

PEKING REVIEW

38

September 17, 1965

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報

Premier Chou En-lai on Viet Nam and African-Asian Conference

Reply to questions from the Middle East
News Agency.

Indian Aggression Against Pakistan

1. Premier Chou denounces Indian attacks.
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"Indian Reactionaries Are Out-and-Out Aggressors"
"U.N. — Sanctuary for the Indian Aggressor"

China's 2nd National Games Open

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR!

— In Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of Victory in
the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan

by **Lin Piao**

*Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China, Vice-Premier and
Minister of National Defence*

Based on the historical experience of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan, this book expounds Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant theory of people's war. It is divided into nine parts, entitled:

1. The Principal Contradiction in the Period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the Line of the Communist Party of China
2. Correctly Apply the Line and Policy of the United Front
3. Rely on the Peasants and Establish Rural Base Areas
4. Build a People's Army of a New Type
5. Carry Out the Strategy and Tactics of People's War
6. Adhere to the Policy of Self-Reliance
7. The International Significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Theory of People's War
8. Defeat U.S. Imperialism and Its Lackeys by People's War
9. The Khrushchov Revisionists Are Betrayers of People's War

76 pages

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The People Defeated Japanese Fascism And They Can Certainly Defeat U.S. Imperialism Too

by **Lo Jui-ching**

The text of a speech made by Lo Jui-ching, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, at a rally held in Peking on September 3, 1965, to celebrate the 20th anniversary of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

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北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 17, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 38

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THE WEEK

Tibet Autonomous Region Established

The first session of the First People's Congress of Tibet successfully ended with the formal establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region on September 9. For the Tibetan people and China's other nationalities, the setting up of this new autonomous region is of historical significance.

Meeting during the first nine days of September, the session heard reports by Chang Kuo-hua, First Secretary of the Tibet Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. It discussed and decided on the future tasks in Tibet's revolution and construction, and elected Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme chairman of the autonomous region, and Chou Jen-shan, Pebala Gelieh-Namje and five others as vice-chairmen. Thirty-seven deputies to the congress were elected members of the region's people's council.

Before the session closed, it adopted amidst thunderous applause a message to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, conveying the respects and esteem of the people in Tibet.

News of the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region spread quickly across the length and breadth of the region. There was great rejoicing as the people in Lhasa, Shigatse, Gyantse and other places gathered in mass rallies to celebrate the occasion.

On the afternoon of September 9, more than 30,000 people from all walks of life in Lhasa flocked to the city's stadium to attend a celebration rally. Stormy applause greeted Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih, leader of the delegation sent by the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and the State Council, when he addressed the gathering. He said that the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region was a great victory for the

Tibetan people, the Party's national policy and Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking. He described the tremendous changes he had witnessed when he visited the villages, factories and schools in the region. However, he added, the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries were not reconciled to the emancipation of the million Tibetan serfs and slaves, the political, economic and cultural development and the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship in Tibet. He strongly condemned the Indian reactionaries for their intrusions into China's border areas and naked aggression against Pakistan. He called on the people in Tibet and the People's Liberation Army to keep a close watch, maintain high vigilance, further strengthen the nation's defence and safeguard the frontiers of the motherland.

Referring to those who had fled abroad during the reactionary armed rebellion in 1959, Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih said that only a handful were willing lackeys of the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries, while the majority had been fooled and deceived. He explained the Government's policy towards those wishing to return to the motherland and said that if they admitted their crimes and repented, there would be no punishment for past crimes, big or small. In conclusion, the Vice-Premier wished the Tibetan people still greater victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Both Chang Kuo-hua and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme also spoke at the rally. They called for still closer unity in strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship and building a new socialist Tibet.

C.P.P.C.C. Session Ends. The first session of the Second Tibet Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference closed on September 11 after an eight-day meeting. Chang Kuo-hua was elected

chairman of the committee. A resolution was adopted calling on the people of all nationalities and all trades and professions in Tibet to hold high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and contribute to Tibet's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Celebrating Korea's National Day

The Chinese people joined their Korean brothers in joyously celebrating the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic.

Chinese Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to Korean Party and state leaders Kim Il Sung and Choi Yong Kun. The message said:

"The heroic Korean people, under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, have scored brilliant victories in the past 17 years in fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression and in building socialism. With hammer and sickle in one hand and weapons in the other, the Korean people are continuing their march forward with a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and in the giant bounds of a 'winged steed' towards the magnificent goal of the seven-year plan. At the same time, they are waging a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and courageously defending the fruits of revolution." The message praised the Korean people for their unremitting struggle against the forcible occupation of south Korea by U.S. aggressor troops and their struggle to realize the reunification of their fatherland.

Korean Charge d'Affaires ad interim Jung Bong Koo gave a reception on September 9 in Peking to mark the anniversary. Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng Chen and other Chinese leaders attended. Militant friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples was the toast of the evening.

The Korean Charge d'Affaires said in his speech that Sino-Korean friendship and unity were cemented in blood in the struggle

against Japanese and U.S. imperialism, and were based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He declared that the Korean people treasured this friendship and unity and would work for the further development of friendship and co-operation with the fraternal Chinese people.

Premier Chou En-lai said that the Chinese people rejoiced over every achievement of the fraternal Korean people. In the common struggle against imperialism and for the victory of socialism, the Chinese people would for ever unite closely with the fraternal Korean people and march forward together with them. The Premier sharply condemned India's armed aggression against Pakistan (see p.10).

Bulgarian National Day

Chinese Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai sent a message on September 8 to Bulgarian Party and state leaders Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Georgi Traikov, warmly greeting the 21st anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation. The message said: "The friendship between the Chinese and Bulgarian peoples has deep foundations. To uphold and strengthen this friendship accords with the common aspirations of the people of our two countries. As always, the Chinese people will continue to strive for the strengthening of the friendship and solidarity between the two peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

Bulgarian Ambassador Kristu Stoichev gave a reception in Peking to celebrate the occasion. Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-nien and Po I-po were among those present.

Chen Yi Visits Algeria and Mali

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi flew from Algiers to Bamako, capital of Mali, on September 9 for a friendly visit. During his two-day stay in Algiers before going to Mali, he called on Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Algerian National Council of Revolution and Premier of the Algerian Government, and held talks with

Algerian Minister for Foreign Affairs Abdel Aziz Bouteflika.

In a press statement at the airport before his departure for Bamako, Vice-Premier Chen Yi sternly condemned India's aggression against Pakistan and expressed China's firm support for the Pakistan people.

Arriving in Bamako, Chen Yi was welcomed by Jean-Marie Kone, Acting President of Mali and Minister of State in charge of planning and co-ordination of economic and financial affairs. More than a thousand Bamako residents were also at the airport to greet their guest from China.

Shortly after his arrival, Chen Yi held talks with Acting President Kone. On September 10, he had a cordial conversation with President Modibo Keita who was on holiday and who returned to Bamako to meet him. The next day, the Vice-Premier was entertained at a luncheon by Ousman Ba, Minister Delegate to the Presidency in charge of foreign affairs.

On September 12, Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave a reception in Bamako which he and Acting President Jean-Marie Kone addressed.

Vice-Premier Chen warmly praised the Malian people for their achievements under the leadership of President Modibo Keita. He noted that difficulties and obstacles imposed by imperialism and old and new colonialism stood in the way of the march forward of the new emerging countries in Asia and Africa. But, he said, "so long as they adhere to the principle of self-reliance, keep the economic lifelines in their own hands, give full play to the people's initiative, develop their national resources, and at the same time strengthen mutual help and co-operation with friendly countries while resolutely resisting the unreasonable demands of imperialism, the new emerging countries will surely be able to overcome all the difficulties on their road of advance, defeat all the intrigues of imperialism, old and new colonialism, and build their countries into independent, prosperous and powerful ones based on their own wishes." The Vice-Premier went on to say that

"our epoch is one in which national revolutions will finally be victorious while imperialism and old and new colonialism are doomed."

Acting President Kone said at the meeting that the Malian people were pleased at the disinterested and effective aid from China and its people's efforts and determination in building an independent and economically strong country. He expressed his conviction that "the joint efforts of the Malian and Chinese peoples to promote a world of peace, justice and prosperity is a powerful force that can frustrate all manoeuvres and intrigues."

Liu Shao-chi Meets Japanese Comrades

Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on September 13 had a cordial conversation with Satomi Hakamada, Member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, and Ichiryō Sunama, Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese C.P. and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

After the meeting, Comrade Liu Shao-chi gave a banquet in honour of the Japanese C.P. leaders and their wives.

Among those present at the meeting and banquet were Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese C.P., and Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

Chairman Liu Receives Pakistan Ambassador

Chairman Liu Shao-chi requested Pakistan Ambassador N.A.M. Raza to forward a letter replying to President Mohammad Ayub Khan when he received the Ambassador on September 8. At their meeting, Chairman Liu and Ambassador Raza also had a talk on the question of India's aggression against Pakistan.

Chairman Liu Receives Vietnamese Comrades

Chairman Liu Shao-chi received Vice-President and General Secretary

of the Executive Committee of the Viet Nam Federation of Trade Unions Tran Danh Tuyen and members of the Vietnamese Trade Union Delegation he led on September 9. At the same time, he also received Nguyen Thuyet, representative of the Viet Nam Federation of Trade Unions who was in Peking on his way home. Chairman Liu had a cordial and friendly talk with his guests.

Nepalese Artists Welcomed

The September 9 performance of songs and dances, including several songs in Chinese, by the Nepalese Cultural Delegation headed by poet and singer Janadan Sama, Deputy Director of the Nepalese Radio Station, won great applause from the audience. Among those present was Chairman Liu Shao-chi who mounted the stage after the curtain fell to congratulate the Nepalese artists on their successful performance.

That same evening, Chairman Liu received Janadan Sama and other members of the visiting delegation and had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

Chinese Leaders Greet Arab Summit Conference

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to the Third Arab Summit Conference on September 12. The message said:

"We wish the conference new successes in strengthening unity among the Arab states and in the struggle against imperialist aggression and for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. We wish the conference success in making useful contributions to the common cause of strengthening the unity of the Asian-African peoples against imperialism."

Sino-Guinean Friendship Treaty Anniversary

Five years have passed since China and Guinea signed a friendship treaty on September 13, 1960, the first such treaty concluded between China and an African nation. A message of greetings marking this

year's anniversary was sent by Chinese leaders Liu Chao-chi and Chou En-lai to Guinean President Sekou Toure. It said:

"Fruitful results have been obtained in the past five years in all spheres of relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Guinea. We are convinced that with each passing day the solidarity and friendship between our two peoples will be consolidated and developed in the common cause of opposing imperialism, old and new colonialism and safeguarding Afro-Asian solidarity and defending world peace."

An editorial in *Renmin Ribao* expressed admiration for the Guinean people's great efforts in developing their national economy and culture under the leadership of President Sekou Toure. "The spirit of mutual respect between China and Guinea and treating each other as equals has set an example of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems," the editorial pointed out.

Protest Against Seizure of Bank Of China

In a note handed to the Indian Embassy on September 14, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged another strong protest with the Indian Government for having forcibly closed and taken over the Calcutta branch and the Bombay agency of the Bank of China in November 1962 and for having refused till now to hand back the bank's assets that had been seized.

During the years in which they carried on business in India, the Calcutta branch and the Bombay agency of the Bank of China had consistently abided by local laws and regulations, enjoyed good credit and contributed to the promotion of Sino-Indian trade. The closing and taking over of the establishments and assets of the bank in November 1962 was a premeditated act of political persecution. It was one of the grave steps taken by the Indian Government to worsen Sino-Indian relations following the Sino-Indian border conflict

(Continued on p.23.)

Second National Games Open

A COLOURFUL opening ceremony on the afternoon of September 11 at the Peking Workers' Stadium set the 2nd National Games of the People's Republic of China off to a brilliant start.

At 3 p.m. sharp, as the band played *The East Is Red* and the words "Long Live Chairman Mao!" appeared in lights over one end of the stadium, the 100,000 people who filled the stands rose to give a thunderous ovation to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping and Tung Pi-wu as they appeared on the flower-banked rostrum with other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state.

Many guests were in the stadium. On the rostrum with the Chinese leaders were Satomi Hakamada, Member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Japanese Communist Party's Central Committee, and Ichiryo Sunama, another Member of the Secretariat of the C.P.J. Central Committee.

Also present at the opening ceremony were delegates from nearly 20 countries. They were in Peking to attend the National Games or the coming council meeting of the Federation of the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFU) and the inaugural meeting of the GANEFU Asian Committee. Besides them were diplomatic envoys and other foreign guests in Peking.

As the band struck up at the start of the ceremony, a flock of doves and coloured balloons soared into the early autumn sky. It was an impressive demonstration of youth as the over 5,000 sportsmen participating in the games marched into the stadium. The guard of honour carrying the national emblem and red flags was closely followed by 230 outstanding sportsmen — world champions, holders of world and national records, medal winners at important international sports meets and mountaineers who conquered Mount Jolmo Lungma, highest peak in the world. Then came the 29 competing contingents from provinces, municipalities, and regions and the P.L.A., each in a distinctive sports outfit.

Speech by Ho Lung

When the 5,000 had taken up ranks on the field, the great gathering stood for the playing of the national anthem. Then the opening speech was delivered by Ho Lung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Chairman of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, he extended cordial greetings to the sportsmen and sports organizers participating in the National Games and welcomed the distinguished visitors. He pointed out that, in the past 16 years, people's sports in China had swiftly advanced by following the directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-



Chairman Mao at the opening ceremony of the 2nd National Games

tung that physical culture should be developed and the people's physique strengthened in the service of production, national defence and proletarian politics.

Vice-Premier Ho Lung said that, with the active participation of the broad masses, sports in China had become an extensive movement of a genuine mass character. The physique of the people had been greatly improved. What was particularly important, he said, was the fact that the broad masses were taking an enthusiastic part in swimming, marksmanship, radio signalling, mountaineering and other sports activities and strenuously training themselves in the ability to defend their country. On the basis of popularization of sports, a large number of outstanding sportsmen had appeared. In the past 16 years, Vice-Premier Ho Lung recalled, Chinese sportsmen had broken national records on more than 5,700 occasions, smashed world records more than 100 times and won 13 world championship titles. "Our success," declared Vice-Premier Ho Lung, "is the success of Mao Tse-tung's thinking."

Vice-Premier Ho Lung encouraged all sportsmen taking part in the games to emulate and catch up with the advanced, give full play to revolutionary heroism and a communist style of thought and action. He called on them to attain the aim of exchanging experience, enhancing solidarity, learning from each other and making progress together.

In closing, Vice-Premier Ho Lung called on all to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, to advance boldly along the path of proletarian revolutionization, to strive to further popularize and raise the standards of sports and better serve the cause of socialism.

The opening ceremony was rounded off by a most magnificent display of mass callisthenics.

Records Topple

In the first two days of competitions, three world and 16 national records have been toppled.

"Song in Praise of Revolution"

—New Mass Callisthenics at 2nd National Games—

IN precision, skill and grace of movement, in faultless organization of 16,000 performers, in scale and, above all, in conception as a manifestation of revolutionary spirit, the spectacular display of mass callisthenics at the opening of China's 2nd National Games was a remarkable achievement. Entitled *Song in Praise of Revolution*, it was indeed a 70-minute song in movement that combined callisthenics, danced gymnastics, music, singing, brilliant costuming and pictorial art. Its seven parts presented a vivid panorama of life and revolution in China today (see pictorial on pp.16-17).

On the green turf of the stadium oval, thousands of young students performed against a unique background of changing mosaics that took up one whole side of the stadium. Here, on the towering banks of seats, sat 8,500 youngsters each holding upright before him a "book" made up of coloured boards. As they turned the pages in unison, in fractions of a second, this living screen 133 metres in width and 44 metres in height changed from a representation of a verdant countryside or a factory landscape, to a slogan to suit the scenes enacted below. There were altogether 33 designs.

Background to the first two parts was a rising sun over a green-blue sea, followed by a giant portrait of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a great hand holding a red flag and then a picture of the Tien An Men. On the turf below student-gymnasts in costumes of many colours moved in patterns of flower shapes to the music of songs of the revolution and then finally formed a great five-starred red flag that undulated as if fanned by the breeze. It was symbolic of the victory won by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The themes of the subsequent five parts were: *Building a Powerful Country by Self-Reliance and Hard Work*, *The People's Communes Are Good*, *Hold Your Weapons Firmly*, *Good Successors to the Revolutionary Cause*, and *Carry the Revolution Through to the End*.

On the very first day, Kwangtung Province's Yeh Hao-po twice broke the 112.5 kg. world record for the bantamweight snatch event held by Shiro Ichinoseki of Japan. Yeh first lifted 113 kg. and then 115 kg. On the next day, September 13, another world record in weightlifting was bettered, this time by Kwangsi's featherweight Hsiao Ming-hsiang. Hsiao's lift of 153 kg. for the clean and jerk broke the world record of 152.5 kg. held by the American lifter Isaac Berger. Earlier that day the P.L.A. women's archery team broke a world record with an aggregate score of 3,321 pts.

This was the first time in Chinese history that mass callisthenics was used not only as a colourful spectacle of graceful gymnastics, but also to project the revolutionary ideas uppermost in the people's minds.

The interest was unflagging and the ingenuity endless. Gymnasts in dark brown gathered to form the shape of a steel ladle while others in yellow and red poured like sparks from it. Groups formed patterns of the interlinked wheels of industry and of weaving looms with moving shuttles. Over a thousand girls depicted harvesting scenes in a people's commune. The militia-men's exercises took the form of stylized shooting drill and bayonet practice. Like every other manoeuvre it was done with immaculate precision, projecting the very spirit of the current movement of training a people's militia. A thousand and more Young Pioneers, the coming generation of revolutionaries, showed their skill, strength and grace in tableaux and movements based on their sports and games, studies and social activities as helpers to the workers and farmers, in planting trees, gleaned the fields and much else.

For the finale, the performers massed on the field to the strains of *People of the Whole World, Unite!* The screen flashed in bold characters slogans of support to the heroic people of Viet Nam. Then they formed a five-pointed star surrounded by moving, multi-coloured frames and in the centre a 13-metre-high human pyramid topped by a worker, a peasant and a soldier. The background changed to the slogans *Workers of the Whole World, Unite!* and *Carry the Revolution Through to the End!*

It was a spectacle that satisfied the most exacting demands of skill, and was an inspiring education in collective discipline and in communist ideas. It was, above all, a revolutionary development of callisthenics following on the revolutionization of the theatrical arts, a significant development sparked by the application of Mao Tse-tung's ideas on the revolutionization of the arts in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Premier Chou on China's Stand on Viet Nam and African-Asian Conference

- China firmly supports Viet Nam in its opposition to the U.S. peace talks fraud.
- It sternly condemns the Soviet Union for attempting to undermine the forthcoming Second African-Asian Conference.

Premier Chou En-lai replied on September 8 in writing to questions put to him by Kamal Amer, Editor-in-Chief of the Middle East News Agency now visiting China. The questions and answers are as follows. — Ed.

Question 1: A certain Western country has recently suggested that China be admitted into the United Nations so that the Viet Nam question and other Asian questions may be settled peacefully. What are Your Excellency's views on this suggestion?

Answer: The restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should in no case be linked with the settlement of the Viet Nam question, still less should a barter be made between the two questions.

Under U.S. manipulation, the United Nations has long deprived the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights and has planted on China's seat the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which has been spurned by the Chinese people long ago. It has further slandered China as an aggressor. This is one of the series of grave mistakes the United Nations has committed. It must be thoroughly corrected, and no bargaining can be tolerated.

The United Nations has nothing to do with the Viet Nam question. It was outside the United Nations that the 1954 Geneva Conference was held. Therefore, the United Nations has no right at all to meddle in this question. The fact that the United States has made use of the United Nations in its sanguinary aggression against Korea, the Congo (Leopoldville) and the Dominican Republic is still fresh in the memory of the people of the world, and particularly the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Now, the United States wants the United Nations to serve its plot of "peace talks" on the Viet Nam question, in an attempt to legalize its aggression in, and occupation of, south Viet Nam. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has expressed on more than one occasion its opposition to U.N. interference in the Viet Nam question. The Chinese Government firmly supports the stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Question 2: Your Excellency Mr. Premier, could you comment on the latest developments on the Viet Nam question?

Answer: The Vietnamese people are emerging ever stronger in their great struggle for national salvation

against U.S. aggression and are winning one victory after another. On the other hand, the U.S. aggressors are deeply bogged down, finding it equally difficult either to advance or to retreat.

But the United States with its aggressive ambition will not easily give up. Recently, it has greatly accelerated the expansion of its war of aggression in Viet Nam. Large numbers of U.S. armed forces have been sent to south Viet Nam to take a direct part in combat operations, while the bombing of north Viet Nam has become still more rampant.

At the same time, the United States feigns an eager desire for peace talks and even declares itself ready to discuss the four-point proposition put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and to settle the Viet Nam question in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreements. But, in the face of the reality of extended U.S. aggression, it is impossible for the United States to deceive people by these peace gestures.

If the 1954 Geneva agreements are to be followed, the most important point is that all U.S. armed forces must be withdrawn from south Viet Nam, and this is precisely the key to the four-point proposition advanced by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. But what the United States is doing is not withdrawal of its troops and cessation of its aggression, but the dispatch of massive reinforcements and the expansion of its aggression.

If the 1954 Geneva agreements are to be followed, the essential thing is to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and allow the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs.

But the United States, distorting the 1954 Geneva agreements at will, describes the provisional military demarcation line between north and south Viet Nam as the boundary between two states and, under the pretext of guaranteeing the "independence" of south Viet Nam, attempts to occupy it indefinitely and perpetuate the division of Viet Nam.

The aim of the United States in promoting the plot of peace talks is obvious. It hopes to bring about a state of peace talks by cajolery and then drag out the talks indefinitely, so that it can hang on to south Viet Nam indefinitely.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for

Liberation have repeatedly exposed the peace talks swindle of the United States and expressed their determination to fight on until every single U.S. aggressor is driven out of the Vietnamese territory.

We Afro-Asian countries have all gone through long years of suffering from imperialist aggression. It is only natural that we feel the U.S. aggression against Viet Nam as keenly as if we were ourselves the victims. **We are duty-bound to support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle and should not initiate any "peace appeal" or "mediation" without distinguishing between right and wrong. One must never adopt a compromising attitude between justice and injustice.**

Question 3: What does Your Excellency consider to be the most important question threatening world peace today? And what is the principal way to settle it?

Answer: The greatest threat to world peace today is the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has stepped into the shoes of German, Italian and Japanese fascism and become the chief enemy of the people of the world. It is frenziedly using armed force to strangle the independence and sovereignty of various countries and suppress their people's struggle for freedom and liberation. It is riding roughshod over the people, establishing military bases, sending its armed forces and committing aggression in all parts of the world, and unleashing wars against a number of countries. These perverse actions of U.S. imperialism have angered the people of the whole world. Repeated and intense struggles are now going on between the people of the world on the one side and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys on the other. U.S. imperialism is already besieged ring upon ring by the people of the world, and strategically it is in an extremely difficult and unfavourable position.

We are deeply convinced that world peace can definitely be safeguarded if only the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America unite, the people of all continents unite, all peace-loving countries unite and all the countries subject to U.S. bullying, interference, control and aggression unite, form the broadest united front and wage an unflinching struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Question 4: What are Your Excellency's views on Soviet participation in the African-Asian conference scheduled to be held in Algiers?

Answer: The African-Asian conference is a conference of the Asian and African states. The Soviet Union is not an Asian state, nor is it an African state. Therefore, it is not qualified to take part in the African-Asian conference. The reason is quite simple.

It was for this reason that the Soviet Union was not invited to the First Asian-African Conference. Although India raised the question of Soviet participation with ulterior purposes at the Djakarta meeting in preparation for the Second African-Asian Conference held in April last year, the matter was closed because no unanimous agreement was reached.

At first, the Soviet Government objected to its not being invited by the Djakarta preparatory meeting to the African-Asian Conference, but later it issued an official statement on July 28, 1964, saying that the Soviet Union "by no means deemed its participation in such a conference obligatory" and that "the Soviet Union cannot allow the question of its invitation to embarrass some Afro-Asian countries." Thus, the question of Soviet participation in the Second African-Asian Conference should no longer exist.

But the actions of the Soviet Government belie its words. In recent months, it suddenly went back on its declared position in the above-mentioned statement and engaged in extensive activities, asking some Afro-Asian countries to bring up again the question of Soviet participation in the African-Asian conference. This is actually an attempt to stir up differences anew among the Afro-Asian countries, to disrupt Afro-Asian solidarity and to confront the Second African-Asian Conference with a serious crisis or even with the danger of failing to convene.

The Chinese Government sternly condemns the Soviet Government for its sabotaging activities. It is a question of principle that the Soviet Union should not participate in the African-Asian conference. The Chinese Government will carry the struggle to the end in upholding this principle.

Question 5: Not long ago Your Excellency paid a 12-day visit to the United Arab Republic. Would Your Excellency mind speaking on the positive results of that visit?

Answer: Last June, I had a very pleasant visit in the United Arab Republic. During my visit I saw achievements in various fields of construction in the U.A.R. and had a full exchange of views with President Nasser and other U.A.R. leaders on matters of common concern to both sides. I am of the opinion that that visit was conducive to our mutual understanding and the strengthening of the friendly relations between China and the United Arab Republic.

Question 6: As the glorious day of the revolution of your country is fast approaching, the Middle East News Agency hopes that Your Excellency Mr. Premier will make a statement to the people of Asia and Africa and to all peace-loving people through our News Agency.

Answer: I am very glad to extend, through the Middle East News Agency, the sincere greetings and best wishes of the Chinese people to the other Asian-African peoples and to all peace-loving people of the world.

The Chinese people wish them constant new victories in their struggle to combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to win and safeguard national independence, to strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity and to defend world peace. In this struggle, the Chinese people will further strengthen co-operation with them so that we will support one another and advance hand in hand.

Chinese Government Leaders Condemn Indian Expansionism and Aggression Against Pakistan

Premier Chou En-lai condemns India's aggression against Pakistan as a threat to Asian peace. He points out that the Indian reactionaries could not have engaged in such a serious military adventure without the consent and support of the United States, and the encouragement of the modern revisionists. He reiterates the Chinese Government's firm support for Pakistan's just struggle against aggression.

SPEAKING at a public reception given by the Korean Charge d'Affaires ad interim on September 9 marking the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Premier Chou En-lai said:

"U.S. imperialism stops at no evil. Recently, India has launched a massive armed attack on Pakistan, and Pakistan has risen up in resistance. Every day the fighting is growing in scale. Thus a struggle between aggression and anti-aggression is unfolding right by China's side.

"U.S. imperialism and its partners assume saintly airs and pretend that between India and Pakistan the question of right and wrong simply does not exist; that they themselves have nothing to do with India's aggression. Collaborating with one another, they are using the United Nations to make insistent appeals for peace without distinguishing between right and wrong. This can deceive no one.

"It must be pointed out that the Indian reactionaries could not have engaged in such a serious military adventure without the consent and support of the United States. Everybody knows that for several months now U.S. imperialism has used every means in an attempt to compel Pakistan to give up its independent policy. The Indian reactionaries' armed attack on Pakistan was an inevitable result of this policy of the United States.

"In this context the modern revisionists have also played a most unseemly role. They have repeatedly asserted that Kashmir is an integral part of India. Is

this not an open encouragement for the Indian reactionaries to embark on a military adventure?

"India's armed aggression against Pakistan has thoroughly exposed the Indian reactionaries' much publicized nonsense about their policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. How can there be a peaceful and neutral country that arbitrarily commits aggression against its neighbours? How can there be a 'model of peaceful coexistence' that interprets aggression as peace? The Chinese Government holds that right and wrong must be distinguished in international relations, and that such major issues of principle as that between aggression and anti-aggression must never be steeped in the dye pot of so-called non-alignment and peaceful coexistence.

"The Indian reactionaries are the aggressors. They are outright aggressors both in the local conflict in Kashmir and in the general conflict between India and Pakistan. If peace is to be safeguarded, aggression must be opposed. To appeal for peace without distinguishing between right and wrong will only encourage the aggressor. India's acts of aggression pose a threat to peace in this part of Asia, and China cannot but closely follow the development of the situation."

Premier Chou En-lai reiterated that "the Chinese Government firmly supports Pakistan's just struggle against aggression and the Kashmir people's struggle for freedom and the right of national self-determination; it resolutely condemns India for its crimes of aggression and sternly warns the Indian Government that it must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from its extended aggression."

Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih denounces the Indian reactionaries for their wanton intrusions into China's border areas and naked aggression against Pakistan. He calls on the people and armed forces in Tibet to be vigilant against Indian provocations and to safeguard the country's frontiers.

ADDRESSING a mass rally in Lhasa celebrating the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region on September 9, Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih said:

"The Indian reactionaries have always cherished expansionist and aggressive ambitions with regard to China's territories of Tibet and Sinkiang. They have

not yet learnt their lesson since their large-scale armed offensive against China was smashed in 1962. In the past few years, India has not ceased its intrusions and provocations against China. Since the end of 1962 the Indian armed forces have intruded into the air space and territory of China on more than 300 occasions.

"The Chinese Government has on many occasions lodged protests and given warnings against these intrusions of the Indian reactionaries. However, they have refused to stop such acts of aggression; on the contrary they have recently grown even more unbridled.

"In the border area between China and Sikkim, Indian troops have not only crossed the long-delimited boundary, built many strong points for aggression on Chinese territory and refused to withdraw, but in recent months have stepped up their aggressive activities — kidnapping Chinese citizens on the border, grabbing draught animals and even penetrating deep into the Yatung area for military provocations.

"On the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, Indian troops intruded into Chinese territory five times in succession in the month of August alone. In some cases they came within a few hundred metres' distance of Chinese civilian posts.

"These facts amply demonstrate that the Indian reactionaries are still pushing ahead with their expansionist policy and deliberately creating tension. We, the people in Tibet and in the rest of the country, must maintain keen vigilance with regard to this."

Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih emphasized: **"The Chinese Government has exerted great efforts to relax tension on the Sino-Indian border. We have also exercised restraint with regard to the intrusions of the Indian troops. But we must warn the Indian Government that the restraint of the Chinese Government should not be misconstrued as a sign of weakness. The Chinese Government and people will definitely not allow them to encroach upon China's sovereignty,**

undermine peace and security in the border area and endanger the security of its border inhabitants. Should the Indian reactionaries continue to act arbitrarily and cherish their vain expansionist dreams, they will certainly repeat their previous mistake and suffer a still heavier defeat.

"The Indian reactionaries not only intrude into Chinese territory and encroach on China's sovereignty again and again, but pursue an expansionist policy towards their other neighbours. As opportunity arises, they carry out intervention, subversion or even armed intrusions in neighbouring countries. Recently they have stepped up their repressions against the armed resistance of the people in the Kashmir region and have provoked a large-scale armed clash between India and Pakistan. As a neighbour of these two countries, China cannot but express its grave concern over the extension of the armed clash and the aggravation of the tension in this region by the Indian reactionaries.

"In its statement the Chinese Government has expressed support for the Kashmiri people's just struggle against India's savage domination, strongly condemned India's naked aggression against Pakistan, and resolutely supported Pakistan's just struggle against Indian aggression. The entire Chinese nation, including the various nationalities in Tibet, firmly uphold this solemn stand of the Chinese Government."

Vice-Premier Hsieh called on the Tibetan people and units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army "to follow the latest developments closely, to be highly vigilant against provocations by the Indian reactionaries, further strengthen the national defence, and resolutely safeguard the motherland's frontiers."

China Protests Against Indian Intrusions

It is no mere coincidence that Indian provocations against China take place at the same time as its armed repression in Kashmir and aggression against Pakistan. In view of India's expansionist activities against its neighbours, China cannot but strengthen its defences and maintain increased alertness along its borders.

ON September 8, the Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Indian Government strongly protesting against a succession of serious violations of China's territory and sovereignty by Indian troops. **The note demands that India dismantle all the aggressive military structures it has illegally built beyond or astride the China-Sikkim border, withdraw its aggressive armed forces and stop all its acts of aggression and provocation against China in the western, middle and eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border. Otherwise, it warns, India must bear responsibility for all consequences arising from its actions.**

The note points out that Indian troops crossed the China-Sikkim boundary on four successive occasions in July this year to engage in unbridled harassing activities and, instead of withdrawing, have entrenched themselves and continued to remain on Chinese territory. The Chinese Government has already lodged a protest against this with the Indian Government and given it due warning. Then, in August, Indian troops repeatedly intruded into China's territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border and carried out reconnaissance and provocations close to Chinese

civilian checkpoints. The note lists the following cases of Indian intrusions:

On August 1, four Indian soldiers on horseback and carrying rifles intruded into Tibet, China, in the vicinity of the Kongka Pass and flanked the Chinese civilian checkpoint at the Kongka Pass to its southeast and south for reconnoitring and provocative activities lasting more than three hours, penetrating about 18 kilometres inside Chinese territory.

On August 2, 17, 21 and 25, four groups of Indian soldiers successively intruded into the vicinity of the civilian checkpoint at Hot Springs in Sinkiang, China, to conduct prolonged reconnaissance and provocative activities. These cases include one on August 2 in which six mounted Indian soldiers carried out illegal activities in the vicinity of the civilian checkpoint at Hot Springs for over three hours during which they pressed forward and conducted reconnaissance and map-making activities at a point only about 500 metres from this checkpoint.

The note says: It is well known that, thanks to the series of efforts made by China, the situation on the Sino-Indian border has eased since the large-scale armed conflict provoked by India in 1962. However, India has never desisted from intrusions into Chinese ter-

ritory. India has not only carried out frenzied provocative activities in all sectors of the Sino-Indian border. It has repeatedly crossed the China-Sikkim boundary to penetrate deep into Chinese territory for harassment, and even illegally built aggressive military structures beyond or astride the China-Sikkim boundary, and thus far has refused to withdraw. All this shows that **India has never for a moment abandoned the idea of creating new tension on the Sino-Indian border.**

The note points out that **Indian provocations during the month of August in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border cannot be regarded as isolated cases. They are by no means accidental, occurring as they did at a time when the Indian Government was carrying out armed repressions against the people in Kashmir and unleashing and expanding its armed aggression against Pakistan.** Facts have proved once again that India has not the slightest respect for its neighbours, but undertakes incursions, harassment and encroachments against them at every opportunity.

Concluding, the note points out that **China cannot but pay serious attention to the Indian Government's expansionist activities against its neighbours and strengthen China's defences and maintain increased alertness along its borders.**

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Indian Reactionaries Are the Out-and-Out Aggressors

THE armed attack launched by India against Pakistan has been expanding in scale. Pakistan is putting up a staunch resistance and bitter fighting is going on. This frenzied act of aggression on the part of the Indian reactionaries is seriously menacing peace in this part of Asia.

India alone has provoked the armed clashes. The Indian reactionaries are the out-and-out aggressors who have started an undeclared war against Pakistan. Notwithstanding, New Delhi's officials, both military and civilian, and its propaganda machine, affecting a hurt air, talk noisily about Pakistan's aggression and expanded war against India, as if India were the injured party.

A single hand cannot cover the eyes of the people of the whole world. No amount of quibbling by the Indian reactionaries will be of any avail.

Indian Prime Minister Shastri said that "Pakistan has invaded Kashmir," that Pakistan had mounted "a thinly disguised armed attack" against India and that India had merely undertaken "an inescapable measure

of self-defence." Shastri did not bat an eyelid in telling this lie. The fact is that **for the past several months the Indian reactionaries were steadily increasing its provocations and aggression against Pakistan.** On May 17 this year, Indian troops crossed the ceasefire line in Kashmir and actually threw in an entire battalion to raid three Pakistan posts in the Kargil area in Kashmir. Since August Indian troops have repeatedly crossed the ceasefire line. On August 14 Indian troops occupied three Pakistan posts in the Kargil area. On August 25, 1,000 Indian troops with artillery cover, attacked troops in the Pakistan-controlled Tithwal area. On August 28 two Indian divisions thrust southwards from Uri on the western sector of the ceasefire line. It was only after India's repeated violations of the ceasefire line and intrusions into Pakistan-controlled areas that Pakistan was compelled on September 1 to counter-attack in self-defence. The Indian reactionaries can never twist this universally known fact: it is India which provoked and committed aggression against Pakistan.

The Indian reactionaries describe their aggressive action in crossing the ceasefire line as aimed at coping

with the so-called "Pakistan infiltrators." This, too, is utterly absurd. It is common knowledge that **India and Pakistan reached agreement in 1953 that the status of Kashmir should be decided by a plebiscite.** The late Indian Prime Minister Nehru assured Pakistan in October 1947 that "we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision regarding the future of the state to the people of the state." He also stressed that this assurance was not merely a promise to the Pakistan Government but also "to the people of Kashmir, to the world at large."

However, the Indian Government later perfidiously went back on its commitment in an attempt to seize Kashmir for itself. The Indian authorities have more than once openly claimed that "Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union." This fully exposes their expansionist ambitions. To realize their aim of annexing Kashmir, the Indian reactionaries have stubbornly refused to implement the Indo-Pakistan agreement and obstructed a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute. At the same time, it has constantly tightened its reactionary rule over the people in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir in an attempt to strangle their legitimate aspirations for national self-determination. **The people in the Indian-occupied sector staged an armed uprising in early August to oppose Indian tyranny and demand self-determination of their own future. This is an entirely just action and no question of Pakistan "infiltration" is involved.**

The Indian ruling circles sent large numbers of armed forces to suppress the just struggle of the Kashmir people in a bid to maintain their colonial rule in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir. This is aggression pure and simple. Having failed in this suppression, they sought a pretext to invade the Pakistan-controlled sector. How can the Indian reactionaries succeed in covering up their aggression by resorting to the clumsy trick of thief shouting "stop thief"?

India has not only started aggression in Kashmir, but has gone on to direct acts of aggression against Pakistan. Indian air force first intruded over Pakistan's air space on September 1. Since September 7, the Indian reactionaries have taken further action by bombing Rawalpindi, Pakistan's provisional capital, and Karachi, Dacca and other peaceful cities. On September 6 Indian troops crossed the international frontier and mounted armed attack on the Lahore area of Pakistan. On September 7 and 8, Indian troops invaded the areas of Sialkot and Hyderabad in West Pakistan. India has thus enlarged its aggression step by step.

Shastri went so far as to describe India's acts of naked aggression as "defensive measures," saying that "because Pakistan wanted to open another front and had her eyes on Indian territory in the Punjab, Indian forces had no alternative but to move across the border to deal with the situation." **This is indeed typical gangster logic.** It amounts to saying, "I want to kill this man because he has his eyes on my neck." How can India shirk its criminal responsibility by such absurd

quibbling? The case is crystal clear: **India first launched aggression in Kashmir, Pakistan was compelled to resist in self-defence; India then extended aggression and crossed the border into Pakistan. How can this be called "defensive"?** Moreover, can it be said that on the pretext of "defence," one is free to attack another country and wantonly bomb its capital and other cities? Is it conceivable that because one wants to prevent others from "opening another front," one can encroach upon the territory of others to "open another front"? What on earth is this kind of reasoning? If each country is permitted to launch armed attacks on another country at will on the pretext of "defence," what would become of this world?

The Indian reactionaries have learnt this gangster logic entirely from U.S. imperialism. When U.S. imperialism sent troops to attack Korea, it alleged that this was because of the "unprovoked aggression" by the Korean Democratic People's Republic against south Korea. When it occupied Chinese territory, it alleged that this was because it wanted to avert "threats" to "the security of the Pacific region." It enforced a naval blockade of Cuba on the pretext that Cuba "threatened the security of the United States." It is extending its war of aggression against Viet Nam on the pretext that it wants "to stop the infiltration from the north." **All the aggressors in the world have, without exception, created pretexts for their aggression by reversing right and wrong. This is true of U.S. imperialism and this is also true of the Indian reactionaries.**

In short, it was not Pakistan but India that first crossed the ceasefire line in Kashmir and launched military provocations and undertook armed occupation. It was not Pakistan but India that first threw its air force into action and bombed peaceful cities of the other side. It was not Pakistan but India that first crossed the international border into the territory of the other side and launched massive armed attacks. **So, India is in every sense the aggressor and Pakistan its victim.** The question of who is right and who is wrong is clear to everybody. The attempts of Shastri and his ilk to reverse the truth can never succeed.

The Indian reactionaries have always pursued a dyed-in-the-wool chauvinist and expansionist policy towards India's neighbours. They talk about peaceful coexistence while unscrupulously trying by every possible means to grab the territory of other countries and expand their own frontiers and spheres of influence in order to realize their dream of a "Great India." **The Indian reactionaries have always been most perfidious and unreasonable.** They hold on like grim death to all places they have occupied by force. They stretch their hands far out to grab any place they covet. **When they bully others, they cry that others have bullied them. When they launch aggression against others, they falsely accuse others of aggression. The Chinese people have had enough experience of this.** On the Sino-Indian border issue, the Indian reactionaries have fully revealed their true colours as expansionists and chauvinists. Although the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited, the Indian reactionaries have stubborn-

ly asserted that it has long been delimited, and claimed the 120,000 square kilometres of disputed territory as their own. China has proposed that the two sides should abide by the traditional, customary line and maintain the status quo pending the formal delimitation of the boundary. But the Indian reactionaries have persistently alleged that China has made "territorial claims" on India. They have repeatedly pushed their frontiers over on to the Chinese side and occupied large tracts of Chinese territory, at the same time, they have falsely accused China of harbouring "expansionist designs." In October 1962 they provoked a large-scale border conflict. When China was compelled to strike back in self-defence, they raised a hue and cry about China "committing palpable aggression." **These tactics which they applied against China in the past are now being used against Pakistan.**

The current conflict between India and Pakistan is a struggle between aggression and counter-aggression. It is a big issue of right and wrong on which one must, first of all, define clearly who is the aggressor and who is the victim and must never confuse, let alone

reverse, right and wrong. The Indian reactionaries' flagrant act of aggression against Pakistan has grossly violated the Bandung principles, trampled upon the rules guiding international relations and seriously threatened the peace of this part of Asia. **In order to defend peace in this area and safeguard the norms of international relations and the Bandung principles, it is necessary, therefore, to uphold justice, condemn and halt the Indian reactionaries' act of aggression and support Pakistan's struggle against aggression.**

The Chinese Government and people firmly maintain this principled stand. Together with all other justice-loving countries and people of Asia and the rest of the world, we resolutely support Pakistan's just struggle against aggression and the Kashmir people's struggle for national self-determination. It is our firm belief that a just cause is bound to triumph. The Indian aggressor must be thrown out of Pakistan and the desire of the Kashmir people for national self-determination must be realized.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, Sept. 11.)

U.N.—Sanctuary for the Indian Aggressor

THE United Nations is again playing a most unsavoury role, this time in India's large-scale armed aggression against Pakistan. **In the name of "mediation" it is taking sides with the Indian aggressor and doing all it can to help the Indian reactionaries shored up by U.S. imperialism and its partners.**

India's naked aggression against Pakistan is there for all to see. Indian troops, besides breaking the 1949 ceasefire line in Kashmir and carrying out armed provocations, have invaded Pakistan in various directions and so seriously threatened Asian peace. In such a situation, the U.N. Security Council, in accordance with the U.N. Charter, should have taken effective measures to check Indian aggression and safeguard Asian peace. But what has the U.N. Security Council done?

The whole world sees that although India has been stepping up its provocations and acts of aggression against Pakistan in the past month or more, the Security Council has never uttered a single word of disapproval, let alone taken any effective measures to stop them.

On August 14 Indian troops crossed the ceasefire line in the Kargil area of Kashmir, occupied three Pakistan posts and perpetrated an act of bloody suppression at Batamula on the outskirts of Srinagar, burning to death hundreds of women and children.

Did the United Nations say anything to condemn India? No.

On August 25 Indian troops attacked Kashmir's Tithwal area controlled by Pakistan. Did the U.N. utter a single word about this? No.

On August 28 two Indian divisions intruded into the Uri-Poonch area in the Pakistan-controlled sector and shelled the village of Awang inside Pakistan territory. Did the United Nations show any sign of disapproval? No.

The ceasefire line in Kashmir was fixed under U.N. supervision. The United Nations also has a team of military observers there. The U.N. Security Council is fully aware of the fact that Indian troops have violated and crossed the ceasefire line and slaughtered people of Kashmir, but it has looked on with folded arms and let India do as it pleased.

When did the U.N. Security Council become active? It was when Pakistan, in self-defence, began to hit back in Kashmir on September 1 at the Indian forces which had crossed the ceasefire line and mounted a massive attack on the Pakistan-controlled sector. Under the counterblows of the Pakistan forces, the Indian troops in Kashmir reeled back and found themselves in difficulties. It was then that Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. representative

in the United Nations, made numerous contacts in his capacity as President of the Security Council, and called the Council into session on September 4. The meeting heard a report from the U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant, and passed a resolution appealing to the two countries to cease fire.

Neither U Thant's report nor the resolution condemned India for its violation of the ceasefire agreement. Instead, the report went so far as to speak about "armed men, generally not in uniform, crossing the ceasefire line from the Pakistan side for the purpose of armed action on the Indian side." In making this assertion, U Thant was in fact providing an excuse for the Indian troops' violation of the ceasefire agreement and their breach of the ceasefire line. No wonder the Indian Foreign Minister, Swaran Singh, said gleefully that "thus aggression by Pakistan has been clearly established by the independent authority of the United Nations," while Indian newspapers splashed such headlines as "Thant Backs Delhi, Blames Pindi [Rawalpindi]."

Emboldened by the U.S.-dominated Security Council, Indian forces on September 6, two days after the Security Council passed its resolution, swarmed into Pakistan territory in the Lahore sector, bombed Rawalpindi, Pakistan's provisional capital, and other Pakistan cities, and thus launched an undeclared war.

Then, did the U.N. Security Council act in accordance with the United Nations Charter against the flagrant violation of the Charter by India and its unscrupulous aggression against Pakistan? No, not at all. The Security Council's September 6 resolution only refers in general terms to "the extension of the fighting which adds immeasurably to the seriousness of the situation," while fighting shy of the fact that it was India that started aggression against Pakistan and then extended it. The resolution makes no distinction between India the aggressor and Pakistan the victim of aggression. Instead of calling on India to cease aggression and pull its aggressor forces out of Pakistan, it, without any sense of justice, calls for a ceasefire by the two parties. This deliberate distortion of the facts is in actuality aimed at acquitting the Indian aggressor.

The U.N. Security Council's September 6 resolution has in fact inflated the aggressive arrogance of the Indian reactionaries. Soon after its adoption, on September 7 and 8, Indian troops invaded the Sialkot and Gadra sectors of Pakistan, thus further enlarging the scope of the war.

Up till today, the U.N. Security Council has not said a single word condemning India's aggression against Pakistan. In face of a situation in which one U.N. member has launched an undeclared war on another and set its war machine in full motion, the United Nations has deliberately chosen not to discharge its duties as laid down in its Charter and refused to condemn and apply sanctions against India or give support to Pakistan which is resisting aggression. **In so doing, the United Nations Organization and its Security Council**

have in fact undermined the very basis for their own existence. This being so, what qualifications have they to mediate in the Indo-Pakistan conflict?

The Indo-Pakistan conflict originated in the dispute over Kashmir. On this question, the United Nations has acted in the last ten years or more in a way not only contrary to its own purposes and principles but also against the ostentatious resolutions it has itself passed. According to the U.N. Charter, the United Nations should uphold the principle of national self-determination. The Security Council adopted a resolution on April 21, 1948, stating that the future of Kashmir should be decided by holding "a free and impartial plebiscite." This principle was accepted by India and Pakistan. But in the last ten years or more, India, in violation of its own promise and international accord, has refused to hold a plebiscite and publicly declared that Kashmir was part and parcel of India. Pakistan asked the Security Council to settle the Kashmir question in 1956, 1962 and again in 1964 but all to no avail. **The Security Council has deliberately put off the holding of a plebiscite and winked at the Indian Government's breach of faith. All this shows that the United Nations' partiality for India has a long history.**

Carrying his September 4 report and the two resolutions of the U.N. Security Council in his briefcase, U Thant made hurried visits to Pakistan and India in his capacity as U.N. Secretary-General. **But in his September 4 report U Thant already took sides with India and the two resolutions of the U.N. Security Council are both in favour of India. How then can one expect U Thant to uphold justice?** It is plain that the United States is behind U Thant's mission to India and Pakistan. He is merely acting as Washington's political broker.

Under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism, the United Nations, consistently reversing right and wrong and calling black white, has always served the interests of aggressors and branded the victims of aggression as the aggressors. Everybody knows that when U.S. imperialism, harnessing together a dozen of its satellites and flaunting the U.N. flag, launched open aggression against Korea, the United Nations adopted a resolution vilifying Korea and China as the "aggressors." In the name of "assisting the Congo (L) to restore law and order and defend its unification" and through the instrumentality of the "U.N. force," U.S. imperialism invaded the Congo and imposed a military occupation on that country. After the invasion of the Dominican Republic by the U.S. imperialist armed forces, the United Nations neither condemned U.S. aggression nor demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops. On the contrary, it wanted the Dominican patriotic army and people to accept a "ceasefire" so as to pave the way for the American manoeuvres of political chicanery. Such cases where the United Nations has rendered services to the aggressor are too numerous to mention. **Today, the United Nations is again siding with the aggressor on the Kashmir issue and the Indo-Pakistan conflict and**

(Continued on p.18.)



A scene in the Prologue: the Chinese people march from victory to victory under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

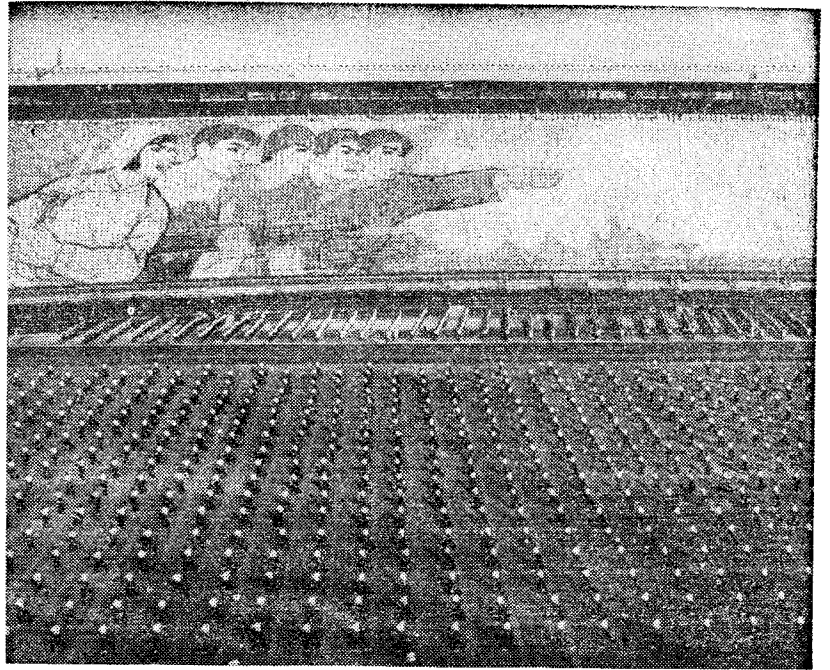
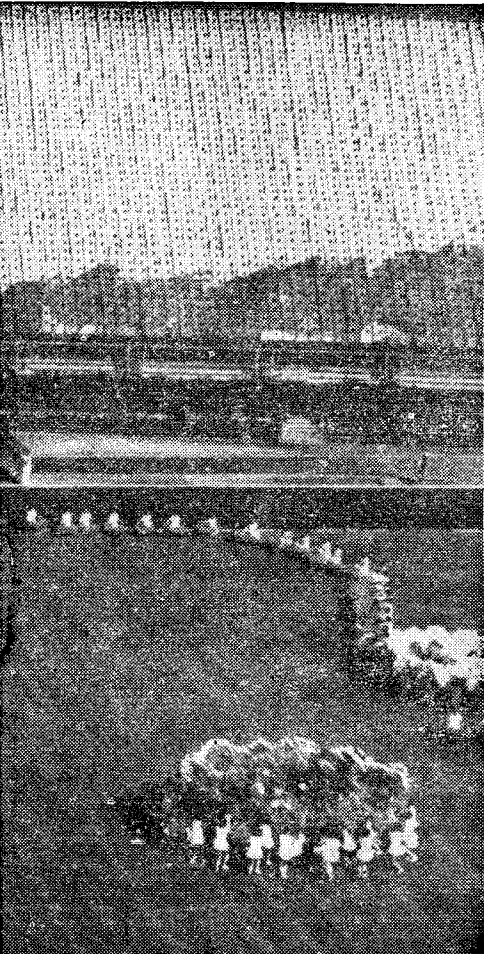
SONG IN PRAISE OF REVOLUTION

Mass Callisthenics at 2nd National Games



Good Successors to the Revolution!

Carry the Revolution Through to the End! The slogan in the background reads: People of the Whole World, Unite!



Hold Your Weapons Firmly!



(Continued from p.15.)

bullying his victim. It has become a sanctuary for the Indian aggressor.

The United Nations is a tool of U.S. imperialism. It has done much evil. It cannot do anything good. The U.N., said the Pakistan paper *Leader*, is now not only betraying the 5 million Kashmiris, but also repudiating its own pledges. Referring to the U.N. Secretary-General's appeal for a ceasefire, another Pakistan paper, *Dawn*, has said: the U.N. left the aggressor unnamed and by implication equated him with the peace-

able defender. Therefore, such an appeal could not but be termed as a document calculated to smear Pakistan. The Kashmir Revolutionary Council said in a statement that "the U.N. Security Council has no right to force its decisions on the people of Kashmir" and that "the 5 million Kashmiris are not prepared to be hoodwinked once again by the United Nations." It can be said with certainty that through the present Indian aggression against Pakistan, more and more people will come to see even more clearly the true colours of the United Nations.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, Sept. 14.)

Facts on File

The Kashmir Question

KASHMIR, officially called Jammu and Kashmir, was a princely state when India was under British rule. (Before the 19th century, Jammu and Kashmir were two separate states. After the signing of the Amritsar Treaty between the British colonialists and the prince of Jammu Gulab Singh in 1846, the two states were merged into one which was generally called Kashmir.) Kashmir has a territory of more than 218,000 square kilometres and a population of 5 million, 77 per cent of whom are Muslims. Situated in the Himalaya region in the northern part of the Indian sub-continent, Kashmir is the source of the three main rivers in West Pakistan. Adjacent to Afghanistan and China, it is, in the eyes of the British and U.S. imperialists, a good strategic base. The territory is rich in coal, petroleum, iron, nickel and gold deposits.

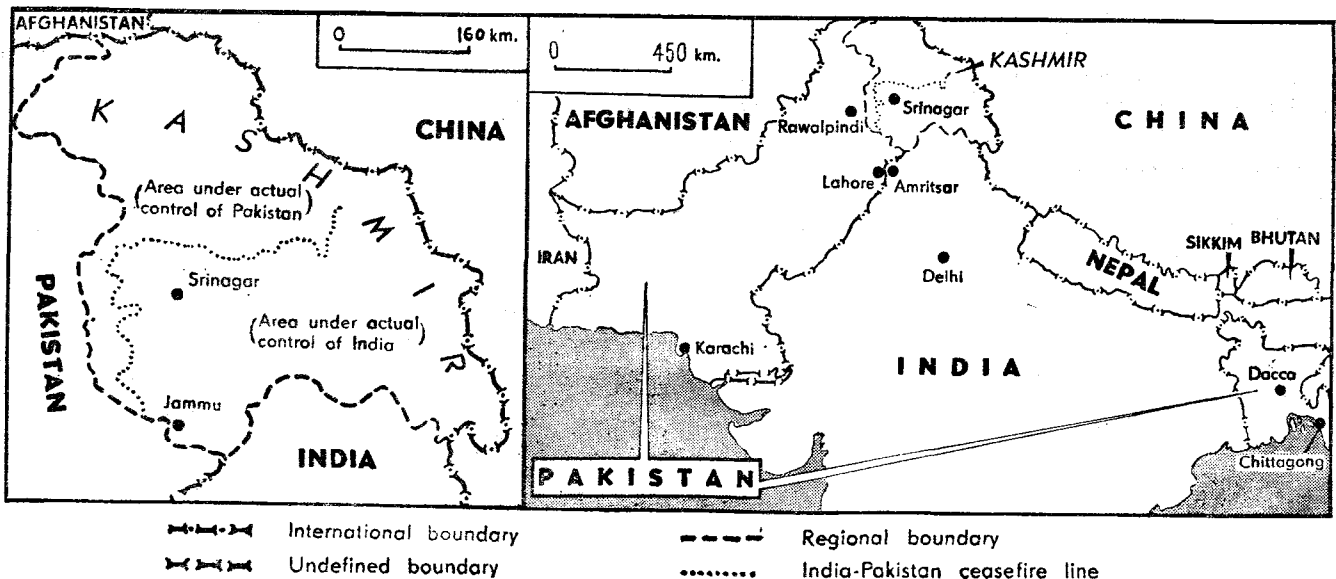
The Kashmir question has a history of 18 years. On August 15, 1947, the sub-continent was partitioned and India and Pakistan became separate sovereign states. Under the Mountbatten plan for the partition of the sub-continent, the rulers of the princely states in India

under British rule could have freely chosen to become a part of India or Pakistan or proclaimed their independence.

In the case of Kashmir, the question of whom it should belong to was allowed to drag on unsettled, as the British and U.S. imperialists tried to retain the territory as their military base and to use it to create a conflict between India and Pakistan.

In October, 1947, large-scale armed conflicts broke out in Kashmir between India and Pakistan. A ceasefire was effected early in 1949 and a ceasefire line delimited in July of the same year. The area under Indian control comes to a little less than two-thirds of the territory with three-quarters of the total population, while the Pakistan-controlled area is a little more than one-third of the territory with one-quarter of the total population.

India and Pakistan have held many talks to seek a solution to the Kashmir question. In July and August 1953 the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India held talks in Karachi and New Delhi. A joint communique issued by the two prime ministers on August 20, 1953, said that the Kashmir dispute "should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that state, with a view to promoting their well-being and causing the least disturbance to the life of the people of the



Sketch map by Kuo Chi

state. The most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people is by a fair and impartial plebiscite." The communique announced that a plebiscite administrator would be appointed by the end of April 1954 to prepare for the plebiscite.

The late Indian Prime Minister Nehru said in a letter to the Pakistan Prime Minister on October 31, 1947: "Our assurance that we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision regarding the future of the state to the people of the state is not merely a promise to your government but also to the people of Kashmir, to the world at large."

Pakistan has always advocated the holding of a plebiscite to settle the Kashmir question. However, the Indian Government went back on its promise. It has all along refused to implement the Indian-Pakistan agreement, and has taken an expansionist stand. Under Indian manipulation, the constituent assembly of the Indian-controlled area of Kashmir adopted constitutional provisions in October 1956 which declared Kashmir "an integral part of the Indian Union."

In December 1964, the Indian Government decided to extend the scope of two provisions in the Indian Constitution concerning the state of emergency to Jammu and Kashmir to strengthen the Indian President's direct control over the area.

Between December 1962 and May 16, 1963, six rounds of talks were held between India and Pakistan, but no agreement was reached. The talks were followed by armed Indian violations of the ceasefire line and increased armed provocations against Pakistan. For example, Indian troops mounted attacks on the ceasefire line in Kashmir on October 30, 1963, but were checked by Pakistan. In June-July, 1964, Indian troops on many occasions violated the Kashmir ceasefire line. In May this year, India threw in a whole battalion in attacking three Pakistan posts in Kargil, Kashmir.

Under U.S. manipulation, the Kashmir question was referred to the United Nations as early as 1948. The U.N. Security Council set up a so-called committee to settle the Kashmir question. It sent a "mediator" and a "United Nations representative" to be stationed permanently in Kashmir, and professed to be protecting the national self-determination of Kashmir. But it closed its eyes to the perfidious actions of India. Now Pakistan has struck back in self-defence against Indian aggression and the United Nations is busy intervening in favour of India.

Since the future of Kashmir has not been decided, the people of Kashmir, who can no longer endure the tyrannical Indian rule, have now risen to resist it and are determined to carry on their fight for freedom until ultimate victory.

Friendly Co-operation

Growing China Tea in Mali

by LIN KEUI-TANG*

I LEARNT when I was still in China that the Malian people are very fond of drinking tea, because it is especially helpful to digestion after a beef or mutton meal. They used to import 400 tons of tea leaf a year from abroad—from China after their nation's independence—and had long wanted to grow tea themselves but were told by the colonialists that their country's climate simply was not suitable for tea cultivation. The colonialists even wrote books to support their argument, hoping to maintain a single-crop economy and thus hold the country in their grip. Of course I did not believe what they said; however, I did understand that growing tea in a land known as the "African stove"

* The author is Director of the Research Institute of Tea Plants under the Academy of Agricultural Science in Fukien Province, south China. Early in 1962, the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture sent a group of agricultural experts under his leadership to the Republic of Mali to help the Malian people grow tea and sugar cane. In January this year the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture conferred a special award on him for his outstanding contributions to Sino-Malian friendship. This article recalls the group's tea-growing experience in Mali.

was no child's play—this would mean a bitter struggle against nature.

Travelling Through the Countryside

Two questions faced us. Was there any place in this hot country where tea cultivation was possible? Could the unfavourable climatic conditions be overcome by some special farming technique? To answer these questions, one needed to investigate and carry out some research work and scientific experiments.

Amadou was a deputy department chief in the Malian Ministry of Rural Development, who was sent by the Malian Government to accompany us on our country-wide investigation tour. He was a man of circumspection, the sort of person who is serious and talks very little. At first he was puzzled by our "strange" behaviour. For instance, we washed our own clothing, we ate with our driver, we were not particular about what we ate or about our daily needs, and we visited peasant families to learn local conditions from them.

In every village we would call on at least five or six experienced peasants, feeling quite at home sitting on a sheepskin and chatting with them. After some

time, Amadou, who began to know us better, on our way home often grew excited when he told us how his people had been oppressed and squeezed by the colonialists.

We told him that in the past our country also suffered imperialist and colonialist oppression and exploitation; our country also was poor and backward. But now, the people of the whole nation were building their country with their own hands and we wanted to make our country strong and prosperous by relying on our own efforts.

Amadou was now on intimate terms with his Chinese friends because we had something in common: we all are fighting imperialism and colonialism.

Time goes quickly. After more than a month we still had failed to find a spot suitable for tea planting. We had travelled to many places in central and northern Mali, including Segou and Mopti, which we found either too hot or too dry. Day and night it was so hot that it was virtually impossible to lie down in our room and rest because the bed itself seemed to be burning up. Near the Sahara Desert every place was so dry that not a drop of rain fell during the five months between November and May. There were places with soil sufficiently fertile for growing tea but the local peasants would tell us that these were water-logged; other places seemed to be rather ideal in every respect except that there was no river and irrigation was out of the question. This greatly affected me and I was quite worried.

Often, upon returning to my living quarters, I would open the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, and again read the article "In Memory of Norman Bethune." Chairman Mao has a very high opinion of this Canadian Communist who laid down his life for the Chinese revolution.* This gave me pause to think of myself as a Chinese who was helping the people of a foreign

country and doing my internationalist duty, which gave me the courage and strength to carry on.

Seeds From Afar

After two months and a 2,000-kilometre circuit we had covered almost half of the country. We received much help from Mamadou Fofana, chief of the department in charge of newly introduced crops under the Malian Ministry of Rural Development, and Bandia, who was head of the agricultural department of Sikasso Province. In addition, we had an old and experienced peasant named Birama as our guide.

In southern Mali near the Ivory Coast we finally came to a village called Balinkoni which is located in Sikasso. Here mangoes, pineapples and bananas grow in profusion and it seemed perfect for trying to grow tea plants: the dry season lasts six months, annual rainfall amounts to 1,300 millimetres, the soil is fertile and water conditions are favourable. It was here that we decided to set up an experimental base.

By now it was already late March, the season when people back home are about to plant tea seeds. Those which we had brought with us were choice ones from three of the best Hunan strains. Full and glistening, the seeds were of excellent quality. But when we tried to plant the seeds, we found that they had become dry and withered. They were apparently not adaptable to sudden changes in weather and their water content had been lost. I tried many ways to make them sprout and examined the planted seeds day after day. Two weeks passed without results. When I turned up the soil I found that the seeds in the nursery beds had all rotted. These were the only seeds we had in Mali, and China is some 20,000 kilometres from where I was working. So, if we could not get more fresh seeds in time, we would miss the planting season here. This would mean that our project to help the Malian people grow tea on their own soil would have to be delayed.

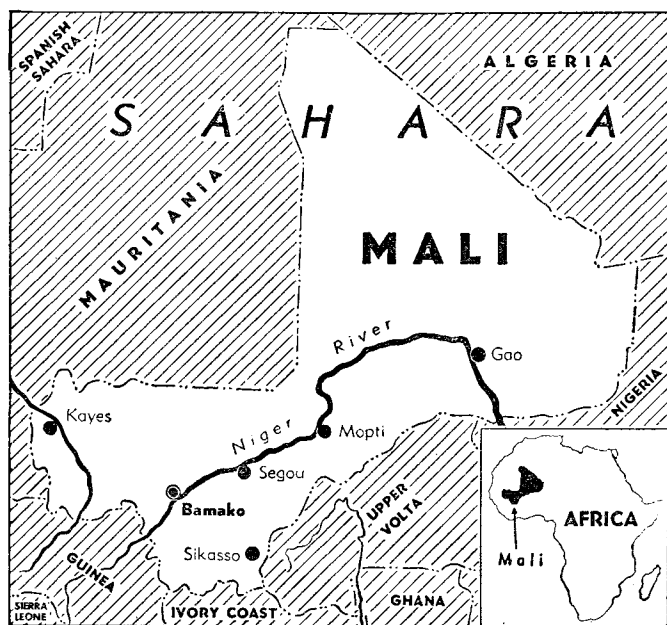
Other members of our group suggested that I immediately inform the Chinese Embassy. I was in Bamako the next day and Chinese Ambassador Lai Ya-li promised to contact Peking at once.**

April was not far off and with it the end of the planting season. Two weeks had passed when the embassy people told me that the tea seeds I needed had arrived by air. So back I went to Bamako where an embassy staff member told me that Peking had been cabled the day I reported to the Ambassador.

The Ministry of Agriculture in Peking, so I was told, had responded to this cable promptly. It sent telegrams asking for good seeds to agricultural departments all over China as well as special personnel to many places to make sure the task was carried out. The result was that the ministry men succeeded in

* A distinguished surgeon who arrived in the Chinese liberated areas in 1937 as the head of a medical corps of Canadian and American doctors. On November 12, 1939, he died in Tang County, Hopei, of a fatal disease contracted when operating on a wounded soldier. — Ed.

** The present Chinese Ambassador to Mali is Comrade Ma Tzu-ching. — Ed.



Sketch map by Su Li

obtaining 30 kilogrammes of seeds from an experimental tea plantation in east China which had been keeping seeds for its own experiments. This plantation generously offered the seeds because the Malian people needed them more. In rapid order the cargo was airlifted to Peking and then flown on to Bamako. From the time I went to the Embassy for help until we received the seeds the entire operation had taken just a fortnight.

The First Tea Garden

The time was five-thirty on the afternoon of April 9, 1962. Back from the fields, I found that the new seeds which we kept in wet sand had begun to sprout. We decided to plant them directly in the fields and also set up nursery beds around our dwelling so that experiments might be made in more than one place. We began to build up the nursery beds the same night. Under the light of an oil lamp, some of us started breaking the ground while others sorted out the seeds. By two o'clock in the morning planting had been finished and we got back for some sleep.

I was too excited to get to sleep. As dawn broke I rushed out to tell our Malian friends the good news. Learning that more planting was required, the Governor of Sikasso Province immediately went to Balinkoni village some 14 kilometres from the city to call a meeting of the villagers whose help he sought. The village head and the peasants were enthusiastic about helping. All the able-bodied men in the village—there were between 40 and 50—took part in making the tea garden and the fields ready in two days. The seeds were planted on April 12. This then was how Mali's first half-hectare experimental tea garden came into being.

May 4 was another memorable day. At the Balinkoni tea garden, thousands of purple tea shoots had emerged from the soil. Standing at my side at the time was Adama, a Malian worker. Unable to contain my joy and excitement, I grabbed his hand to show him what I saw in the fields: "Look, Adama, these are the shoots which we've been expecting to spring up!" The new tea garden was soon filled with people anxious to see the first tea shoots grown on their own soil. Some had brought pineapples and eggs and insisted that I take them.

After this our relations with the local inhabitants became even closer. We were hailed on our way to work by men and women of all ages, and the children greeted us on holidays in the traditional way. When the mangoes, pineapples and bananas ripened, our



President Keita and the author (2nd from left) in a tea garden at Sikasso

Malian friends would let us taste them first. Everywhere we went, we were overwhelmed by the friendliness of the people.

Conquering Pests

But the sprouting of the tea plants did not necessarily mean that they could grow properly. The primary problem to be solved now was how to protect the young plants from the scorching sun and the hot arid air. Shading them was needed. There are many ways to provide young tea plants with shade but we had no experience in what could be used for shade in the tropics. Going over the problem together, our Malian friends and ourselves came to the conclusion that green manure crops would make the best shade. After inquiring in nearby villages, however, we found that green manure crops in Mali grow too slow to serve as shade for tea plants. We seemed to have run up against a stone wall.

This was where Fofana came in. "Don't worry," he told us, "there are many kinds of green manure crops in our neighbouring country—the Ivory Coast. I'll go there myself to find the kind you want." Fofana made two trips to the Ivory Coast, tramping through the countryside and covering some 4,000 kilometres. From the Ivory Coast he returned with over 20 specimens of green manure crops and the seeds of four kinds of trees which could provide shade. Keeping them under observation, we planted these crops in the fields and discovered that three of the 20 grew rapidly enough to give shade in their early stages. In addition, they could be buried during the rainy season and then used as manure. We also learnt that one of the types of fast-growing trees would make an excellent shade for our young and grown-up tea bushes.

In this work the Malian official was hard-working and painstaking. We were impressed by his enthusiasm, and we found in him the Malian people's spirit of developing their national economy by relying on their own efforts, and their determination to work hard to build up their country.

From the day the seeds were planted, I had gone to the tea garden every day — including Sundays and traditional Malian holidays — working in the field with the Malian workers, and together we observed the effects of the tropical weather on the growth of the young plants. Row after row of virescent plants began to grow into bushes. It was a pleasure to watch them.

One day I discovered that the leaves on some of the plants had begun to wither; the number of them was increasing. Keeping quiet watch near the tea bushes, we soon found the destroyers of the plants. One was the African locusts, which, though they moved clumsily, destroyed the leaf buds in one bite. We eliminated them by catching them and by using insecticides. The other was the white ants which proved to be a more difficult foe than the locusts. They came in swarms and kept biting the roots of the bushes. It was only when Ousman, a Malian studying tea cultivation at the plantation, introduced us to a kind of insecticide used by the local inhabitants that we managed to keep away the second foe.

"We Too Can Run Tea Gardens!"

The successful cultivation of tea plants in Mali added to the Malian people's confidence in developing their national economy by self-reliance. The first decision by the Malian Government concerning tea growing was to make the nation self-sufficient by opening up 400 hectares of garden land by the end of 1969.

To help the Malian people bring about this splendid project, Fofana and I made an extensive tour of Kenieba and Kita Provinces in western Mali, looking for places

suitable for tea cultivation. These were wildernesses where men scarcely ventured and where wild animals roamed. We had to travel on foot because the brush, the jungle and the prairie allowed no motor car traffic. At night we would put up at a local peasant's hut, eating with our host. These warm-hearted peasants were enormously helpful; carrying knives and other weapons, they acted as guides and guards as they cut down the wild plants to clear the way for us. After two months' trek, we finally found several pieces of land for tea cultivation. Returning with Fofana to Kenieba, we Chinese members of the party were welcomed by the Governor: "You have travelled in our province, where mountains are everywhere, more extensively than any other foreign groups. Helping us in our national construction, you have shown no fear of difficulties, scaling heights and wading through rivers. We are greatly moved by the way you work."

Our group had opened a class to train Malians to become expert tea-growers. There were 11 students and 45 workers, all ordinary Malian working people who were fully aware of our desire to pass on our know-how without reservation. Two of them, Ousman and Cissoko, once told me: "We used to learn from the colonialists. But, instead of teaching us, they treated us as if we were hired hands and whipped us as they pleased. But you're teaching us with great patience and in only a few months we've already learnt a lot." Perhaps this was why they were so anxious to learn, and why no one ever failed to attend the class and everyone learnt so well. After finishing their training, they were sent to various parts of the country and put in charge of the newly opened tea gardens. Inspecting these gardens with Fofana, we were pleased to find that they were running them very satisfactorily. On our way home, Fofana kept saying: "Now we too can run tea gardens."

President Modibo Keita, who attached great importance to the growing of the first tea plants in the country, called on his people to visit the Balinkoni tea garden in Sikasso Province. A steady stream of visitors flowed along the 400-kilometre long Bamako-Sikasso highway. Even people from the pastoral region in the north, which is several thousand kilometres away, also came down to see the tea plants. As I saw them feel the plants, beaming with joy and showing their pride, I silently congratulated them on their achievements in their national economic development.

Mali Tea 4960

As a result of the Malian Government's concern and the combined efforts of our group, the Malian techni-



The author (2nd from right) and Malian agronomists pruning tea plants

cians and the workers, the tea plants which had been planted in April 1962 began to flush in June the next year. The Minister of Rural Development, Seydou Badian Kouyate, was delighted by what he saw at the tea garden but he was not sure that the quality of the Mali-grown tea would be as good as the imported China tea after it was processed. So he suggested that we make some samples for him to taste.

I was glad to accept this job. But some of my Malian friends — the technicians and students — looked worried. They knew that I was an expert in tea cultivation, but how could I know anything about tea processing? So they asked me to send them an expert in processing.

But tea processing was not Greek to me. Ever since I went to work at the Research Institute of Tea Plants in Fukien in 1952, I have been following the regular practice in China, based on the instructions of the Chinese Communist Party, of going to the fields and factories where I worked with and learnt things from the tea growers and tea-processing workers. I had thus not only learnt the techniques of growing tea in the fields but also those of processing tea in the factories.

The Malian people are accustomed to drinking green tea. Since tea-processing machines were still not available in Mali, I had to borrow an iron pan to have the leaves fired (dried). I carefully processed an amount of shoots sufficient to make two kilogrammes of green tea for the Malian Government. When our Malian friends evaluated the tea, they all agreed that it tasted as good as the 4011 tea which was imported from China.

Development Minister Kouyate was pleased after he had finished his cup. He named the tea 4960 to symbolize the profound friendship between the peoples of China and Mali, 1949 being the year of the founding of the People's Republic of China and 1960 the year Mali gained its independence.

The first Mali-grown tea, 4960, was also a seed of friendship planted deep in the hearts of the Malian people. Later, when I was looking for locations for

new tea gardens in western Mali, Aliounely, chief executive of the Kayes region, said: "China is a tea exporting country and yet you have come to help us grow tea. This is truly what we call disinterested and sincere aid. The capitalist countries will never allow the production of things which they export to countries that are their markets, but you do. We appreciate your aid very, very much." A Mr. Traore of Bamako also said to one of the Chinese comrades: "China is a country exporting tea and Mali is a splendid market. In helping us build up a self-reliant economy, the Chinese have helped us grow tea in our own country and this means that they have lost one of their markets. If this is not disinterested aid, and I never believed that such aid existed in the world, what else is it?"

The President Visits the Tea Garden

March 10, 1964. Fofana came in greatly excited to tell us that President Keita would make a special trip to Sikasso to see the two tea gardens under our care. We too were excited by this news. The presidential visit took place on March 13 and 14. With him were Members of the Political Bureau of the Sudanese Union Party, MPs, ministers, chief executives of the administrative regions and provincial governors. When he arrived, the President personally extended his congratulations on our achievements and gave us all hearty handshakes.

"What will the yields per hectare of tea bushes be?" President Keita asked.

"It all depends on how well the tea garden is run. Generally speaking, one hectare of tea bushes should yield 7,500 kilogrammes of leaf," I replied. Plucking a tea fruit from one of the plants, I offered it to the President. "Mr. President, this has been grown on Malian soil. With this, plus our success in transplanting, the large-scale development of tea gardens in Mali has become possible. The future of tea growing in your country is highly promising."

Taking the tea fruit from me, the President replied: "This is a fruit of friendship. I'll take it back and have it planted in the Presidential Palace."

THE WEEK

(Continued from p.5.)

which India had provoked in October of that year.

In a February 23, 1963 note to the Indian Embassy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already refuted Indian Government's sophistry which tried to justify its actions, and demanded the immediate return of all assets. However, the Indian Government has up to now refused to consider China's reasonable demand and has seriously impaired the interests of China and of the large

number of local depositors. To cover up its crimes of persecuting the Bank of China, the Indian Government has repeatedly resorted to fabrication and vilification, falsely accusing the bank of being "not quite innocent" and bank personnel of carrying on "political propaganda" and "undesirable activities." But, so far it has not been able to produce substantiation of its charges.

That the Indian Government should have unwarrantedly usurped all the assets of the Bank of China in India and refused to hand them back after two years and ten months

while diplomatic relations between the two countries are still being maintained is an unlawful act rarely seen in the history of international relations. The Chinese Foreign Ministry's note strongly protested against this and said: "The Chinese Government demands that the Indian Government compensate for all the losses suffered by China as a result of the taking over, freezing and seizure of the assets of the Bank of China in India by the Indian Government. It demands a speedy and clear-cut reply on this matter from the Indian Government."

ROUND THE WORLD

South Korea

An Object Lesson

On September 8, 1945, U.S. troops landed in Korea south of the 38th Parallel. Twenty years have elapsed, but in south Korea today there is still a huge American force of 60,000 men. For all those who cherish independence and peace, south Korea's painful experience provides much food for thought.

It was for the explicit purpose of fighting Japanese fascism that World War II's allied forces were allowed into Korea. Japan having surrendered and the Soviet army, which entered Korea north of the 38th Parallel in 1945, having been withdrawn, what right had the U.S. troops to remain? But they stayed on. Then, after the Korean armistice, the Chinese People's Volunteers, who went to Korea to help their fraternal neighbours repulse armed American onslaughts, were also withdrawn. But the U.S. troops stayed on. And Washington now doesn't even hide the fact that its armed occupation will go on indefinitely. The lesson is clear: wherever the U.S. imperialists get in, they will not pull out. They have to be thrown out.

South Korea under U.S. occupation has been reduced to a new-type colony — new in the sense that the colonialist rule is exercised not by an American viceroy but through an indigenous "government" formed of such infamous quislings as Syngman Rhee and Pak Jung Hi. The Seoul puppets and their American mentors have blocked all efforts to achieve Korea's peaceful reunification. They have instituted a reign of terror. The people under their misrule are living in grinding poverty. By the end of 1964 the U.S. had sucked from south Korea super profits exceeding \$10,000 million. Industrial production there today is only 90 per cent of that of 1940. South Korea, known in the past as a granary, imported over one million tons of food grains in 1964. Seven

million people are jobless or semi-unemployed. American G.I.'s strut around in towns and villages, killing and raping, and get away scot-free. The stark reality of south Korea proves conclusively that the appearance of U.S. troops anywhere means the disappearance of national sovereignty and people's freedom.

U.S.-occupied south Korea has been a constant menace to peace. There the U.S. ignited the tinderbox in 1950 and provoked a three-year war that was the largest since World War II. Despite the 1953 armistice agreement, the U.S. troops have introduced into south Korea nuclear and other new-type weapons and made frequent provocations along the military demarcation line. Of late Washington has pressganged thousands of south Korean troops into its dirty war in south Viet Nam and, through the south Korea-Japan "treaty" signed last June, is trying to ensnare south Korea in a north-east Asian war alliance. Past and present events testify that wherever there are U.S. troops, that place becomes a breeding ground of war. And to safeguard peace, it is imperative to make the U.S. armed forces leave all the places they occupy.

These are the lessons Washington has taught the world by the glaring negative example of its 20-year military occupation of south Korea. The 30 million Korean people, both in the south and in the north, are waging an ever fiercer struggle to rid their land of G.I.'s. And in this just cause they enjoy the firm support of the people of China and elsewhere.

Cambodia

Courageous and Vigilant

Peaceful and neutral Cambodia, which refuses to toe the U.S. line, has incurred Washington's rancorous hatred. The rulers in neighbouring Thailand, who are a bunch of compliant U.S. tools, have been trying to bully Cambodia into submission

by blatant threats or actual acts of subversion and armed incursion. To find a justification where there is none, they resort to the crudest kind of rumour-mongering.

Recently the Thai navy radio blustered that U.S. armed forces were preparing to bomb "the command of the 325th division of north Viet Nam" allegedly located on Cambodian soil. Bangkok's foreign minister Thanat Khoman personally set afloat the rumour that Chinese nationals in Cambodia were receiving guerrilla training in order to help the "Viet Cong" and that this had endangered the security of Thailand. These fantastic tales hardly deserve refutation.

More noteworthy is the background of these trumped-up charges. Not long ago Thai Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn held secret talks with Saigon puppets Nguyen Cao Ky and Tran Van Do in Bangkok. The U.S.-sponsored conclave, the Cambodian Government has pointed out, was called to work out a new anti-Cambodia scheme.

In the face of these rabid threats, Cambodia headed by Prince Sihanouk is both courageous and vigilant. When two Thai planes intruded over the country at the end of August, Cambodian ack-ack units hit back and brought them down, thus giving a sharp lesson to the invaders.

Prince Sihanouk has declared: "The Cambodian people would rather die than be enslaved by anyone." The Royal Cambodian Government has also stated: "The Cambodian people will go all out to repulse any aggression and will not hesitate to appeal to all friendly powers to face the aggressors." In China, the press has reiterated the Government and people's readiness to render full assistance in response to Cambodian appeal.

The U.S. and its lackeys should have learnt by now that independent Cambodia cannot be pushed around.

Inter-Imperialist Rivalries

U.S. Hegemony on the Wane

Lyndon Johnson, the latest proponent of the "American Century,"

NEWS NOTES

Dominican Republic: Yankees Feel Like "Earthworm in Chicken Yard."

The Yankees were gleeful about the "act of reconciliation" they foisted on the Dominican Republic calling for the disarming of the anti-U.S. patriots. But they rejoiced too soon. Down in Santo Domingo, AP correspondent Berrellez reporting on a rally of 20,000 people wrote: "You'd think they were just starting a revolution instead of ending one. . . . [They] sang, chanted or shouted anti-American slogans. The . . . theme, on posters and banners, was clearly one to make most Americans deeply self-conscious, like an earthworm in a chicken yard."

In a country at the very doorstep of the U.S.A. and with a population of only three million, the high and mighty Yankees now feel exposed and insecure. U.S. imperialism, when confronted with the united struggle of the people, isn't so formidable as the sabre-rattlers in Washington and the modern revisionists would have people believe.

S. Viet Nam: Story of Two Flags.

Guerrillas recently hoisted the flag of the National Front for Liberation on a tall tree near Tra Vinh city in the U.S.-puppet controlled area. Panic-stricken, the puppet authorities sent a whole company of troops to haul it down. But the soldiers re-

fused for fear of being trapped by the guerrillas. Only four days later after U.S. planes had bombed and strafed the surrounding area, did the puppet troops dare to climb the tree. But a few days later another N.F.L. flag appeared.

How brave are the guerrillas operating right under the enemy's nose! And how cowardly the puppet soldiers despite their numerical superiority and American weapons!

Asian Reports: G.I.'s Run Amuck.

U.S. officialdom claims almost every day that its troops are overseas to maintain "peace and order." Scanning recent Asian press reports, one finds the following:

In the Philippines, an American soldier shot and wounded a 14-year-old Filipino boy; a Filipino doctor was beaten up because he asked his American client to pay his fee; G.I.'s at Clark air base committed armed robbery to the tune of 170,000 dollars. . . .

In south Korea, a group of Yankees dragged over 20 women into the woods near their drilling ground in Pyungtaik on August 14 and raped them.

In Japan, *Mainichi Shimbun* reported that sometimes as many as 5,000 American sailors came ashore in a single night to seek "excitement" in the port city of Yokosuka.

They often broke into Japanese homes or, after a drinking bout, smashed windows and committed other outrages. A local shopkeeper said: "With the Viet Nam war getting hotter than ever, these soldiers have become more hot-tempered and violent." *Mainichi Shimbun* rightly observed that as long as there were U.S. military bases in Japan, the question of criminal offences by American servicemen could not be solved.

Washington: Alone and Hated.

U.S. News & World Report recently posed the question "How Helpful Are U.S. Allies?" in one of its articles. Here are some of its own answers: "Americans, linked in defence pacts with 42 nations, find these partners of scant help in today's world." "In Viet Nam, the U.S. almost alone is called upon to carry the burden of a mean and costly war. Allies mostly offer only advice, much of it critical." NATO "is deep in trouble." SEATO is "badly divided." CENTO "is quiescent at the moment." And O.A.S. "is largely a paper organization in other than economic fields."

What *U.S. News & World Report* failed to note is the basic fact that the steady disintegration of these aggressive military alliances is one aspect of the irrevocable historical process leading to the doom of U.S. imperialism.

proclaimed in one of his electioneering speeches last October that "the U.S. Government is history-bound to assume responsibility for the leadership of the free world." Apparently Washington still refuses to recognize that "leadership" for the anachronism which it is.

On September 9, Charles de Gaulle, speaking at his half-yearly press conference, once again let it be known that France, for one, will not have any part of that "leadership." With regard to NATO, a chief instrument through which the U.S. asserts its "leadership," the French President promised: "Upon the expiration of the commitments which we have undertaken, at the

latest in 1969, the subordination which may be qualified as integration by NATO, which places our destiny in foreign hands, will cease." And the General left no doubt as to whom he meant by "foreign hands." He censured those who insisted that France "should keep in the background, efface its national character, in the international organizations which are made in such a way that the United States performs or may perform from within or without a preponderant action to which we have to conform."

De Gaulle's repeated challenge to U.S. domination is a logical expression of the changing balance of

power within the imperialist camp. At the end of World War II, all the older imperialist countries were either defeated or exhausted, and Washington seized the opportunity to establish its hegemony over the so-called "free world." But the past decade and more have witnessed a steady decline of U.S. strength in relation to the other imperialist powers. Hence the intensification of their struggle against American bossing, with France taking the lead.

Monetary War

NATO is only one of many bones of U.S.-French contention. At his press conference, de Gaulle again

called for a return to the international gold standard. He said: "We do not recognize the currency of any particular state as having any privileged or automatic value in relation to gold which remains and should remain the only real standard."

As a result of its erstwhile financial supremacy, the U.S. established the dollar as an "international currency" equivalent to gold. And this gave Washington and Wall Street innumerable commercial and political advantages. But the position of the dollar has become more and more shaky in recent years as the U.S. faces mounting deficits in its international payments and its gold reserves keep on dwindling. Under these circumstances it is only natural that France and many other West

European countries should want to return to the gold standard system which recognizes nothing but gold as the means of international payments.

In this connection it is interesting to note the recent trip U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler made to Paris, Rome, Bonn, Stockholm, Brussels and Amsterdam. The object of his journey was to drum up support for a "world monetary reform" to relieve the pressure on the dollar. Fowler tried in vain to get the West European countries to agree to discuss this "reform" at the forthcoming Washington conference of the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) in which the U.S. has a decisive voice through the 23 per cent of the votes it holds. Most West European governments, on their part, contend that, if there is

to be any discussion at all, it should be within the "Club of Ten" in Paris. The ten are France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Britain, the U.S., Canada and Japan, and in this international monetary group Western Europe has a preponderant voice.

Fowler's tour was scarcely a rewarding one. As the British *Financial Times* wrote: "The sharp conflict over the future role of the dollar, with the French Government insisting that the dollar should cease to be held as official reserves, has prevented any agreement emerging on the form of a revised international payments system."

The conflict is truly sharp, and is not limited to the question of the dollar. Worse dissensions in the imperialist camp are yet to come.

For Your Information

National Regional Autonomy in China

WITH the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region on September 9, there are now five such autonomous regions for national minorities in China. The four previously established are the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in northern China, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the northwest, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region in south China and the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region in northwest China.

China is a multi-national country. Besides the Hans, the most numerous nationality of China, there are more than 50 national minorities. With a total population of over 38 million, they comprise about 6 per cent of the country's population, but they occupy as much as 50-60 per cent of the territory of China.

In the past, under reactionary domination, these nationalities did not enjoy anything like equal status, and imperialist aggression against China still further increased the sufferings of those peoples. It was the victory of the Chinese people's revolution that, in putting an end to the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, thoroughly smashed the system of national oppression and ushered in a new era of fraternity and mutual co-operation among all the nationalities of China.

Regional autonomy is the basic policy which the Chinese Communist Party, in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist principles, has adopted in its approach to the national problem. This is, in essence, a system of the people's democratic dictatorship—in other words, autonomous rights belong to the labouring people, not to the exploiting classes.

According to the Chinese Constitution, regional autonomy is to be exercised in areas where national minorities live in compact communities. Under the unified direction of the Central People's Government, autonomous organs not only exercise the functions and powers of local government organs, but also have autonomous rights in financial, economic, cultural and educational matters, and in the organization of the local people's public security forces.

Autonomous organs are mainly composed of people from the minority nationality which exercises regional autonomy. The form of the autonomous organs is decided by the will of the majority of the people in the area. The commonly used spoken and written language of the local nationality must become an official language of the area.

Various levels of autonomous areas have been set up according to the size of the population and extent of the territory concerned. The largest are autonomous regions (equivalent to provinces). Smaller groupings are represented by 29 autonomous *chou* (equivalent to administrative regions, each consisting of several counties) and 65 autonomous counties.

The people's government at higher levels must safeguard the rights of the autonomous units and help them in training functionaries of the relevant minority nationalities and in their economic and cultural development.

At the same time, the Constitution guarantees equality for all nationalities irrespective where they live.

The policy of regional autonomy has strengthened unity among all the nationalities of the country, promoted active participation by the minorities in the direction of state affairs, and helped advance the revolution and construction in the minority areas.

ACROSS THE LAND

Glimpses of Tibet Today (II)

Education. This autonomous region has well over 60,000 children and young people, most of them sons and daughters of peasants and herdsmen (former serfs and slaves), studying in 1,600 local primary schools, seven middle schools, a teacher's training school and in the Tibetan Institute in Hsienyang (in northwest China), where 1,900 Tibetan students are studying agriculture, animal husbandry and veterinary science, book-keeping and health work.

Work-study schools have mushroomed. A thousand peasants and herdsmen are studying in ten part-time study, part-time work schools and training courses whose aim is to speed up the training of more emancipated serfs and slaves as technical and other personnel for industry, communications, educational and medical work. Located in factories, villages and on the pasturelands, they teach

Tibetan and Han (Chinese) languages and arithmetic in addition to subjects directly connected with the work students will do after graduation.

Besides those learning in full-time or part-work, part-study schools, tens of thousands of adults are learning to read and write in evening schools and spare-time literacy classes.

Highland Hospitals. The autonomous region now has 15 modern hospitals and 149 health centres and clinics. Medical care is free to all.

The highest inhabited area on the plateau, the Ari Special Administrative Region (in the southernmost part of Tibet) has set up a medical network covering all its six counties.

There is a modern general hospital in Karkhunsra, the regional government seat. Most districts in this rugged region have their own clinics, while mobile medical teams regularly visit the more remote mountain villages and settlements.

People Buy More.

The amount of manufactured consumer goods bought in Tibet last year was four times as much as in 1956. Annual consumption of tea, the most popular beverage here as elsewhere in China, averaged 3.3 kilogrammes per person, a far cry from the old days when it was so expensive and the people so poor that many used other

tree leaves as a substitute. Tea now costs one-thirtieth of its pre-liberation price. Clothing, sugar, tobacco and other consumer goods, too, were bought in larger quantities at much reduced prices.

Roads. There was not a single kilometre of highway before liberation. Transportation was by yaks, pack mules or horses, and not at all infrequently, on the backs of men. Nobles used to ride about on the backs of their slaves.

Now a network of highways totalling 15,000 kilometres radiating out from the cities and towns links up 95 per cent of all the counties on the plateau. Three arterial roads join Tibet to Sinkiang, Szechuan and Chinghai and the rest of the country helping to bring in all-round progress, more and cheaper goods, strengthen economic and cultural ties and facilitate socialist construction.

Post and Telecommunications. The postal service is reaching out to every part of sparsely populated Tibet, which averages one person per square kilometre. Before liberation it had no modern postal or telecommunications services. Serf-owners had their mail privately delivered by serfs or household slaves. Now 110 rural postal routes totalling 6,700 kilometres cover 175 districts and 239 townships in 51 of the region's 70 counties, and 93 post and telegraph offices have been set up.

Longest Bridge. The longest modern highway bridge ever built on the Tibetan Plateau was opened to traffic on August 25. Built of reinforced concrete over the Lhasa River it is 530 metres in over-all length with a seven-metre-wide roadway flanked by pavements for pedestrians. It links the important Chinghai-Tibet and Szechuan-Tibet Highways.

Tibet's Rural Clubs. These clubs are established by the farmers themselves. Emancipated, masters of the land, and working hard and successfully, they are now eager to become masters of culture.

Nedong County, in the Loka area, has 17 rural clubs and many others



Applauding a performance of "Presenting a hata to Chairman Mao"

Facts About Tibet

THE autonomous region of Tibet is on the high plateau in south-west China. Its average elevation is about 4,000 metres. The majority of the people are Tibetans; others are Monbas, Lobas, Islamic Huis, or Hans. Lhasa is the capital of the region; other major cities are Shigatse, Gyantse, Chetang and Chamdo.

Climate. Because of the extremely high altitude the climate on the whole is dry and cold. This is especially so in the wind-swept north.

Rainfall decreases from south to north as the distance from the ocean increases. The temperature varies greatly over each 24 hours. Early summer in the Himalayan region may find driving snow on the mountain tops, drizzle on the slopes and calm, sunny weather in the valleys.

Rivers. The longest river is the tumultuous Tsangpo flowing through southern Tibet. Its three main tributaries are the Nyang, the

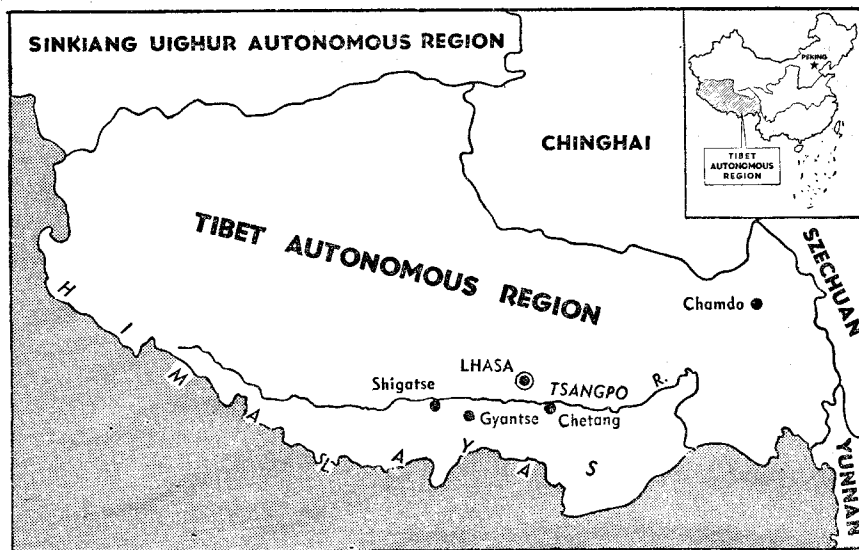
Nyangchu and the Lhasa. In the east are the Nukiang, Lantsang and Kinsha Rivers. The hydroelectric potential is tremendous. There are many salt lakes.

Vegetation. Grasslands account for about three-fifths of the region. In the southeast are huge areas of virgin forests with much valuable timber: Sikkim larch, Deodar cedar, Himalayan pine, red pine, camphor and varnish trees. Here, too, are found many kinds of medicinal herbs.

In the river valleys of the warmer south and east are fertile farmlands with adequate rainfall enabling farmers to get good crops of *qingko* (highland barley), winter wheat, peas and rapeseed, and fruit such as peach, apricot and apple. The Bomi area in the southeast grows rice, sugar-cane, banana and other subtropical plants.

Tea, cotton, groundnuts and sesame are four of several hundred new varieties and species of plants successfully introduced in recent years.

Animal Life. Domesticated animals include yaks, goats, sheep, horses and oxen. Among the common wild animals are wild asses and sheep, snow leopards, bears, Mongolian gazelles, foxes and deer, including the hornless musk deer.



Sketch map by Su Li

have been or are being set up in the Shigatse, Lhasa and other areas.

A club may be only a spare room and its equipment is of the simplest, yet it serves the purpose. When evening comes, the peasants, especially the younger ones, flock there to study Chairman Mao's works, to read other books and periodicals printed in the Tibetan language, listen to revolutionary stories or learn revolutionary songs. Dancing, basketball, and other games or sports are also popular. In the Loka area alone today, there are 500 amateur song and dance troupes.

At present there are five professional drama companies and 120

mobile cinema teams. There are also a growing number of amateur cultural groups in the pastoral and farming areas of the autonomous region.

Tibetan Drama Festival. Tens of neighbouring areas celebrated the "Sholden Festival," a traditional festival of Tibetan drama.

With a history of more than three centuries, the festival is held each year on the first three days of the seventh moon of the Tibetan calendar. That brought it this year on August 27-29.

Six amateur theatrical troupes performed Tibetan operas, songs and dances whose central theme was the



First tomato crop—July 1st State Farm, Lhasa

happy life of the Tibetan people today. Nightly film shows struck another new note at the festival.

Exhibition in Lhasa. An exhibition on Tibet's revolutionary struggle and economic and cultural achievements over the past 15 years opened in Lhasa in late August. Housed in a permanent hall located in the new municipal area in front of the Potala Palace, the exhibition has a floor space of 5,000 square metres and is divided into eight sections.

Freedom of Religion in Tibet

GENUINE freedom of religious belief for all in Tibet began with the democratic reform in 1959. Since then, Tibetans are entirely free to believe, or not to believe in a religion.

Buddhists form the largest religious community in Tibet, but there are also a number of Moslems.

As in the rest of the country, worshippers in Tibet carry on their religious activities as usual. In Lhasa, Buddhists, clergy and laymen, attend services, turn prayer wheels and perform other devotions in the many monasteries or along Bargor street encircling the famous Jokhan monastery. Living Buddhas and lamas read from Buddhist scriptures or expound Buddhist teachings in the Daipung, Sera, Gandan and Jokhan monasteries. At traditional Buddhist festivals there are the usual services and sermons.

The big monasteries today run 17 research courses, attended by some 2,000 lamas of various sects. In the last five years, 33 have qualified for the degree of *geshi*, the highest order of theological accomplishment in lamaism, and 11 others have been sent to study at the China Buddhist Theological Institute in Peking.

Under the dictatorship of the land-owning aristocrats and high clerics in the old feudal serf society, a steady flow of lamas was ensured

by a system whereby a family with three sons had to send one to a monastery. In addition, large numbers of people unable to pay land rent or debts were compelled to become virtual slaves of the monasteries. Of 301 lamas in a temple of the Daipung monastery, for example, 281 had been forced to become lamas.

A monastery in former days exercised all the rights and privileges of a manorial lord and carried on trade and practised usury. Usurious debts "owed" the Daipung monastery by its 20,000 serfs, for instance, amounted to the fantastic amount of 140,000 tons of grain plus a sum equivalent to 10 million yuan!

Democratic reform has done away with the monasteries' feudal privileges, their system of oppression and exploitation, and freed their serfs and oppressed lamas. Monasteries are now run by committees democratically elected by the monks and nuns. Lamas, irrespective of status, enjoy all the rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution.

The policy of freedom of religious belief as practised by the People's Government follows the principle of the integrity of state power and the

separation of religion from the state. This means that the Government fully respects and protects the people's freedom to believe or not to believe, their freedom to believe in any religion, their freedom to be converted and, if they so wish, to renounce belief.

In line with this policy, help is given to monks and nuns who were forced to assume religious duties in place of doing corvee in pre-democratic reform days, and who wish to leave and rejoin their families. They receive financial help and are allotted a share of land, housing and means of production. Similarly, those who wish to stay on, and those who want to enter monasteries, are entirely free to do so.

The aged and infirm, ailing or disabled among monks and nuns, like non-believers in need, are given allowances and free medical attention. There is no discrimination.

The People's Government has assumed the responsibility to repair a number of famous monasteries. The Jokhan and Ramogia monasteries, the mosque in Lhasa and other religious institutions, damaged by the rebels during their armed rebellion of 1959, have been repaired by the Government.



Young Pioneers of Lhasa

PUBLISHING

The People Write History

In Huaijou County near Peking, a newly literate old peasant, Han Chao-hung, bought some good, tough writing paper and spent many evenings laboriously writing a history of his sufferings before liberation when he had slaved for the landlords. His last words were an appeal to his children and grandchildren: "Read this and remember our family's past. It was the Party and Chairman Mao who set me free; I will follow their leadership to the end of my days. I want you, too, always to listen to the Party and Chairman Mao, and do as they tell you. Remember well: It's for you to keep the people's power safe." He is leaving this document as a "family heirloom" to be passed on to all his descendants.

Across the country, workers and peasants are similarly writing up histories of their families, of their factories, villages or communes.* Those still unable to cope with such a task supply material to the host of students, teachers, cadres and other intellectuals, working for short periods in the factories or countryside, who volunteer to help. It is not only past sufferings that they record; they want posterity and the world to know how they achieved emancipation under the leadership of the Communist Party, and how they are building socialism today.

Since last autumn, in Peking and its environs, 10,000 such histories have been written. They run to 70 million words. Part of this material has been selected for publication by the special editorial group of Peking's "Four Histories" Series. Six volumes of the series have already been published, with more to come.

Peking's "Four Histories" Series

The six volumes contain ten histories of villages, nine of workers' families, 18 of peasant families, and

* These are called the "four histories," a general term which also includes the histories of streets, cities and other units or collectives.

six histories of landlords revealing the bloody road they took in amassing their wealth. Some of these are written in chronological sequence, giving a complete record of events over half a century. Others highlight a few crucial episodes. Whatever the style, they all evolve around the central theme of the people's revolution led by the Communist Party, against a background of brutal oppression by feudal landlords, bureaucrat capitalists and imperialists. The language is simple and clear. Some stories are told in the first person, some in the form of reportage or investigations. All are alive with vivid detail.

There are accounts of outrageous oppression. *Fifty Stormy Years Over Nantsai* (Vol. 2) tells one typical case. Nantsai Village in Shunyi County near Peking had 4,800 *mu* of land. Only 570 *mu* belonged to the poor peasants, averaging 1 *mu* per person. Three landlord families held 3,300 *mu*. Forced to rent land from the landlords, the poor peasants paid over 60-70 per cent of their yearly produce as rent. By the time seed grain had been set aside for the next year's sowing, little was left in the family larder for food.

If land rent was one noose around the peasant's neck, usury was another. Because of sickness in the family, one Nantsai villager borrowed 200 yuan from the landlord. Three years later, the interest alone ran to 190 yuan.

Two Straw Mats

Landlord extortion forced whole villages of poor peasants to become hired labourers or virtual peons. In *Two Straw Mats* (Vol. 2) peasant Yang Jui-shen of today's Lukouchiao Commune tells his family's pitiful story. His father worked as an odd job day labourer for the landlords. When the father fell ill, mother and children went begging. When the father died there wasn't a copper to buy even a straw mat in which to bury the dead in. The young widow took the only way out: she went straight from the side of the death-bed into her second marriage. This gave her the meagre sum needed. Then she was deserted by her second husband. At nine, Yang started

hiring himself out on the "man market," the sole breadwinner of the family. When his mother too died a few years later, another straw mat had to be bought. Yang contracted to work for a landlord to pay off the price.

The volumes carry similar stories of miners, railway workers, vegetable growers, swineherds. . . .

Revolt

But where there is oppression, there is revolt. *The Poor Man's Society* (Vol. 4) tells how in Changhsieh Village, Fangshan County, 90 poor peasant households pitted themselves against the "Big Eight" landlord families in the village elections. The poor peasants won the elections, but the results were ignored by the reactionary government and a "Big Eight" appointee was made village head. In the old society, law and justice were not for the poor. The Nantsai villagers mentioned earlier, in one famine year, was down to their last ear of grain. Smoke rose only from the kitchen chimneys of the landlords, whose storerooms were piled ceiling high with food. The landlord hoarders refused to lend or sell. Unwilling to sit down and die, the poor peasants rose in a body, forced the storerooms and divided the food. Their triumph, however, was short lived. Without arms and without correct leadership, they fought spontaneously, on a piecemeal basis; they could not win lasting victory.

Vol. 6 carries the story of the famous Chiaochuanghu Village, Shunyi County, whose poor peasants found the only correct way out. Coming early under the Communist Party's guidance, the villagers armed themselves, overthrew the local reactionaries and set up the people's power. Visitors today go to see the underground tunnels in this east Peking village. Shooting through their secret loopholes, armed peasants sent many enemy soldiers to their doom during the War of Resistance Against Japan and later in the Liberation War. Starting out with two hand-grenades and two rifles in 1938, the villagers organized a people's militia force that waged 150 big and small



Telling the Story of the Village

Chinese ink and colour painting
by Yi Chih-hsiang

engagements against the Japanese and the Kuomintang.

Struggle for Socialism

Most of the histories in these volumes are carried up to today. They mirror the tremendous changes since liberation. Their authors all tell of improvements in their personal life; but as they speak of today, they show far wider interests: ventures into scientific experiments, expanding production as part of the socialist economy, struggles against people trying to go back to the old capitalist road.

The history of the hothouse vegetable-growers' production team in the Evergreen People's Commune is representative (Vol. 6). The commune is one of the capital's major vegetable and melon-suppliers, especially well known for its hothouse tomatoes, cucumbers and other winter greens. Just after liberation, a few highly skilled but extremely poor market gardeners headed by the now famous labour model Li Mou-lin responded to the Communist Party's call and took the road of mutual aid and co-operation. Farming as a mutual-aid team, their yields increased 50 per cent. Then they formed a small producers' co-op, seven households in all. Their success,

with state help, attracted 300 households to join by 1954 and 500 more by 1956. In 1958, they amalgamated with other co-ops to form the Evergreen Commune. Today, the production team led by Li Mou-lin has 1,100 hothouses producing 300,000 *jin* of hothouse vegetables each year. Average yields are ten times what they were before liberation. Fine strains of their vegetables can be found growing from north China to Tibet and the lower Yangtse delta.

Watermelon Race

Behind these rising figures are some very interesting stories. Just when the co-op was getting on its feet in 1954, an ill wind blew and members began dropping out. These were the well-off middle peasants who, having got their start in the co-op, now wanted to go it alone. Those who were left were the poor and lower-middle peasants, who resolved to stick together. Farmer An Wen-chi was a well-off middle peasant whose tidy income had kept him aloof even when everyone else was crowding to the co-op's door. With his watermelon fields bordering on the co-op's, every day the individual farmer and the collective farmers worked side by side, and a silent race went on. When the crops were in,

the co-op had reaped 520 melons a *mu* to An's 300, its yields of cabbages and turnips greatly surpassed those of the individual farmers. The co-op won not only the race for better yields, but the race between those taking the socialist road and those taking the capitalist one. By 1956, all the peasants who had dropped out were asking to be readmitted; An Wen-chi tagged along after them. This history shows, as does the other histories, how the advance to socialism has to be fought for every step of the way and in a myriad ways.

Peking's "Four Histories" Series concerns only one area. But they give an idea of the sort of histories that working people all over the country are writing. Taken together, the hundreds of thousands of individual histories give a wealth of living material for compiling a true history of contemporary Chinese society and the times.

Though the people make history, in old China, the ruling classes monopolized the writing of history. If the working people and their struggles got into the history books at all, it was in a distorted way. Today, the people are writing history themselves with themselves as its true heroes.

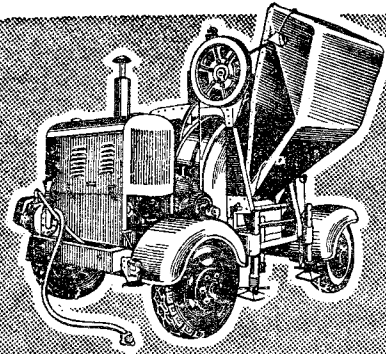
SHORT NOTES

New Research Institute. An institute for research on glaciers, frozen earth and deserts has been established by the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Lanchow, capital of Kansu Province, northwest China.

The institute will also study the general hydrological situation in arid areas of China, methods to prevent damage to industrial buildings and farms by freezing of the soil, glaciers, the movement of sand caused by windstorms and the shifting of soil and rocks by mountain torrents.

Research in these fields was actually begun by scientists of the Academy in 1958 with studies on how to stop the movement of sand dunes along a stretch of the Paotow-Lanchow Railway, on windstorms and geographical features of the Takla Makan desert in Sinkiang and on the basic features of China's glaciers.

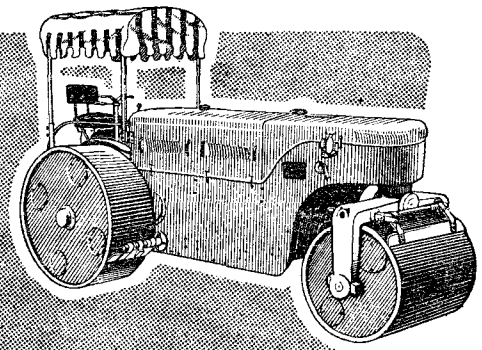
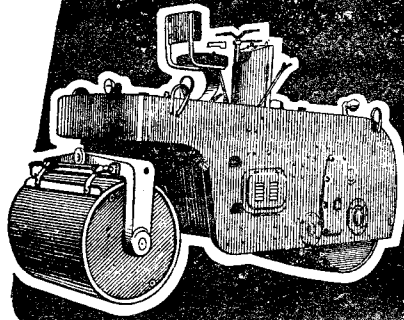
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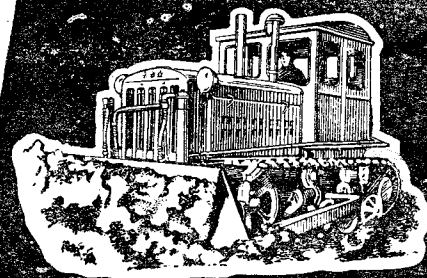
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