unite to wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and its followers.

**T**HE Chinese people ardently love peace and consistently stand for friendly co-operation with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese people have never spared any efforts in their persistent and unremitting exertion to strengthen the unity among the countries of the socialist camp, the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the solidarity of all peace-loving countries and people of the world, and to oppose the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism and safeguard the peace of the world. In accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the Chinese Government has developed relations of friendship and co-operation with many Asian and African countries and concluded treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or of peace and friendship with a series of friendly Asian and African countries. The Treaty of Friendship recently signed between our country and the Republic of Guinea indicates that the relations of friendly co-operation between our country and the African countries have entered upon a new stage. We believe that the ties of militant friendship forged between the Chinese and African peoples in the common struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace will certainly develop still further.

Your Excellency Respected Premier! The Chinese people have always given deep sympathy and warm support to the Algerian people in their struggle for national liberation. We will do everything we can to support the

Algerian people's struggle for national liberation. We have done so and will continue to do so in the future. Your Excellency Premier Abbas and the Algerian people can rest assured that the Chinese people will always stand by the Algerian people and will always remain their most reliable friends. In the past few years, especially since the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria, friendly relations between our two countries have developed constantly. During this period, we have many times received various delegations from your country. We are deeply convinced that the present visit to our country of His Excellency Premier Abbas and the Delegation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria led by him will certainly further consolidate and develop the relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries and will benefit the cause of promoting Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace. The Algerian people by no means stand isolated in their struggle. Those who oppose you are only a small handful of imperialists and their lackeys, while resolutely standing on your side are hundreds of millions

of people of the Arab, Asian and African countries, of the socialist countries and of the whole world who love peace and uphold justice. The Chinese people are deeply convinced that by relying on their daily growing unity and persistent long-term struggle, the Algerian people will surely be able ultimately to defeat imperialism and win independence and freedom.

In conclusion, I propose a toast

To the friendship between the peoples of China and Algeria,

To the victory of the national liberation struggle of Algeria,

To the victory of the national independence movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America,

To Asian-African solidarity and world peace, and

To the health of His Excellency Premier Abbas and all the other distinguished guests from Algeria!

## Speech by Premier Abbas Ferhat at Peking Banquet

*Following is a translation of Premier Abbas' speech at the banquet given by Premier Chou En-lai in his honour. — Ed.*

### Excellencies,

On the occasion of the great October 1 festival, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic has appointed me and El Akhdar ben Tubal and several close colleagues to pay a visit to you.

The warm welcome, now a tradition, given each time by the Chinese people to our Algerian delegations is a most valued stimulus to us and gives the greatest encouragement to the listening Algerian people. What more moving wish could an Algerian express than to cross the oceans and travel great distances and come, even though it is for only a brief moment, to join your big human family, a family where he knows he can find a place of his choice! What more magnificent spectacle could be imagined by an Algerian, who has suffered a hundred years of oppression, than that of your great people whose tremendous efforts are building, in joy and light, a world of progress, of happiness and of peace. And how just a revenge it is for you, for us, to disturb — while awaiting a just settlement of accounts with them — all those who, presumptuous as they are, whether French general or American magnate, find nothing better to do than call down scornful invectives upon you — the youth and dawn of the world!

It is indeed here, in China, in the light of your struggles and experiences that we are able to reach the sphere of certainties: certainty of colonialism's doom and of the rising of the colonial peoples; certainty of their acquiring a better existence and of the freedom to do as they wish.

Excellencies and Chinese friends! The complete victory won by People's China over imperialism made it possible to elaborate the Bandung Charter, and contributed to the decisive awakening of the Afro-Asian peoples and to the strengthening of their solidarity.

**I**N 1954, the Algerian people's war of independence came to speed up the process of de-colonization and liberation on the African continent.

In order to free themselves from all forms of colonial rule, the Algerian people have given an active, direct and revolutionary form to their struggle. Shattering the colonialist structure imposed on them by French invaders, they have worked out the primary principles of a political and social revolution which has registered itself as part of that general movement that throughout the world brings all colonial countries to independence and all the enslaved peoples to socialism.

The sacrifices made by the Algerian people in these past years have rarely been justly evaluated. In terms of a comparison which Frenchmen reckon as being exact, Algeria has suffered the loss of nearly one million people,

that is, proportionately speaking, more than France lost during the World War of 1914-18. Taking into account the relative size of the two countries, that would be for you the equivalent of about 60 million people.

Tens of thousands of Algerians are dying under torture in prisons and concentration camps.

Two million Algerians, one-fifth of the population, the equivalent in China of 120 million people, have been taken far away from their homes and put behind barbed wire.

**B**UT the French war machine would never have achieved these results if it had not at its service the whole NATO apparatus and, chiefly, American armaments, money and equipment. The French imperialist army would have been defeated as early as 1957 by the Algerian National Liberation Army, if we had not found ourselves confronted by the Atlantic coalition.

But such is the will to independence of our people that this coalition, having met with failure in every field, is now convinced that, no matter how long the war continues, it must give up trying to get a solution by military means. It can neither triumph on the battlefield nor can it prevent the irresistible advance of our revolution.

That is the reason why the coming year is decisive.

Met with stubborn resistance from our people, General de Gaulle, head of the French state, picked up his predecessors' tactics and on September 16, 1959, proclaimed the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, that is, the right to forge their political future by means of a referendum.

Assured of our people's determination to win their liberty and independence, yet anxious to stop the war, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, vigilant guardian of the interests of the Algerian nation, declared itself ready to accept the people's verdict, as soon as the referendum could take place under conditions of real liberty. Hence the necessity for guarantees in the application of self-determination, guarantees that are indispensable if the Algerian people's heroic struggle is to avoid getting involved in the mystification customary among the French rulers.

For a year now, General de Gaulle has been refusing such guarantees. He refuses to discuss and negotiate even the principle of these guarantees; while he proclaims his attachment to peace and self-determination for the Algerian people, he carries on his implacable war.

For a year now, particularly since the Melun Conference, General de Gaulle has refused to "negotiate." It



Premier Abbas Ferhat greeted by Peking citizens and the people's militia on his arrival

appears that this recourse to self-determination, as conceived by France, is merely a means, a trick designed to "chloroform," to abuse international public opinion which is always badly informed.

It was under such conditions that the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic made an important political decision during its recent deliberations.

Renouncing the making of peace through direct French-Algerian talks, it decided to internationalize the Algerian political problem.

It is indeed inadmissible that since 1945 France should be able to carry on a series of colonial wars in which millions of colonial people have perished without her being constrained by an international environment to accept seriously her obligation to renounce her imperialist role. It is inadmissible that the war in Algeria, the only hot war in the world, should last six years without French colonialism being prevented by international action from committing crimes.

To the Algerian people, suffering and dying each day, the vast controversies on the cold war are of no interest unless they concern the real solidarity of free men, the independence of peoples and the freeing of humanity from plunder and oppression. Similarly, peaceful coexistence is not compatible with territorial partition, the status quo, palliatives or spheres of influence which would perpetuate any form of colonial servitude.

We have therefore referred the matter to the United Nations Organization, asking it to make a decision concerning the recourse to self-determination by the Algerian people, which has been used for a year by General de Gaulle as a weapon of war and a propaganda slogan.

At the same time, we solemnly denounce the NATO countries led by the United States of America which helps in permitting a war of colonial reconquest to be carried on within the framework of the Atlantic Pact in which Algeria, which is defined by France as a French province, is integrated.

The UNO is thus confronted by historical responsibilities. It is possible for UNO, taking General de Gaulle's recourse to self-determination as a starting point, to restore peace by giving the Algerian people self-determination. If, on the contrary, the UNO considers it necessary to repose fresh trust in General de Gaulle and in France, then everything is to be feared. Indeed, the extension of the Algerian conflict cannot be eliminated.

We will then turn to our neighbours, asking them to participate more actively, to the brother countries, to the Arab countries, and to all free peoples who cannot allow an explosive situation liable to endanger world peace to continue.

### Sino-Albanian Fraternal Friendship

## The Visit of Vice-Chairman Kellezi

THE Albania-China Friendship Association Delegation headed by A. Kellezi, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, Vice-Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Albania-China Friendship Association, is visiting China after attending the Chinese National Day celebrations. The delegation has received a warm welcome from the Chinese people.

On the evening of their arrival, the members of the delegation were guests at a banquet given in their honour by Li Fu-chun and Li Hsien-nien, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premiers. Misto Treska, Chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, S. Musarai, Secretary-General of the Writers' and Artists' Union of Albania, and Mihal Prifti, Albanian Ambassador to China, were also guests of honour at the banquet.

Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun in his banquet speech paid tribute to the great achievements in socialist construction which the Albanian people have gained under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. He declared that the Albanian people's revolutionary perseverance in the cause of their country's liberty and independence and their high aims in building socialism are a great inspiration to the Chinese people. He expressed the conviction that the Albanian people will

The peoples of countries to the Bandung Conference and the Afro-Asian countries could never forget that, for six years now, the Algerian people have been immobilizing NATO forces which imperialism intended perhaps to utilize elsewhere, forces which, technically, are appreciably backward compared with those of liberty and which are wasting their breath in trying to adapt and modernize themselves.

The hour of active solidarity has struck. The Algerian people will remain in the fight, and it is not in vain that they appeal to the Chinese people, in order to put an end to a war of extermination of a people determined to win its independence.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

Long live peace with national independence!

continue to advance from victory to yet greater victory and score new and still more brilliant achievements.

The determined Albanian people, the Vice-Premier continued, standing erect at the southwest outpost of the socialist camp, have always firmly opposed the aggressive activities and war schemes of U.S. imperialism and its followers, and actively supported the just struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, making important contributions to the defence of European and world peace. The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people hold high the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, persist in the principles of proletarian internationalism and uphold the unity of the socialist camp. They are waging an untiring and determined struggle against the main danger facing the international communist movement—modern revisionism. In these struggles, the Albanian people and Party of Labour have displayed their firm proletarian stand and high Marxist-Leninist principles, a heroic attitude of contempt for difficulties, fearlessness in the face of force, and courage in their advance; they have won the sincere admiration and respect of all Marxist-Leninists, declared Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun.

The Vice-Premier said in conclusion that the great ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism closely bind the peoples of Albania and China together; they will always be united and

closely co-operate with and support each other. These fraternal relations fully conform to the interests of the peoples of the two countries, and the interests of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the people of the world, he declared.

In his address, Vice-Chairman Kellezi said that the Albanian people rejoiced in the great achievements in building socialism made by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. They regarded these achievements as their own and those of the entire socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, he declared. The correct line which has been followed consistently by the glorious Chinese Communist Party led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, he said, is the source of the brilliant successes achieved by China; the victories already gained and the correct line being followed are the reliable guarantee that the Chinese People's Republic will continue to win great victories in the socialist and communist construction. Under the faithful leadership of the Marxist-Leninist political party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the great and overall help given by the Soviet Union, People's China and all the other socialist countries, he declared, the Albanian people have also gained great achievements in a short period of time.

Fraternal friendship inspired by Marxism-Leninism exists between the peoples of Albania and China, said the guest speaker. This friendship is traditional and everlasting. It is manifested in the fraternally close relations between our two socialist countries, in the generous aid given to Albania by People's China, and in the common struggle waged by our two countries for peace and socialism and against imperialism headed by the United States and its agents the modern revisionists, particularly the diabolical revisionists of Belgrade. The Albanian people treasure the eternal friendship that links them to the Chinese people and will daily strengthen this friendship, he declared. The Albanian people, under the leadership of their own Marxist-Leninist Party, will always adhere to the spirit of proletarian internationalism and strive to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, he concluded.

**O**N October 2, the China-Albania Friendship Association gave a banquet in honour of the visiting Albanian guests in the Great Hall of the People.

Chiang Nan-hsiang, President of the China-Albania Friendship Association, and Vice-Chairman Kellezi spoke at the banquet.

Present at the banquet were Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, Lin Feng, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

In his speech, Chiang Nan-hsiang paid tribute to the Albanian people in overcoming all difficulties, persisting

in their socialist revolution and construction, and making great contributions to the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and in defence of world peace. The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people have been carrying on an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism represented by the Yugoslav Tito clique and have made important contributions to safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to strengthening the great solidarity of the socialist camp.

Vice-Chairman Kellezi, in his speech, too, hailed the friendship between the two peoples displayed in the struggle to build socialism, safeguard peace and oppose the aggressive plots of imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys — the vicious revisionist renegades of Belgrade.

"The great Chinese people have won great victories of historic significance during the past 11 years since liberation under the wise and farsighted leadership of the glorious Chinese Communist Party and their beloved and long-tested Marxist-Leninist teacher — Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the high speed in production and the establishment of the people's communes are the sources of the brilliant victories in the socialist construction of your country," the distinguished Albanian guest said.

**T**HE Albanian Delegation was given another warm welcome in the capital on October 4 when more than 1,000 people of all walks of life met at an impressive rally to greet these envoys of the heroic and battle-tested Albanian people.

When Vice-Chairman Kellezi, accompanied by Vice-Premiers Li Fu-chun and Li Hsien-nien, mounted the rostrum, thunderous applause shook the gaily-decorated hall. Chiang Nan-hsiang, President of the China-Albania Friendship Association, congratulated the Albanian people on their brilliant achievements in socialist construction, on their bold exposure of and stern rebuff to the aggressive activities and war plots of U.S. imperialism and its followers, and on their resolute struggle against modern revisionism as represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia. He further stressed in his speech the significance of the ever-increasing solidarity of the Chinese and Albanian peoples based on their common adherence to Marxism-Leninism and their common struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

Vice-Chairman Kellezi expressing profound thanks for the cordial welcome accorded his delegation, said that he took this expression of friendship as an indication of the good wishes of the Chinese people for the Party of Labour, Government and people of Albania. The tremendous achievements in New China, the Albanian guest said, are the tremendous achievements of the entire socialist camp. China's friends all over the world rejoice at these achievements and only imperialism headed by the U.S. and the modern revisionists represented by the revisionist renegades of Belgrade try to ignore these achievements and carry on a smear campaign against China.

Amid stormy applause, the Albanian Vice-Chairman concluded his stirring speech by leading the cheer in Chinese "Long live Sino-Albanian friendship!"

# China and Cuba Establish Diplomatic Relations

**A** JOINT communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Chinese People's Republic and the Cuban Republic was issued on September 28. The communique declares: "In view of the fact that both the Government of the Chinese People's Republic and the Revolutionary Government of the Cuban Republic have agreed to establish diplomatic relations between them, the two Governments have decided to exchange diplomatic representatives of ambassadorial rank within the shortest possible time, so as to further develop the relations of friendship and co-operation already existing between the two fraternal peoples."

On September 29, Premier Chou En-lai cabled warm greetings to Prime Minister Fidel Castro on the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between their two countries. The cable says:

"The Chinese and Cuban peoples have long since established a profound friendship. In our common struggle against U.S. imperialism, we have always supported and encouraged each other. The victories of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions have broken down the artificial barriers erected long ago by U.S. imperialism between China and Cuba and between China and other Latin American countries, bringing our relations to a new stage of development.

"The heroic struggle waged by the Cuban people under the leadership of Your Excellency, Prime Minister, for national independence, democracy and freedom has greatly inspired the peoples of Latin America and the rest of the world and has dealt a heavy blow to the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism.

"The steadfast and unremitting struggle carried on by the Government and people of Cuba to safeguard and further their revolution and oppose U.S. imperialism's

acts of subversion and sabotage, its threats, intimidations, economic blockade and military intervention has won the deep sympathy and resolute support of the broad masses of people throughout the world. The Chinese people will never forget the support extended to them by the Cuban people, nor will they ever forget to exert their efforts to support the struggle of the Cuban people. I solemnly declare to Your Excellency and the fraternal Cuban people that in case of need, the Chinese Government and Chinese people will extend every possible support and assistance to the Cuban people who are struggling for independence and freedom."

In conclusion, the message expresses the deep conviction that the establishment of diplomatic relations will strengthen friendly co-operation between the two peoples and bring about a further growth of their friendship; it conveys wishes for new victories and successes in the Cuban people's struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, in safeguarding world peace, defending their national independence and developing their national economy.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi also cabled sincere greetings to Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa, expressing wishes for the further consolidation and development of the profound friendship between the fraternal Chinese and Cuban peoples in the common struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the defence of world peace.

Meanwhile, many Chinese popular organizations, including those of workers, youth, students and women as well as the China Peace Committee and the China-Latin America Friendship Association, have sent messages to their counterparts in Cuba warmly hailing the establishment of Chinese-Cuban diplomatic relations.

## Close Neighbours Though Separated by Oceans

*Following is the text of an editorial greeting the establishment of Chinese-Cuban diplomatic relations and published in "Renmin Ribao" on September 29 under the title: "Bosom Friends Within the Four Seas Are Close Neighbours Though Separated by Oceans." — Ed.*

**T**HE Chinese and Cuban Governments have decided to establish formal diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. This is a great auspicious event for the Chinese and Cuban peoples; it is the crystallization of the

ever deepening friendship forged between them in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism. We warmly greet the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries; we are looking forward to the daily development of friendly co-operation between them.

Wide oceans separate China and Cuba; geographically they lie far apart. Nonetheless, as the old Chinese saying puts it, "Bosom friends within the four seas are close neighbours though separated by oceans." The task of opposing U.S. imperialism and defending world peace

has closely knit our two peoples together. Ever since the Cuban people overthrew the U.S. puppet, the tyrannical Batista regime, and carried their revolution to victory, the Chinese people have followed with great interest and enthusiasm the Cuban people's struggle to defend their revolution, safeguard their national independence and oppose U.S. imperialist intervention, and have firmly supported that struggle. We have always regarded the Cuban people's struggle as our own struggle and the Cuban people's victory as our own victory, because we are confronted with the same enemy — U.S. imperialism. It is one and the same aggressor who has time and again bombed Cuba's sugar plantations and is forcibly occupying China's territory of Taiwan and violating China's territorial waters and air. It is one and the same aggressor who is backing the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the counter-revolutionary Batista brigands. In the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Chinese and Cuban peoples are not only standing shoulder to shoulder on the same battlefield, but are supporting and inspiring each other. We resolutely back Cuba in every just struggle it wages to counter the U.S. interventionists, and at the same time we draw inspiration from the Cuban people's struggle. Every struggle waged by the Cuban people against U.S. imperialism is also a support to the Chinese people. The profound friendship established between the two peoples on the common battlefield against U.S. imperialist aggression will flourish for ever.

U.S. imperialism has bitter hatred for the friendship among the peoples of various countries. It is afraid of the unity of the peoples. It hates with particular venom the friendship and unity between the Chinese and Cuban peoples. Since the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, it has been trying in a thousand and one ways to isolate us, but without any success and we have friends all over the world. Since the victory of the Cuban people's revolution, it has likewise been trying in a thousand and one ways to isolate the Cuban people, but here the result has also been utter failure and the Cuban people, too, have friends all over the world. It has done its best to prevent Cuba from establishing normal relations with the socialist countries. To achieve this end, it not only maliciously tries to sow discord between them but even resorts to threats in an attempt to isolate Cuba from the socialist camp with its population of 1,000 million and force that nation to stand alone and helpless in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. At the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Organization of American States, the United States coerced a number of other Latin American countries into adopting the so-called "San Jose Declaration," which fabricated out of thin air the "intervention or threat of intervention" of the "extra-Continental powers," slandered the Soviet Union and China with "destroying the unity" and "jeopardizing the peace and security of the hemisphere," and threateningly warned Cuba and other Latin American countries not to accept "extra-Continental" help. But of what use are these shameless deceptions, slanders and menaces? U.S. imperialism tries hard to stamp out the Cuban revolution while the Soviet Union, China and all other socialist countries firmly support the Cuban people in defending their revolution. U.S. imperialism attempts to put the Cuban people into a difficult position by stopping imports

of Cuban sugar and imposing other measures of economic blockade, while the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries help the Cuban people overcome their difficulties by trade and aid on a basis of equality and reciprocity. Don't the Cuban people know better than anyone else whence comes the threat to them? Can't they themselves make out who are their enemies and who are their friends? Prime Minister Fidel Castro recently solemnly declared: "We are friends of those who are willing to be our friends. . . . We shall be friends of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China . . . while you [the United States] have committed aggression against us and want to destroy us." The Cuban people and other Latin American peoples fully understand this plain truth. Certainly no U.S. imperialist slander or intimidation can prevent the growth of friendly relations and the mutual support between the socialist countries and the Cuban and other Latin American peoples.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, when receiving friends from eight Latin American countries on May 8 this year, said: "The Cuban people, the people of Latin America and the people of the whole world are all friends of the Chinese people; and imperialism and its lackeys are our common enemy." Chairman Mao also said: "The struggles of the people of Cuba and other Latin American countries have helped the Chinese people, and the struggle of the Chinese people has also helped the people of Cuba and other Latin American countries. The people are the decisive factor. Reliance on the unity and struggle of the people is bound to bring about the defeat of imperialism and its lackeys and achieve lasting world peace." A common struggle and a common historical destiny have closely linked us together. Let us advance hand in hand in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and for the defence of world peace!



A Modern "Don Quixote"

Cartoon by Chiang Fan

## National Day Programmes

As is usual on and around National Day, China's stage artists, musicians, singers and dancers are giving a whole series of gala performances. This year, special programmes of new productions as well as old favourites are being presented in the leading cities. Cinemas everywhere are running extra shows and the film fare is richly varied in themes and styles. Particularly large numbers of theatrical art companies and troupes are touring factories and mines, and rural people's communes. These plus the activities of hundreds of thousands of worker and peasant amateur drama and art groups are bringing entertainment to virtually the whole nation during the celebrations.

In the capital, the special festival programme includes a great variety of operas, modern dramas, dance dramas and ballets, music, concerts of songs and ballads, dances, acrobatics and puppet shows. Well-loved Peking operas are staged. Mei Lan-fang is playing the title role in *Mu Kuei-ying Takes Command*. China's fast growing young arts of symphonic music, ballet and dance drama are well to the fore. The Peking Dancing School is presenting its *Swan Lake* and *Corsair* which are firm favourites with the capital's ballet fans. Among the offerings of the visiting troupes is that first-rate production, the folk opera *Third Sister Liu* from the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. There are plays and operas too from the classical and modern repertoire of other lands. They include excellent productions of Goldoni's *Servant of Two Masters*, Verdi's *La Traviata* and Figueredo's *Aesop*.

The festival of local operas on modern themes held last April has introduced increasingly successful attempts to reflect contemporary life in various styles of traditional opera. *Song of Life* produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre is one such. This production in a popular local style of opera indigenous to Hopei is about people in the big leap forward and in the urban people's commune movement.

The secretary of the Party branch in a grocery store and several women shop assistants decide to answer the call of the Communist Party to give better service to the people by delivering goods right to customers' homes and helping their district organize a neighbourhood workshop, dining-room and nursery. There is a lot of persuading to be done to overcome the objections of the conservatives, but finally all ends well as the socialist way of doing things proves its worth. This is a lively comment on topical problems. The singing and dancing is good.

As its festival offering, the People's Art Theatre is presenting *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*, one of the more recent plays dealing with the modern Chinese revolutionary struggle. It is set in 1928 in a remote Fukien village. The First Revolutionary Civil War has failed. The white terror is abroad. The peasants groan under reactionary Chiang Kai-shek rule.

Poverty forces a peasant couple to sell their son; landlord extortion compels another peasant to "mortgage" his wife. No matter how hard they try to extricate themselves from their plight, they seem to be doomed. But the Communist Party members show them that there is no way to end land-

lord oppression except through organized revolutionary activity under the leadership of the working-class party. This is a didactic drama whose lesson is driven home in moving dramatic terms.

There are naturally more plays on modern themes on the contemporary stage than there are on historical themes, but these latter are by no means overlooked. Quite a few of the plays that have been critically acclaimed recently deal with historical subjects. The anniversary programme includes one of the best of these, *Princess Wen Cheng*, a China Youth Art Theatre production about the marriage of the famous Tang princess to the Tibetan king Sron-tsan Gampo, which helped so much to cement the ties between the two nationalities more than a thousand years ago. Among the many new traditional local operas treating historical themes that are being staged in these days is the outstanding new Peking opera *Women Generals of the Yang Family*, performed by the cream of the graduates from the Peking Opera School, whose company is now one of the most popular in the capital.

This is about a family of patriots in the Sung Dynasty, the Yangs who for four generations have fought against the foreign invaders. Killed in battle, they have left behind twelve widows. When the youngest general has laid down his life for the country, opinions at court are divided whether to continue the resistance or to surrender.



The oppressor caught after the victorious armed uprising, a scene from "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire"





The great-grandmother general and Mu Kuei-ying, a scene from the film "Women Generals of the Yang Family"

At this crucial moment, the 100-year-old great-grandmother of the Yang Family volunteers to take command in the fight against the enemy. She is appointed the commander, and with the help of other women generals of her family, especially Mu Kuei-ying, widow of her grandson, she succeeds in driving out the invaders.

The new version is based on the traditional Peking operas *A Hundred-Year-Old Lady Takes Command* and *Twelve Widows on the Western Expedition*; it rejects the stress on desperation and the desire for family revenge as motivation for the Yang women's actions. It describes the conflicts between the invaders and the Sung court and between the group standing for resistance and the capitulationist clique, but especially develops the theme of patriotism. It has succeeded admirably in creating a gallery of heroines with distinctive characters. The *Women Generals* is now being brought to an even wider audience in the colour film version recently made by the Peking Film Studio, and is now being shown together with dozens of features, art films and documentaries produced by studios in all parts of the country, as well as features from the Soviet Union, Albania and other countries.

The features being screened depict many of the heroes of today. Among them, *A Village Postman* is about a postman who dedicates himself to his job in the Changpei Mountains; *Five Golden Flowers* introduces us to five heroines of the Bai nationality in the big leap; *True Heroes Are Found Today* deals with the nationwide cam-

paign of technical innovation and *The Family of Steelworkers* is about heroes on the all-important steel front. And with this programme of fine entertainment not yet over, Peking is already enjoying the delightful performances of the visiting Burmese Cultural Troupe and the Algerian Art Troupe.

the snow-filled sky. He holds the last two pieces of satin in his hands.

Kinoshita's allegory has been extremely popular in Japan, for it has given modern meanings to the ancient fable. Yasue Yamamoto played the crane-girl with delightful grace.

Three dramatic recitations followed *Yuzuru: The Miike Coal Mines*, dealing with the struggles of the Japanese coal miners; *Okinawa*, a militant theatrical blow against that U.S. military base, and *Record of the Struggle Against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty."* Lantern slides, songs and dances, are used to stress and elaborate the points made in these hard-hitting agit-prop pieces that have added to the strength of the popular movement in Japan against imperialism, militarism and reaction.

When, as the action rose to a climax, the "demonstrators" poured down from the stage into the auditorium holding high their slogans against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and demanding independence, democracy and peace, and singing their militant songs, the whole hall rose and clapped. Many gripped and shook the hands of the Japanese artists as they marched around the theatre.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other Party and government leaders attended the first performance. The dramatist Ouyang Yu-chien, the playwright Tien Han and China's leading Peking opera artist Mei Lan-fang and other prominent figures in the arts and literature were present.

On the following nights, the company performed two other plays. *Shinda Umi* (Dead Sea) by the noted dramatist Tomoyoshi Murayama, head of the company, is based on the life of Japanese fishermen and it also deals with their struggle against U.S. military bases in Japan.

Premier Chou En-lai attended a performance of this play.

*The Life of a Woman* by the late playwright Morimoto Kaoru is a full-length play on the troupe's programme. It tells the story of a war orphan, adopted by a capitalist family. When she grows up, she marries the elder son of the family and from an innocent young girl is transformed into a ruthless seeker after wealth. In this dramatic exposure of the corrupt nature of the bourgeoisie, Haruko Sugimura, who plays the title role, gave a powerful performance.

## THEATRE

### Modern Japanese Drama In Peking

The Japanese Modern Drama Company, the first Japanese modern drama troupe to visit China, gave its premiere in Peking at the Capital Theatre on the evening of September 24. They had an enthusiastic audience. It was deeply appreciative of the artistry of the company. Its applause also expressed a welcome to a tour which is a contribution to the mutual understanding and cultural exchange between the two countries. The welcome was especially warm as the Chinese public is well acquainted with the fact that the company is made up of five well-known modern drama troupes all of which have played a part in the struggle of the Japanese people against the aggressive Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance.

*Yuzuru* (The Magic Crane) by the outstanding playwright Junji Kinoshita was chosen for the opening performance. This is based on a thousand-year-old Japanese legend. A young peasant saves the life of a wounded crane. Stirred by his care the crane changes into a beautiful maiden and the two live happily together. With the white feathers taken from her own body, she weaves satin which her husband sells, and this gives them a modest livelihood. Later, the young man, listening to evil advice, compels her to weave more so that he can make more money. The feathers left her are barely enough to enable her to fly. In grief and regret, she takes wing. The curtain falls on the peasant, looking remorsefully into

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## **Czechoslovak Ambassador Presents Credentials**

Josef Sedivy, new Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to China, presented his credentials to Chairman Liu Shao-chi on September 26.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi, replying to the Ambassador's greetings, declared that the Chinese Government and people cherished deeply the close relations of friendly co-operation existing between China and Czechoslovakia in the past eleven years and expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Czechoslovak Government and people for their support and help. Chairman Liu expressed belief that consonant with the continuing development of socialist construction in the two countries and the growth of friendship between their peoples, Sino-Czechoslovak relations of friendly co-operation would develop further and be strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which will reinforce further the great unity of the socialist camp and benefit the just cause of safeguarding world peace.

Ambassador Josef Sedivy said that the extensive friendly co-operation between the two countries was firmly founded on Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism. It was his conviction that the two countries have all the prerequisites for the further deepening of mutual co-operation in the political, economic and cultural spheres. This fruitful co-operation not only benefits our two peoples, but also contributes to the unity of the socialist countries which is the guarantee for the victory of socialism and peace in the world, the Ambassador said.

## **New Indonesian Ambassador In China**

Newly appointed Indonesian Ambassador Sukarni Kartodiwirjo presented his credentials to Chairman Liu Shao-chi on September 26.

On receiving the credentials, Chairman Liu Shao-chi said that the Chinese and Indonesian peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle against imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression. Since the independence of Indonesia and the founding of the People's Republic of China, friendly relations have been established and developed by the two countries on a new basis. They have always cooperated well in safeguarding national independence, carrying on construction within their own countries, promoting Asian-African solidarity and in defence of world peace. Although recently, Chairman Liu Shao-chi continued, some temporary and partial difficulties had appeared between the two countries on the question of the overseas Chinese, we believe these should not constitute an obstacle to friendly co-operation between the two countries. We are gratified to note, Chairman Liu said, that the two Governments have now reached agreement on the implementation of the treaty on dual nationality and that the treaty would soon be put into effect. This, he said, paves the way for an overall and reasonable solution of the overseas Chinese question existing between the two countries.

Ambassador Sukarni Kartodiwirjo, speaking about Indonesia-China friendship, said that both nations had fought colonialism and imperialism and both were still fighting for the liberation of parts of their territory still under the domination of colonialists and imperialists. The fact, said the Ambassador, that agreement was reached on the implementation of the treaty on dual nationality is concrete proof of another step taken towards the solution of the overseas Chinese question between China and Indonesia.

## **Guinea's National Day**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Chen Yi sent warm greetings to President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea on the occasion of Guinea's National Day.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in his message, wished the Republic of Guinea new victories and successes in fighting colonialism, safeguarding national independence and in national construction, and also expressed the

hope that the fraternal friendship between the peoples of China and Guinea would be consolidated and developed with each passing day.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi's message noted that through the recent friendly visit of President Toure to China and the signing of the friendship treaty and other agreements between the two countries, friendly co-operation between China and Guinea has been further strengthened and advanced. He hoped that the comradeship-in-arms founded in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of world peace would flourish eternally.

Premier Chou En-lai's greetings recalled that in the past two years, the heroic Guinean people had scored significant victories in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of their national independence, thereby providing a brilliant example for the national independence movement in Africa and winning the respect of people the world over.

## **Nigerian Independence Greeted**

Premier Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, sent a message of congratulations to Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the Federation of Nigeria on the occasion of its proclamation of independence on October 1. He wished the Nigerian people further successes in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in their efforts to adhere to the road of independent national development. He also wished the country prosperity and well-being to its people. Foreign Minister Chen Yi's message informed Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the Chinese Government's decision to recognize the Federation of Nigeria and expressed the hope that this would lead to further development of the relations between the two countries.

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association also sent congratulatory messages.

Hailing the independence of the Federation of Nigeria, which is the most populous country and largest British colony in Africa, *Renmin Ribao's* editorial (October 1) says that

this is undoubtedly a heavy blow to British colonial rule in Africa and at the same time a great inspiration to other African peoples striving for independence.

To conceal their colonialist features and continue to deceive the African people, British colonialists allege that they handed over their "rights" in Nigeria of their own accord, says the editorial. But facts prove that it was only the irresistible surging movement for national independence in Nigeria

that forced the British colonialists to agree to its independence. Therefore, the Nigerian people are fully aware that the British colonialists did not surrender their prerogatives of their own accord nor will they of their own accord allow the independent development of Nigeria. The Nigerian people still face the serious task of opposing imperialism and colonialism, continuing to strengthen their national independence and building their own country, the editorial points out.

China and Nigeria both have glorious traditions of struggle against imperialism. Nigerian friends bringing with them the profound friendship of the Nigerian people have frequently visited China in the past few years. We hope and believe that with the proclamation of independence of the Federation of Nigeria, friendship between the two peoples will be greatly strengthened and friendly co-operation between the two countries further developed, the editorial concludes.

## WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

### — Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change. Where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

#### PEKING OPERA

▲ **BEACON ON THE GRASSLANDS** An opera on a modern theme. A story of the revolutionary movement in Inner Mongolia against the rule of the Japanese invaders and local feudal lords in 1940. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking.

Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. *Laodong Theatre*

▲ **STORM AT CHINTIEN VILLAGE** An historical opera centring around the Taiping Revolution. Describes how the peasants in Chintien Village, Kwangsi, rise and take up arms against the corrupt Manchu rulers. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

Oct. 4 & 5, 7:30 p.m. *Renmin Theatre*

▲ **MARRIAGE OF YANG YEN-CHAO** An historical opera. How Yang Yen-chao, general of the Sung Dynasty who outwits the Liao invaders and saves the Sung Emperor and his grand-daughter, wins her hand in marriage despite a powerful rival. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking.

Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. *Laodong Theatre*

#### KUNQU OPERA

▲ **PRINCESS WEN CHENG** An historical opera describes how the Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang Dynasty marries Princess Wen Cheng to the Tibetan King Svon-Tsan Gampo. This Tibetan-Han union strengthens the friendship between the two nationalities. Produced by the North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. *Xi Dan Theatre*

#### PINGJU OPERA

▲ **THE LIFE STORY OF WU SHUANG** An historical opera set in Tang Dynasty times. The emperor, captivated by the beauty of a young girl, Wu Shuang, whom he meets during a spring tour, forces her father to offer her to him as a concubine. Stung by a refusal, the emperor imprisons Wu Shuang's father. A kind-hearted and resourceful messenger rescues him from prison. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre.

Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. *Ji Xiang Theatre*

▲ **MISSION TO THE ENEMY'S REAR** A thrilling tale of underground revolutionary activities of the Communist Party in an enemy-occupied city during the Japanese invasion. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Company.

Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. *Music Hall of Zhongshan Park*

#### CHINESE DANCE DRAMA

▲ **RED CLOUDS** tells how the Li minority people on Hainan Island suffer under Kuomintang oppression and how they gain their

freedom. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. *Tianqiao Theatre*

#### MODERN OPERA

▲ **LA TRAVIATA** Verdi's famous opera. Produced in Chinese by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. *Tianqiao Theatre*

#### The Burmese Cultural Delegation

Visiting Peking on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and on the signing of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, will give performances of dance dramas, classical dances, national dances and songs.

#### The Algerian Art Troupe

Will present **LOOKING FORWARD TO BRIGHTNESS** A musical drama. The story of a young patriot in the struggle against the French imperialists.

**THE INDOMITABLE MEN** A play. Scenes from the heroic struggle waged by the Liberation Army of Algeria against the colonialists.

(Watch for dates and places)

#### The Brazilian Samba Orchestra and Chorus

Has come to Peking and will give two performances.

Oct. 5 & 6, 7:30 p.m. *Cultural Palace of Nationalities*

#### THEATRE

▲ **THE EAST IS RED** The story tells how members in a Peking suburban people's commune hurdle obstacles and successfully grow vegetables on their farms under the leadership of the Party. Produced by the Experimental Theatre of the Central Drama School.

Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. *Shiyan Theatre*

▲ **TAMING DRAGONS AND TIGERS** A play about the big leap forward in China's countryside. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It describes how the people of a village braved dangers in the mountain to get raw materials for their furnaces in the 1958 drive for steel.

Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. *China Youth Art Theatre*

▲ **AESOP** A play by the Brazilian playwright, Guillermo Figueroa, based on the life story of Aesop, the slave and clever teller of fables of ancient Greece. It reflects the struggle between slaves and slave owners, and the determination of the slaves to die for freedom rather than live the life of slaves. Produced in Chinese by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Oct. 4 & 5, 7:30 p.m. *Wu Dao Kou Club*

#### Burmese Film Week

(Oct. 3-7)

Six feature films: **THE SORROW OF SEPARATION**, **RAINS AND TEARS**, **SINCERE LOVE**, **BROTHER AND SISTER**, **YATANAPANG**, and **FATE OF A BOATMAN** will be shown at all major cinemas.

#### FILMS

▲ **SPRINGTIME BLOSSOMS** A feature film produced by the Peking Film Studio portrays the growing enthusiasm of the housewives as they take part in the urban people's commune. The story is told through the struggle between a conservative-minded mother-in-law and her progressive daughter-in-law.

Oct. 4 & 5, *Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema*

Oct. 6-11, *Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong*

▲ **NIEH ERH** A feature film on the life and work of Nieh Erh, Chinese revolutionary composer. Produced by the Shanghai Hai-yen Film Studio.

Oct. 4, *Shengli, Xi Dan Workers' Club*  
Oct. 5, *Peking Theatre*

▲ **IN THE NAME OF REVOLUTION** A feature film based on the stage play of the same title by the Soviet playwright, Shatrov. Produced by the Peking Film Studio. It shows Lenin's care and concern for the young generation.

Oct. 4 & 5, *Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club*

Oct. 6-11, *Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema*

▲ **TANA** An Albanian film dubbed in Chinese, tells the story of the love and work of Tana, an activist in an agricultural co-operative.

Oct. 4 & 5, *Peking Theatre*

#### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **ART EXHIBITION** Chinese traditional paintings, oil paintings, graphic art, sculptures and cartoons, etc., by Peking artists.

At *Bethal Park*

▲ **EXHIBITION OF THE ART WORKS OF THE TUNHUANG MURALS** About 300 colour gouache copies of the Tunhuang murals from Northern Wei (386-534) to Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). Open daily (except Mon.) from 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

At *Palace Museum*

#### SPORTS

A Burmese Sports Delegation, composed of the Burmese Football Team of the Burmese National Defence Forces, Burmese Traditional Style Boxing and Rattanball Teams have come to Peking. The Football Team will compete with Chinese teams and the Burmese Traditional Style Boxing and Rattanball Teams will give exhibitions from Oct. 2.

(Watch for dates and places)

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