

Uneasy Alliance Makes Dissolution Possible

(Editor's note: This week's topic for the Great Decisions program discussion is "Red China and the USSR - How Firm an Alliance?" In the following dispatch, Veteran UPI Moscow Correspondent Henry Shapiro reviews the uneasy alliance. Shapiro is in this country at present, but will return to Moscow shortly.)

By HENRY SHAPIRO
United Press International

The uneasy Soviet-Chinese alliance has, in recent months, suffered such severe jolts that its formal dissolution would appear almost unavoidable.

The ideological divergences, conflicts of national interest and tough rivalry for influence in the Communist camp since 1954 have reached such proportions as to raise the question whether the 13-year-old alliance has ever been meaningful.

The alliance was formalized in Moscow on Feb. 14, 1950, when Mao Tse-tung signed a treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union.

The parties undertook to act jointly in the prevention of aggression by Japan "or any other state associated with Japan," and to render each other assistance in the event of attack. The "other state" was obviously the United States.

Aid Stops In 1954
The treaty was supplemented by an economic agreement which promised China substantial credits and technical aid without which Peking would have been unable to launch its grandiose plans for industrialization.

There was no public disclosure of promised military aid. But there is adequate evidence that the Russians helped in training the Chinese army and supplied military equipment up to and including the Korean War.

But there appears to have been little military cooperation after 1954 and it is generally believed in the West that Russia has denied China nuclear know-how and has not delivered any of the more sophisticated modern weapons.

Also, by 1961 Soviet exports to China had dwindled to the lowest point in the history of the alliance. And all Soviet technical experts by them had withdrawn or been expelled.

The Communist Scandal
The character of Soviet-Chinese cooperation had undergone critical transformation in all respects and the growing rift between the two great powers had become a major public scandal in the Communist world.

Given the size and power of China, its traditional pride of culture, the independent success of the Chinese Communists in seizing power and the geographic remoteness from Moscow, rivalry and conflict were inevitable.

They were muted in Stalin's time, partly due to the legendary stature of the Soviet dictator which empowered the Communist world to speak in one voice—the Kremlin's.

The conflict inescapably erupted soon after Stalin's death and his denigration by Khrushchev which surprised and shocked the Chinese. It was aggravated by the subsequent clash of personalities between the practical, moderate and ebullient Khrushchev and the brilliant, intellectual, doctrinaire Mao Tse-tung.

Steps Toward Rift
The early caution and restraint, gradually disappeared, marked by these milestones:

—After the Middle Eastern crisis of 1958, Khrushchev, apparently without consulting the Chinese, agreed to a summit meeting within the UN Security Council and presumably the participation of Nationalist China. After a hurried trip to Peking, Khrushchev yielded to Chinese protests and repudiated his agreement to the summit conference.

—The Chinese undertook to organize their ill-fated communes against the opposition of the Russians who considered them "primitive" and "unfeasible."

—The Chinese made no secret of their resentment at Khrushchev's efforts to achieve an accommodation with the United States during his visit to Camp David. The Chinese press virtually ignored Khrushchev's visit to the United States.

—In February, 1960, during



INSPECT HONOR GUARD—Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, right, accompanied by Chinese Communist Party Leader Mao Tse-tung, shown in picture taken in 1959, inspects honor guard upon Khrushchev's arrival in Peiping for a visit. (UPI)

The 10th anniversary of the alliance, Khrushchev toured India, cementing friendly relations with that country in complete disregard of Chinese interests. "It is a sad and stupid story, bloodshed over useless territory," Khrushchev told this correspondent in 1960 when asked to comment on the Sino-Indian border dispute.

—The Sino-Soviet conflict appeared to reach a climactic phase with the Soviet agreement to remove their nuclear missiles from Cuba which the Chinese promptly denounced as a "Munich" and "surrender to the imperialists."

The Chinese had no more voice in the Soviet decision than Fidel Castro. This time their indignation knew no bounds. To Khrushchev's explanation that "the American tiger had nuclear teeth," Peking's official "People's Daily" retorted with words like "betrayal," "fright" and "cowardly surrender."

Khrushchev himself, in his speech to the East German party congress last month, while conciliatory in tone toward the Chinese, vigorously reaffirmed his policy of "compromise and concessions."

He rejected the Chinese proposal for a Communist summit conference to discuss cleavage within the camp on grounds such a meeting might produce a final split and urged a cooling of passions. He left it to the Chinese to make the final step.

In view of these circumstances, it is reasonable to suggest that, with the exception of the first five or six years, the Sino-Soviet alliance—the so-called "monolithic bloc"—has lacked substance and reality. It appears to have been monolithic only in the Western mind.

Not only has there been little or no consultation and agreement on questions of major political, diplomatic, economic and military policy, but some of the institutions needed to draft and implement such policies were not even set up.

Future Uncertain
There is no Soviet-Chinese counterpart to NATO. China is not a member of the Warsaw Pact although it has participated in some sessions as an observer.

While the Russians have unreservedly supported Peking's claim to Formosa, it is by no means certain—following the Cuban affair—whether Moscow would rush to China's aid if the Red Chinese tried to seize Chang Kaishek's island and ran into full-scale war with the United States.

In spite of the critical state of present relations, the bonds of common interest may still provide over-riding reasons for maintaining the alliance, shaky as it may be.

It appears that Moscow and Peking might prefer to continue what they call their "family quarrel" indefinitely and maintain the vestige of alliance.

Try and Stop Me

By BENNETT CERF

WILLIAM BECBE, in "The Book of Naturalists," tells about a little game he and President Teddy Roosevelt used to play in the latter's summer home at Sagamore Hill.

After an evening of conversation, they would go out on the lawn and search the skies until they found a faint spot of light just beyond the lower left hand corner of the great square of Pegasus. Then T. R. would intone gravely, "There is the spiral galaxy of Andromeda. It is as large as our Milky Way. It is one of the hundred million galaxies. It consists of one hundred million suns, each larger than our own sun."

T. R. invariably would pause at this point, grin, and conclude, "Well, Will, I guess we realize again how small we are. Let's go to bed!"

Bob Campbell, Westwood book tycoon, was dawdling over a second cup of coffee one Sunday A.M., reading "The Canterbury Tales," when his wife Blanche demanded, "What have you got there?" Campbell answered airily, "Just my cup and Chaucer."

In an ill-advised moment, a prominent evangelist in Oklahoma City stated categorically to an inquiring newshawk that there are 785 sins.

Within the next four days his mailbox was flooded with requests for itemized lists.

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