

PEKING REVIEW

39

September 24, 1965

北
京
周
報

U.S. Plane Shot Down Over Hainan

Pilot captured.

Chinese Government Notes to India

- Demanding the dismantling of Indian military works on Chinese territory.
- Protesting against new Indian intrusions and armed provocations.

Who Backs the Indian Aggressors?

Renmin Ribao editorial

China's Economy: New Achievements

Subscribe to

Chinese Magazines in English

PEKING REVIEW

A weekly magazine
of Chinese
news and views

Airmailed to subscribers the world over

CHINA PICTORIAL

(monthly)

CHINA'S SPORTS

(monthly)

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

(monthly)

CHINA'S SCREEN

(quarterly)

CHINESE LITERATURE

(monthly)

CHINA'S FOREIGN TRADE

(published every two months)

EVERGREEN

(published every two months)

SCIENTIA SINICA

(monthly)

WOMEN OF CHINA

(published every two months)

CHINESE MEDICAL

JOURNAL (monthly)

Distributed by **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre),

P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

Place your orders with your local dealer

PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 24, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 39

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS	
Chinese People Are Ready in Battle Array	6
Chinese Foreign Ministry's Notes to India	8
Who Backs the Indian Aggres- sors? — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	13
China Condemns U.S. Use of Poison Gas in S. Viet Nam — Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement	16
New Achievements in China's Economic Construction — Fang Chung	17
Strive to Build a New Social- ist Tibet — Chang Kuo-hua	20
Victory at Pinghsingkuan — Li Tien-yu	23
SPORTS	29
ROUND THE WORLD	30

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Cable Address: Peking 2910

Printed in the People's Republic of China

THE WEEK

Conference on People's Militia Work

A conference on the work of the people's militia was held recently. Important resolutions which will strengthen this major auxiliary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were adopted.

During the conference, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state received all those taking part. Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, and Lo Jui-ching, Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., made important reports.

The conference, which lasted 14 days and was attended by leading members of all the services of the P.L.A., was sponsored by the Headquarters of the General Staff and the General Political Department of the P.L.A. It summed up experience, gained in the course of the socialist education movement, in stepping up the building of the people's militia and, in the light of new conditions, devoted special attention to discussing the ways and means of carrying through more fully Chairman Mao Tse-tung's instructions to put the work of the people's militia on a solid basis organizationally, politically and militarily. All the participants expressed their determination to hold still higher the great red banner of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's theory on people's war, display revolutionary spirit and perfect the work of the people's militia so that if the U.S. imperialists should force war on the Chinese people, there would be millions upon millions of people and militiamen shooting at the enemy from every corner, laying mines, isolating the enemy, cutting off his supply lines and drowning him in the ocean of people's war.

Both the present domestic and international situations were excellent, it was pointed out. However, the U.S. imperialists were frenziedly carrying out the policies of war and aggression, raising their stakes in the war of aggression in Viet Nam

by accelerating "escalation" and plotting new adventurous actions. At the same time, the modern revisionists were stepping up their collusion with the U.S. imperialists and going a step further in selling out the revolutionary interests of the people throughout the world. In these circumstances, the conference stressed, it was necessary to take Chairman Mao's theory on people's war as the guide, earnestly carry out his instructions on militia work, greatly heighten vigilance and strengthen combat readiness.

The conference noted that there had been great achievements since the conference on the political work of the people's militia held last winter by the General Political Department of the P.L.A. It studied at length ways of improving the basic organizations of the people's militia. It called on all the services of the P.L.A. to take an active part in helping the militia consolidate its organization, strengthen its political work, carry out military training, acquire combat experience and cultivate a militant style of work. All provincial military commands and departments of the people's armed forces were asked to take militia work as their most important task and exert all efforts to perfect it.

Editorial Comment. Hailing the successes of the conference, *Renmin Ribao* in its September 21 editorial said that the strengthening of the people's militia was a major strategic task in further consolidating our national defence and an extremely important measure in face of the expansion of war by U.S. imperialism. "The basic method to deal with a war of aggression by imperialism," said the editorial, "is to carry out a people's war which means reliance on the people, mobilization of the people, organizing and arming them, making everyone a soldier and waging a war with everyone taking part in it." Describing

people's war as a mighty weapon of the revolutionary people in fighting against the imperialists and their lackeys, the editorial served full

warning on the imperialists and reactionaries that they would be smashed if they should dare to invade our country.

Among those present were Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese leaders.

Chairman Mao later gave a banquet in honour of the Japanese C.P. leaders and their wives.

GANEF0 Council Meets in Peking

The 2nd Council meeting of the Federation of the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0) opened in Peking on September 21. Attending the opening ceremony were sports delegations and delegates from 39 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Ho Lung were also present.

After Jung Kao-tang, Chairman of the Committee for GANEF0 of the Chinese People's Republic, delivered a speech of welcome, President of the GANEF0 Federation and Indonesian Minister of Sports Maladi gave the opening address. He said that, since the 1st GANEF0 and the founding of its Federation in 1963, the GANEF0 movement had developed vigorously. He condemned the International Olympic Committee and other international sports organizations controlled by the imperialists for their disruptive activities against GANEF0. But, he said, these intrigues could not do the least damage to it. Recalling the decision to hold the 2nd GANEF0 in Cairo in 1967, he expressed the belief that it would be another great success. But, he added, "we have to guard against the evil schemes of the imperialists, strengthen the unity and solidarity of the new emerging forces and firmly adhere to the principles of the GANEF0." Maladi expressed support for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for the Pakistan people in their fight against Indian aggression.

Vice-Premier Ho Lung greeted the opening of the 2nd Council meeting on behalf of the Chinese Government and people. He denounced U.S. imperialism for expanding its war of

aggression in Viet Nam, supporting the Indian reactionaries' aggression against Pakistan and intensifying its war provocations against China. He said: "The Chinese people are well prepared and cannot be intimidated. No matter what happens in the world, the Chinese people will never shirk their international duty of aiding and supporting the people of the world in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism. We are determined to unite with all anti-imperialist peoples and carry through to the end the revolutionary struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States and their stooges."

Vice-Premier Ho Lung paid tribute to President Sukarno for initiating the GANEF0. He said that the birth of GANEF0 was a great event in international sports circles, ending once and for all the monopoly and control of international sports activities by the decadent imperialist forces. He declared: "The Chinese people will always fight alongside all the other new emerging forces in the world and do their part in the struggle to combat attempted imperialist monopolization of international sports activities, carry forward the noble cause of GANEF0, make the 2nd GANEF0 a great success and promote friendship and unity among the people of all countries."

Executive Board Meeting. The Executive Board of the Federation of the Games of the New Emerging Forces met in Peking on September 20 and 21. It discussed the agenda for the second session of the GANEF0 Federation Council.

of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, and Ichiryo Sunama, Member of the Central Committee of the Japanese C.P. and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee,

Vietnamese Photograph Exhibition

An exhibition of 200 photographs from the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is on in Peking's Museum of Chinese Revolution. Chairman Liu Shao-chi, who was among the visitors on September 14, expressed his appreciation for all the photographs which illustrated the fraternal Vietnamese people's achievements over the past 20 years in industry, agriculture, culture and other fields as well as their victories in fighting the U.S. aggressors.

Chairman Liu Receives Malian Minister

A friendly and cordial talk took place on September 16 when Chairman Liu Shao-chi received Malian Minister of Development Seydou Babian Kouyate and his wife.

Premier Chou En-lai had met the Malian guests two days earlier.

Guests From Black Africa

Chairman Liu Shao-chi received the delegation of the Federation of the Students of Black Africa in France headed by Vice-President Fall Machtar on September 14. The Chinese leader had a cordial talk with his guests.

Chen Yi Returns to Chengtu

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi returned to Chengtu, capital of Szechuan Province in southwest China, on September 21 after visiting Pakistan, Syria, Algeria, Mali, Guinea and Afghanistan. Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Chang Han-fu and local government and Party leaders welcomed him at the airport.

Chen Yi flew to Conakry on September 15 after a one-week visit to Mali. During his two-day stay in

(Continued on p.7.)

Chairman Mao Meets Japanese C.P. Leaders

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on September 17 had a cordial conversation with Satomi Hakamada, Member of the Presidium and the Secretariat

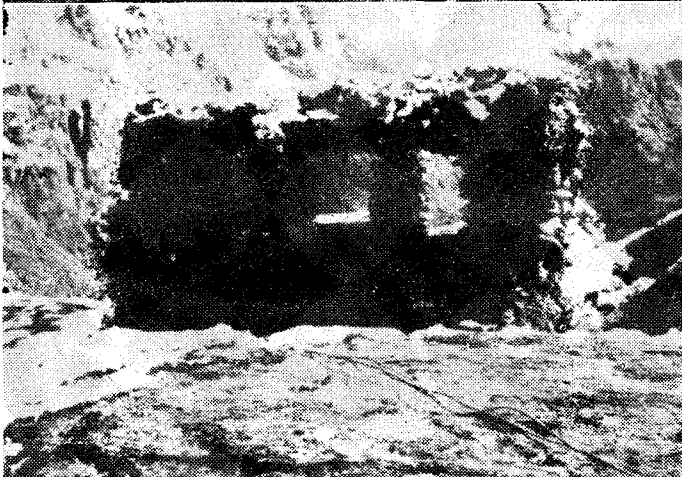
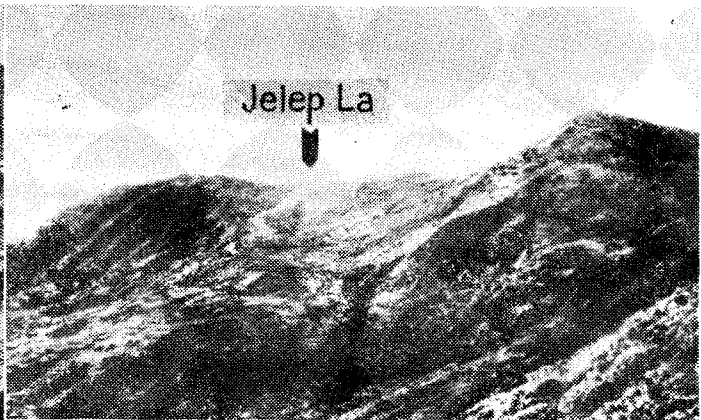
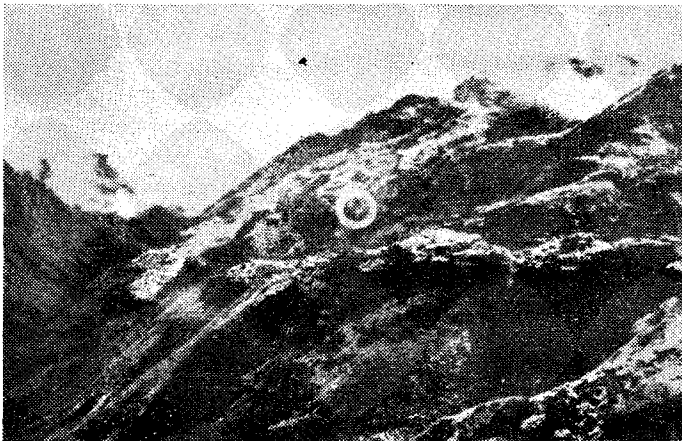
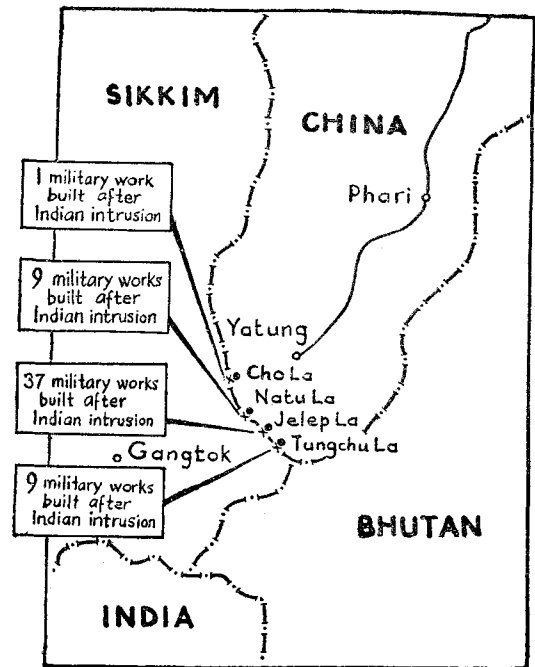
Indian Government Tries to Destroy Evidence Of Intrusions Into Chinese Territory

The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a note to India dated September 16, severely condemned the Indian troops' intrusions and provocations across the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim boundary. It demanded that the Indian Government dismantle the 56 military works for aggression it had built on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself within three days of the delivery of the note. The time-limit was postponed to before midnight of September 22 by the Chinese Government in a note to the Indian

Government on September 19. Finding no way of denying the iron-hard facts, the Indian Government has resorted in the past few days to various devices in a vain attempt to destroy the evidence of its crimes and to escape responsibility for its intrusions and the building of many military works on Chinese territory.

At Jelep La, the intruding Indian troops hurriedly and surreptitiously demolished

(Continued on p.7.)



EVIDENCE OF MILITARY WORKS BUILT BY INDIAN TROOPS ON THE CHINESE SIDE OF JELEP LA AND CHO LA

Upper right: The Chinese side of Jelep La on the China-Sikkim boundary. Here the Indian aggressors built 21 blockhouses, 13 dug-outs, two shelters and one observation post.

Lower right: Traces of military works which the Indian troops who had intruded on to the Chinese side of Jelep La destroyed before they fled.

Upper left: The Chinese side of Cho La on the China-Sikkim boundary. The white circle marks the site of the observation post built by the intruding Indian troops.

Lower left: Observation post (its location is marked by white circle in the upper left photo) built by the Indian troops on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary. The telephone lines were left by the Indian intruders when they fled in panic.

Chinese People Are Ready in Battle Array

An Air Unit of P.L.A. Navy Downs an American Military Plane Over Hainan Island

ON September 20 at 11:00 hours an American F-104 fighter plane intruded into China's territorial air from west of Hainan Island. By 11:32 hours it had penetrated deep into the air space of Hoihow, carrying out provocative military activities. The enemy plane (No. 83) was intercepted by aircraft of the Navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and brought down. The pilot, Captain Philips E. Smith (serial number 4360), who baled out, was captured.

A responsible official of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence, in an interview with a Hsinhua correspondent on the same day, strongly protested against this American provocation. "This incident," he said, "is a component part of the plan of the U.S. imperialists to extend their war of aggression in Asia. It is also a serious move taken by the U.S. imperialists in an attempt to impose war on the Chinese people." He recalled that it followed U.S. air intrusions over Hainan Island on April 9 (*Peking Review*, No. 16, April 16) and over the area of Hokow in Yunnan Province on July 11 (*Peking Review*, No. 29, July 16). This latest incident, he added, occurred when Washington was expanding its war of aggression in Viet Nam, backing Indian aggression against Pakistan and instigating Indian troops to carry out repeated provocations along the Sino-Indian boundary. On September 19 these

troops had actually intruded into the Ari area of China and provoked an armed clash against China (see p. 12). The official warned the U.S. imperialists that the Chinese people and armymen, together with the people of Asia and the world, "will resolutely deal counterblows at the U.S. aggressors and completely smash their schemes for aggression and war if U.S. imperialism insists on enlarging the war in Asia and forcing war on the Chinese people."

Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of Defence, in an order commending the naval air unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, described this victory as "a powerful blow to U.S. imperialist military provocations against China" and "a punishment for U.S. imperialism which is scheming to expand war in Asia." Anticipating fresh U.S. provocations, Lin Piao said that U.S. imperialism would never pull up short because it was the most vicious enemy of the Chinese people. The order called on the unit "to hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, carry on the glorious tradition of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, sum up your combat experience in real earnest, guard against conceit and impetuosity, heighten your vigilance, maintain a constant state of combat readiness, resolutely defend the sacred territorial air of the motherland, be ready at all times



The captured American pilot Captain P. E. Smith and his identity cards.



to strike at any enemy plane that dares to intrude, and strive for still greater victories."

A *Renmin Ribao* commentary (Sept. 21) hailed this new victory scored by the air force of the Chinese Navy as a fitting punishment to the U.S. aggressors and a warning to them. Of late, *Renmin Ribao* noted, the U.S. propaganda machine had been talking about "making nuclear response" to China and the Indian reactionaries too were clamouring for a war against China. This military provocation by a U.S. plane was an indication that U.S. imperialism was taking one step after another in an attempt to force a war on the Chinese people.

"The Chinese people," said *Renmin Ribao*, "have always made a full appraisal of the madness of U.S. imperialism which, being consistently hostile to the Chinese people, will never be reconciled to its defeats in China and Asia. Sooner or later it will want to have a trial of strength with us. We do not cherish any hope of avoiding this by sheer luck. The Chinese people do not want war, but they are by no means afraid of it. We have been well prepared for quite a long time! If

U.S. imperialism persists in spreading the flames of war in Asia and imposing war on us Chinese people, they will merely hasten their own defeat.

"This latest provocation by U.S. imperialism once again reminds the whole nation that we must heighten our vigilance a hundred times and be ready to hit the U.S. aggressors at any time and hit them hard. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, the people's militia and the whole nation are waiting for them in battle array. We will resolutely strike back and wipe out the aggressors, no matter how the U.S. imperialists may come — by air, by sea or by land; whether it is direct invasion by U.S. imperialism or an invasion by its lackeys at its instigation; or whether the aggression is launched from this or that direction!

"The U.S. imperialist plan to expand its war of aggression is posing an increasingly serious menace to Asia. Peoples of all lands, in Asia and throughout the world, must unite further and smash the U.S. imperialist war plan by resolute action. Only thus can peace be effectively safeguarded!"

THE WEEK

(Continued from p.5.)

the military works in the darkness of night. However, clear traces of the military works still remain at the sites.

The intruding Indian troops had erected one military work at Cho La. Here there were not many Indian troops. The day after China sent its note of September 16, they hurriedly fled, having no time to demolish the military work or take away the telephone lines.

At Tungchu La and Natu La, the intruding Indian troops stayed on until the 19th and 20th. Leaving behind evidence of their presence, they fled during the night and early morning mist after seeing Chinese troops drawing close to the military works to put them under observation.

All the intruding Indian troops in these four passes have now fled. Chinese troops are in complete control of the sites of the installations of the intruding Indian troops. Careful checks have verified the accuracy of the statement of the Chinese Foreign Ministry in its note of September 16 that Indian troops

had built 56 large and small military works either on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself.

The disposition of the 56 military works of the intruding Indian troops were: three blockhouses and six dug-outs at Natu La; 21 blockhouses, 13 dug-outs, two shelters and one observation post at Jelep La; six blockhouses and three dug-outs at Tungchu La; and one observation post at Cho La. All these works for aggression were built on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary, long ago delimited, or on the boundary itself. The Indian Government cannot evade its criminal responsibility of using the territory of Sikkim to make a wanton invasion of the territory of China.

(Hsinhua News Agency)

(Continued from p.4.)

Guinea's capital, he had talks with President Sekou Toure. On September 15, in the company of the President and his wife, he attended a special performance by the Djoliba National Ballet of Guinea. The next day, President Toure gave a dinner in honour of Chen Yi and his party.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi arrived in Kabul on September 20. He called

on Mohammed Yusouf, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, and had a cordial talk with him.

Indonesian Economic Delegation In Peking

An Indonesian economic delegation led by Surjadi, Minister for the State Budget, and M. Jusuf, Minister of Light Industry, arrived in Peking on September 16 for a friendly visit. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and other government officials greeted the delegation at the airport.

The next day, Vice-Premier Li gave a banquet in honour of the Indonesian guests. Extending his welcome to them, the Vice-Premier said: "Co-operation between China and Indonesia is the co-operation between two new emerging countries in Asia and two comrades-in-arms in the anti-imperialist struggle. It is sincere and reliable, and based on equality and mutual benefit. It, therefore, has a great future."

Speaking of the Indonesian people's efforts in developing their national economy and liquidating imperialist economic forces, the Vice-Premier said: "The guiding prin-

(Continued on p.28.)

Chinese Foreign Ministry's Notes To India

On September 17, Yang Kung-su, Deputy Director of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, summoned J.S. Mehta, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy, and handed him a note dated September 16 demanding that India dismantle within three days its aggressive military works built on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself. In reply to the Indian Government's note of September 17, Yang Kung-su again summoned J.S. Mehta on September 19 and handed him another note, dated September 19, which reiterated China's demand that India dismantle all its aggressive military works. The time-limit was extended for another three days to give the Indian Government a chance to do so.

On September 19 Indian troops intruded into Dumchele within Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border and launched an armed attack on Chinese civilian personnel. On September 21, Hsu Ching-wu, Deputy Director of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, summoned J.S. Mehta and handed him a note dated September 20 which lodged the strongest protest against Indian intrusions and provocations.

Here we publish the three Chinese Foreign Ministry notes and the Indian note of September 17, 1965. — Ed.

China Demands India Dismantle Aggressive Military Works Within Three Days and Stop Intrusions Into Chinese Territory

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to reply as follows in refutation of the notes of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs dated September 2 and 12, 1965:

(1) In its notes the Indian Government continues to resort to its usual subterfuges in an attempt to deny the intruding activities of Indian troops along the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim boundary. This attempt cannot possibly succeed. **Since ceasefire and troop withdrawal were effected along the Sino-Indian border by China on her own initiative in 1962, Indian troops have never stopped their provocations, and there have been more than 300 intrusions into China either by ground or by air. The Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged protests with the Indian Government and served warnings to it, and has successively notified some friendly countries. The facts are there, and they cannot be denied by the Indian Government by mere quibbling.** Moreover, the Chinese Government has four times proposed (the latest occasion in June 1965) Sino-Indian

joint investigation into India's illegal construction of military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary, but has each time been refused by the Indian Government. Now, the Indian Government pretentiously says that the matter can be settled if only an independent and neutral observer should go to the border to see for himself. It further shamelessly asserts that Indian troops have never crossed the Sikkim-China boundary which has been formally delimited, and that India has not built any military works either on the Chinese side of the border or on the border itself. This is a bare-faced lie. How can it hope to deceive anyone?

(2) It must be pointed out that, in each of its notes, the Indian Government has blatantly claimed parts of Sinkiang and Tibet on the Chinese side of the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary to be Indian territory "illegally occupied" by China. But in fact these areas have never belonged to India, and even had never been marked as within Indian territory before India tampered with the maps. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that **90,000 square kilometres of Chi-**

nese territory south of the illegal McMahon line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border have all along been illegally occupied by India, that eight areas in the middle sector and Parigas in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border are also illegally occupied by India, and that such illegal occupation has never been recognized by the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government for ever retains the right to settle these questions.

(3) Supported by the U.S. imperialists and their partners, the Indian Government has always pursued a policy of chauvinism and expansionism towards its neighbouring countries. Its logic for aggression is that all places it has seized belong to it and that whatever place it wants to grab but has not yet done so belongs to it too. It was this logic that motivated the large-scale armed attack the Indian Government launched against China in 1962, and it is the same logic that motivates the massive armed attack it is now launching against Pakistan. **The Chinese Government has consistently held that the Kashmir question should be settled on the basis of respect for the Kashmiri people's right of self-determination, as pledged to them by India and Pakistan. This is what is meant by China's non-involvement in the dispute between India and Pakistan. But non-involvement absolutely does not mean failure to distinguish between right and wrong; it absolutely does not mean that China can approve of depriving the Kashmiri people of their right of self-determination or that she can approve of Indian aggression against Pakistan on the pretext of the Kashmir issue. Such was China's stand in the past and it remains so at present. Yet some countries have acknowledged Kashmir as belonging to India. In that case, how can one speak of their non-involvement in the dispute? The question now is that India has not only refused to recognize the right of the Kashmiri people to self-determination, but openly launched an all-out armed attack against Pakistan. This cannot but arouse the grave concern of the Chinese Government. Reason and justice must prevail in the world. So long as the Indian Government oppresses the Kashmiri people, China will not cease supporting the Kashmiri people in their struggle for self-determination. So long as the Indian Government persists in its unbridled aggression against Pakistan, China will not cease supporting Pakistan in her just struggle against aggression. This stand of ours will never change, however many helpers you**

may have, such as the United States, the modern revisionists and the U.S.-controlled United Nations.

(4) As is known to everybody, the Indian Government has long been using the territory of Sikkim to carry out aggressive activities against China. Since September 1962—not to mention earlier times—Indian troops have crossed the China-Sikkim boundary, which was delimited long ago, and have built a large number of military works for aggression either on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself. There are now 56 such military works, large and small, which they have built in the past few years all over the important passes along the China-Sikkim boundary, thus wantonly encroaching upon China's territory and violating her sovereignty. In these years, the Chinese Government has made 13 representations to the Indian Government. But the Indian Government has all along turned a deaf ear to them and does not have the slightest respect for China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Far from stopping its acts of aggression, the Indian Government has intensified them by ordering its troops to intrude into Chinese territory for reconnaissance and provocations. The intruding Indian troops even penetrated deep into Chinese territory, made unbridled harassing raids, kidnapped Chinese border inhabitants and seized their livestock. Is there any international boundary or any principle guiding international relations in the eyes of the Indian Government? This is indeed preposterous and going too far in bullying others!

The Chinese Government now demands that the Indian Government dismantle all its military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself within three days of the delivery of the present note, and immediately stop all its intrusions along the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim boundary, return the kidnapped Chinese border inhabitants and the seized livestock and pledge to refrain from any more harassing raids across the boundary. Otherwise, the Indian Government must bear full responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Peking, September 16, 1965

China Reiterates Its Demand: India Must Dismantle All Its Aggressive Military Works

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to reply to the note of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government dated September 17, 1965, as follows:

The Chinese Government has noted a conspicuous change of tune in the note under reference compared with the previous notes of the Indian Government.

Over the past two years and more, the Chinese Government had on 13 occasions made representations and lodged protests concerning the construction of

military works for aggression by Indian troops crossing the China-Sikkim boundary, and the Indian Government invariably flatly denied its building of any military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself. In the present note, however, the Indian Government suddenly changes its tune by admitting that the possibility of the presence of its military works on the Chinese side is not excluded, stating that if any such works are found there is no objection to their being demolished.

In all its previous notes, the Indian Government categorically refused to return the Chinese border inhabitants kidnapped by Indian troops. In the present note, however, it suddenly changes its tune by saying that two of the kidnapped Chinese inhabitants will be permitted to come back to China if they wish to do so.

The Indian Government four times rejected the Chinese Government's demand for a joint investigation as being unnecessary. In its present note, however, the Indian Government suddenly changes its tune by saying that it has no objection to a joint investigation, although the demand was not reiterated in the Chinese Government's note of September 16.

Why does the Indian Government suddenly change its tune while defending its habitual stand of expansionism? Obviously, this is because the stern demand made by the Chinese Government in its note of September 16 has produced effect. But has the Indian Government really altered its aggressive intentions and actions? Far from the case. To put it bluntly, the Indian Government is using this tactic to play for time, evade China's just demand and refuse to dismantle its military works for aggression within Chinese territory or on the boundary line.

But muddling through will never do.

The Chinese side is in possession of ample and abundant evidence which can prove to the world that Indian troops have crossed the China-Sikkim boundary to build military works. The Indian Government is aware of this. There is now no longer any need for investigation. In its present note, the Indian Government admits that the possibility of the existence of Indian military works on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary is not excluded and it does not object to dismantling such military works as may exist. **This in effect shows that there are indeed Indian military works for aggression within Chinese territory and on the boundary line.** The China-Sikkim boundary is a delimited one. The Chinese frontier guards know the places where Indian troops have built military works across the boundary as they know their own palms. **The Chinese Government firmly demands that the Indian Government dismantle these military works for aggression. In order to give the Indian Government the opportunity to do so, the Chinese Government is willing to put off the time-limit set in its note of September 16 to before midnight of September 22.**

Besides dismantling the Indian troops' military works for aggression within Chinese territory and on

the boundary line, the Indian Government must hand back the four Chinese border inhabitants who have been kidnapped and the 800 sheep and 59 yaks that have been seized by Indian troops on the China-Sikkim border. All these kidnapped persons and seized livestock were explicitly mentioned in previous notes of the Chinese Government. The Indian Government asserts in its note that two of the Chinese inhabitants who were kidnapped by Indian troops went to Sikkim to seek asylum and that they will be permitted to return only if they wish to do so. This is a hoax. All the border inhabitants kidnapped and the livestock seized by Indian troops must be returned unconditionally, not short of a single one. The Indian Government must further guarantee that absolutely no intrusions or harassing raids across the border will recur in future.

In its note, the Indian Government pretends to be peace-loving, alleging that India is a peaceful nation, that it has made consistent attempts to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully, and that the matters raised by the Chinese Government in its note of September 16 are minor ones which do not call for the use of "threatening language" and the form of an "ultimatum." Is all this true? No. We did endeavour to believe that India would be willing to live together in peace with her neighbours. But gradually we came to discover that peace is only a smokescreen used by the Indian Government to cover up its prosecution of an expansionist policy. China and India should have been friendly neighbours coexisting peacefully in accordance with the Five Principles. The Chinese Government has indicated to the Indian Government its desire for friendship on innumerable occasions. But all these demonstrations of friendship have failed to prevent the Indian Government from nibbling away, intruding into and making harassing raids on Chinese territory, setting up a large number of strongpoints there, and even launching a massive armed attack on China along the entire Sino-Indian boundary. It was only when the Chinese Government used stern language in talking to the Indian Government and put its words into practice by repulsing India's massive armed attack in self-defence that the Indian Government slightly restrained itself.

It is a tactic of the Indian expansionists to describe all their acts of aggression against India's neighbours as minor matters which do not jeopardize peace; but if you earnestly demand the cessation of their acts of aggression, they will charge you with using "threatening language" and the form of an "ultimatum." But innumerable facts have shown that the Indian Government does not heed good words of advice, and only sobers up a little when faced with categorical just demands and with a firm will to see these demands fulfilled. The Indian intrusions and harassing raids across the China-Sikkim boundary are by no means minor matters, nor are those occurring in any sector of the entire Sino-Indian border. The Chinese Government must deal with them seriously.

From their own experience the Chinese people can deeply understand how Pakistan has been bullied by the Indian Government. The Indian Government's expansionism has linked China with all the other neighbouring countries which India has been bullying. **The Chinese Government gives all-out support to the people of Kashmir in their struggle for the right of national self-determination. The Chinese Government gives all-out support to Pakistan in her just struggle against Indian aggression. The Chinese Government fully supports the desire of the neighbours of India to safeguard their independence and neutrality and protect their internal affairs from interference. This stand of the Chinese Government is not to be shaken by any tricks on the part of the Indian Government.**

In its note the Indian Government flatly denies the fact about its occupation of and intrusions and harassing raids into China's territory, and pretends that the Sino-Indian boundary question has already been settled. This will not succeed. India is now still in occupation of 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory south of the illegal McMahon line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, eight pieces of Chinese territory in the middle sector and China's Parigas in the western sector. After 1962, Indian troops kept on crossing the line of actual control on the Sino-Indian border for harassing raids, and even lately they are still doing so. None of these facts can be denied by the Indian Government. All these issues must be settled, and nothing whatsoever can make the Chinese Government give up its right of settling these issues. The Chinese Government for ever retains the right to settle these issues.

In conclusion, the Chinese Government reiterates that the Indian Government must dismantle all its military works for aggression either on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself before midnight of September 22, 1965, immediately stop all its intrusions along the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim boundary, return the kidnapped Chinese border inhabitants and the seized livestock and pledge to refrain from any more harassing raids across the boundary. Otherwise, the Indian Government must bear full responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Peking, September 19, 1965

APPENDIX:

The text of the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs of Sept. 17, 1965 to the Chinese Embassy in India:

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India and with reference to the Chinese Government's note of (65) *pu yi ya tzu* No. 760 of September 16, 1965, has the honour to say as follows:

Ever since the Sino-Indian border problem was raised by the Chinese Government, the Government of India had made strenuous attempts to settle the question peacefully and with honour. Even after the unprovoked Chinese attack across the border in October-November 1962, the Government of India consistently followed the policy of seeking a peaceful settlement honourable to both the parties concerned. It was in this spirit that India accepted the Colombo proposals, which China has not accepted hitherto.

2. As has been pointed out in various notes to the Chinese Government in the past, the Government of India has given strict instructions to its armed forces and personnel not to cross the international boundary in the eastern and the middle sectors and the so-called "line of actual control" in the western sector. The Government of India are satisfied, after careful and detailed investigations, that Indian personnel as well as aircraft have fully carried out these instructions and have not transgressed the international boundary and the "line of actual control" in the western sector at any time at any place. The Government of India are, therefore, absolutely convinced that the allegations contained in the Chinese note under reply are completely groundless. The Government of India are constrained to reject these allegations and to reassert emphatically that they do not accept the claims to vast areas of Indian territory in the western, middle and eastern sectors of the border put forward in the Chinese note under reply. As regards China's stand on Kashmir and on the present unfortunate conflict between India and Pakistan, it is nothing but interference on the part of China calculated to prolong and to enlarge the conflict.

3. The Chinese note has once again repeated the allegations of so-called violations of the Sikkim-Tibet border by Indian personnel. These charges have been already answered and refuted by the Government of India. Indian personnel have never crossed the Sikkim border and committed any harassments or raids into Chinese territory. Nor have they seized livestock belonging to Tibetan herdsmen or kidnapped any Chinese inhabitants from Tibetan territory. In the Government of India's note of July 13, 1965, it was clearly stated that two Tibetan inhabitants alleged by the Chinese Government to have been kidnapped by Indian troops were actually refugees from Tibet who sought asylum in Sikkim. As the Chinese Government is aware a number of Tibetans have come over into India from time to time on their own volition and without our permission. Such persons are detained and questioned, and any of them desiring to go back to Tibet are always permitted to do so. The two Tibetans in question can also go back to Tibet if they wish to do so.

4. The Chinese Government's note has reasserted the old allegations that India has built military structures on the Tibetan side of border. The Government of India has refuted this allegation on several occasions in the past. In September, 1962, some defence structures were constructed on the Sikkim side of the Sino-Indian frontier. These structures have not been in occupation since the cessation of hostilities in November, 1962. Since the Chinese Government alleged that some of the structures were on their side of the border, India had, in its note of September 12, gone to the extent of suggesting that an independent observer be allowed to go to this border to see for himself the state of affairs. The Chinese Government has not, unfortunately,

accepted this reasonable proposal of the Government of India, and has reiterated its proposal for joint inspection. Even though the Government of India are convinced that their troops have not built military structures in Tibetan territory, they have no objection to a joint inspection of those points of the Sikkim-Tibet border where Indian personnel are alleged to have set up military structures in Tibetan territory. The Government of India on their part are prepared to arrange such an inspection as early as possible, at an appropriate official level, on a mutually convenient date. If any structures are found on the Tibet side of the border, there can be no objection to their being demolished.

5. The Government of India would like to point out, in conclusion, that charges made by the Chinese Govern-

ment in its note are really minor ones and could well be settled through peaceful procedures such as those proposed in this note. These allegations do not, on any reckoning, justify the kind of threatening language and ultimatum held out by the Chinese Government. It is clear that China is fabricating these charges only to find a pretext for further aggression against India. India is a peaceful nation and has no desire for war-like conflicts. If, however, such a conflict is thrust on India by aggression from China the responsibility for the grave consequences that might follow from such action will lie squarely on the shoulders of the Chinese Government.

6. The Ministry of External Affairs takes this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

China Lodges the Strongest Protest Against Indian Intrusions And Provocations

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with regard to a grave incident of Indian troops intruding into Chinese territory and making an armed attack on Chinese civilian personnel, has the honour to state as follows:

At 14:50 hours on September 19, 1965, a group of Indian soldiers, who had intruded into Dumchele within Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, penetrated to an area about four kilometres eastward for harassment and brazenly made an attack by opening fire on the Chinese civilian personnel who were on duty there. After serving warnings without avail, the Chinese civilian personnel had to strike back, and thus repulsed the intruding Indian soldiers. **This incident is the gravest armed provocation India has made on the Sino-Indian border since her massive armed attack against China in October 1962 was checked. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the strongest protest with the Indian Government.**

Dumchele is Chinese territory. It is on the Chinese side of the 1959 line of actual control between China and India and is under effective Chinese control. It was only after the Chinese frontier guards began to withdraw all along the Sino-Indian border on December 1, 1962, that this place was vacated as part of the demilitarized zone. In its note to China dated July 28, 1964, the Indian Government also recognized Dumchele as being within the Chinese demilitarized zone. Yet, Indian troops not only set up an aggressive strongpoint at Dumchele back in June 1965, but have now made an

armed attack on Chinese civilian personnel. **This is an act of serious encroachment upon Chinese territory and**

Recent Indian Provocations and Intrusions

PRIOR to the September 19 Indian intrusion into Dumchele and the armed attack on Chinese civilian personnel, Indian military personnel had several times intruded into China's territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. These incursions took place after repeated protests by the Chinese Government to New Delhi against Indian provocations and intrusions across the China-Sikkim boundary and the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary.

On September 11, a little after 12:00 hours, four Indian soldiers, on horseback and carrying tommy guns and rifles, following the Changlung River penetrated about three kilometres into Chinese territory to the south and southeast of the Hot Springs civilian checkpost in Sinkiang. They did not pull out of Chinese territory until around 19:00 hours, having harassed the area for nearly seven hours.

On September 16, around 11:20 hours, three Indian soldiers intruded about three kilometres into Chinese territory to the southeast of the Hot Springs civilian checkpost, and reconnoitred for more than 90 minutes.

On September 18, at about 13:00 hours, three Indian soldiers crossed the Den-Cho River from Parigas, a place in Tibet illegally occupied by India, and intruded into the vicinity of the village of Demchok, on the Chinese side of the 1959 line of actual control in the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. They reconnoitred and harassed the area.

sovereignty and deliberate provocation of an armed conflict.

The Chinese Government demands that the Indian Government immediately stop all its intrusions and provocations on the Sino-Indian border and absolutely guarantee that it will not again invade and occupy Dumchele in China and that similar incidents will not

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Who Backs the Indian Aggressors?

THE Indian reactionaries showed the greatest truculence when they started armed aggression against Pakistan. Not only have their troops crossed the India-Pakistan ceasefire line in Kashmir, but their sea, land and air forces have been used simultaneously to launch massive invasions in several directions into Pakistan territory. They even bombed Pakistan's capital.

In the face of all this, one naturally raises the question: How could the Indian reactionaries, beset by difficulties both at home and abroad and with limited potential at their disposal, have been so bold as to dare launch aggressive war on such a big scale despite the condemnation by world opinion?

Anyone who follows world politics can easily see that there is an international background to the Indian reactionaries' aggression against Pakistan. They have become so bellicose and arrogant because there are people who are backing them.

Who are their backers? One is U.S. imperialism, the other is the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union.

U.S. OFFICIALS and propaganda organs have spared no efforts in the past few days to make people believe that Washington has "clung to its neutralist peacemaker role" in the armed conflict between India and Pakistan. This "peacemaker" camouflage, however, cannot fool anybody.

After India started provocations and aggression against Pakistan, U.S. imperialism first pretended to be "impartial" and made no distinction between right and wrong, so as to shield the Indian aggressors. But a few days later, turning facts upside down, it openly sided with the Indian aggressors and slandered Pakistan. Chester Bowles, U.S. Ambassador to India, openly declared that "the U.S. Government was sympathetic to India and accepted that India had been subjected to aggression by Pakistan." At the same time, the U.S. Government instructed its representative to the United Nations Arthur J. Goldberg to get on the move and collaborate with the Soviet delegate in manipulating the Security Council to pass two resolutions for the

recur. Otherwise, India must bear full responsibility for all the consequences that may arise therefrom.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Peking, September 20, 1965

purpose of intervention. Both resolutions distorted the facts, avoided mentioning India's undisguised aggression against Pakistan and made no reference at all to the right of the people of Kashmir to self-determination. The Security Council resolutions, as the Pakistan Government pointed out in its September 10 statement, "almost adopted the Indian line."

Feigning "impartiality," U.S. imperialism resorted to a sleight of hand and announced the suspension of the shipment of military "aid" material to India and Pakistan. On the surface, this American move seems impartial. But, in fact, it is a vicious trick to assist India against Pakistan. U.S. Ambassador to India Chester Bowles let the cat out of the bag when he said in his statement to newsmen on September 10 that this suspension "would be more harmful to Pakistan than to India" and "would make Pakistan weaker in relation to India." George H. Mahon, Chairman of the U.S. House Appropriations Committee, was even more outspoken when speaking in the U.S. Congress on economic aid to India after the outbreak of the Indo-Pakistan conflict. He said: "It would be a horrendous thing for this government to tie its hands so it could not come to India's aid." **Facts have shown that U.S. imperialism is not at all playing the role of a "neutralist peacemaker" in the Indo-Pakistan armed conflict but is siding in every possible way with the Indian reactionaries and helping them in their aggression against Pakistan.**

That the United States should adopt such a policy is not fortuitous. It is a continuation of Washington's fixed policy over the past years in consistently supporting the Indian reactionaries against Pakistan.

The Indian ruling group has in recent years betrayed its proclaimed policy of non-alignment, stepped up the formation of a de facto alliance with U.S. imperialism and become its willing tool in opposing China and undermining Afro-Asian solidarity. U.S. imperialism, on its part, is determined to foster the Indian reactionaries as a tool for pushing forward its aggressive policy.

The late U.S. president John F. Kennedy openly stated in August 1962: "It is in our [U.S.] interest to support it [India]." His adviser, Henry Kissinger, said

that "on fundamental issues India and the U.S.A. have common objectives" and that "India has potentially a unique role to play." It is for this reason that U.S. imperialism has sharply increased economic "aid" to India in the past few years to more than 6,150 million dollars. In addition, U.S. arms and military equipment have been steadily pouring into India. Indian ruling circles thus depend on U.S. imperialism to an ever greater degree, militarily, economically and politically. Without U.S. patronage, the Indian reactionaries could not survive a single day. Because of this U.S. support, the Indian reactionaries did not hesitate to launch armed aggression against China in the past, and only recently they have made incursions into Chinese border areas and carried out military provocations; and now they have gone so far as to mount massive military attacks on Pakistan.

The policy of the United States towards Pakistan is the exact opposite of its policy towards India. Greatly irritated by the independent policy followed by Pakistan, U.S. ruling circles have brought ever cruder pressure to bear on Pakistan in the last few years. In the present Indo-Pakistan armed conflict, U.S. imperialism hopes to cut Pakistan down to size through the military aggression launched by the Indian reactionaries.

It is clear that U.S. imperialism is the out-and-out arch criminal encouraging and supporting the Indian reactionaries in unleashing aggression against India's neighbouring countries.

THE revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union chimes in with U.S. imperialism on the Indo-Pakistan conflict. It also pretends to be impartial, but actually favours the Indian reactionaries and backs up the Indian aggressors at every step. Its performance in this respect is not one whit inferior to U.S. imperialism.

After the Indian reactionaries started armed provocations and aggression against Pakistan, TASS issued two statements, and the head of the Soviet Government sent separate messages to the Indian Prime Minister and the Pakistan President. Let us see what these documents are trying to sell.

First, referring to the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the Soviet leaders said that "Pakistan troops have advanced several dozen kilometres into the depth of Indian territory" before mentioning the fact that "Indian troops had crossed the state frontier in Punjab near Lahore." This is a deliberate distortion of facts. They avoid mentioning the plain fact that it was Indian troops that first suppressed the resistance of the local people in the Kashmir area and then crossed the ceasefire line to mount attacks on the Pakistan-controlled sector. But they insistently describe the Kashmir area, whose future status has not yet been determined, as Indian territory and the counter-attack Pakistan troops have had to undertake in self-defence in that area as advancing "into the depth of Indian territory." **By resorting to such subterfuge in distorting the facts and thus confounding**

the issue of who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union places the responsibility for provoking the armed conflict on Pakistan to cover up India's crime in starting the aggression.

Second, the Soviet leaders have talked a great deal about the Indian reactionaries' "policy of non-alignment having earned broad international recognition" and praised India's "devotion to the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence." As a matter of fact, the Indian reactionaries long ago cast aside their "non-alignment" cloak, betrayed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and, in flagrant contravention of the elementary norms of international law, committed armed aggression against China in the past and against Pakistan at present. By their own naked acts of aggression, they have time and again torn to shreds their mask of a "policy of peace and peaceful coexistence." But the Soviet leaders have gone out of their way to whitewash them. **This once again shows that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union is a group of people who follow no principle whatever. Standing things on their head, they have gone so far as to deliberately describe a country which has repeatedly started armed aggression against other countries as one following a "policy of peace and peaceful coexistence."**

Third, the Soviet leaders have maliciously slandered and attacked the countries which support Pakistan's fight against aggression, saying that these countries "seek to profit by the worsening Indian-Pakistan relations" and urging that "all states should warn those who facilitate the fanning of the conflict by their incendiary statements." This performance by the Soviet leaders clearly reveals the depths to which the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union has sunk in betraying the interests of the people of the world. Not only have they themselves refused to support the struggle against aggression, they have also objected to others doing so. Not only have they themselves opposed the countries and people who have adopted a just stand on the Indian-Pakistan armed conflict and who support Pakistan's struggle against aggression, they have also instigated others to do the same as they do. **All indications show that the Soviet leaders vainly hope to use this opportunity to start another anti-China campaign on a worldwide scale.**

IT must be pointed out that the Soviet leaders are responsible to a great extent for the Indo-Pakistan armed conflict. This is because for the last ten years they have sided with the Indian reactionaries on the Kashmir question over which the present conflict has broken out, and have spared no efforts to support the latter's policy to annex Kashmir. The Kashmir question is clearly an outstanding dispute. Nevertheless, N.S. Khrushchov declared publicly as early as December 1955 that the Soviet Government considered Kashmir "an inalienable part of the Republic of India," adding that "the question of Kashmir as one of the states of the Republic of India has been settled by the Kashmir

people themselves." Since then, the Indian reactionaries have received encouragement and support from the Soviet leaders in their every act to sabotage international agreements and annex Kashmir. In the present conflict, soon after the Indian forces had crossed the ceasefire line in Kashmir, Kiril T. Mazurov, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., paid a special visit to New Delhi to encourage the Indian reactionaries. He reaffirmed the Soviet policy on the Kashmir issue, saying that this policy "remains unchanged." The Soviet leaders clearly cannot absolve themselves of the responsibility for the Indian reactionaries' aggression against Pakistan.

Now, when the Indian reactionaries in their war of aggression have met firm counter-attacks from the Pakistan army and people and found the situation increasingly unfavourable to them, the Soviet leaders have come forth to offer their good offices. Their aim is clear. Is it not easy enough to imagine the kind of "good offices" that is offered by those who have all along supported India in annexing Kashmir and unre-servedly sided with the Indian expansionists? What the Soviet leaders intend to do is, in the name of "good offices," to aid the Indian aggressors to force Pakistan to accept India's annexation of Kashmir as legitimate. It is not surprising that U.S. imperialism and the Indian reactionaries have expressed their deep appreciation for the Soviet leaders' zeal in this matter.

What the Soviet revisionists are doing in the present Indian-Pakistan conflict naturally reminds one of what they did during the 1959-62 Sino-Indian border conflict. At that time they issued a statement which made no distinction between right and wrong in connection with the Sino-Indian conflict and expressed "regret" in general terms. But in fact they sided with India and condemned China. At that time they claimed they were maintaining "strict neutrality" while siding with U.S. imperialism in vigorously helping the Indian reactionaries against China. At that time, under the pretext of "easing tension," they went so far as to ask China to yield to the arrogant territorial claims of the Indian expansionists. Now, they are up to the same tricks in the Indian-Pakistan conflict—tricks which they consider skilful but which in fact are extremely clumsy.

It is not just today that the Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism treat the Indian reactionaries as their darling child. Kennedy, Khrushchov and Nehru long ago became partners in a company. Two of the three founders of "Kennedy, Khrushchov, Nehru & Company" are dead and the third has fallen from power. But their successors are trying hard to keep their failing concern going. U.S. imperialism and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union have been working hand-in-glove in "aiding" India. The Soviet Union to date has given or promised to give the Indian reactionaries economic "aid" amounting to more than 8,000 million rupees. It has also given them tremendous military "aid" including aircraft, tanks, artillery and

submarines. It was the encouragement, support and assistance of U.S. imperialism and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union that emboldened the Indian reactionaries to launch armed aggression against China a few years ago. It is precisely their encouragement, support and assistance that has emboldened the Indian reactionaries to unleash armed aggression against Pakistan now.

On the Indian-Pakistan conflict, both the U.S. imperialists and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union are trying hard to palm themselves off as defenders of peace. Of course it is ridiculous for U.S. imperialism, the No. 1 aggressor in the world, to assume such a role. It is also futile for the modern revisionists to try to win general acclaim by invoking the name of peace. Increasing numbers of people have clearly seen that conniving at and encouraging aggression can only endanger peace, and that only by checking aggression can peace be truly safeguarded. **It is not difficult to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Indian-Pakistan conflict. All the issues can be settled easily, provided India ceases its aggression against Pakistan, gives up its policy of annexing Kashmir and recognizes the right of the people of Kashmir to self-determination.** While talking glibly about their desire to safeguard peace, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet leaders vigorously support the expansionist policy of the Indian reactionaries, support India's annexation of Kashmir and deny the Kashmir people the right to self-determination. This is not safeguarding peace at all. It is encouraging aggression and blessing the Indian reactionaries in their war of aggression. **If there are people who are "adding fuel to the flames" in the Indian-Pakistan dispute, they are precisely the Soviet leaders, in addition to the U.S. imperialists.**

ON the question of war and peace, the revisionists have never made any distinction between just and unjust wars. They become unprincipled pacifists and oppose a just war at one time and fanatically take part in or support an unjust war of aggression at another. **Whatever their guise, they always serve to help unjust war of aggression and undermine peace.** This was true for the old-line revisionists and is also true for the modern revisionists. This was the case with Khrushchov; it is the same case with the present Soviet leaders.

The Soviet leaders are pursuing Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov. In order to carry out their general line of U.S.-Soviet co-operation for world domination, they always oppose the revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars of the peoples and thereby help U.S. imperialism and its flunkies. They brazenly supported the Indian reactionaries in attacking socialist China and are now brazenly supporting them in committing aggression against Pakistan. **This shows clearly the extent to which the Khrushchov revisionists have degenerated.**

However hard they try, U.S. imperialism and the Soviet leaders cannot really help the Indian reactionaries. Their support for the Indian reactionaries in their aggression against China in the past met with

shameful defeat; their support for the Indian reactionaries today in their aggression against Pakistan, too, can only end in failure. By its actions U.S. imperialism is revealing itself to the people of the whole world as their common enemy and the main prop of aggressive war. In taking such an action, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union can only reveal once again its shameful features as the willing pawn of U.S. imperialism. This will be an eye-opener for the people of the world and further stimulate the struggles against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism.

Justice is on the side of Pakistan and on the side of the Kashmiri people who demand self-determination. The struggle of Pakistan against aggression and that of the Kashmiri people for self-determination will win more widespread sympathy and support throughout the world. **The expansionist policy of the Indian reactionaries and the aggressive war launched by them will meet final defeat.**

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial,
September 18, 1965)*

China Condemns U.S. Use of Poison Gas in S. Viet Nam

The Chinese Foreign Ministry in a statement on September 18 strongly condemns the U.S. imperialists for again using poison gas on the people of south Viet Nam. Expressing full support for the just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the statement calls on the world's people to rise in action to stop the U.S. imperialist inhuman crimes and to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

The statement reads:

ON September 5, U.S. marines used poison gas against the inhabitants of the Vinh Quang area, north of Qui Nhon, in south Viet Nam. This was another towering crime perpetrated by U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the leaders of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation have successively issued statements, strongly condemning the U.S. imperialists for using poison gas again on the people of south Viet Nam and calling on the people of all countries to stop the crimes of U.S. imperialism. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn this despicable act of the U.S. imperialists and fully support the just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

The crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists against the south Vietnamese people are too many to enumerate. In the years past they have been employing the most ruthless and brutal means to slaughter the south Vietnamese people. In early June this year, the U.S. and puppet troops spread large quantities of toxic chemicals in Tra Vinh Province, poisoning more than 30,000 people and destroying crops over an area of more than 30 square kilometres. Now, the U.S. imperialists have not only inhumanly used poison gas, but have brazenly declared that their forces of aggression will use poison gas as a basic weapon. What deserves

special attention is the fact that not long ago the United States moved a unit of its bacteriological and chemical warfare research laboratory 406 in Japan to south Viet Nam for "mobile operations" along with the U.S. aggressor troops. This shows that the U.S. imperialists are not only using toxic chemicals and poison gas in south Viet Nam, but are preparing to wage criminal germ warfare. These crimes of the U.S. imperialists exceed, and by no means fall short of, those committed by the Hitlerite fascists of the past. They once again belie the claim of the Johnson Administration to be "peace-loving" and "humanitarian" and lay bare the aggressive nature and ferocious features of U.S. imperialism. They prove that the U.S. imperialists are the most savage and ruthless murderers in human history and the most ferocious enemies of the people of the world today.

U.S. imperialism is bogged down deeper and deeper in its war of aggression in Viet Nam and has no way out. Its policy of war blackmail by so-called "escalation" has, in the face of the valiant resistance of the Vietnamese people, become bankrupt. The peace talks swindles of the U.S. Government are being exposed one after another. Now, to save itself from defeat U.S. imperialism has gone to the length of seeking help from chemical and bacteriological weapons. But events will go against the wishes of U.S. imperialism. The more ferocious it becomes, the more resolute will be the resistance of the Vietnamese people, the stronger the opposition from the countries and peoples of the world who cherish peace and uphold justice, and so the quicker and more disastrous its defeat.

The Chinese Government resolutely responds to the call of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, and hopes that the people of the whole world will rise in action to condemn and stop the inhuman crimes of U.S. imperialism and to support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation and for the defeat of the U.S. aggressors.

New Achievements in China's Economic Construction

by FANG CHUNG

THE successful carrying out of the policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" in China's national economy gave rise to a new upsurge of production last year. Industry and agriculture registered further gains this year. The mass movement to catch up with and surpass the advanced continues to gather momentum on both the industrial and farm fronts. Vigorous growth and steady expansion are everywhere in evidence.

New Gains in Farming and Industry

China reaped another rich summer harvest this year. Output of wheat, barley and rapeseed all exceeded that of last year.

Most of the major areas growing summer grain crops got their best harvest of recent years. In the suburban districts of Peking, average per-*mu* yield of summer grain crops went up by 37 per cent and their total output increased by 47 per cent, compared with 1964. These were the highest percentage increases ever achieved since liberation. The per-*mu* yield on one million *mu* of Peking's irrigated wheat land averaged 300 *jin* while 173 commune production brigades gathered in more than 400 *jin* of wheat per *mu*.

Good grain harvests in the summer enabled the commune production teams throughout the country to distribute much more food grain to their members and store more fodder after delivering their agricultural tax in grain and selling their surplus grain to the state. A number of teams which raised fairly large harvests also put considerable amounts of grain to their collective reserves.

The area sown to industrial crops was larger than last year. The cotton this year is doing well and many places have started to pick the new crop. China's cotton output in 1964 increased by a larger margin than the year before, total output growing by 37 per cent and per-*mu* yield by 23 per cent. Since last spring cotton growers all over the country have been working determinedly to raise yields to a still higher level.

Stockbreeding is also doing very well this year and the numbers of all kinds of livestock have continued to grow. Last year's pig population surpassed the highest figure recorded in history and it increased again greatly in the first half of this year. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region reported another successful year of stockbreeding (ending June 1965), the

seventh in a row since people's communes were established. More than 11 million animals were born, and the number of draught and pack animals went up by slightly over 7 per cent compared with the previous stockbreeding year.

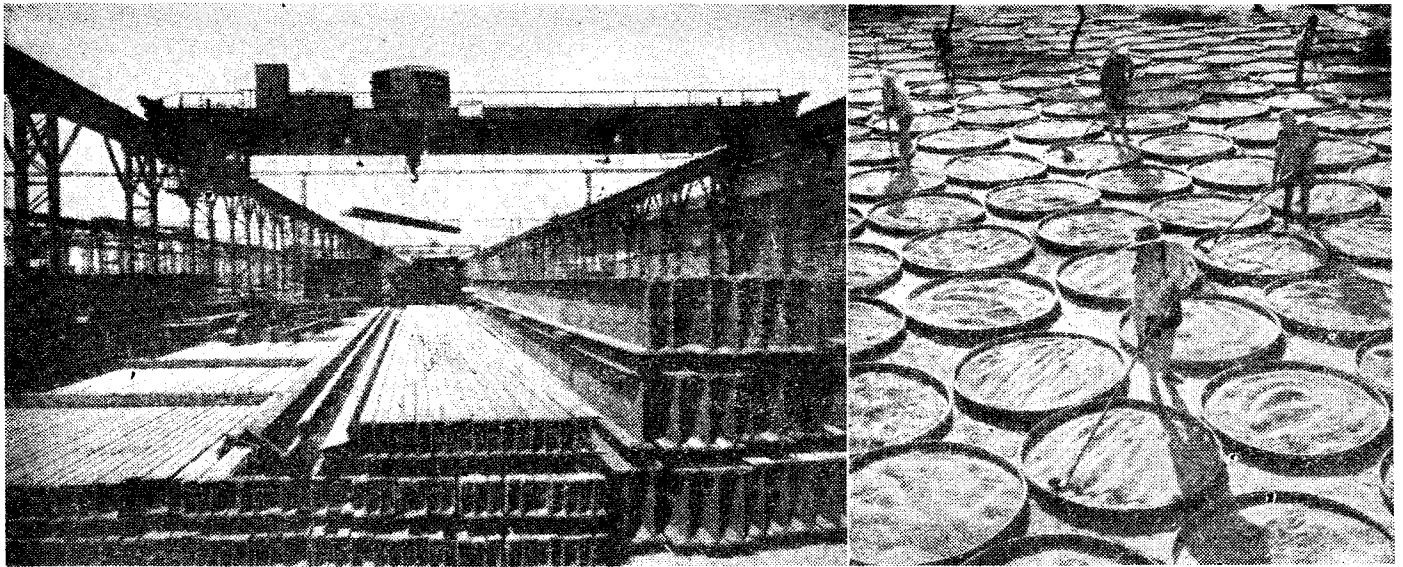
Industrial production has been growing at a fairly rapid rate. In the first half of this year, there were big increases in both heavy and light industrial production. Compared with the first six months of last year, output of textile machinery and equipment nearly doubled and that of irrigation and drainage machines rose by 25 per cent.

There were also considerable increases in steel, pig iron, mining equipment, generating equipment, locomotives and wagons. Output of chemical fertilizers in the first half of 1965 exceeded last year's corresponding figure by 1.6 million tons or twice as much as all China produced in 1957.

In light industry, sugar and textiles both made rapid advances. During the first six months of 1965, sugar production was half as much again as in the same span of 1964 while textiles surpassed the corresponding figure by several hundred million metres.

With production on the rise, industry has also speeded up its capital construction. Between January and June this year, more than 20 new chemical fertilizer plants were commissioned. In the first nine months of this year, the textile industry installed 1 million new spindles, enough to turn out cotton yarn for 900 million metres of cloth a year. Completion of the Peking steel mill using top-blown oxygen converters, a mill designed and built by ourselves, indicates that we have mastered the techniques of oxygen steel making. New progress in coal-mine building has shortened the time of construction for a pair of coal shafts by some 12 months, compared with 1963. Thanks to this new speed of building, it is estimated that 16 pairs of new coal shafts will be commissioned this year.

Further increases in industrial and agricultural production have greatly improved our market situation. Purchases of farm and side-line products showed big increases. From January to July, the supply and marketing co-ops throughout the country purchased some 16 per cent more local and side-line products than in the corresponding period of last year. Among other things, they bought 40 per cent more honey and 60 per cent more varnish. In the first six months of this



*Left: At the Anshan Iron and Steel Company: steel beams for capital construction.
Right: Commune members sunning rice.*

year, peasants in the suburban areas of Peking sold to the state over 50 per cent more pigs and eggs than in the corresponding period of last year.

Trading agencies and supply and marketing co-ops also provided the rural and urban populations with an increasing amount of commodities. In the first half of 1965, sales of food (edible oils, pork, eggs, etc.), clothing (cotton piece-goods, clothes, knitted wear, etc.) and other consumer goods (sewing machines, wrist watches, thermos bottles, etc.) went up from 10 to 50 per cent, compared with the corresponding period of last year. Market prices were reduced. Among other items whose prices were reduced were pork, eggs milk, fruit, radio and thermos bottles.

Expanded production promotes a thriving market and raises the people's level of consumption, which, in turn, spur the further growth of production.

Better Results

A special feature of the present production upsurge in industry and agriculture is the prominence given to achieving better results, closely combined, naturally, with the other aims of the general line—achieving greater, faster and more economical results in building socialism.

During last winter and spring, there was a large-scale drive to continue the building of water conservancy works on the farmlands. As a result, the manpower devoted to rural capital construction projects was over one-third more than in the corresponding period of the year before and the amount of stone- and earth- work completed was about 50 per cent as much again. In this upsurge of building, attention was paid to both quantity and quality, and especially to the latter. More effort has been put into building small and medium-sized projects that can give immediate returns in the current year. Because full consideration has been given to the policy of achieving greater, fast-

er, better and more economical results, these rural construction projects have played an important role in boosting farm yields this year.

In the countryside, people's communes have given special attention to improving ploughing, sowing and field management; they have concentrated their efforts on raising output by improving yields. It was the greatly increased per-*mu* yields that pushed up the summer grain output this year. The nation's spring sowing was meticulously done on time and the quality achieved was high.

In the field of industry we have continued to emphasize quality and variety, and the policy of increasing quantity on the basis of improved quality, a wider range of products, higher labour productivity and reduced costs. In the first half of this year, industry has steadily improved the quality of its products, increased their variety and lowered costs. Industrial output was raised mainly by increasing labour productivity.

Taking iron and steel industry for an example: In the first six months of 1965, the percentage of products reaching the required specifications went up. Moreover, the industry also trial produced more than 280 new steel products to meet urgent needs. These included thick, high-pressure resistant steel plates for making equipment for large nitrogenous fertilizer plants and power plants, steel piping for drilling oil wells deeper than 3,000 metres, extra-thick alloy steel plates for making hydro-cracking equipment for the petroleum industry and cold-rolled, high-grade silicon steel strip for making precision instruments and meters. A wider range of steel products is now available. China is now able to make practically all the more than 1,100 types of steel products needed to produce the various types of motor vehicles and tractors which are being produced in large numbers.

From January to June, the proportion of first-grade products of structural steel, steel plates and

steel pipes made by the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, China's largest iron and steel enterprise, was higher than in the corresponding period of last year. Consumption of raw and other materials was greatly reduced. Over the six-month period, this enterprise saved for the state 160,000 tons of iron ore, 48,000 tons of scrap iron and steel, 105,000 tons of coal and 29 million kwh of power. This reduced costs by nearly 10 per cent compared to 1964.

Because we paid attention to integrating the four goals of getting greater, faster, better and more economical results—and emphasized achieving better results, we were able to raise output, improve quality, widen the range of products and reduce costs. This also ensured us against a one-sided development of production and has kept the upsurge in production and construction going forward steadily on a sound basis.

Revolutionary Vanguard, Not Mediocre Persons

Why can we achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in our industrial and farm production? The basic reason lies in the fact that the Chinese people, guided by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have shown a splendidly revolutionary and militant spirit. Refusing to tolerate a backward state of affairs, they defy all difficulties and are daring in thought, speak out fearlessly and are bold in action.

To expand industrial and farm production, it is necessary to have certain material and technical conditions. But the decisive factor is man and his revolutionary energy in going all out to achieve the goal. With this it is possible to overcome all sorts of unfavourable conditions and create conditions for success. Without it, nothing can be well done no matter how favourable conditions are.

There are a multitude of examples of the heroic efforts of the peasants in boldly tackling adverse natural conditions and reaping high yields. The story of the Tachai production brigade* in Shansi Province is now well known. Many similar ones could be cited from other parts of the country. The Furong brigade in Szuhui County, Kwangtung, for instance, is in a place which was plagued by soil erosion, water losses and poor soil. Natural calamities of one kind or another were frequent. "The crops looked like a mangy cat's fur and the grain harvest was hardly enough to keep us alive for five months in the year." This is how the people describe life there in the old society. Though farm output improved somewhat after liberation, the rice yield still stood at only 348 *jin* per *mu* in 1957. As the brigade could not produce enough to feed itself, the Government had to supply it with 35 tons of rice a year. In 1958, under the guidance of the local Communist Party committee, the 785 members who are able to do field work began to implement a comprehensive plan to transform the unfavourable conditions of the

farm, particularly with regard to water conservancy. In five years of hard work, they completed 240,000 cubic metres of earthwork, cut 896 channels, dug ponds and ditches winding around the mountains, built dams to form reservoirs or check silt and erected sluice gates. A radical change took place in the look of the brigade's land. And by 1964, Furong's rice yield jumped to 995 *jin* per *mu*. It became a brigade producing surplus grain. What was the decisive factor in bringing about this change? Clearly, the drive to succeed and the stubborn spirit of the organized peasants in transforming natural conditions.

The industrial front too has a multitude of examples of the workers boldly overcoming difficulties and mastering advanced techniques. The 12,000-ton hydraulic press and the equipment to turn out 25,000 tons of synthetic ammonia annually were the fruits of the revolutionary energy of people working under relatively backward productive conditions. A typical example is the Shanghai Clock and Watch Parts Plant, the first plant in China to make hair springs and jewels for wrist watches. At the start it had neither technical personnel specialized in this work nor the necessary specialized equipment. Most of the workers were familiar with the making of fountain pens and alarm clocks, but they had not the slightest inkling of how complicated are the techniques of manufacturing hair springs and watch jewels. As the state had decided to make them, however, the workers assumed the responsibility without hesitation and started experiments and trial production. No matter how many times they failed, they never gave up. In the next two years and more, they tried out 48 smelting formulas and conducted 330 wire-drawing, wire-rolling and forming tests. Finally they successfully trial manufactured hair springs. They also successfully trial produced the jewels for 17-jewel wrist watches after making more than 15,000 tests and finding out the best technological process through 590 methods.

This plant is now able to produce several hundred thousand sets of jewels and a similar number of hair springs every year, and their quality is up to international standards. Clearly the decisive factor enabling China to produce these two wrist watch parts is the soaring revolutionary spirit and scientific and realistic approach of the workers and employees in this plant.

Chairman Mao told us: "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience, make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing. Ideas advocating stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong." The Chinese people are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings and become revolutionary vanguards, not mediocre persons who mark time in the struggle against nature.

It is on this ideological basis that the mass movement of comparing with, learning from, catching up

* see *Peking Review*, No. 25, 1964.

and surpassing the advanced and helping those who lag behind unfolds in China. The central theme of this movement is technical innovation and technical revolution. During this movement we constantly look to higher targets, discover exactly where we lag behind the advanced, and map out concrete steps to catch them up and surpass them. It is also necessary to link revolutionary drive in discarding the old and adopting the new with a scientific and realistic approach, and link our own initiative with the need to learn from others' good points. That is why our socialist construction advances constantly, with those behind overtaking and surpassing those ahead, all learning from each other and all steadily advancing.

China's present scientific and technical level is still backward and her level of production is still fairly low. Compared with the world's advanced achievements, we still lag far behind in many respects. However, we are not dismayed by this. On the contrary, we are determined to build China into a modern socialist power within a not too long historical period.

We will conscientiously learn and master the world's advanced science and techniques. But we cannot always follow others. We must give play to our initiative and query the conventional ways of doing things. We should not only catch up with, but surpass the world's advanced achievements. This is what we call the big leap forward.

Is this impossible of attainment? Certainly not. In his report on the Government's work delivered at the First Session of the Third National People's Congress in 1964, Premier Chou En-lai firmly expressed the will of the 650 million Chinese people. He said:

We need only take a look at our history to understand this. In our country, haven't we fundamentally overthrown imperialism, feudalism and capitalism which seemed so strong? Haven't we attained a reasonably good level in all fields of socialist revolution and socialist construction after fifteen years of endeavour, starting as we did from "poverty and blankness"? Haven't we also exploded an atom bomb? Has not the label "Sick Man of the East" fastened on us by Westerners been flung off? Why can't the proletariat of the East accomplish what the bourgeoisie of the West has been able to? Early this century Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionary and our precursor, said that China would make a great leap forward. His prediction will certainly come true within several decades. This is an inevitable trend and no reactionary force can stop it.

It is precisely because the 650 million Chinese people have that firm resolution expressed in Premier Chou's report that they can constantly achieve new successes in their socialist construction. However, we are by no means content with what we have achieved. We will redouble our efforts to achieve still greater successes by further displaying the spirit of self-reliance and enterprise.

Strive to Build a New Socialist Tibet

by CHANG KUO-HUA

Following are excerpts of a speech on September 2 by Chang Kuo-hua, First Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, at the First Session of the region's First People's Congress.—Ed.

THE revolution that has been taking place in Tibet under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party comprises two stages: democratic revolution and socialist revolution. The Party's tasks during the former stage were to lead the working people of Tibet to overthrow the rule of imperialism and the feudal slave-owner class, to turn ownership by the feudal slave-owners into ownership by individual peasants and herdsmen, to transform Tibet under the feudal serf system into a people's democratic Tibet, and, upon completion of these main tasks, to lead the working people to carry out the socialist revolution.

The most outstanding characteristic in Tibet's historical development in the past 15 years is the fact that from the most reactionary and barbarous feudal serfdom, which combined state and religious power and represented a dictatorship of the ecclesiastics and

the nobility, Tibet is leaping into socialism through democratic revolution, thus avoiding the capitalist road.

Under the diabolical serf system, the one million serfs eagerly demanded democratic reform. In order to bring this about, the Party did a great deal of work in developing and organizing the revolutionary forces and in uniting, educating and remoulding the upper social strata. After eight years' work, the masses had become more and more class conscious, large numbers of cadres of Tibetan nationality had begun to mature, and patriotic forces had gradually grown in strength. When the million serfs avidly demanded an end to feudal serfdom, the reactionary clique of the upper social strata headed by the Dalai had the effrontery to start an armed rebellion. Contrary to their expectations, they lifted the rock only to crush their own feet. Their action completely exposed their reactionary make-up, angered the broad masses, and further enhanced the class consciousness of the people. Meanwhile, it also invited the opposition of patriotic elements of the upper social strata. They became completely isolated, with the result that an excellent situation for revolution has emerged in Tibet. The

Party, in its resolute support for the popular demands for suppression of the rebellion and for democratic reform, has led the masses to win a great victory in these two aspects.

Before the quelling of the rebellion and the carrying out of democratic reform, the million serfs in Tibet fervently desired emancipation; after which came the aspiration and demand of the working masses to embark on the socialist path. How to transform these revolutionary demands into conscious revolutionary action of the masses and turn their aspirations into reality has made up the whole content of the Party's work in Tibet in the past 15 years in relation to the masses.

WITH the entry into the stage of the socialist revolution in the wake of the basic completion of democratic reform, increasing the socialist awakening on the part of the masses so as to create conditions for Tibet's socialist transformation has become the main task of the Party in its work with them.

Since the first half of 1961, in accordance with the policy set forth by the central authorities, the Party has carried out the following work among the masses: 1) Mutual-aid teams were energetically organized and developed. As a result production in agriculture, stock-breeding and the handicraft industry was promoted. At the same time, some medium- and small-sized industry was set up, as well as a state-run trade network. 2) Popular elections took place, thus putting the people's political organs at various levels on a sound basis and strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship. 3) The struggle against the restoration of feudalism was unfolded. This has grown in depth, especially in the winter of 1964 when the spirit of the 7th enlarged meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was put into practice. 4) Party and Youth League basic organizations and people's organizations have been set up in agricultural and pastoral areas and in cities and townships. 5) Over 16,000 Tibetan cadres were trained and Tibet's first working-class generation of more than 20,000 people has come into being. 6) The socialist education movement has been launched in various organizations, enterprises and administrative units. Three big education movements — class education and education in socialism and patriotism have been set in motion in the agricultural and pastoral areas. The class consciousness and socialist awakening of the people have been greatly advanced as a result of all this work.

All along, armed struggle had occupied an extremely important place in the course of the class struggle in Tibet in the past 15 years. As regards military struggle, we went through three campaigns of decisive significance — the Chamdo campaign, the suppression of the rebellion launched by the reactionary elements of the upper social strata, and the counter-attacks in self-defence on the Sino-Indian border. Every trial of

strength had resulted in a big advance and development in the Tibetan revolution.

Over the last 15 years, by conscientiously implementing the Party's policy of a people's democratic united front, we have greatly developed the anti-imperialist patriotic forces, united all who could be united, and isolated the pro-imperialist elements, national separatists and the most reactionary elements of the serf-owner class. This has all played an important role in the revolutionary struggle and construction of Tibet. The development of the united front in Tibet has gone through two stages. Before 1959, it took opposition to imperialism and love of the motherland as its main task. The 17-point Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet signed by the Central People's Government and the former local government of Tibet was the common programme of this united front. To all those who were opposed to imperialism, loved the motherland and supported the 17-point agreement, the Party's policy was one of unity, education and remoulding. Following the victory in putting down the rebellion and the democratic reform, the worker-peasant alliance has become still more consolidated, the patriotic forces have become more developed, and the people's democratic united front has reached a new stage. The leading force in this united front is the Communist Party and its class basis is the worker-peasant alliance.

CONCERNING the question of political power, Tibet has gone through complicated and sharp class struggle. Before the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, there were in fact two antagonistic political powers in Tibet — the people's democratic political power and that of the reactionary feudal serf-owners. During that period, the struggle between the two constituted the main struggle. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, an organ that had somewhat the nature of political power and carried out its duties through consultation, was established in 1956. The former local government of Tibet headed by the Dalai tried every means to obstruct and sabotage all the Preparatory Committee's progressive decisions and measures favourable to the people and in this way made the struggle even more complicated and acute. The putting down of the armed rebellion in 1959 ended the situation in which two political powers of an entirely different nature existed side by side and in opposition one to the other, and brought about the unified democratic political power of the Tibetan people. In 1964, the Tibetan people and patriotic elements of the upper social strata thoroughly exposed and criticized the Panchen's criminal activities against the people, the motherland and socialism, in his attempt to betray the motherland. Under the authorization of the State Council, the Panchen was removed as the Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. These facts show that the people's struggle to seize

political power is a fundamental question of the revolutionary struggle of the people, and is itself a process of very sharp struggle. The reactionary self-owner class will definitely not relinquish its power of its own accord and withdraw from the stage of history. Only by resolutely carrying out struggle, and armed struggle in particular, will the people be able to completely destroy the reactionary political power of the serf-owners, found the people's democratic regime led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, thus realizing the rights of the working people as masters in their own house.

THE Tibet Autonomous Region is going to be formally set up. This represents another great victory of the Party's policy of national regional autonomy. This national regional autonomy is part of the people's democratic dictatorship. As far as Tibet is concerned, this means the working class, the peasantry and the herdsmen, other working people, patriotic elements and all those in support of socialism, all rallied under the leadership of the Party, establish a people's democratic national regional autonomy. It imposes dictatorship on the serf-owner class, reactionary serf-owners and their agents, counter-revolutionaries who resist the socialist revolution and sabotage the socialist construction, elements who took part in the rebellion and other bad elements. The formal establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region signifies the further consolidation of the people's power.

The Tibet region's extremely backward economy has made marked progress in the last 15 years. The fundamental cause for this was the carrying out of democratic reform, the change in the feudal relationships in production, and the unfettering of productivity. All this paved the way for advances in production. Another important reason for this was that in answering the call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the whole Party, people and the People's Liberation Army in Tibet have given full play to the revolutionary spirit of hard work and self-reliance.

In economic construction, the policy of relying on one's self must be adhered to firmly. Self-reliance in Tibet means to work hard to improve agriculture and animal husbandry and to raise grain production through self-effort, so as to lay the material foundation for Tibet's progress. Facts in the past 15 years prove that the policy of self-reliance is highly suited to the actual situation in Tibet and is completely correct.

To develop production and construction in the Tibet region and to do away with the state of dire poverty and backwardness there, it is necessary as well as important to get the support of the other fraternal nationalities, especially the Han nationality. Without this support, developing production and construction would be difficult. What has been achieved so far in this respect is inseparable from the energetic support given by the state and various fraternal nationalities.

Acting upon the directive of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung for the training of national cadres, we have trained in the past 15 years 16,000 local functionaries, of whom more than a thousand hold leading posts at various levels. These people have formed a body of cadres with a certain class consciousness and having close ties with the masses. Led by the Party, they went through the severe tests of the class struggle in the revolutionary struggles and mass movements in quelling the rebellion, the democratic reform the counter-attack in self-defence on the Sino-Indian border, and the three big education movements. Most of them have proved themselves to be worthy daughters and sons of the Tibetan working people by their firm class stand, conscientious work and by successfully fulfilling the various tasks in the democratic reform and the preparatory period for socialist transformation, thus making important contributions to the Tibetan people and the motherland. They are the dearly treasured revolutionary asset of the Party and the Tibetan people.

IN the past 15 years, we have steadfastly adhered to the line of choosing workers and peasants to form the backbone of the cadres' ranks. We have picked and trained Tibetan youths from poor peasant and herdsman families or with other working people's background— young people who showed a high level of class consciousness, heeded the words of the Party, were conscientious in work and endowed with bright prospects. These local cadres of poor peasant or herdsman origin, having themselves been cruelly exploited and oppressed by the three kinds of estate-holders—the feudal government, the monasteries and the nobles— of the feudal serf society, have a deep-seated class hatred towards the old society and consequently a profound class feeling for the working people. They have the closest ties with the labouring masses and are the most precious new-born forces in the ranks of the cadres. We have successfully accomplished the arduous tasks of the democratic revolution precisely because we have these revolutionary functionaries of working people's origin. We still have to rely on them in the future to accomplish the great undertakings of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The revolution and construction of Tibet has advanced along the path mapped out by the Party and Chairman Mao. The great victory in this respect is one of the leadership of the Party, and of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. The wise leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao has played the most fundamental and decisive role in the rapid progress of Tibet. From now on we shall rely even more on Mao Tse-tung's thinking, always bear in mind the actual conditions in Tibet, be prudent and attentive in our work, and guard against complacency and impetuosity, so that we shall win still greater victory in the socialist revolution and construction of Tibet and achieve another leap of historical significance.

Victory at Pinghsingkuan

by LI TIEN-YU

On September 25, 1937, the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army led by the Chinese Communist Party wiped out more than 3,000 Japanese troops near Pinghsingkuan Pass, northeast of Fanchih County in Shansi Province. This was the first great military victory won by the Chinese people against the invaders in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45). It smashed the myth of the invincibility of the Japanese army.

The author of this article, then commander of the 686th Regiment of the 115th Division, is today a deputy chief-of-staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The following is the first of a number of reminiscences telling how the Chinese people applied the political and military line of Chairman Mao Tse-tung in defeating the Japanese invaders. — Ed.

DAY and night the troop train, its whistle shrilling, rushed along the Tatung-Puchow Railway towards northern Shansi. Stalwarts of the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army¹ sat in its open wagons. Ignoring wind and rain and fatigue, they sang spiritedly as they sped towards the front to fight the Japanese invaders.

After the Lukouchiao Incident,² the Japanese imperialists boasted that they would "conquer all China within three months." They took Peiping (Peking), Tientsin, Changchiakou (Kalgan) and Paoting, then drove south along the Tientsin-Pukow and Peiping-Hankow Railways. At the same time, they sent two separate columns westwards into Shansi Province. The 800,000 Kuomintang troops stationed in north China collapsed and fled before the attacks of the enemy. As the people sarcastically commented: "At a puff of wind, they ran 40 li; at a rifle shot, 103." The invaders met practically no resistance.

Critical Time

At this critical time for the nation, the Chinese Communist Party heroically shouldered the responsibility of saving the country. In accordance with the wise decision of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Eighth

¹After the establishment of the national united front to resist the Japanese aggressors, the Chinese Communist Party, in August 1937, redesignated the main force of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army according to an agreement reached with the Kuomintang.

²On July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggressors attacked Chinese troops stationed at the Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge) over the Yungting River south of Peking. Spurred on by the anti-Japanese upsurge of the nation, the Chinese troops resisted the Japanese. This began the national War of Resistance Against Japan.

Route Army, numbering little more than 30,000 men at that time, decided to move east across the Yellow River, penetrate deep behind the enemy lines, boldly arouse the masses and launch a guerrilla war against the Japanese invaders on a broad scale. While Comrade Ho Lung led the 120th Division into north-west Shansi, our 115th Division commanded by Lin Piao, boarded a train at Houma in southwestern Shansi and travelled rapidly northeast.

We saw many moving scenes on the way. Everywhere we stopped, we were surrounded by crowds of old men and women, leaning on staffs, nursing mothers, hot-blooded youths. They eagerly asked whether we were going to the front to fight the Japanese. "Yes," we replied. "We're the Eighth Route Army." At this their depression vanished and their faces lit up with hopeful smiles. They forced dry rations and cigarettes into our hands.

We were particularly touched by the refugee students from the northeastern provinces. Even before our train stopped at stations, they would climb into our wagons, shake our hands and tell us, weeping, of their hatred for the Japanese imperialists. A long way from home, these wandering youngsters were already on the brink of starvation, but they wanted to give their last coat, their last scarf, their last pair of gloves, to our fighters, as a manifestation of their warm affection for the men who were going to battle the enemy.

China was being humiliated, fellow countrymen had become homeless refugees. Our Eighth Route Army fighters were enraged. Shaking their fists they cried: "We may lose our heads, our blood may flow, but we'd rather die than let our country become a land of slaves." At this critical juncture, the sorrow and anger of the people and the Eighth Route Army merged into one.

We detrained at Yuanping. Again we saw sights that shocked us. The retreating Kuomintang troops had stripped the region bare, leaving the villages cold and silent. They brought calamity to the people even before the Japanese arrived. As we pushed towards the front, Kuomintang soldiers, like hordes of locusts, hurried to the rear. Bundles of plunder and live chickens hung from their rifles. They led draught animals laden with crates full of loot.

"... Very fierce!" they yelled as they ran. "The Japanese are very fierce." Hysterical fear of the Japanese had already infected the Kuomintang civil and military officials. Not only did they loudly assert that it would be "disastrous" to fight the enemy, they even mocked our fighters as we marched onward, heads held high.

"Are those all the weapons you've got—those old rifles and swords?" they sneered. "What are you trying to do, commit suicide?"

It was true—our arms were not only much inferior to the Japanese; they were much inferior to those of the Kuomintang as well. Some of our men had no rifles even; they carried only swords. To cowards we seemed to be seriously over-estimating ourselves. But all our fighters, under the leadership of the Party, had passed stringent tests in war. With a high level of political consciousness and ready to dare to struggle and win victory, they were proletarian fighters and the finest sons of China. They were marching courageously forward to confront a powerful enemy. Headquarters was snowed under with written vows from men swearing to acquit themselves fearlessly at the front. Every man in our ranks was determined to fight the enemy to the death. They were prepared to shed their last drop of blood for their country.

We Reach the Front

In the latter half of September, our division reached the Shanghai sector, south of the county town of Lingchiu, on its way to the areas behind the enemy lines. We heard that the Japanese Itagaki Division had occupied Lingchiu and was now swarming towards Pinghsingkuan, the highly important strategic pass in the northeastern corner of the province. This news greatly enraged us.

On the morning of September 23, divisional headquarters summoned all commanders of company rank and above to a battle mobilization meeting. In the tense rush of events, we had been busy day and night and had had little rest. But when we heard that we were at last going to lock horns with the enemy, the excitement was general. Comrade Yang Yung, our regiment's political commissar, and I set out for divisional headquarters together.

Divisional Commander Lin Piao was there waiting for us. He shook hands warmly with each of the regimental cadres. His eyes shone steady beneath his dark brows, giving us increased confidence. We knew he never fought a battle unprepared or a battle he was not sure of winning. When the Japanese captured

Lingchiu the previous day, he had gone to the front line personally to investigate and to view the terrain. It was plain he was quite ready for the coming battle.

When the meeting started, he analysed the military situation and the outlook for the enemy. In a strong and animated voice he said: "China is being put to a severe test, comrades. We Communists must, and certainly will, shoulder the responsibility of saving our country and people." His every word had the strength of steel.

Gravely he told us that Chairman Mao had approved our plan of operations. "When the Japanese attack Pinghsingkuan Pass," he said, "we must make use of the favourable terrain and strike hard from the flanks and rear against the Japanese aggressors who had penetrated deep into this area. A big victory will be a hard blow to the enemy and a tremendous encouragement to the people."

At that moment a telegram arrived from the Shansi-Suiyuan contingent of the Kuomintang army stating that the vanguard of the Japanese forces was nearing Pinghsingkuan Pass. Divisional Commander Lin Piao sent out a scouting unit and continued with what he was saying. Once more he gave a penetrating exposition of Chairman Mao's strategic principle that "guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions." Then he analysed all the favourable conditions of the forthcoming battle and finally gave us the detailed plan of operations.

Preparing for Battle

Our troops marched at dusk. My regiment, the 686th, travelled all night to Janchuang, a village about 30 *li* from the pass. There we made our preparations for battle. We called all Communist Party members to a battle mobilization meeting, sent cadres forward to inspect the terrain, and dispatched scouts to all crossroads to stop all movement on the roads. This last was a security measure to prevent news of our movements from leaking out.

The fighters cleaned their weapons and drew their ammunition. Each man got only a little over a hundred rounds and two hand-grenades. But we all knew why we were fighting this battle and why we had to win it. If you queried any of the men: "How are you to fight in this engagement?" he would reply: "I'll be the first to charge and the last to pull out!" This was what the Party always asked of its members, but now it was the common resolve of every single man in our regiment.

On the evening of September 24, our division received a note from the Kuomintang's Shansi-Suiyuan army, saying that they planned to make a frontal attack on the enemy from the pass. For reasons of their own, they asked us to join them on their already crumbling line and intercept and attack the enemy head on. Commander Lin Piao saw through their scheme and decided that we would proceed according to our original plan, and lay an ambush for the Japa-

nese in a 20-li long ravine between the pass and Tunghonan Town. He ordered us to set out at midnight and dig in when we reached our positions above the ravine.

Night March

Our troops set out at midnight.

To avoid detection we took hidden, difficult little trails. Dark clouds filled the sky. Our fighters were worried that rain would slow them down. They urged one another to hurry. But the black clouds continued to gather and the night grew darker. Then it began to pour. Our men had no raincoats and their thin grey uniforms were soon drenched. They shivered with cold.

It was so dark we seemed to be walking beneath a great overturned pot. We didn't dare to stride along freely. Each man held on to the edge of the tunic of the soldier in front of him and advanced with caution. A single mis-step meant a tumble.

The march slowed down. When lightening flashed, we ran forward in the momentary illuminations. We hoped for more of them.

Worst of all, freshets were rushing down the mountainside and the trail ahead crossed and recrossed a roaring stream. The turbulent waters were chest high. A few of our fighters, eager to get to the other side, plunged in and were swept away. What to do? We seemed to be stuck. But then, among the troops there rose the urgent cry:

"Cross! Wade across!"

"The Snow Mountains and the swampy marshland didn't stop us on the Long March. What does this ditch of a stream amount to?"

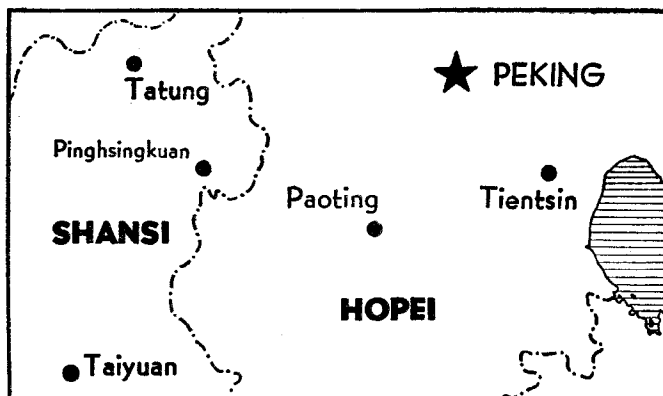
Ours was no ordinary march, where a few hours one way or the other didn't make much difference. We had to be in concealed positions before the Japanese reached the ravine.

Slinging their rifles and bandoleers around their necks, hand gripping hand to form an iron chain, they started for the opposite shore. It was September and frosty weather had already set in. The water was bone-chilling. Silently, the men fought the mountain torrent. They forded that winding stream no less than 20 times. Many of them were so cold their teeth chattered. My legs felt numb with cold.

After half a night's hard marching we neared our goal. Dawn broke and the rain stopped. I was able to get a good look at our fighters after a night of cold and rain. Their lips were blue. Some had fallen so often they were covered with mud from head to toe.

The Ambush Laid

We concealed ourselves above the ravine and south of the highway. It was a dull day. A cold wind was blowing. But we couldn't light any fires. We could only clench our teeth and endure it, and depend on our hot blood to dry our dripping uniforms.



By early morning on September 25 our entire regiment was in position. I went to the front line command post with Comrade Yang Yung. The post was beside a rise in a field of millet. Ahead was the road flanked on both sides by steep hills. When we looked at them through our field-glasses, the leaves on the trees seemed to be stirring in the autumn wind. Or perhaps what we were seeing was the camouflage of men shivering on the damp ground. Several hundred angry fighters were hidden there.

I put down the field-glasses and said to Comrade Yang Yung: "They're very well concealed."

"Yes," he replied. "The wild beasts may be sly but our clever hunters are sure to catch them."

Ahead, at the far end of the millet fields, a road ran from east to west, an ancient highway connecting the town of Lingchiu and Pinghsingkuan Pass. North of the road was a barren hill 300 or 400 metres high. Half-way up the slope stood the Laoyehmiao, an old temple, not very large. From this height firepower could dominate the road. Unfortunately, we had not had time to get any man up there yet. We would have to capture that position after the battle started.

Not a shadow of our brother units was visible on either of our regiment's flanks. But we knew that our fighters were hidden on both sides of the 20-li ravine. The 687th Regiment was on our east. The Japanese coming from Lingchiu would first pass their position. The 685th Regiment was on our west, only ten li from the pass. When the enemy column arrived, Commander Lin would give the order and these two regiments would cut off its head and tail; our regiment would attack its middle and together we would annihilate it.

Our field telephone lines with our battalions were connected up. I checked with each of the battalions to make sure they were well concealed and asked about the men's spirits. "We've got our bayonets fixed," they replied. "The people have pinned their hopes on us. We won't let them down."

Battle Begins

At seven in the morning, the sound of motors rumbled in the valley. Over a hundred lorries filled with Japanese soldiers and military supplies rolled

down the road. Next came more than two hundred carts and mule-drawn artillery. These were followed by cavalry. With engines roaring and the clip-clop of many hoof-beats it was an imposing array. The Japanese soldiers wore yellow overcoats, leather boots and steel helmets. Their rifles were slung across their backs. They were talking volubly.

But all round, it was astonishingly quiet. Our fighters gripped their hand-grenades and glared at the swaggering foe.

Probably because the road was muddy, scores of lorries halted between the village of Hsinchuang and the temple. But the column behind them kept moving forward, and soon men, horses, trucks and cannon were bunched together. It was an excellent time for us to open fire. I grabbed the field telephone and asked our look-out: "Is the whole Japanese column inside the trap?"

"I can't see any more on the road from Lingchiu."

That meant this was the tail-end of the Itagaki Division. I put down the phone and dispatched a staff officer to report the situation to the divisional commander.

My staff officer returned, panting. He excitedly announced the divisional commander's order to attack. Hardly were the words out of his mouth than I snatched up the field telephone to the First Battalion, which was to lead off the attack.

"Begin the attack! Fire!"

The moment our fighters were longing for had arrived. The precipitous slopes on both sides came alive with the roar of machine-guns, rifles, mortars and hand-grenades, all concentrated on the enemy jammed on the highway. Japanese soldiers and horses fell. A lorry coming from the west caught fire, further blocking the road on that side. I watched the battle tensely. A staff officer shouted to me:

"The divisional commander wants to see you."

"To see me? Right!"

I knew it must be something very urgent. The divisional command post was on a slope about a *li* behind us to the right. I ran there from the millet fields practically at a sprint. Commander Lin Piao, wearing a raincoat, was viewing the battle unfolding before him. When he saw me rushing up, breathing hard, he said:

"Calm yourself. It is a big and strongly armed enemy force. The battle will go on some time yet." He pointed at the scene ahead. "They're resisting stubbornly."

I looked in the direction he was indicating. The Japanese had taken cover behind their vehicles. At the same time they were trying to capture terrain that was more favourable.

Cutting Up the Enemy Column

"We've got a whole brigade surrounded here. Over 4,000 men is too big a chunk to swallow in

one gulp. We'll have to charge the highway and cut them up into several pieces. Send one battalion to occupy the Laoyehmiao temple. From there we can dominate the lower ground and destroy the enemy in the ravine."

"Look! Japanese are climbing towards the temple right now," I cried.

"That's right. You fellows had better move fast."

"I understand."

"Good. Get going." The commander chopped the air with his hand emphatically. "Hit them hard."

By the time I ran back to the regimental command post, the firing in the ravine was hotter. The 685th Regiment on our left had begun its assault. To give better leadership it was decided that Comrade Yang Yung and some of the other cadres should work directly in the battalions, while I remained in the regimental command post to give overall leadership. After they left I ordered the Second and Third Battalions, which were on the hill on my right, to send part of their forces to take the temple.

Yells shook the ravine as our men charged down on to the highway. The Japanese scattered. Their frightened horses whinnied. But the enemy were fierce, and they were crack shots. Regardless of casualties, they fought back hard from the cover of their vehicles and small gullies. Their machine-guns spurted fire. I could see through my field-glasses that our fire wasn't intense enough to pin them down. Our men were dropping left and right, though their battle yells never diminished. Our men charged forward wave after wave. The enemy were indeed stubborn and strong. Some of them had already climbed the hill and occupied the temple. That put us at a serious disadvantage.

How painful it is to watch your comrades fall! But I remembered their proud vow—To die for the people is glorious. It's shameful to let our country be enslaved. . . . Yes, to save China we had to be willing to pay the price. I gritted my teeth and got the commander of the Third Battalion on the phone.

"Never mind the losses. Charge! We must take that temple."

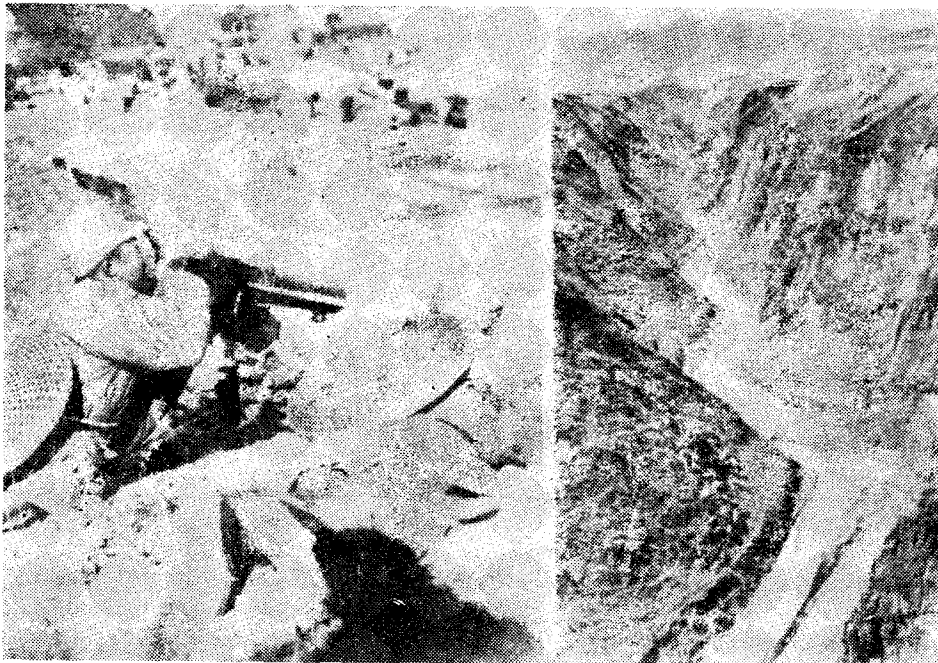
"Right. We guarantee to accomplish our mission."

I told the company on our flank to step up its attack and draw the Japanese fire while the Third Battalion rushed the hill.

Smoke filled the ravine. The noise was deafening. Under cover of the smoke, fighters of the Third Battalion ran, crawled and rolled forward. They charged on to the highway and fought the enemy hand to hand. I saw rifle butts swinging, swords flashing. I heard shouts, explosions.

Cornered Beasts

After half an hour, the enemy broke and dived under their lorries. At that time our fighters hadn't



*Left: One of our machine-gun positions in the Pingsingkuan battle
Right: A section of the ravine where fierce fighting took place*

learnt yet that it was necessary to burn vehicles and make them ineffective as hiding places. They thought they could fight the Japanese as they had fought the Kuomintang during the civil war; that if you hit them hard enough they would surrender. So they stopped firing and shouted to the enemy beneath the lorries:

“Give up your arms and live. We treat prisoners well.”

But these Japanese didn't understand Chinese. What's more, they were thoroughly indoctrinated fascists. They wanted only to kill Chinese, spill Chinese blood and hack Chinese flesh. Because many of our men lacked experience in dealing with them, they were killed or wounded by the cornered enemy.

A First Battalion communications man who was checking the field telephone lines saw a Japanese lying half-dead beside a lorry. He ran up to him and said: “Give up your arms and live. We treat prisoners well. . . .” Even before he had finished speaking, the Japanese plunged a bayonet into his chest.

Another comrade who tried to carry a badly hurt Japanese back to our lines, had his ear bitten off for his kindness. Many comrades who went to bandage wounded enemy soldiers were themselves wounded by them.

But the result of this enemy savagery and arrogance was only to make our men fight harder. Even our wounded and theirs locked in struggles to the death.

I heard that the Third Battalion's casualties were heavy. When they rushed the highway nearly all the cadres in Company Nine were killed. Only about a dozen men were left in the entire company. I im-

mediately got the commander of the Third Battalion on the phone.

“How are you doing? Can you carry on?”

He gave me the same reply as before: “We guarantee to accomplish our mission.”

Not a single cadre stressed losses in making his report. They were apprehensive that if they did, the leadership would give them lighter assignments.

The Battle Rages

The battle continued to rage.

As Commander Lin Piao had foreseen, the enemy were not familiar with mountain warfare. Except for the small group of Japanese who had seized the temple, the rest remained bunched together on the road where they presented easy targets.

The Third Battalion broke through the enemy on the road and charged right up to the temple. The slope was steep and they were under fire from above and below. The battalion commander was wounded, but he refused to leave the front. With the active help of the Second Battalion, they finally took the temple.

We now had commanding heights on both sides of the ravine. The Japanese were caught in our crossfire. When the enemy officers woke up to what had happened, they waved their swords and shouted, urging their soldiers to charge and recapture the temple. Under these circumstances their artillery and cavalry were useless. Only their heavy-booted infantry, in uneven bunches, came crawling up the slope.

Waiting quietly, we took careful aim. Only when they were out of breath and very near, did we open fire.

They came up, charging, but they fell back in a rout.

I moved our command post to a slope north of the highway. Five or six hundred Japanese were launching repeated assaults against the temple. Enemy planes circled overhead. Comrade Yang Yung was wounded. The situation was grave. If we didn't get help soon from our brother units on our flanks, we would again have to fight the enemy hand to hand.

“Take cover, commander,” one of my staff officers warned me excitedly. “Enemy planes.”

“Don't worry,” I said. “They don't dare drop any bombs. Their own troops are too near us.”

The Japanese attacked our position in ever increasing numbers. But no matter how they struggled, they

couldn't get out of Commander Lin's net. I was confident that the regiment on our left would arrive shortly. I issued an order to our troops: "We must hold out. Fight to the last bullet!"

Victory

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the 687th Regiment fought its way to us from the east. The tail of the enemy column was in chaos. I knew the time to finish off the invaders had come. I ordered our troops to pour on their full firepower.

Our withering crossfire took a devastating toll. In a short time all the Japanese in the ravine between the temple and Hsinchuang Village were wiped out.

Our forces left the battlefield through the 20-li ravine. The road was spattered with blood. Over 3,000 enemy corpses littered the ground. Horses, carts, lorries and cannons were abandoned everywhere. The 21st Brigade of the crack Itagaki Division of the savage Japanese invaders had been pulverized by the iron fists of the Chinese people.

The great victory at Pinghsingkuan Pass temporarily checked the collapse of the Kuomintang armies in north China, and raised the morale of all the anti-Japanese forces. Moreover, it created favourable conditions for our army when it went to arouse the masses behind the enemy lines in north China and launch a guerrilla war against the Japanese aggressors.

(An abridged translation.)

THE WEEK

(Continued from p.7.)

principle of self-reliance in economic construction, as put forward by President Sukarno, is absolutely correct." He paid tribute to the Indonesian people for their great contribution to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism, their resolute struggle against "Malaysia," and their condemnation of U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam. "Lately," he added, "President Sukarno has on many occasions said that the Indonesian people stand firmly on the side of the Pakistan people who are fighting against Indian aggression and on the side of the Kashmir people who are fighting for national self-determination. All this fully proves that the Indonesian people persist in their just stand of making a distinction between right and wrong and upholding justice and solidarity against imperialism."

Minister Surjadi in his speech stressed that "in the struggle against imperialism the Indonesian and Chinese peoples will always be friends." He said: "Together we will fight for a new world without imperialism. Like the Chinese people, the Indonesian people will always remain steadfast in this great struggle."

China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival Ends

The month-long China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival, which

marked a new peak in friendship between Chinese and Japanese people and youth, has ended in complete success. The first group of Japanese youth delegates — all in all there were over 300 — left Shanghai for home on September 18.

On September 15, more than 10,000 young people in Shanghai held a farewell meeting for their Japanese friends. Leaders of Chinese youth organizations and leaders of the delegations of Japanese youth participating in the festival who addressed the meeting all spoke highly of its great success.

Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, said that the success of the China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival was a victory for the people of China and Japan. "The friendship between our two countries accords with the vital interests of our two peoples and is of the utmost importance for defending peace in Asia and the whole world. The stronger this friendship grows, the more powerful will be the struggle against U.S. imperialism and the more stable will be peace in Asia and the world." He warmly praised the present joint action of the Japanese people against the "Japan-ROK Treaty" and U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam. "This struggle has once again demonstrated the strong will of the Japanese people to oppose U.S. imperialism."

Yoshikazu Kasuga, leader of the Delegation of the Japan-China Friendship Association, said that the

success of the festival had once again proved that "no one can sabotage the friendship between the people and youth of Japan and China."

Country-Wide Tours. After more than a week in Peking, the young Japanese visitors had a ten-day tour in three groups of 14 cities in north-east, northwest, central and east China.

On September 11, all the members of the 25 Japanese youth delegations arrived in Shanghai where they attended gatherings, visited factories, worked in the cotton fields on a people's commune in the city's suburbs, sang and danced in the autumn sunshine on college campuses and discussed questions of common interest with Chinese youth. On September 14, the Japanese delegates held a demonstration in Shanghai to oppose the ratification of the "Japan-ROK Treaty" and the U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam. Liao Cheng-chih and many Chinese youth leaders and more than 5,000 Shanghai youngsters joined their Japanese friends while about 100,000 residents lined the streets, crowded the windows and balconies and applauded as the paraders marched past. Japanese peace champion Kinkazu Saionji also took part in the demonstration.

The China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival has opened a new page in the history of militant friendship between the Chinese and the Japanese people and youth. It has closed their ranks further in their joint struggle against imperialism.

SPORTS

National Games' Successes

Competitors at the 2nd National Games are showing excellent form. Ten days after competition started on September 12, the results of 12 of the 23 events are in. These include track and field, archery, weightlifting, badminton and shooting. Over a hundred national records have been smashed and 7 world records have been bettered.

Archery. A very high level was reached in the archery events. Two world records and three national records were broken.

A women's team of the People's Liberation Army made up of Li Shulan, Wang Hsi-hua and Shih Kuei-chen scored 3,321 points in the women's single-round four-event team total to improve the previous world record of 3,271 points held by a different P.L.A. team. This same trio later scored 6,574 points in the women's double-round team total to beat the listed world record of 6,508 points set by Victoria Cook, Nancy Vonderheide and Helen Nelson of the United States.

With the breaking of this U.S.-held record, China now holds all six world records in the women's double-round archery events.

Weightlifting. The weightlifting tournament was one of the most successful. Two world and 22 national records were bettered. With the two new world records, eight Chinese weightlifters have broken world records 22 times since Chen Ching-kai set up China's first weightlifting world record in 1956.

Bantamweight Yeh Hao-po got the National Games this year off to a flying start on the first day of competition with a world record breaking lift of 115 kg. in the snatch.

The next day featherweight Hsiao Ming-hsiang jerked 153 kg., another new world record.

Track & Field. The five-day track and field meet ended on September 17 with 21 new national records established. Outstanding among them were Shantung Province's Hu Kuo-chen's 2 min. 6.6 sec. in the women's 800 metres, the P.L.A. team's 1 min. 39 sec. in the women's 800-metre relay, Peking's Chang Feng-lan's 55.2 sec. in the women's 400 metres, Kiangsu Province's Han Yung-nien's 3 min. 49.5 sec. in the men's 1,500 metres, Peking's Liang Shih-chiang's 23.2 sec. in the men's 200-metre low hurdles, and Peking's Yang Chi-sheng's 1 hr. 35 min. 29.4 sec. in the 20-kilometre walk.

In the men's 100 metres, Chen Chia-chuan (Szechuan) clocked 10.2 sec. in the heats. This was the third time this year that he succeeded in covering the distance in 10.2 sec.

Cycling. Ten national records were smashed during the four-day competition in track cycling. In the men's events, Peking's Chang Li-hua and Wang Ping each broke four national records.

Shooting. Highlight of the shooting competitions, which ended on September 19, was the fine performance by Shanghai's Hsu Hui-min. His score of 389 points out of a possible 400 for the 300 metres full-bore

rifle shooting from a kneeling position broke the listed world record of 388 points set by Sweden's Anders Kvisberg in 1957.

At an exhibition contest on September 21 the quartet Han Chang-jui, Lin Feng, Chao Yuan-chun and Tung Fu totalled 926 pts. in the 100-metre running deer team event to break the world record set by another Chinese team in April this year. In scoring 239 pts., Han Chang-jui bettered the world record of 234 pts. set by Ioguan Nikitin of the Soviet Union in 1958. Lin Feng scored 234 pts. to equal the former world record.

Badminton. A very high level of play was seen in the badminton tournament. Fukien Province made a clean sweep of the men's events—carrying away the team title, the men's singles and doubles championships—while Hupeh Province won all the women's events. Kwangtung Province, which had provided the majority of China's badminton players for the First GANEFO, had to be content with second place in both the men's and women's team events, the men's singles and doubles and the women's singles.

Table Tennis. Play was of the very best as members of the Chinese men's and women's table tennis teams, which won both team events at the 28th World Championships, played off against each other and did their best to stave off the challenge of young up-and-coming players.

The strong Shanghai men's and women's teams which were made up of such well-known players in world table tennis as Li Fu-jung, Chang Hsieh-lin, Hsu Yin-sheng, Lin Hui-ching, Cheng Min-chih and Li Honan won both the men's and women's team titles. In the five individual events, the men's singles was won by world champion Chuang Tse-tung of Peking, the women's singles by Shanghai's Lin Hui-ching, the men's doubles by Shanghai's Li Fu-jung and Hsu Yin-sheng, the women's doubles by Kwangtung's Liang Li-chen and Huang Yu-huan, and the mixed doubles by Kwangtung's Lu Chu-fang and Liang Li-chen.



Bantamweight Yeh Hao-po snatches 115 kg. to set a new world record

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. Buildup in S. Viet Nam

Johnson's "Peace" Lullaby

Waxing eloquent, No. 1 war-maker Johnson recently said at a news conference, "peace—peace, that simple little five-letter word—is the most important word in the English language to us at this time . . ." And he vowed that the U.S. was now ready to settle the Viet Nam question in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreements.

While the U.S. propaganda machine was singing Johnson's "peace" lullaby, the U.S. Army's First Cavalry Division of 20,000 men landed in south Viet Nam and established a base in the hinterland. This has enlarged the area of U.S. deployment because, previously, most U.S. troops had been stationed along the coast.

A key provision of the 1954 Geneva agreements says that "the introduction into Viet Nam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnel is prohibited." With the arrival of the First Cavalry Division, the number of U.S. troops in south Viet Nam now exceeds the 125,000 figure announced earlier by Johnson. What a travesty this makes of the Geneva agreements!

The accelerated troop buildup is one aspect of Washington's many-pronged drive to escalate the war. Other U.S. moves include:

- Deeper involvement of ground forces. Following the abortive Van Tuong "mopping-up operation" by 8,000 marines on August 18-19, even more U.S., Australian, New Zealand and puppet forces—"the highest yet in any operation" according to Western news reports—launched another fruitless attack in the Ben Cat area on September 14-15.

- More insensate raids by B-52 strategic bombers on the south Vietnamese liberated areas. The number of such raids had reached 24 by September 15.

- Continued use of poison gas and toxic chemicals against the south

Vietnamese people in many provinces. On March 22, it may be recalled, former White House press secretary Reedy declared publicly that the use of such gas was "a matter of routine." On September 5, in the course of a terrorist raid north of Qui Nhon, a marine unit fired 48 bottles of poison gas into a shelter housing local inhabitants, mostly women and children (see p. 16 for statement of the Chinese Foreign Ministry).

- Broadening and intensification of bombing of north Viet Nam. Besides schools and hospitals, many water conservancy works have been chosen for targets as Johnson tries, by what he called "death and desolation," to force the Vietnamese people into his "peace talks" trap.

All these glaring facts bear out that the U.S. aggressor, cornered in south Viet Nam, is bent on fighting a Korea-type war in his vain search for a way out. Thus, by his own actions, Johnson has made a mockery of his talk of "peace."

U.S.-Indian Rumour-Mongers

Their "Chinese Fuse" Backfires

All New Delhi papers front-paged on September 20 a blurred photo released by the Indian Government. It was captioned "a part of a double-action time fuse with Chinese markings which has been picked up by our troops in Chhamb area [Kashmir]. . . ." The U.S. propagandists jumped at this "evidence" of Chinese arms. Both UPI and AP relayed the telephoto of the fuse.

The "evidence" of a captured "Chinese fuse" as released by the Indian Government.



As Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has incisively pointed out, "for the U.S. imperialists, 'peace' means war . . . and 'unconditional discussions' mean acceptance of their conditions." The Vietnamese people, the Premier said, "will persistently struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation for 10, 20 years or longer until complete victory is won."

One More U.S. Plot

Tshombe Gang Invades Congo (B)

Brazzaville Congo, since the overthrow of the imperialist-reared Youlou regime in August 1963, has pursued a course of independent development while actively backing African national-liberation movements. Thus it has become a stone in the throat of the U.S. neo-colonialists. The Tshombe gang of African traitors in neighbouring Congo (Leopoldville) are a convenient tool for Washington's plots to subvert the Congo (B). Their efficiency, however, does not match their zeal. On September 14, 300 Tshombe troops made an invasion, the biggest so far, into the Congo (B). But they were beaten back forthwith.

But the anti-China experts made a slight error: the markings shown in the photograph are not Chinese but Japanese. *Shi Ji*, purported to be the Chinese characters for "time," and *Fu Dung*, for "double-action," are simply not Chinese usage. The character *Dung* (働) denoting "action" is likewise not Chinese; the two-stroke radical on its left shows that it's Japanese.

So the "Chinese fuse" ballyhooed by the U.S. and Indian anti-China specialists has backfired in their own faces. The lesson: they should brush up their Chinese before making another try.

NEWS NOTES

Mozambique: "Fish in Water." September 25 marks the first anniversary of the proclamation of general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialist rule. Taking stock of the one year's fighting, the latest issue of *Mozambican Revolution*, organ of the Mozambique Liberation Front, pointed out that "the Portuguese colonialists have lost control of a great part of the zones of Cabo Delgado, Nyasa, Zambezi and some regions of Tete." It stressed that the freedom fighters, enjoying the people's support, were going from strength to strength.

The Liberation Front has decided to further strengthen the ties between the fighters and the people, according to *Mozambican Revolution* which commented: "The people, to guerrillas, are as water is to fish. Out of water, fish cannot live on."

This holds true not only for Mozambique but for every land where a revolutionary fight is on. In the midst of the people, guerrillas can subsist, grow and win while the imperialist-colonialists, who are alienated from and hated by the people, will be drowned like jackals plunging into a deep sea.

Laos: Self-Reliance Spirit. In the course of their protracted struggle against imperialism and its local

stooges, the people's forces often have to cope with the enemy's economic blockade. In Laos, the two patriotic forces — the Neo Lao Haksat and the genuine neutralists — called a congress on September 5-9 to review their successes in a self-reliance drive to boost production. Preliminary statistics show that, on the average, every member of the two forces had, during the first six months of the year, sowed one kilogramme of paddy seeds and five square metres of sweet potatoes among other crops. They have attained self-sufficiency in vegetables and also raised many oxen, hogs and poultry. And the production campaign is gathering greater momentum.

The people's forces know of no difficulty too great to surmount. Weapons can be captured from the enemy. Supplies can be produced with one's own hands.

Washington: Merchants of Death. U.S. Defence Secretary Robert McNamara smugly declared at his September 16 press conference that the U.S. was completing this month the fourth year of its military export sales programme. Under it U.S.-made military equipment worth nine billion dollars had been sold since mid-1961. These sales, McNamara revealed, gave nearly a billion dollars of profit to

American capitalists. And these exports, he emphasized, "fully support the foreign policy objectives of our country."

What objectives? They are, to put it in a nutshell, world domination and the suppression of all revolutionary movements.

U.S.A.: Limited Strength and Inordinate Ambitions. Walter Lippmann, writing in *Newsweek* (September 13), asked: "How does Mr. Rusk intend to keep the revolution stopped permanently?" And he answered: "The truth of the matter is that Mr. Rusk does not know . . . and he will never know. . . . We must, I think, come to the conclusion that we cannot be the preventer of revolution on the mainland of Asia." One main reason cited by Lippmann is that "with its enormous sea and air power the United States can seize and hold strong points on the rim of the Asian mainland" but cannot reach out deep into the interior.

Though Mr. Lippmann is still overrating that "sea and air power," his comments are nonetheless one more admission, straight from the horse's mouth, that U.S. imperialism's limited and waning strength does not measure up to its inordinate ambitions.



This fiasco was the latest in a series of U.S.-Tshombe attempts to pull down the young Congolese (B) Republic. In 1964 and early this year, there had been smuggling of arms into the country for subversive purposes; eviction of Congolese (B) residents from the Congo (L); and attempts on the lives of the Congolese (B) leaders. But all these schemes were thwarted.

Then, before the start of the First African Games in Brazzaville last July, the U.S.-Tshombe gang sent a motley assortment of armed thugs across the Congo river in another subversion attempt. The operation ended in one more failure. U.S. im-

perialism, which was exposed as the chief culprit behind the plot, in an outburst of impotent rage withdrew its diplomats from Brazzaville. This attempt to exercise pressure was soon followed by renewed armed incursions which culminated in the September 14 drive across the Congo (B)'s southern border.

These imperialist-inspired manoeuvres have alerted and steeled the Congolese (B) people. Their republic has now reinforced its patriotic army with a militia, and both forces are ready for emergencies.

Taking a broader view, the turmoil along the Congo river is a fresh re-

minder to the African people that the Tshombe clique is like a poisonous tooth sunk by U.S. imperialism into their continent. It has sent aircraft to bomb Uganda, hatched subversive plots against Tanzania and made armed provocations against the Sudan. The security of many new emerging countries in central Africa is seriously menaced so long as this venomous fang of U.S. imperialism is not removed. And this is why the African people have come to realize that support for the Congolese (L) people's fight against U.S. imperialism and its Tshombe henchmen means support for their own patriotic cause.

RADIO PEKING

Invites you to tune in

on **OCTOBER FIRST**

for its report on the

NATIONAL DAY PARADE

in **PEKING**

— on-the-spot recordings —

NATIONAL DAY PROGRAMMES include

- Talks on 16 years of achievements of the People's Republic of China
- Impressions of New China by foreign guests
- Modern folk songs of China's many nationalities

RADIO PEKING'S English Language Transmissions

AFRICA

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00	6325,11740	47.4,25.6
	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	9860,12055	30.4,24.9
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00	6325,11740	47.4,25.6
	(Dar-es-Salaam)	9860,12055	30.4,24.9
03:30-04:30	20:00-21:00	5950,6950	50.4,43.2
	(Monrovia)	9880,11650	30.4,25.8
04:30-05:30	18:45-19:45	5950,6950	50.4,43.2
	19:30-20:30		
	(Accra, Freetown)		
	20:30-21:30		
	(Lagos)		
	21:30-22:30		
	(Cairo)		
	19:45-20:45	5950,6950	50.4,43.2
	20:30-21:30	9880,11650	30.4,25.8
	(Monrovia)		
	(Accra, Freetown)		
	21:30-22:30		
	(Lagos)		

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00	1100,1340	252,224
	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	7035,9340	42.6,32.2
	19:30-20:30	9650,11600	31.1,25.8
21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00	11860,15060	25.3,19.9
	(Singapore, Manila)	1340,7035	224,42.6
	20:00-21:00	9340,9650	32.2,31.1
21:00-22:00	20:30-21:30	11600,11860	25.8,25.3
	(Singapore)	15060	19.9
	21:00-22:00		
	(Saigon, Manila)		
	19:30-20:30		
	(Rangoon)		

CEYLON, INDIA, NEPAL AND PAKISTAN

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30	6025,7350	49.8,40.8
	(Delhi, Colombo)	9860,11740	30.4,25.6
	19:00-20:00		
	(West Pakistan)		
23:00-24:00	20:00-21:00	6025,7350	30.4,25.6
	(Delhi, Colombo)	9860,11740	49.8,40.8
	20:00-21:00		
	(West Pakistan)		
21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00		
	(East Pakistan)		
20:40-21:40	21:00-22:00		
	(Kathmandu)		

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
16:30-17:30	18:30-19:00	9340,9457	32.2,31.7
	(Aust. S.T.)	11600,11650	25.8,25.75
17:30-18:30	20:30-21:30	15060,17835	19.9,16.8
	(N.Z.S.T.)	9340,9457	32.2,31.7
21:30-22:30	19:30-20:30	11600,11650	25.8,25.75
	(Aust. S.T.)	15060,17835	19.9,16.8
	21:30-22:30		
	(N.Z.S.T.)		

EUROPE

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30	6210,7080	48.3,42.4
	(G.M.T.)	9457,11630	31.7,25.8
05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30	6210,7080	48.3,42.4
	(Stockholm, Paris)	9457,11630	31.7,25.8
	21:30-22:30		
	(G.M.T.)		
	22:30-23:30		
	(Stockholm, Paris)		

NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00	17680,15060	17.0,19.9
	(E.S.T.)	7035,9480	42.6,31.7
09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00	11945,15080	25.1,19.9
	(E.S.T.)	15095	19.87
10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00	7035,9480	42.6,31.7
	(E.S.T.)	11945,15080	25.1,19.9
		15095	19.87

NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)

Peking Time	Local Standard Time	kc/s	metres
11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00	9457,11820	31.7,25.4
	(P.S.T.)	15095,15115	19.87,19.85
		17745	16.9
12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00	9457,11820	31.7,25.4
	(P.S.T.)	15095,15115	19.87,19.85
		17745	16.9