

PEKING REVIEW

41
October 8, 1965

Chen Yi's Press Conference

The Vice-Premier says: China is determined to make all necessary sacrifices for the defeat of U.S. imperialism.

Sino-Cambodian Solidarity in Fighting Imperialism

Prince Sihanouk's visit strengthens the friendship between the two peoples.

Building a New Revolutionary Sinkiang

Achievements and how they are won.

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報

SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Volume III

In English

This volume contains thirty-one writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung of the period from March 1941 to the victorious conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan in August 1945.

The appendix contains the *Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party*, adopted at the Seventh Plenary Session (Enlarged) of the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES & DOCUMENTS	
Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Press Conference	7
New Chapter in Sino-Cam- bodian Friendship	15
Sino-Cambodian Joint State- ment	16
No U.N. Interference in China's Domestic Affairs Allowed! — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	18
India Must Stop All Its In- trusions and Provocations	20
Building a New Revolu- tionary Sinkiang	23
ACROSS THE LAND	29
ROUND THE WORLD	31

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THE WEEK

Sinkiang Autonomous Region Anniversary

The people of all the 13 nationalities in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region celebrated two anniversaries on October 1 this year — National Day and the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Autonomous Region.

Messages of greetings reached Sinkiang from all parts of the country. Among them were those sent by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Urumchi, capital of the region, marked this red-letter day with a grand celebration meeting on September 30, and a 150,000-people mass rally followed by a colourful parade on October 1. There were other festivities too, in which members of the Central Delegation sent to Urumchi by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council participated.

Addressing the September 30 meeting, Wang En-mao, First Secretary of the Sinkiang Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, reviewed the great achievements of the past ten years. "Earth-shaking changes have taken place in Sinkiang in the political, economic and cultural spheres," he said. "The poor, backward and feudal Sinkiang of bygone days has been transformed into a socialist, new Sinkiang that is growing more and more prosperous with each passing day."

He condemned the Khrushchov revisionist clique for its subversive and disruptive activities in Sinkiang which, he said, "are an important part of the joint anti-China scheme of the Khrushchov revisionist clique, the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries." But, he declared, "imperialism and all reactionaries will never realize their dream of splitting our motherland; the Khrushchov revisionist

clique, too, will meet with complete failure."

Vice-Premier Ho Lung's Speech

Vice-Premier Ho Lung, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and head of the Central Delegation, in his speech described the successes in Sinkiang as "a great victory for the Party's general line for building socialism, its national policy and Mao Tse-tung's thinking." He pointed out that since liberation, and especially in the decade since the founding of the autonomous region, the people of the Uighur and other nationalities had scored one great victory after another. Between 1950 and 1953, he recalled, the tasks of the democratic revolution had been fulfilled in the region with the wiping out of the bandits, the struggle against the local despots, the quelling of the counter-revolutionaries and the completion of the land reform. On this basis, the national minorities had set up autonomous counties and *chou* and, in 1955, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was established and regional autonomy instituted. This was followed by the socialist transformation of agriculture, animal husbandry, handicrafts and private industry and commerce in 1956 and the formation of the people's communes in 1958.

Vice-Premier Ho Lung paid tribute to the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang for persisting in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, for crushing the subversion and sabotage of the Khrushchov revisionist clique and for their support given to the People's Liberation Army in defeating the armed attacks of the Indian reactionaries. Stressing that unity among the people of all the nationalities in the region was unprecedented, he said: "Sinkiang has become a strong bastion and an important construction base on China's north-western frontier; it has never been

Chinese Air Force Downs Another U.S. Plane

At 12:28 hours on October 5, four U.S. imperialist fighter planes intruded into China's air space over Kwangsi to carry out military provocation. Planes of the Chinese Air Force promptly took off and intercepted them. One of the U.S. planes was shot down, while the other three fled in panic.

Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, issued an order commending the air force unit for this victory. The order said that U.S. imperialism had recently been increasing its efforts to expand its war of aggression in Asia in an attempt to impose war on the Chinese people. It called on the People's Liberation Army to heighten its vigilance and make full preparations to defeat U.S. imperialist schemes and destroy all invading enemy planes.

Commenting on the intrusion into China's air space over Kwangsi by four U.S. aircraft and the shooting down of one of them by the Chi-

nese Air Force, a responsible official of the Ministry of National Defence told HSINHUA that **the U.S. air intrusion was another extremely serious war provocation** following the intrusion into China's air space over Hainan Island on September 20 of a U.S. F-104 fighter which was shot down. He said that the latest intrusion had taken place at a time when the U.S. imperialists were stepping up the dispatch of reinforcements to south Viet Nam, intensifying their bombing of north Viet Nam and expanding their war of aggression in Viet Nam. It had taken place at a time when the U.S. imperialists had instigated the Indian reactionaries to invade Pakistan and carry out repeated aggressive military provocations against China along the Sino-Indian boundary, at a time when the U.S. imperialists were carrying out continual provocations against China in the air and on the seas and strafing and bombing Chinese fishing boats on the high seas. "Obviously," he

added, "the new U.S. air intrusion is a planned and premeditated action by the U.S. imperialists to spread their war of aggression in Asia. It is another serious step taken by them to impose war on the Chinese people in disregard of repeated warnings from the Chinese Government." He stressed that the blatant way in which the U.S. imperialists were carrying out aggression and provocations, and making trouble and carrying out subversion everywhere, deserved close and serious attention.

"The Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army," the official declared, "express their great indignation and sternly protest against these mad war threats and military provocations by the U.S. bandits. **If they insist on imposing war on the Chinese people and insist on a trial of military strength, they are welcome. If they dare to come, we will dare to hit back. We will fight them whenever they come and wherever they appear. We will wipe them out whether they come singly or together. We will wipe out as many of them as dare to come.**"

so strong and firm as it is today. The wild schemes of the imperialists and all other foreign reactionary forces to split our great motherland and once again enslave the people of Sinkiang will be completely crushed." He also denounced the subversive and sabotage activities of the modern revisionists. He said: "These activities are opposed not only by the people of Sinkiang and the rest of the country, but also by the people of the Soviet Union. Revisionism is doomed to failure."

Referring to the Indian reactionaries' expansionist activities endangering China's security in the border area, the Vice-Premier declared: "If the Indian reactionaries refuse to come to their senses, if they continue to act arbitrarily and intrude into our sacred territory, we will mete out to them the punishment they deserve."

At the mass rally the next morning, Vice-Premier Ho Lung again condemned the U.S. imperialists, the

modern revisionists and the Indian reactionaries for trying to undermine the national unity of China. He called on the people in Sinkiang to be prepared at all times to wipe out any enemy who should dare to impose war on the Chinese people. Describing modern revisionism as an accomplice of imperialism, he said: "While resolutely opposing the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, we must at the same time wage a firm struggle against modern revisionists to defeat their anti-China schemes and their plots to sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the people throughout the world."

China Severs Relations With I.R.C. Standing Commission

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a statement issued on September 26, declared that the Chinese Government would not send a delegation to the 20th International Red Cross Conference and that the Chinese Government had de-

cidated to sever all relations with the I.R.C. Standing Commission. The statement lodged another strong protest with the Standing Commission for deciding to invite the Chiang Kai-shek clique and its so-called Red Cross organization to send delegations to the conference, thereby following the United States in its plot to create "two Chinas."

The U.S. Government has spared no efforts to make use of various international organizations and conferences to push its "two Chinas" plot. As early as 1952, it manipulated the 18th I.R.C. Conference to insist on the participation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. In 1957, it thrust elements of the Chiang clique into the conference in the name of delegates of the so-called "Republic of China." In strong protest against this, the delegations of the Government of the People's Republic of China and of the Chinese Red Cross Society, together with those of the Governments and Red Cross organi-

zations of many other countries, withdrew from the conference. Now, the United States is playing the same trick for the third time, and has instigated the I.R.C. Standing Commission to invite delegates of the Chiang clique to attend the conference. Denouncing this U.S. political intrigue, the Foreign Ministry's statement said: "The United States will never succeed in its scheme to create 'two Chinas.' The more it plays the trick, the more it will isolate itself. The Standing Commission of the International Red Cross will gain nothing and will only discredit itself by becoming a willing menial of the United States and taking part in its dirty political plot." Pointing out that the People's Republic of China was a signatory to the Geneva Conventions, the statement said: "Only the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Red Cross Society of China are entitled to represent China and to attend conferences of the International Red Cross."

The Chinese Red Cross Society also issued a statement on September 26, declaring that it would not participate in the 20th I.R.C. Conference and that it had decided to sever all relations with the I.R.C. Standing Commission. It said that it would not be bound by any resolution adopted by the conference.

Indonesian Parliamentary Delegation's Visit

Chaerul Saleh, Chairman of the Indonesian Provisional People's Consultative Congress, and Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, signed a joint statement in Peking on October 4 on behalf of the two Congresses. Later that day, the Indonesian delegation left on a tour of southern China.

Chairman Chaerul Saleh arrived in Peking on September 27 with the delegation of the Indonesian Provisional People's Consultative Congress which he led. Deputy heads of the delegation were Ali Sastroamidjojo and Wilujo Puspojudo, Vice-Chairmen of the Congress.

During their seven-day stay in the capital, the Indonesian guests attended the 16th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Chinese leaders had cordial talks with them. At the banquets given on separate occasions in their honour by Chu Teh and Peng Chen, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress respectively, both hosts and guests repeatedly toasted the militant friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples and the friendly co-operation between the two countries.

Sino-Indonesian Co-operation. On September 30, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Indonesian Minister for the State Budget Surjadi, head of the Indonesian economic delegation which visited China last month, signed seven documents on behalf of their respective governments. These included an agreement on economic and technical co-operation, a trade agreement and a payments agreement.

Mali's National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to President Modibo Keita on September 21, warmly congratulating him on Mali's National Day.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Li Hsien-nien and other Chinese leaders were guests at a reception given by Malian Ambassador Birama Traore in Peking on September 22. Speaking at the reception, the Ambassador said his country "considers it of primary importance to oppose firmly the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism, which is designed to make Africans oppose Africans, to hinder them from settling their common problems through joint efforts and to interfere openly in their internal affairs." He pledged Mali's support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and expressed confidence in their final victory.

Vice-Premier Ho Lung, in his speech at the reception, said: "As

Chinese Leaders' Message To President Sukarno

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to President Sukarno of Indonesia on October 3. It reads:

"We have learnt from the radio broadcasts from Djakarta that Your Excellency the President is in good health. We hereby extend to you our cordial regards and heartfelt wishes.

"May the great Indonesian people, under the leadership of Your Excellency the President, develop still further the spirit of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, and of opposing 'Malaysia.'"

long as the Asian and African countries uphold the principle of self-reliance, bring the people's initiative into full play and strengthen mutual assistance and co-operation between friendly countries, they can overcome all difficulties." He acclaimed the great and earth-shaking changes now taking place in Africa and the excellent revolutionary situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Guinea's National Day

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message of greetings to President Ahmed Sekou Toure on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Guinea.

In Peking, Guinean Ambassador Camara Mamady gave a reception on October 2. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Po I-po were among the guests.

In his speech, Ambassador Camara Mamady spoke of Guinea's achievements in consolidating its independence and laying the foundation for an independent national economy. The Ambassador denounced U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam. He said: "We have great admiration for the intrepid Vietnamese people

who are fighting U.S. imperialist aggression with courage and determination. We are convinced of their final victory and support the four-point proposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the five-point demand of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, praised Guinea for consistently pursuing a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment and making positive efforts to combat imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, support other national-liberation movements in Africa, promote Afro-Asian solidarity and defend world peace. He denounced U.S. imperialism for pressing on more intensively than ever with its policies of aggression and war. He declared: "The Chinese people will stand unswervingly by the Afro-Asian peoples striving to win and safeguard national independence, and will together with them fight to the end against control, intervention, subversion and aggression by the imperialists headed by the United States."

India Must Stop Intrusions

In its October 2 note to the Indian Embassy in China, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs refuted the Indian Government's denial of the recent intrusion by Indian troops into China east of Dumchele on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. The note again demanded that the Indian Government stop all intrusions and provocations and guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents.

The Chinese Government, in its September 20 note of protest to the Indian Government (see *P.R.* No. 39), gave the facts regarding the Indian troops' intrusion east of Dumchele and their armed attack on Chinese civilian personnel on September 19, 1965. In an attempt to cover up its criminal acts of aggression, the Indian Government reversed right and wrong and falsely accused the Chinese guards of being the first to open fire on Indian personnel near an Indian post. The Chinese Foreign Ministry's October 2 note fully exposed

this concoction. It added: "It is quite clear that the Dumchele conflict was wholly caused by the Indian troops intruding into Chinese territory. It is indeed unreasonable and impudent in the extreme for the Indian side in its note to reserve the so-called right to demand compensation. The Chinese Government expresses its indignation at this and stresses that India has forcibly occupied large tracts of Chinese territory, kidnapped Chinese border inhabitants and seized livestock, and that there have been more than 300 cases of Indian troop and air intrusions into and provocations against China including the latest Dumchele conflict. The Indian Government must be held responsible for compensating for the losses caused in all these cases. The account will have to be settled eventually."

Indian Troops' New Provocations

Indian troops have over the past few days repeatedly crossed the Sino-Sikkim border and intruded into Chinese territory for military provocations, flagrantly firing at Chinese frontier guards. At about 15:30 hours on September 30, four Indian soldiers crossed the border at Toka La and penetrated more than 500 metres into Chinese territory. They intruded into China's Tunglang pasture and intimidated Chinese herdsmen with their weapons. On October 2, five armed Indian soldiers intruded into Chinese territory through Ya La and launched a surprise attack on a Chinese frontier guard unit. They fired more than 200 bullets, wounding one Chinese soldier. Their lives in serious danger, the Chinese frontier guards were compelled to fire back in self-defence.

Between 10:30 and 12:30 hours on October 4, Indian troops at Ya La fired twice at Chinese frontier guards on duty on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim border. In all they fired more than 200 bullets and two mortar shells.

The Chinese authorities concerned have strongly protested against the Indian troops' intrusions and provocations and are keeping a close watch on the situation. They have pointed out that the Indian side must

be held responsible for all the grave consequences.

GANEFO Council Meeting Ends

The Federation of the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0) ended its second council meeting successfully in Peking on September 23.

In a communique, the meeting expressed its thanks to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Government, and to President Sukarno, initiator of GANEFO, and the Indonesian Government. It declared that November 25, the anniversary of GANEFO's founding, should be celebrated as a day of friendship and solidarity among sportsmen of the new emerging forces. The communique confirmed that the Second GANEFO would be held in Cairo in October 1967.

R. Maladi, President of the GANEFO Federation, in his closing address expressed satisfaction at the work done. He called on the people of all the new emerging countries to unite and make the Second GANEFO a great success.

GANEFO Committee for Asia. The founding of the Asian Committee of GANEFO in Peking on September 25 marks the vigorous development of the GANEFO movement in Asia. Its inaugural meeting issued a communique declaring that the First Asian GANEFO would be held in 1966 and calling on all the new emerging forces in Asia to unite even more closely and resolutely to defeat imperialist interference and control.

Japanese Industrial Exhibition

There was a burst of applause from the 3,000 people present when Peng Chen, Mayor of Peking, cut a ribbon and declared the new Japanese industrial exhibition in Peking open on October 4.

Juzo Sugimoto, head of the exhibition group, spoke at the opening ceremony. He expressed the hope that the display would promote friendly relations and mutual understanding between the people of

(Continued on P. 22.)

Peking Review, No. 41

China Is Determined to Make All Necessary Sacrifices for the Defeat of U.S. Imperialism

- With the defeat of U.S. imperialism, the time will come when imperialism and colonialism will be liquidated throughout the world.
- The U.S. war of aggression against Viet Nam will definitely end in victory for Viet Nam and defeat for U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people unreservedly stand on the side of the Vietnamese people.
- The Second African-Asian Conference must be made a success. If there are assurances that it will be a success, the Chinese Government is for its convocation. Without such assurances, the Chinese Government is in favour of waiting till the conditions are ripe.
- The United Nations now has become a political bargaining place for a few big powers. The United States is its overlord. It must undergo a thorough re-organization and reform.

VICE-PREMIER and Foreign Minister Chen Yi held a press conference for Chinese and foreign correspondents on September 29 and made important remarks concerning the Chinese Government's foreign policy and a number of questions in the present international situation.

Nearly 300 newsmen were present at the press conference. Among them were Chinese and resident foreign correspondents in Peking, journalists of various countries, including Chinese and foreign correspondents from Hongkong and Macao, coming to China for a visit and for attending China's National Day celebrations, as well as press officers of foreign diplomatic missions in China. They put to Vice-Premier Chen Yi a good number of questions which interested them.

Following are Vice-Premier Chen Yi's remarks in answer to questions put to him by the newsmen. — Ed.

ON THE SINO-INDIAN BOUNDARY QUESTION

India must cease its intrusions and harassments. The question of the Chinese territory occupied by India will have to be thoroughly settled. There is a limit to China's forbearance.

Answering a question about the Sino-Indian border issue raised by the editor of the **Voice of Revolution** of the Congo (Brazzaville), Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: In its note of September 16, the Chinese Government demanded that India dismantle the 56 aggressive military works she had built within Chinese territory on the China-Sikkim border and withdraw the intruding Indian troops. The China-Sikkim boundary is the boundary between China and Sikkim and does not fall within the scope of the Sino-Indian boundary. It has

long been delimited. India not only regards Sikkim as her protectorate, but has gone to the length of intruding into Chinese territory across the China-Sikkim boundary. It was her right as a sovereign state and entirely reasonable for China to lodge the protest and raise the demands in her note to the Indian Government. We had shown forbearance for several years. Knowing that it was in the wrong, the Indian Government withdrew all the intruding Indian troops and demolished a part of the aggressive military works upon receiving our notification. That was a good thing, and it was wise of them to do so. If India had failed to do so, the Chinese Government would have been entitled to act in self-defence, drive out the intruders and destroy the aggressive military works.

Along the Sino-Indian boundary of several thousand kilometres, Indian troops have crossed the line of actual control at many other places and carried out harassing raids. India is still occupying over 92,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the eastern, western and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian border. The Indian Government should understand that there is a limit to our forbearance, that it must cease its intrusions and harassments and that the question of Chinese territory occupied by it will have to be thoroughly settled.

ON THE INDIAN-PAKISTAN CONFLICT

If the Indian troops resume the aggressive war against Pakistan China will certainly give Pakistan moral and material support.

A correspondent of the London **Daily Express** asked what assistance the Chinese Government would

give Pakistan with the resumption of the conflict between India and Pakistan. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The fact is that Pakistan is the victim of aggression and India the aggressor. Recently Indian troops have continued to launch attacks in the Lahore area. We do not wish to see the aggravation of the situation, and we hope that the Indian side knows how to restrain itself. If the situation is aggravated, it is certain that the Chinese Government and people will give moral and material support to Pakistan. Relying on the support of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, the Indian Government wants to do whatever it pleases, but that can frighten nobody. We hope that it will come to its senses.

India's aggression against Pakistan is not in the interest of the Indian people. I believe that the great Indian people of more than 400 million wish to live in peace with the other Afro-Asian peoples and unite with them in opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism. It is regrettable that the Indian leaders have failed to reflect this wish, but instead have perpetrated aggression by relying on foreign forces, and particularly on U.S. imperialism. Such an adventurist policy is bound to fail, and indeed it has already failed. If it is not altered, it will continue to meet with failure.

ON TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND WEST GERMANY

A West German D.P.A. correspondent asked on what conditions China would enter into official trade relations with West Germany. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: At present, China already has trade relations with West Germany. But conditions are not ripe for the establishment of official trade relations. In close collaboration with the United States, West Germany is restoring militarism and posing a threat to the security of Europe. West Germany has not given up her plan of annexing the German Democratic Republic. In these circumstances, China cannot enter into any official trade relations with West Germany.

There exists a traditional friendship between the people, the workers, peasants, scientists and intellectuals, of West Germany and the Chinese people. We hope that this friendship will develop.

ON SHARING NUCLEAR KNOWLEDGE

The most important task for the Afro-Asian countries today is to shake off imperialist control. The just struggle of Afro-Asian countries against imperialism and colonialism is the best atom bomb.

A London *Times* correspondent asked whether China was prepared to share her nuclear knowledge with any of the developing countries.

In reply, Vice-Premier Chen Yi first commented on the western countries' practice of dividing nations into

the "developed" and the "under-developed." He said. The western countries have shown a superiority complex by claiming themselves to be "developed" while degrading some other countries by calling them "under-developed." I do not agree with these terms. Now they promote the so-called under-developed countries by describing them as developing countries. So far as China is concerned, we are not grateful for that. The facts over the past three centuries show that the so-called developed countries have developed by exploiting the colonies, while the so-called under-developed countries remain undeveloped as a result of imperialist and colonialist exploitation. No rigid line should be drawn by classifying certain countries as developed and some others as under-developed. We hold that, politically, the Asian, African and Latin American countries which persist in opposing imperialism and colonialism are advanced, while the West European and North American imperialist countries are backward. Economically, we do not believe that the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will for ever remain backward and that Western Europe and North America will for ever be in the van technically. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will overtake the industrially advanced countries within a few decades, once they shake off the control of imperialism and old and new colonialism and start to build their countries by relying on their own efforts. The history of New China over the past 16 years provides a most vivid evidence. China has achieved great successes in national construction mainly through the united efforts of the government and the people, through self-reliance, hard work and the exploitation of her own resources. So far there has not been any country in the world which can change its state of backwardness by merely relying on foreign aid.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: There are two aspects to the question of nuclear co-operation. As for the peaceful use of atomic energy and the building of atomic reactors, China has already been approached by several countries, and China is ready to render them assistance; as for the request for China's help in the manufacture of atom bombs, this question is not realistic.

In my opinion, the most important task for the Afro-Asian countries today is to shake off imperialist control politically, economically and culturally and develop their own independent economy. This task is an acute struggle and its accomplishment will take quite a few years. Any country with a fair basis in industry and agriculture and in science and technology will be able to manufacture atom bombs, with or without China's assistance. China hopes that Afro-Asian countries will be able to make atom bombs themselves, and it would be better for a greater number of countries to come into possession of atom bombs.

In our view, the role of atom bombs should not be over-stressed. The United States has been brandishing the atom bomb for atomic blackmail over the past twenty years, but it has failed. The just struggle of

Afro-Asian countries against imperialism and colonialism is the best atom bomb.

ON U.S. WAR OF AGGRESSION IN VIET NAM

The so-called unconditional discussions proposed by Johnson are a fraud. If anybody tries to mediate on the Viet Nam question without making any distinction between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, his effort will objectively help U.S. imperialism.

A correspondent of the Viet Nam News Agency raised two questions:

(1) Since the beginning of 1965, while repeatedly proposing peace talks on the Viet Nam question, the United States has been launching military attacks and has increased the number of its troops in south Viet Nam to 130,000. It has employed various types of modern weapons on the battlefield and kept on escalating the war. What is your comment on these actions of the United States? And what is your comment on the stand taken by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam?

(2) The United States attempts to bring about peace talks through the United Nations. U.S. aggression in Viet Nam is a matter which concerns the Geneva Conference nations only and has nothing to do with the United Nations. What comment would you make on this?

In reply, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The comrade correspondent from Viet Nam has asked me to comment on the actions of the U.S. Government. I think the best comment has already been made by the Vietnamese people on the south Viet Nam battlefield and in their fight against air attacks in north Viet Nam. By defeating the special war launched by U.S. imperialism, the Vietnamese people have given the best answer and the best comment.

U.S. imperialism has attempted, by bombing the north, to force the people of south Viet Nam to stop fighting and the whole of Viet Nam to give in. The Vietnamese people have not given in, and this is the best answer. The Vietnamese people's heroic struggle has won them the respect of the people of the world. The Chinese people have boundless admiration for the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Some people believe that the Vietnamese people can defeat U.S. imperialism, while others do not. The fact is that the United States is the aggressor; although its military forces are not small, they are scattered all over the world in all those places it has occupied. Therefore, the forces it can use in Viet Nam are after all limited, and it is in an inferior position there. Viet Nam is a small country with a population slightly over 30 million, but she is waging a just war against aggression, the people of the whole country are united as one in resolute resistance to U.S. imperialism, and so she is in a superior position. This war will definitely

end in victory for Viet Nam and defeat for U.S. imperialism.

The so-called unconditional discussions proposed by Johnson are a fraud. Its aim is to carve up Viet Nam, perpetuate U.S. occupation of south Viet Nam and turn it into a permanent puppet country of the United States. These are the terms set by Johnson for peace talks. All those who work for peace talks without knowing the truth about Viet Nam should give the matter serious thought. Johnson's scheme of peace talks is absolutely unacceptable to the Vietnamese people. How can the Vietnamese people tolerate the continued division of their motherland? The Viet Nam question can only be settled on the basis of the five-part statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the four-point proposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In short, the U.S. troops must withdraw from Viet Nam completely and the Vietnamese people should be free to settle their own problems.

If anybody tries to mediate on the Viet Nam question without making any distinction between right and wrong, between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, his effort will objectively help U.S. imperialism, whatever his subjective wishes may be. The only way to attain peace in Viet Nam and the whole of Indo-China is to stand on the side of the Vietnamese people and oppose U.S. aggression until the U.S. aggressors get out of Viet Nam.

Some people say that the United States has not yet exhausted its strength. I say that the strength of the Vietnamese people has not been exhausted either, nor has that of the people of the world who support the Vietnamese people. Why should one only see the strength of the United States?

As for the United Nations, there is almost no difference between it and the United States. The United Nations is a tool of the United States, while the United States is the overlord of the United Nations. This is an objective and irrefutable fact.

True, there has been some change in the United Nations. The United Nations used to be the exclusive tool of the United States, and now it has become the tool of a few big powers, primarily the United States. The U.N. headquarters in New York has become the political bargaining place for a few big powers.

The United Nations has been discredited under the exclusive control of the United States; it can fare no better under the control of several big powers, primarily the United States.

It will only be advantageous to the United States if the United Nations should meddle in the Viet Nam question. As I know, the Vietnamese Government and people are firmly against this. The United Nations has no right to interfere in the Viet Nam question.

The future of Viet Nam must be decided by the Vietnamese people themselves, by President Ho Chi Minh, Premier Pham Van Dong and President Nguyen

Huu Tho, and it admits of no foreign interference. The Chinese people unreservedly stand on the side of the Vietnamese people until U.S. imperialism is defeated.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi answered six questions raised by the Japanese correspondents stationed in Peking from various newspapers, news agencies and broadcasting stations.

ON THE SECOND AFRICAN-ASIAN CONFERENCE

The African-Asian Conference must openly denounce U.S. imperialism. No representative of the United Nations should be admitted to the conference. China firmly opposes Soviet participation in the conference. The convening of the African-Asian Conference in Algeria cannot be linked with her internal affairs, in which no foreign state should interfere.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The African-Asian Conference is a meeting of the heads of state or government of the more than sixty African and Asian countries which have won independence. If this conference can develop the Bandung spirit and discuss the questions of fighting imperialism and colonialism and of the national-liberation movement of the world, I believe it will be of great significance in international life. The conference should support the people of Viet Nam, Laos, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Dominican Republic, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa, the Arab people of Palestine, and the people of South Yemen, Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan in their struggles against the aggression of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists headed by the United States. The Chinese Government has always stood for holding the conference along these lines and making it a success.

U.S. imperialism dislikes this conference very much and is trying to sabotage it by every means. It is anticipated that the first item on the agenda after the opening session will be the condemnation of U.S. imperialism for its aggressions throughout the world. If this is done, the Bandung spirit will be raised to a new level. If it fails to make an open denunciation of U.S. imperialism but only opposes imperialism and colonialism in general terms, then it will not have much significance.

Recently, a cabinet minister of a certain country told me that some newly independent countries could not openly denounce U.S. imperialism at the African-Asian Conference because of their need for U.S. aid to solve the bread question. On the other hand, some other Afro-Asian countries hold that the first and foremost task of the African-Asian Conference is to denounce U.S. imperialism, otherwise there will be no sense in convening the conference. These two tendencies are now engaged in a struggle. China firmly sides with those that stand for condemnation of U.S. imperialism. This position of China's will never change. For without adopting resolutions condemning U.S. imperialism, the African-Asian Conference will disappoint

the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. To hold such a conference would be a waste. As for the bread question, it is my view that if one relies on U.S. aid, one will get less and less bread, while by relying on one's own efforts one will get more and more. So far as certain countries are concerned, the more they denounce U.S. imperialism, the more bread they will probably get from it, otherwise they will not get any. Such is the character of U.S. imperialism — bullying the weak-kneed and fearing the strong.

I have told the leaders of some Afro-Asian countries: since many Afro-Asian countries are receiving aid and loans from the United States and other countries, thus incurring ever-increasing burdens, it may be advisable to adopt a resolution at the African-Asian Conference declaring the cancellation of all debts which Afro-Asian countries owe to the United States. If this can be done, the debts owed to China may also be cancelled. They said this was a very good idea and could be considered.

In order to sabotage the African-Asian Conference, the imperialists are trying to hook it up with the United Nations. The Bandung Conference has enjoyed high prestige among the people of the world precisely because, having nothing to do with the United Nations, it was free from U.N. influence and contributed to the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist cause of the people of the world independently and outside the United Nations. If the conference is to be linked with the United Nations, it will be tantamount to discarding the Bandung spirit. The Chinese Government is firmly against this.

To invite a representative of the United Nations or anyone from it to the African-Asian Conference would mean, in effect, to bring the United States into the conference. Is it not ludicrous to invite agents of U.S. imperialism to an anti-imperialist conference?

The Chinese Government is resolutely against the participation of U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, in the African-Asian Conference. Everybody is clear about the role U Thant is playing. He is not the head of the United Nations; the head of the United Nations is the United States. Not being the head of any Afro-Asian state, what qualifications has he to participate in the African-Asian Conference?

The United Nations has excluded China for 16 years. China cannot sit together with its representative. The Chinese Government does not force other countries to boycott U.N. meetings, nor should others force us to sit together with a representative of the United Nations. Otherwise, it would be running counter to the Bandung spirit. Joint struggle against imperialism is possible only when no one imposes his will on others. The invitation for U Thant to attend the African-Asian Conference was issued before Ben Bella's fall. I am thankful to President Houari Boumediene because he showed sympathy with China's stand and said he would try to find a solution to this problem.

The Chinese Government categorically states that no representative of the United Nations should be admitted to the African-Asian Conference.

As for inviting the Soviet Union to the African-Asian Conference, the Chinese Government is firmly opposed to it. Whether historically or politically, the Soviet Union is by tradition a European country, and there is no reason for its participation in the African-Asian Conference. The Soviet Union did not ask for participation in the First Asian-African Conference. At that time, Prime Minister Nehru openly declared that the Soviet Union, a European country, was not to be invited. Last year, India demanded Soviet participation, but the 22 countries failed to reach agreement, which means in effect the rejection of the demand for Soviet participation in the African-Asian Conference. Khrushchov stated last year that the Soviet Union would not put forward its request, if its participation would not conduce to Afro-Asian solidarity.

This question was already closed and should no longer exist. It was only recently, after the new leaders of the Soviet Union received the support and encouragement of the United States, India, Tito and some other countries that they raised this question anew.

The question now is whether we should uphold the Bandung spirit and have the heads of the independent Afro-Asian countries meet and proclaim independent political views to promote the further progress of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in Asia and Africa, or whether we should submit to the unreasonable demand of a big power to gatecrash into the African-Asian Conference. The Chinese Government is firmly opposed to Soviet participation in the African-Asian Conference.

Some U.S. and other western newspapers declare outright that injection of the Soviet Union into the African-Asian Conference is the only way to offset the influence of China. The real implication of these words is that injection of the Soviet Union is the only way to water down the influence of the African-Asian Conference in opposing U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This is a major issue of principle, on which there can be no compromise or concession.

China is not afraid of an all-round debate with the Soviet Union. The injection of the Soviet Union into the African-Asian Conference will mean nothing more than the opening of a new battlefield in the struggle against modern revisionism.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: Algeria is the host country of the Second African-Asian Conference. Some people hesitate to go to Algiers for the conference because they have reservations about the new Algerian Government. We hold that the change of leadership in Algeria is her internal affair in which no foreign state should interfere. One should not link the convening of the African-Asian Conference in Algeria with her internal affairs. To do so would be running counter to the Bandung spirit.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: Another important question which the African-Asian Conference should discuss is how the Afro-Asian countries are to free themselves from imperialist control and develop their national economy independently.

The more foreign aid with conditions attached a country receives, the more difficult will it be for her to stand up. This is like drinking poison to quench one's thirst.

Before liberation, China was wholly controlled by the United States, and it was with political, economic and military aid from the United States that Chiang Kai-shek collapsed. And the situation in New China has become still better after she thoroughly embarked on a path of self-reliance upon the stoppage of all aid by Khrushchov. A country's economy will gain vigour in a few years' time, if she makes up her mind to stop relying on foreign aid, carries on construction with her own efforts and resources and turns out the products she needs. So long as this path is followed with determination, all Afro-Asian countries can solve their own economic problems, because they have all got a certain foundation for economic development.

Of course, on the above basis, Afro-Asian countries need to help supply each other's wants and aid each other on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. Such aid is not harmful but helpful. However, it is only of secondary importance. The point of primary importance is to rely on one's own efforts in national construction instead of being dependent on others. The Second African-Asian Conference will have more far-reaching significance than the first one if it can adopt a resolution for the building of independent national economies by the Afro-Asian countries through self-reliance and for their mutual economic co-operation on terms of equality and mutual benefit.

In brief, we should make a success of the conference. Otherwise, it would be better for the conference to be postponed until conditions are ripe than to drag everybody together to make a hotchpotch. The African-Asian Conference is a matter for all the Afro-Asian countries, and not for China alone. China has nothing to ask from the African-Asian Conference, and it is not that she cannot do without it. China stresses that the conference should support the anti-imperialist struggles of all peoples, but this is her wish and does not mean that she wants to gain anything from the conference.

The African-Asian Conference must be made a success. If there are assurances that it will be a success, the Chinese Government is for its convocation. Without such assurances, the Chinese Government is in favour of waiting till the conditions are ripe.

ON THE RESTORATION OF CHINA'S LEGITIMATE RIGHTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

If the present U.N. General Assembly restores China's legitimate rights, the question remains unsolved. The U.N. should cancel its

resolution condemning China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as aggressors and adopt a resolution condemning the United States as the aggressor. The U.N. Charter must be reviewed and revised jointly by all countries, big and small; all independent states should be included in the United Nations; and all imperialist puppets should be expelled.

Concerning the question of restoring to China her legitimate rights in the United Nations, which was raised by the Japanese correspondents, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The United Nations has long been controlled by the United States and has today become a place where two big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, conduct political transactions. This state of affairs has not changed although dozens of Afro-Asian and peace-loving countries have made no small amount of efforts in the United Nations. China need not take part in such a United Nations.

During the U.S. war of aggression against Korea, the United Nations adopted a resolution naming China as an aggressor. How can China be expected to take part in an international organization which calls her an aggressor? Calling China an aggressor and then asking the aggressor to join, would not the United Nations be slapping its own face?

The question now is how to reform the United Nations in accordance with the purposes and principles of its Charter and to free it from the control of the United States and other big powers. If the task of reforming the United Nations cannot be accomplished, conditions will no doubt gradually ripen for the establishment of a revolutionary United Nations.

Will the present U.N. General Assembly adopt a resolution expelling the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and restoring China's legitimate rights? I think this is impossible as the United Nations is now controlled by the United States. If things really turn out that way, the question would still remain unsolved.

The United Nations must rectify its mistakes and undergo a thorough reorganization and reform. It must admit and correct all its past mistakes. Among other things, it should cancel its resolution condemning China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as aggressors and adopt a resolution condemning the United States as the aggressor; the U.N. Charter must be reviewed and revised jointly by all countries, big and small; all independent states should be included in the United Nations; and all imperialist puppets should be expelled.

For more than ten years, many countries have in the United Nations firmly demanded the expulsion of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the restoration of China's legitimate rights. China is always grateful for this just and friendly action.

ON KUOMINTANG-COMMUNIST CO-OPERATION

The Japanese correspondents asked about the possibility of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the

Chinese Communist Party. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: At present there are Revolutionary Committees of the Kuomintang in the provinces and municipalities as well as in Peking, which are co-operating very well with the Communist Party. New China is a country in which eight democratic parties co-operate with the Communist Party and are led by it. We welcome Mr. Li Tsung-jen's participation in this co-operation. Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo are also welcome to join in this co-operation as Mr. Li Tsung-jen has done. Taiwan Province and any individual or group in Taiwan are welcome to come back to the embrace of the motherland and join in this co-operation. Only one condition is required: To break away from U.S. imperialist control and be loyal to the motherland. There are no other conditions. In my view, the possibility of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation is great and is moreover increasing.

ON SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

The Japanese correspondents asked about the prospects of Sino-Japanese relations. Vice-Premier Chen Yi replied: A lot has been said on this question by leaders of our country, so I will only give a brief answer here. If the present Japanese Government stops tailing after the United States, pursues an independent policy and renounces its anti-Chinese policy, possibilities will increase for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations. At present the Sato Cabinet is politically following the U.S. anti-Chinese policy, while economically it wants to reap gains from Sino-Japanese trade. Such a policy is self-contradictory and cannot help normalize Sino-Japanese relations. It is up to Japan to remove this obstacle. Out of consideration for the traditional friendship between the great nations and peoples of China and Japan, the Chinese Government is willing to carry on trade between the two countries on the present level, but it is impossible to expand it.

The Japanese nation is full of promise, and the Japanese people love peace. They demand the liquidation of U.S. imperialist control and the dismantling of U.S. bases in Japan. We have deep sympathy with their demands.

ON CHINA'S THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Japanese correspondents asked about China's Third Five-Year Plan. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: Next year our country will commence its Third Five-Year Plan. During the Second Five-Year Plan, our country met with great difficulties in its national construction because of natural disasters, the blockade imposed by the U.S. imperialists and the stoppage of aid by Khrushchov. After three years of readjustment, there has been an all-round turn for the better in the situation, and our industrial and agricultural production has entered a new stage of development, a stage of general upsurge. We shall have a good harvest this year, but there still are natural disasters. It will take decades — 30 to 50 years more of efforts to build up

China's industry, agriculture and national defence and raise them to a higher level.

We have laid the foundation for building an independent, integrated and modern economic system, but many problems remain to be solved. In science and technology, the world's advanced levels have been reached in some branches, but in some others only the average levels, and there are still a number of gaps. We are optimistic about China's development, but there are still many difficulties to be surmounted.

In China, too, there are revisionists and people who have illusions about U.S. imperialism. Some people are in the process of remoulding themselves, and some have not yet remoulded themselves. But these elements play no role in the making of China's policies and exercise no influence among the people. China is stable.

ON CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Japanese correspondents asked about the development of nuclear weapons in China. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: China has exploded two atom bombs. I know this and so do you. A third atom bomb may be exploded. As to the time of its explosion, please wait for our communique. Atomic technology and delivery technology are, of course, rather complicated, but Chinese, Asians and Africans certainly can all master them, if efforts are made.

China does not decide her foreign policies according to whether or not she has got atom bombs. We are ready to enter into friendly co-operation with still more countries in order to oppose imperialism and colonialism, isolate U.S. imperialism and safeguard world peace.

We reaffirm that all countries, big and small, should come together and agree on the destruction of atom bombs and on the prohibition of the use, manufacture, stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons. China is manufacturing atom bombs in order to liquidate them and for the purpose of self-defence. China has pledged never to be the first to use atom bombs. Our nuclear weapons will only be used for defence.

ON THE DELIMITATION OF THE SINO-MONGOLIAN BOUNDARY

A correspondent from the Hongkong paper *Chin Pao* asked: The relationship between Outer Mongolia and China proper is closer than that between Tibet and China proper, whether viewed historically or from the standpoint of race, colour and culture. Tibet is part of China's territory, and all the more so is Outer Mongolia. Such being the case, why is it that the delimitation of the Sino-Mongolian boundary should have taken place?

In reply, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: Tibet and the Mongolian People's Republic are two different matters, which should not be mentioned in the same breath. The Mongolian People's Republic proclaimed indepen-

dence in 1924 following a revolution, whereas Tibet has always been a part of China's territory.

In 1945 Chiang Kai-shek's government concluded a treaty with the Government of the Soviet Union recognizing the Mongolian People's Republic. After its founding, New China succeeded to the commitment and recognized Mongolia as a socialist country. It is only natural and nothing strange for China and Mongolia to delimit the boundary between them in a friendly way.

There are Han chauvinists in China, who have always refused to recognize the Mongolian People's Republic. We are opposed to such Han chauvinism. Since its founding, New China has provided the Mongolian People's Republic with large amounts of aid. In recent years, the leading group of Mongolia has been following the Khrushchov revisionists in opposing China. But we do not cancel our aid to it on this account, because our New China is guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and we are not Khrushchov revisionists. It is for the Mongolian people themselves to decide whether co-operation with China is more in their interests. We do not impose our will on them.

ON THE U.S. USE OF HONGKONG AS A BASE FOR ITS AGGRESSIVE WAR IN VIET NAM

Answering questions put by the correspondents of the Hongkong *Cheng Wu Pao*, *The Hongkong Evening News* and *The Global Digest* about the use of Hongkong by the United States in its war of aggression against Viet Nam, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The fact that Britain and the Hongkong authorities allow the United States to use Hongkong as a base for aggression against Viet Nam has caused the anxiety of the local inhabitants. The Chinese Government considers the question not only one of using Hongkong as a base for aggression against Viet Nam but also of preparing to use it in future as a base for aggression against China. The Chinese Government is firmly opposed to this. This action of the British Government is most stupid. We hope that it will choose a wiser course in its own interests. Otherwise, China will take measures when necessary.

The U.S. wilful expansion of its war of aggression in Viet Nam and Britain's course of action in regard to "Malaysia"—all this is certainly not merely directed against Viet Nam or Indonesia, but against China as well. U.S. imperialism has never concealed its global strategy, which aims at the domination of the whole world. U.S. troops are going to Hongkong not simply for vacation. Mr. Wilson, the British Prime Minister, has declared that Britain is not giving up any of its strongholds and military bases east of the Suez. The U.S. and British imperialists are not in full agreement on some concrete measures in the Viet Nam war, but they have no fundamental difference when it comes to the question of consolidating the world colonial system. It is possible that the United States may extend the war to China's mainland. In that event, what grounds are there for thinking that the British and other imperialists will not return to their former colonies in Asia and

Africa? That is why the struggles of the people of the world against imperialism and colonialism, and particularly against U.S. imperialism and its followers, form an integral whole. The people of the world should maintain sharp vigilance and support each other in these struggles.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people is not merely their own affair, but a contribution to the worldwide struggle against imperialism and colonialism. If war should spread to China, she will put up staunch resistance and will be determined to defeat U.S. imperialism.

China sees not just the question of Taiwan, the question of Hongkong and the question of Macao, each on its own; what we see is the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. One must be prepared to wage a worldwide struggle before U.S. imperialism can be defeated. Will the imperialists allow the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to live in security? The Khrushchov revisionists place implicit trust in what U.S. imperialism says, and they will sooner or later come to grief for it.

Khrushchov said that, instead of liberating Hongkong and Macao herself, China was making other Asians and Africans fight imperialism and colonialism and pull chestnuts out of the fire for China. This is a malicious provocation. Khrushchov wanted to dictate China's policy. Our reply is: China's policy must be decided by China herself and not by the Khrushchov revisionists.

If the U.S. imperialists are determined to launch a war of aggression against us, they are welcome to come sooner, to come as early as tomorrow. We will take all necessary measures to defeat them. By then, the war will have no boundaries.

The Chinese people are ready to make all necessary sacrifices in the fight against imperialism. It is up to the U.S. President and the Pentagon to decide whether the United States wants a big war with China today. We cherish no illusions about U.S. imperialism. We are fully prepared against U.S. aggression. If the U.S. imperialists are determined to launch a war of aggression against us, they are welcome to come sooner, to come as early as tomorrow. Let the Indian reactionaries, the British imperialists and the Japanese militarists come along with them! Let the modern revisionists act in co-ordination with them from the north! We will still win in the end. The great Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will not allow their leaders to take such a criminal decision. Who will meet with destruction — the U.S. imperialists or the people of the world? It can be said with certainty that the U.S. imperialists will perish, while the people of the whole world will win liberation. As a Chinese saying goes, good will be rewarded with good, and evil with evil; if the reward is not forthcoming, it

is because the time has not arrived; and when the time arrives, one will get all the reward he deserves!

In the struggle against U.S. imperialism, constant vacillation without a final determination will only lead to defeat and not to victory.

In the Korean war, the United States had a trial of strength with the peoples of Korea and China, and now it is having a trial of strength with the heroic Vietnamese people. The United States admits that such trials of strength are very much to its disadvantage. To us and to the people of the whole world, such trials of strength have great advantages; they have united the entire Vietnamese people and the entire Chinese people, and pushed the world anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle to a new stage.

For sixteen years we have been waiting for the U.S. imperialists to come in and attack us. My hair has turned grey in waiting. Perhaps I will not have the luck to see the U.S. imperialist invasion of China, but my children may see it, and they will resolutely carry on the fight. Let no correspondent think that I am bellicose. It is the U.S. imperialists who are brutal and vicious and who bully others too much. They are bullying the Chinese, the Koreans, the Vietnamese, the Khmers, the Laotians, the Indonesians, the Congolese and the Dominicans. Even their ally France is being bullied by them. Those who are bullied by them have risen against them and become friends of China. This is of the United States' own making.

Should the U.S. imperialists invade China's mainland, we will take all necessary measures to defeat them. By then, the war will have no boundaries. It is the United States, and not China, that will have broken down the boundaries. We are willing to respect boundaries, but the United States wilfully violates boundaries and drives in wherever it likes. With the defeat of U.S. imperialism, the time will come when imperialism and colonialism will be really liquidated throughout the world. The ideal is bound to come true with the world truly becoming a community of nations with different social systems coexisting peacefully. China is ready to make all the necessary sacrifices for this noble ideal. She will never take the modern revisionist position of betraying Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The choice now is either to re-impose colonial shackles on the people of various countries in accordance with the global strategy of U.S. imperialism so as to subject them to enslavement and plunder, or to wage resolute struggles to defeat U.S. imperialism and put an end to the colonial system according to the will of the people, who dare to fight and dare to oppose imperialism, so that countries with different social systems can truly coexist peacefully throughout the world. One has to choose either of the two alternatives. The modern revisionist way of seeking ease and comfort at the expense of principles is a blind alley. China is ready to make her contribution to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and old and new colonialism.

New Chapter in Sino-Cambodian Friendship

AFTER a six-day visit to Peking Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, Madame Sihanouk and other members of their party left by special plane on October 4 for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Among the thousands of people at the airport to say good-bye to the distinguished guests were Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Madame Liu Shao-chi; Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Premier Chou En-lai and many other Chinese leaders.

During their stay in Peking, Prince and Madame Sihanouk attended the National Day celebrations. A series of cordial and fruitful talks was also held between the leaders of China and Cambodia.

On the afternoon of October 3 a joint statement was signed by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Prince Norodom Sihanouk on behalf of the two countries. (For full text see p. 8.)

That evening Prince Sihanouk gave a grand banquet in honour of the Chinese leaders. Present were Chairman and Madame Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Chairman Chu Teh, Premier Chou En-lai, and others.

In speeches at the banquet both Prince Sihanouk and Premier Chou stressed the need to further strengthen the unity of the two countries in the struggle against imperialism.

Prince Sihanouk's Speech

Prince Sihanouk, who warmly praised the friendship existing between Cambodia and China, said: "We love China, because she has never tried to make us adopt her ideology. We love China, because she is one of the very few big powers ever to apply without qualification the principle of equality among all races and all countries regardless of their size."

"We can testify that China has done nothing except defend her own frontiers and that no Chinese bases or troops are placed beyond Chinese territory," Prince Sihanouk continued. "Besides, what country other than China would show so much patience and moderation while Taiwan is all the time under foreign occupation and while the United States is more and more cynically violating the 1954 Geneva agreements?"

Prince Sihanouk said: "Our anti-U.S. imperialist determination is the result of our own experiences and

not of the 'advice' of China. These experiences are the aggressions, the menaces, the insults of the bellicose Americans and their vassals who want to establish their domination over Cambodia. And we know that our Vietnamese and Laotian brothers have had still more bitter experiences of imperialism and have every reason to fight heroically against the invaders."

Premier Chou's Speech

Premier Chou said that the friendship between China and Cambodia "has a long history, but it has never been so close as it is today. Our friendship is a principled one. Throughout the years our two countries have scrupulously abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, truly practising mutual respect, treating each other as equals, helping and benefiting each other and sincerely co-operating with each other. The struggle against U.S. imperialism and in defence of one's own country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the support to other peoples' just causes have closely linked our two peoples together. To continuously strengthen this comradeship-in-arms is in the fundamental interests of our two peoples and is also beneficial to the cause of upholding peace in Indo-China and the world. We believe that the peoples of China and Cambodia will strengthen and develop this friendship from generation to generation."

Premier Chou pointed out that the United States was intensifying the expansion of its aggressive war against Viet Nam in an attempt to spread the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China and Southeast Asia. He said: "The Indo-Chinese people are standing in the forefront of the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle; they have shouldered with honour the heavy responsibility of defending peace in Indo-China and the world and are valiantly resisting the U.S. aggressors. With their own struggles and victories, they demonstrate to the whole world that in the face of U.S. imperialist aggression and threats, we must unite and wage a tit-for-tat struggle, and that U.S. imperialism is not at all terrible but can certainly be defeated."

"The Chinese people," said Premier Chou, "resolutely stand on the side of the peoples of the countries of Indo-China. If U.S. imperialism presses ahead along the dangerous path of war expansion, we will unhesitatingly join the Indo-Chinese peoples in resolutely, thoroughly, completely and totally driving the U.S. aggressors out of Indo-China and the whole of Southeast Asia."

Sino-Cambodian Joint Statement

1. At the invitation of His Excellency Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia paid an official visit to China from September 22 to October 4, 1965, and attended the celebration of the 16th anniversary of the People's Republic of China.

2. The Head of State of Cambodia is accompanied by:

Madame Norodom Sihanouk,

H.E. Prince Penn Nouth, Private Adviser to the Head of State,

H.R.H. Princess Bopha Devi, daughter of the Head of State,

H.R.H. Princess Sorya Roeungsi, daughter of the Head of State,

H.H. Princess Norodom Kelkaniya Mom, member of the Royal Family,

H.E. Mr. Poc Thieun, Member of the High Council of the Throne, charged with the protocol of the Head of State, and Madame Poc Thieun,

H.E. Lieutenant-General Ngo Hou, Chief of Staff of the Royal Cambodian Air Force and Technical Adviser to the Head of State, and Madame Ngo Hou,

H.E. Mr. Truong Cang, Ambassador of Cambodia to China,

Mr. Sarin Chhak, Minister-Counsellor of the Embassy of Cambodia in France,

Mr. Phung Ton, Rector of the Royal University of Cambodia,

Mr. Keat Chhon, Rector of the Royal University of Kompong-Cham,

Mr. Bruno Forsinetti, husband of Princess Bopha Devi,

Mr. Tep Phaly, husband of Princess Sorya Roeungsi, physician of the delegation,

Lieutenant-Colonel Pok Sam An, Aide de Camp of the Head of State, and Madame Pok Sam An,

Lieutenant-Colonel Oum Manorine, Aide-de-Camp of the Head of State, and Madame Oum Manorine,

Mr. Roeum Sophon, Chief of the Maison Civile of the Head of State,

Mr. Charles Meyer, Expert in the Office of the Head of State, and Madame Meyer,

3. During their stay in China, Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the other guests from Cambodia, accompanied by His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and His Excellency Mr. Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited, in addition to the capital of the People's Republic of China, the cities of Chengtu

and Chungking in Szechuan Province and the city of Wuhan in Hupeh Province and sailed by boat from Chungking to Wuhan on the Yangtse River.

Everywhere the Head of State of Cambodia and the other members of the Cambodian delegation were accorded by the Chinese Government and people a grand welcome which was extremely warm and solemn. Everywhere they met with evidence of the enthusiastic friendship and fraternal sentiments which unite the peoples of China and Cambodia.

4. His Excellency Mr. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, received Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the other guests from Cambodia and had a most cordial exchange of views with them.

5. His Excellency Mr. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, held talks with His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, on the development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Cambodia, on the situation in Indo-China, and in particular in Viet Nam, and on the present international situation.

Taking part in the talks were:

On the Chinese side:

Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council, Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chen Shu-liang, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Cambodia,

Yao Kuang, Director of the Second Department of Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Lai Ya-li, Director of the Department of Protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the Cambodian side:

Prince Penn Nouth, Private Adviser to the Head of State,

Mr. Truong Cang, Ambassador of Cambodia to the People's Republic of China,

Mr. Sarin Chhak, Minister-Counsellor of the Royal Embassy of Cambodia in France.

The talks which proceeded in an extremely cordial and friendly atmosphere resulted in the two sides reaching an identity of views on all the questions discussed.

6. Bringing the profound friendship of the Cambodian people, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk has come to visit China and to attend, with the Chinese people, the celebration of the Chinese National Day. His noble presence constitutes a great encouragement and support to the Chinese people. The Chinese side expresses to him its cordial thanks. Prince Norodom Sihanouk expresses his profound and fraternal gratitude for the grand reception and the marks of esteem and cordiality accorded by the Chinese Government and people to the Cambodian delegation during its stay in China.

7. The Head of State of Cambodia expresses his warmest congratulations on the growing and very important successes which the People's Republic of China has achieved in its economic construction and on the great and new upsurge in its industrial and agricultural production, thus enabling it to enter a new stage of its prodigious development. **The Prince considers that the constant progress made by the People's Republic of China contributes to the safeguarding of peace in Asia and the whole world and sets an example to countries which carry out their national construction in accordance with the principle of self-reliance.** The Chinese side expresses admiration for the struggle waged by the Cambodian Government and people under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to resist the aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, in order to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. **The severance of diplomatic relations with the United States of America decided upon by the Royal Government of Cambodia at the suggestion of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and with the unanimous approval of the Cambodian people, is an act of courage worthy of praise, which gives to this struggle its full significance and also constitutes both a lashing counter-blow to the aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialists and their valets and a great encouragement to all the countries and peoples fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression.** The Chinese side highly appraises Cambodia's policy of peace, neutrality and independence, which permits her to play an increasingly important role in safeguarding world peace.

The Chinese side highly appraises the progress made by Cambodia in her national construction. It rejoices over the fact that the Kingdom of Cambodia relies on her own efforts to make continuous progress in her national economy and culture along the road of independence.

The Cambodian side expresses its deep gratitude for the firm support which the People's Republic of China has never ceased to give Cambodia in the political field, for the generous military aid which she has accorded her to enable her to defend her independence and territorial integrity against aggression by the U.S. imperialists and their valets, and for the extremely precious contribution she has made to her national construction, in particular in the social sphere and in the industrialization of the country. The Cambodian side considers that the support of the People's Republic of China is most reliable and effective.

The two parties note with satisfaction that the relations between Cambodia and China have developed very happily in the last few years in all fields, political, economic and cultural, as shown in particular by the frequency of personal contacts and the increase in trade and cultural exchanges. This strengthening of the ties of friendship between the Cambodian and the Chinese peoples is a convincing and happy example of effective co-operation between countries with different social systems.

8. The two parties consider that U.S. imperialist aggression, interference and subversion against other countries constitute a grave and constant menace to world peace and to the independence, sovereignty and security of the countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. **To check its misdeeds, it is imperative for the countries loving peace and justice to concert and co-ordinate their efforts in support of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are victims of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, notably the U.S. imperialists, in their fight for their national liberation or in defence of their independence.**

The two parties are deeply concerned with the situation in Viet Nam and in Laos and consider that the U.S. bombings of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the aggression by U.S. armed forces in south Viet Nam are gross infringements on the sovereignty and security of states and cynical violations of the 1954 Geneva agreements. **They firmly support the Vietnamese people in their struggle to safeguard their national independence and wholly endorse the five-part statement of March 22 of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the four-point proposition put forward on April 8 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.**

They hold that the restoration of peace in Indo-China requires the implementation of the Geneva agreements of 1954 and 1962, in particular, the withdrawal without delay of the U.S. troops and bases from south Viet Nam and the settlement by the Vietnamese people of their own affairs.

The two parties note that, while actively extending the war of aggression in Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists vigorously proclaim their desire for peace negotiations, with the aim of deceiving world opinion and covering up their criminal actions for extending their war of aggression and perpetuating their occupation of south Viet Nam. The two parties are energetically opposed to this war of aggression and to these manoeuvres.

9. Regarding the problem of nuclear weapons, the two parties declare themselves against the nuclear monopoly held by certain big powers. **They stand for the holding of a conference of the heads of state or government of all the countries of the world to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and the thorough destruction of nuclear weapons,** and as the first step, this conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the countries possessing nuclear weapons and those countries which may soon possess them will undertake not to use them.

10. The Chinese side expresses congratulations and support to the Royal Government of Cambodia on the withdrawal of its country from the U.N. "special committee on decolonization" and on its policy of non-co-operation with the work of this organization. The Chinese side considers that this just action is also a courageous gesture of protest against the increasingly marked tendency of the United Nations to allow itself to be manipulated by the U.S. imperialists.

The two parties hold that the United Nations should correct its errors and go through an immediate reorganization with a view to freeing itself from the domination of certain big powers, notably the United States of America, correctly applying the principles of its Charter, and attaining the universality which it should have. Without this reorganization, it will irretrievably meet with increasingly grave crises leading towards its complete disintegration.

The Cambodian side reaffirms the position which the Royal Government of Cambodia has hitherto adopted for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and the restoration to the People's Republic of China of all her legitimate rights in the United Nations and the organs attached to it.

The Cambodian side emphasizes once again that the Island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, should immediately be restored to the motherland.

The Chinese side expresses its gratitude to Cambodia for her just support to China.

11. The two parties consider that the Second African-Asian Conference scheduled to meet in Algiers on November 5, 1965, should maintain and develop the Bandung spirit, so as to achieve complete success and contribute to the anti-imperialist solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries and to their economic co-operation. The two parties point out with emphasis that the conference should give absolute priority to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and above all to the struggle against U.S. imperialism; that it should support all struggles against imperialist aggression and intervention and for national independence, and in the first place energetically support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors and the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) in their struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys and for their national liberation. Failing this, the cause of reinforcing the anti-imperialist solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries would be compromised and the conference would lose all significance.

12. The Cambodian side declares that China is one of the countries that really support the countries that fight for their national independence and for world peace. Just as China supports Cambodia, the latter will for ever firmly support China in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Chinese side reaffirms that the friendship between Cambodia and China rests on solid bases and that China will work indefatigably to strengthen this friendship and never betray the confidence placed in her by Cambodia. The Chinese people will continue to unswervingly support the Cambodian people in their just struggle for the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. Recently, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, Thailand and the Saigon regime, have tried to fabricate all sorts of pretexts for menacing and provoking the Kingdom of Cambodia which loves peace and observes a strict neutrality. This state of affairs cannot but arouse the concern of the Chinese people. Cambodia and China are close neighbours, friends and brothers. If the Kingdom of Cambodia should one day become the victim of armed aggression, the Chinese people will firmly stand by the Cambodian people and support them with all their forces.

The Cambodian side expresses to the People's Republic of China the profound gratitude of the Royal Government and the Cambodian people for this reaffirmation of complete support accorded to their country.

The two parties unanimously consider that the exchange of visits between the leaders of the two countries is of great help to their common struggle against imperialism and the development of their relations of friendship and co-operation. The present visit of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk to China as well as the cordial and friendly talks between the leaders of the two countries are great contributions in this regard.

Done in Peking on October 3, 1965.

(Signed) Liu Shao-chi (Signed) Norodom Sihanouk
Chairman of the People's Republic of China Head of State of Cambodia

No U.N. Interference in China's Domestic Affairs Allowed!

THE United Nations, already notorious, has added a new page to its inglorious record at the 20th General Assembly now in session.

Under the thumb of U.S. imperialism, the General Assembly has included the "Tibet question" in its agenda. This is a vicious slander against the Chinese people and a crude interference in China's internal affairs. The Chinese people hereby voice their utmost indignation and strong protest.

Tibet is part of Chinese territory. As such, China will not permit any interference in its Tibet region by any foreign power or international organization. The

United Nations Charter explicitly precludes any interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. By discussing the "Tibet question," the United Nations not only demonstrates its hostility to the Chinese people but also openly repudiates its own charter. This can only serve to unmask the hideous features of the organization as a tool of U.S. imperialism for aggression and intervention.

U.S. imperialism has long harboured aggressive ambitions towards China's Tibet region. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet by the Chinese people, the U.S. imperialists ganged up with the Indian expan-

sionists to engineer rebellion in the region, placing their hopes on the group of reactionary serf-owners. The quelling of the rebellion of these serf-owners in 1959 dealt a staggering blow to the imperialists and expansionists. Since then, U.S. imperialism has stepped up its manipulation of the United Nations to discuss again and again the "Tibet question" in order to slander and vilify the Chinese people and agitate anti-China feeling.

Subsequently, every time the revolutionary cause of the people of Tibet advanced a step forward, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys raised a hullabaloo in the United Nations. But how can tiny ants shake a giant tree? Whatever the uproar of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, history has marched and will march on according to its own laws. And so earth-shaking changes have taken place in Tibet in the past 15 years, especially since the quelling of the rebellion of the reactionary serf-owners and the introduction of democratic reforms five years ago.

THE formal establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region not long ago sounded the death knell for the most reactionary, dark, ruthless and barbarous feudal serfdom. The social prop of the imperialist and expansionist forces in their aggression against the Tibet region was uprooted. U.S. imperialism and its flunkeys felt bitter. **The fact that they have once again brought up the "Tibet question" in the current session of the United Nations General Assembly shows most clearly their inveterate hatred for the revolutionary victory won by the people of China's Tibet and their despair over their own irreversible defeat.**

The inclusion of the "Tibet question" in the agenda of the present session of the United Nations General Assembly is **no isolated incident but part and parcel of the anti-China plot of U.S. imperialism and its followers.** The Indian authorities who have all along harboured expansionist ambitions towards Tibet are playing a shameful role in this sinister scheme. The rebellion of the group of reactionary serf-owners in Tibet was instigated and supported by the Indian reactionaries. Even now they are making use of the small group of traitorous Tibetan bandits collected under their wings, to carry on their subversive activities and sabotage against China. However, when U.S. imperialism tried to bring up the "Tibet question" for discussion at the previous U.N. General Assembly sessions, the Indian delegate dared not openly second the motion. But this time, India voted for it and Indian Prime Minister Shastri proclaimed that India supported the discussion of the question at the United Nations. **This not only thoroughly revealed the ugly features of the Indian expansionists, but also exposed the fact that the Indian reactionaries are mere pawns of U.S. imperialism.**

Don't be so arrogant, you Indian reactionaries. Don't think that you can do what you please with the backing of the United States and the United Nations which is under U.S. control. No resolutions passed by the United Nations can cover up your despicable subversive activities against China's territory of Tibet.

Didn't you brag recently that there were a certain number of Tibetans in your hands? Indeed, it is exactly on this score that we want to settle accounts with you! **To tell you bluntly, we consider the question of the several thousand Tibetans including Dalai in your hands an important question and your use of these people to carry out subversive activities against Tibet an important question, an unsettled question. It must be settled.**

OF late, the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys have again begun howling that the people of Tibet have been deprived of their "birth right," of their "human rights and fundamental freedoms," and so forth. But let us tell you point-blank, you panjandrum in Washington, that what you mean by freedom is nothing but the "freedom" of the people of Tibet to be slaves and beasts of burden under feudal serfdom and what you mean by human rights or birth right is nothing but the "right" of the reactionary serf-owners to gouge out people's eyes and rip open their bellies.

Yes, today the million Tibetan serfs have proudly stood up and become veritable masters of the beautiful and fertile Tibetan plateau. Their "freedom" to be slaves and beasts of burden has gone for ever. And gone also is the "birth right" of the reactionary serf-owners to slaughter the people at will. The U.S. imperialists or any other reactionary forces will never succeed in dragging the people of Tibet back to the dark ages. The rabid outcry of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys can only expose them as defenders of the world's darkest and most brutal systems. If the United Nations really wants to uphold "human rights and fundamental freedoms," it should direct its spearhead at U.S. imperialism.

Why has the United Nations done nothing to check U.S. imperialism's aggression and intervention in various parts of the world and its encroachments on the peoples' freedom? Why hasn't the United Nations uttered a single word of condemnation when the 20 million American Negroes are groaning under the brutal system of racial discrimination right at the very doorstep of the U.N. headquarters? By including the so-called "Tibet question" in the agenda of its current General Assembly session, **the United Nations has once again shown itself up as a tool which is used by the U.S. imperialists and their partners to interfere in other countries' internal affairs and in order to dominate the world.**

The people of Tibet, together with the people in the rest of China, are now marching triumphantly along the broad road of socialism. Let the U.S. imperialists, the Indian reactionaries and all other monsters and freaks bewail their sad fate! Their howling cannot arrest the striding steps of the people of Tibet; nor can any anti-China campaign they may stir up harm the brilliant image of great socialist China. **The mere evil deeds the United Nations perpetrates under U.S. imperialist manipulation, the more quickly will it become bankrupt.**

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, September 30, 1965)

India Must Stop All Its Intrusions And Provocations

After its intruding troops fled from Chinese territory across the China-Sikkim boundary, the Indian Government has been resorting to quibbling, lying and counter-charges in order to cover up its own crimes of aggression and in an attempt to save its lost face. It had for this purpose sent altogether four notes to China, three on September 21 and one on the following day. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on September 24 delivered two notes to the Indian Embassy exposing the Indian Government's lies, refuting its counter-charges and advising India that it must genuinely stop all its intrusions and provocations along the Sino-Indian border and the China-Sikkim border; otherwise, it must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom. We publish below the two Chinese Foreign Ministry's notes both dated September 24. — Ed.

The Chinese Note in Reply to Indian Government's Note of September 21

THE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and, with reference to the note of the Indian Government of September 21 in reply to the note of the Chinese Government of September 19, has the honour to state as follows:

In its note the Indian Government feigns peaceableness and innocence and accuses China of "belligerence" and "intimidation." It imagines that by so doing it can cover up its own crimes of aggression against China and elude the Chinese Government's stern condemnation and just demands. Such clumsy tactics can deceive no one.

The fact that Indian troops built military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary is established by conclusive evidence and cannot be overthrown by quibbling. Yet over the past years the Indian Government flatly denied the existence of such military works. Only after the Chinese Government demanded their dismantling within a specified time-limit did the Indian Government admit in its note of September 17 that the possibility of the existence of such military works was not excluded. In its note of September 21, the Indian Government further says: "Surely, if in fact there were in existence any such structures on the Tibetan side of the border, the Chinese Government would not have waited for our consent to demolish them or asked us to do so by sending our personnel across the border." The Indian Government thinks that it can get away with it by sophistry, but in fact this only further exposes itself and is tantamount to admitting that Indian troops did build these works on Chinese territory and that they should be dismantled.

In reality, India has withdrawn the intruding Indian troops within the specified time-limit set by the Chinese Government and demolished some of her aggressive military works. The Chinese frontier guards

are now in full control of the sites of the Indian troops' military works for aggression and are in possession of abundant evidence. **In these circumstances, if the Indian Government continues to quibble and prevaricate, it will only lose face completely before the people of the whole world.**

In its note the Indian Government again refuses to hand back the Chinese border inhabitants kidnapped and the livestock seized by its troops. The note asserts that "there are not four but many thousands of Tibetans who have left their homeland and sought refuge in India," implying that since the thousands are not being returned, what do four persons matter? **We hereby serve you notice that while the case of these thousands must be settled, that of the four persons must be settled immediately.** These four persons were forcibly kidnapped by Indian troops from Chinese territory in broad daylight, and there can be no talk whatsoever of "asylum." The 800 sheep and the 59 yaks were likewise carried away from Chinese territory by Indian troops. **The Indian side must assume the responsibility of returning all the four persons and all the livestock, not short of a single one.** As for those several thousand persons, including Dalai Lama, they are no "refugees" either, but were enticed or coerced to go to India after the failure of the rebellion of serf-owners instigated by the Indian Government in the Tibet region of China. Nominally, the Indian Government is giving them "political asylum," but in fact it is using them for continued subversive and disruptive activities against China. **Since you have mentioned these several thousand persons, we deem it necessary to remind you that this debt you owe us must be settled.**

In its note the Indian Government once again asserts that it has given strict instructions to its armed forces and personnel not to make intrusions or harassing raids into China, and that these instructions have been strictly observed. But facts have thoroughly ex-

ploded these lies. Even within the past month and more — not to go into earlier history — Indian troops repeatedly intruded into China's Hot Springs, the vicinity of the Kongka Pass, Dumchele and Demchok in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border for harassing raids and armed provocations, and provocatively opened fire at the Natu La and the Jelep La on the China-Sikkim border. These are the proofs. We are all too familiar with the Indian Government's practice of saying one thing while doing another. It must be pointed out that to continue to play such double-faced tricks will never do. The Indian Government must in its deeds truly stop all intrusions and provocations; otherwise, it must face all the grave consequences which may arise therefrom. We mean what we say.

The Indian Government glibly claims that it is a peaceful country and a good neighbour, but in fact it is an arch-hypocrite talking no end of fine words while doing no end of evil deeds. Under the guise of friendship with China, it tried its utmost to obstruct the peaceful liberation of Tibet and seized 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border. It invaded and occupied eight pieces of Chinese territory in the middle sector of the border and China's Parigas in the western sector. After the failure of the rebellion of Tibetan serf-owners which it instigated, it advanced a claim to more than 30,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in Aksai Chin. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the Indian Government's territorial claim, and it for ever retains the right to settle these issues of Chinese territory still being occupied by India.

What India calls "peaceful coexistence" in fact is a smokescreen for covering up its pursuance of an expansionist policy. This is the way India deals with China as well as with her other neighbouring countries. She has perfidiously deprived the people of Kashmir of

their right to self-determination, attempting to seize the whole of Kashmir for herself. Recently she has brazenly launched a war of naked aggression against Pakistan. These expansionist crimes of the Indian Government have been severely condemned by all countries and peoples upholding justice. In order to cover up its crimes and divert the attention of the people of the world, the Indian Government has in its note turned to slander China as desiring to extend her domination over the whole of Asia, and allege that China wants to assume the role of "hegemony" and "guardianship" over Asian countries. These charges are too preposterous. It may be asked: Of the independent Asian countries of today which has stepped into the shoes of imperialism and turned a neighbour into her "protectorate"? Was it not India but China that assumed the role of a guardian of another Asian country in the current incident on the China-Sikkim border? India launched an all-out armed aggression against Pakistan. This is not termed an attempt at "hegemony" over Asian countries, yet China, who together with other countries upholding justice opposed this aggression, is said to want to assume the role of "hegemony" over Asian countries. Is there such logic on earth?

China is a country that abides by reason and upholds principles. China will never commit aggression against others, nor will she tolerate unscrupulous aggression by any country. We will certainly oppose aggressors and support victims of aggression. So long as India still commits aggression against Pakistan, so long as she still deprives the people of Kashmir of their right to self-determination, China will not cease to support Pakistan against Indian aggression or support the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for their right to self-determination.

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

The Chinese Note in Reply to Indian Government's Notes of September 21 and 22

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 two notes of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Government of September 21 and its note of September 22, 1965.

In the above-mentioned notes the Indian Government alleges that Chinese troops have made military provocations against India on the Sino-Indian border and the China-Sikkim border. The results of check-ups by the Chinese Government show that the incidents enumerated in the Indian notes are either out-and-out fabrications or complete distortions. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the unwarranted protests of the Indian Government.

1. Western Sector of the Sino-Indian Border

(1) The Indian Government alleges that on September 19, 1965, 50 mounted Chinese troops in-

truded into Indian territory near the Indian civil post at Tsaskur and opened fire on an Indian civilian police party. In fact, it was Indian troops who on that day intruded into an area about four kilometres east of Dumchele within Chinese territory and made an attack by opening fire on the Chinese civilian personnel there. The Chinese Government has given a detailed and factual account of the incident in its note of September 20 [see *Peking Review*, No. 39, Sept. 24, p. 12. — Ed.], and it is in possession of conclusive evidence. In clearing the field the Chinese civilian personnel found the bodies of three Indian soldiers, whom they have swathed with cloth and buried. They also found four rifles used by Indian troops, which are now kept in their custody.

(2) The Indian Government alleges that on September 19, 1965, Chinese troops intruded into Indian territory in the vicinity of Daulat Beg Oldi and took

up position at approximately 78°01' E, 35°17' N. This is a sheer fabrication. It may be pointed out that these co-ordinates were also mentioned in the note of the Indian Government dated April 21, 1965. At that time, however, the Indian Government asserted that these co-ordinates were six miles west of the line of actual control, whereas in its latest note it asserts that they are two miles west of the line of actual control. This self-contradiction precisely proves that the Indian Government has been concocting lies at will.

(3) The Indian Government alleges that Chinese forces have entrenched themselves opposite India's Hotspring checkpost. As a matter of fact, it was Indian troops who, within the period of one and a half months from early August to September 16, 1965, intruded seven times into the vicinity of the Chinese civilian checkposts at Hot Springs in Sinkiang and at the Kongka Pass in Tibet for reconnaissance and harassment.

(4) The Indian Government alleges that Chinese troops moved forward up to so-called Charding Nullah in the eastern part of Demchok and assumed a threatening posture towards an Indian civilian post. In fact, it was Indian troops who on September 18 intruded into the vicinity of the Demchok Village on the Chinese side of the line of actual control after crossing the Demchok River from Parigas (in Tibet, China) which has been illegally occupied by India.

2. Middle Sector of the Sino-Indian Border

(1) The Indian Government alleges that Chinese troops have entered the Wuje area. In fact, it is the Indian Government which every year sends its troops for illegal stationing in this area in violation of the agreement between the two sides.

(2) The Indian Government alleges that 60 Chinese soldiers went into Indian territory through the Lipu Lekh Pass on September 21, 1965. The fact is that at no time have Chinese soldiers crossed this Pass into Indian territory.

3. China-Sikkim Boundary

The Indian Government alleges that on September 20, 1965, Chinese troops crossed the Tungchu La, fired

at Indian troops and occupied an area 800 yards on the Sikkim side of the border; it further alleges that on September 21 Chinese troops fired across the Natu La towards an Indian post south of the border and were entrenched inside Sikkim territory. In fact, it was Indian troops who twice fired from a place near the Natu La at Chinese frontier guards within Chinese territory at 18:30 hours and 19:00 hours respectively on September 20, and who fired from a place near the Jelep La at Chinese frontier guards at 20:00 hours on the same day.

The Indian Government has hastily delivered three notes in succession, in which it made fabrications and confounded black and white. Its intention in so doing is only too obvious. In the face of the stern warning and resolute demands of the Chinese Government, the Indian Government has been compelled to admit the fact about its construction of aggressive military works on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary and has stealthily demolished or abandoned these military works. In groundlessly slandering Chinese troops as making intrusions and provocations on the Sino-Indian border and the China-Sikkim border, the Indian Government now tries to cover up its own crimes of aggression and retrieve its lost face. But how can it fool anyone by such a clumsy trick of a thief crying "Stop thief"?

The Indian Government can never succeed in its attempt to pin its own crime on China. The indisputable fact is that **India has long been perpetrating intrusions and provocations against China, and has of late grown particularly reckless. The Indian Government must genuinely stop all its intrusions and provocations along the Sino-Indian border and the China-Sikkim border. Any quibbling, lying or counter-charge will only get you into a still worse position. The Chinese Government has every right to strengthen its defences and heighten its alertness along the border or to act in self-defence. If you insist on keeping up your wilful intrusions, you must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom.**

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

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 6.)

Japan and China and increase trade between the two countries.

Nan Han-chen, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, in his speech noted that the exhibition had been arranged by Japanese trading companies friendly to China after artificial barriers had been overcome. This, he said, showed that Japanese friends working for the promotion of Sino-

Japanese trade were fearless in the face of violence and in opposing disruptive schemes from various sources. "Lately," he added, "the Sato government has been carrying out with greater vigour than ever before the reactionary policy of following U.S. imperialism in hostility towards China. It has, in contravention of the desire of the Chinese and Japanese peoples, put serious obstacles in the way of Sino-Japanese trade." He stressed that, in spite of the hostility of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, nothing could check the growth of

Sino-Japanese friendship which is an irresistible historical tide.

After the speech, the visitors saw the exhibition. As he walked around the halls, Peng Chen said to Juzo Sugimoto: "No force on earth can check the development of friendly relations between China and Japan, just as no force can stop the earth from orbiting round the sun. Be it U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionary clique, Chiang Kai-shek or modern revisionism, no one can stop it." He wished the exhibition success.

Building a New Revolutionary Sinkiang

In Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the
Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region

by SAIFUDIN*

OCTOBER 1 marks the 16th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China; it is also the 10th anniversary of the birth of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. People of the different nationalities in Sinkiang,** together with the rest of the people throughout the country, are marking this glorious day with great rejoicing.

The past 16 years saw Sinkiang making steady progress in all fields of work. As we celebrate this double festival, it is of practical significance to look back along the road we have triumphantly travelled.

Major Achievements in Economic and Cultural Construction

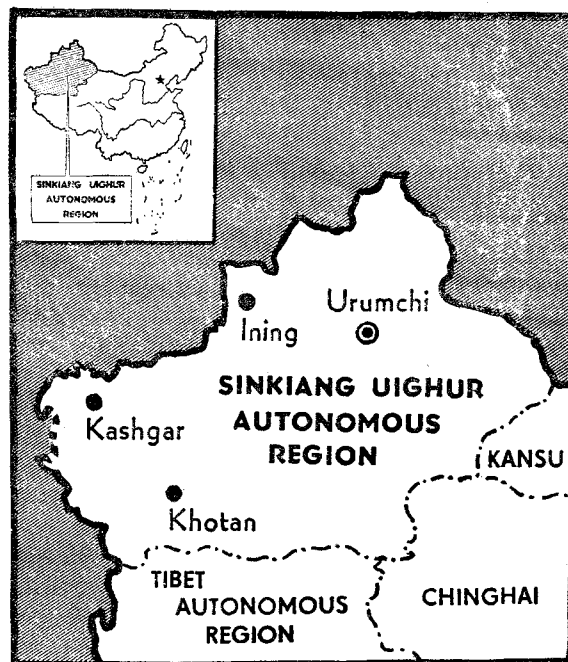
Before liberation, modern industry was practically non-existent in Sinkiang. The dozen or so small plants that did exist were in such wretched condition that they were unable to maintain regular production. Now, more than 550 modern industrial enterprises have sprung up both north and south of the Tianshan Mountains. Modern industry's share in the total industrial output by value has risen from 2.9 per cent in 1949 to more than 78 per cent at present; the number of industrial products has increased from 11 to some two thousand. Pre-liberation Sinkiang had not a single yard of railway to boast of, and its communications and transportation were extremely backward. Its several highways were constantly in a bad state of repair. Now the highway mileage is several times the early post-liberation figure. Vehicles for passenger services and for freight have increased more than eight times and the amount of freight carried is scores of times greater. The Lanchow-Sinkiang Railway has reached Urumchi, the region's capital. With Urumchi at the centre, Sinkiang now has a transport network, mainly made up of highways, railways and civil aviation lines, which links cities and the countryside.

Agriculture has also recorded big advances in Sinkiang in the past 16 years. The area of land newly opened up since liberation is much more than all the

land reclaimed generation after generation from times long ago. Water conservancy work has progressed rapidly with the result that the area of land under effective irrigation has increased several times. Compared with 1949, total output of grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops has increased many fold with cotton leading the way. Cotton output has made it possible, besides satisfying the needs of the local textile industry, to supply huge quantities to the state.

Animal husbandry occupies an important position in the region's economy. Before liberation, it was extremely backward. Increases in stockbreeding have now been recorded for 16 years in succession. The number of cattle in 1964 was more than double what it was in 1949.

Following the development of industrial, agricultural and stockbreeding production, the purchasing power of the people of all the region's nationalities has also grown greatly. The average money income per head in 1964 nearly tripled that of the early post-liberation days. Banking deposits in urban and rural areas towards the end of July, 1965, were 280 times as much as at end of 1950. The supply of cotton textiles, meat, tea, sugar, corduroy, silk fabrics, kerchiefs, boots, and embroidered skull-caps, all goods well-liked by the



Sketch map by Wei Ning

* Saifudin, a Uighur, is the Chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and Member of the Secretariat of the Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

** Sinkiang in northwest China has a vast territory of 1,648,800 sq. km. Its 13 nationalities are: Uighurs, the most numerous, Kazakhs, Huis, Mongolians, Khalkhas, Sibos, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Tartars, Russians, Tahurs, Manchus and Hans.

minority peoples, has registered sharp increase both in quantity and variety.

Culture, education and public health work were all very backward in pre-liberation Sinkiang. Now, counting the part-work (or part-farming) part-study schools, there are nine institutions of higher learning, several hundred middle schools and several thousand primary schools. The total enrolment of these schools is several times that of the early post-liberation period. Compared with 1949, the number of hospitals and other public health organizations, hospital beds, medical personnel and other trained public health workers has increased scores of times. Improvements in the people's livelihood and public health services in the past 16 years have brought about an increase in the population of all the minority nationalities in Sinkiang. Their total population is more than 20 per cent higher than in the pre-liberation days.

The great success achieved in Sinkiang's socialist construction is due to the fact that we have persistently carried out the general line of going all out, aiming high, and getting greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Sinkiang's experience proves that this general line of the Party is entirely suited to the minority nationality region of Sinkiang, and is completely in keeping with the desire of all its nationalities to do away with their poverty and backwardness and, together with other fraternal nationalities, to build China into a big socialist power in the shortest possible time. It is possible for socialist construction to proceed at greater speed in economically and culturally backward areas because the people there are even more determined to get work done and accordingly give fuller play to their potentialities.

In the last few years, guided by the general line, people of different nationalities in Sinkiang, with great revolutionary enthusiasm have built with their own hands large numbers of water conservancy projects and planted trees over vast areas, thus forcing deserts to retreat, wresting more farmlands from nature, and scoring many victories in the fight against drought. As a result, they have changed the face of the land, improved the people's livelihood and together set out along the road of common prosperity. Examples are legion. After seven years of tireless effort, the local inhabitants in Pishan County have finally put an end to drought. Battling against windstorms, the people of Turfan County have increased grain output every year for eight years. Members of the Red Flag People's Commune, Maikaiti County, have reaped a record *per-mu* yield of 100 *jin** of cotton from 10,000 *mu*** of sandy, saline or alkaline land. The Sinkiang construction corps of the People's Liberation Army is widely praised for bringing large-scale modernized agriculture to the wasteland of the Gobi desert. All these are outstanding examples of hard work and self-reliance.

The tremendous achievements in Sinkiang's socialist construction are inseparable from the assistance

offered by the state and the Han people. In each one of the last 16 years, the state has helped the region financially. For the first few years, the state provided all the capital for construction projects and even partly subsidized administrative expenses. Fine sons and daughters of the Hans came to Sinkiang in a constant flow to take part in our socialist construction, thus greatly easing the shortage of manpower and technical forces. Our inland provinces, regions and cities did their best to meet our needs in economic construction, be it for equipment or for raw materials. The construction corps of the People's Liberation Army, in the finest P.L.A. tradition of hard work and with rifles in one hand and hoes in the other, has unfolded a large-scale production movement and given great support to the socialist construction in our region. Looking back on the achievements of the past 16 years, we cannot but express our grateful thanks to the Han and other fraternal nationalities, and to all the men and commanders of the P.L.A. construction corps.

Like many other national minority regions in our country, Sinkiang has developed its economy and culture in the last 16 years, and especially since the establishment of the autonomous region in 1955, with a speed which was quite unheard of in the history of the development of human society. Many undertakings were started almost from nothing. Now, rapid progress in these fields has helped to narrow the gap between Sinkiang and the more advanced regions of the country. Sinkiang has basically eliminated the economic and cultural inequalities among different nationalities, which were inherited from the past, thus laying a solid foundation for socialist construction. All these achievements have come as a result of the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They represent a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

National Solidarity Is the Basic Guarantee for Victory

Sinkiang is a multi-national region where the Uighurs are the most numerous nationality. Success in any field in Sinkiang is therefore impossible without unity among the different nationalities. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us: "Unification of the country, unity of the people and unity among our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause." Acting upon this directive of Chairman Mao, we have firmly put into effect a whole series of Party policies on nationalities, established national regional autonomy and conducted irreconcilable struggle against all kinds of ideas and actions detrimental to unity among the nationalities. As a result, national solidarity has been continuously consolidated and developed. Before liberation, the labouring masses of the minority nationalities in this region suffered a dual oppression — the national oppression imposed by the reactionary Han ruling class with the Kuomintang as its representative and the class oppression imposed by their own feudal ruling class. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the entry of the Peo-

*1 *jin* = 0.5 kilogramme = 1.1023 pounds

**1 *mu* = 0.0666 hectare = 0.1647 acre

ple's Liberation Army into Sinkiang put an end to the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. A historic, fundamental change has taken place in the relations among Sinkiang's various nationalities, with national unity replacing national oppression and national antagonism. After 16 years of waging revolutionary struggles together, working and living together, all the nationalities in Sinkiang have witnessed the emergence of a completely new type of national relationship, characterized by equality, unity, mutual help and fraternity, and this is now being constantly promoted.



Urumchi today

Revolution and construction in Sinkiang have brought home this truth: Without unity among our nationalities, there would be no victory in the democratic and socialist revolutions, no victory in the struggle against revisionism and the reactionaries of India, no victory in our socialist construction and no prosperity, progress and development of the different nationalities. Our great national solidarity represents the fundamental interests of the people of all the region's nationalities.

Hindrance to unity among nationalities comes from the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes. National unity is impossible when national and class oppression exists. To bring about unity among the various nationalities and further develop it, the fundamental thing is, therefore, to eradicate the system of exploitation, a system which engenders national oppression, to overthrow the exploiting classes, and to establish a social system without exploitation of one individual by another. Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." Since the emergence of social classes the socialist system is the first social system in the history of mankind in which there is no exploitation of one individual by another. It is essentially opposed to national oppression and class exploitation, and it is paving a broad path for the common prosperity and progress of all nationalities. Consequently, the firm establishment of the socialist system in Sinkiang has laid a most solid foundation for unity among all its nationalities.

The unity of the nationalities must have the unity of their labouring people and their class unity as its nucleus. The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism teach us that every nationality is invariably divided into classes. The exploiting classes are always in the

minority and the exploited classes in the majority. Labouring masses form the main body of a nationality. Therefore, the unity among the nationalities is, in the last analysis, unity among the labouring people (who account for the overwhelming majority of the population of these nationalities) and class unity. Without the unity of the labouring people, there can be no national unity. Abstract, supra-class national unity never exists.

Before liberation, the historical status of the labouring people of the national minorities in Sinkiang was the same as that of the labouring people of the Han nationality. Today, they are also identical in their class interests. Their common goal now is to build socialism. In the future, it will be the advance to communism. In Sinkiang, the construction of a number of modern industrial enterprises has brought into being the first generation of the working class of the minority peoples. This working class has grown up in the cradle of socialism and is the backbone force of national unity. In the people's communes, the people of the different nationalities work and live together on a much bigger scale than before, greatly promoting friendship among these nationalities and enhancing their collective spirit. The labouring people of all the nationalities in Sinkiang are rallied closely together by their common class interests and their common life of struggle.

It should be admitted, however, that the negative effects of the lack of understanding among nationalities inherited from the past are not something to be overlooked. Great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism have particularly been detrimental to national unity. These are all reflections of bourgeois ideology and are utterly incompatible with the proletarian viewpoint on the national question. Generally speaking, they are contradictions among the people and are manifestations of class struggle. They must, therefore, be dealt with by the method used to resolve contradictions among the people and in accordance with the formula of "unity — criticism — unity." Since liberation, we have time

and again conducted ideological education among the people and cadres of all the nationalities, advocating our policies on nationalities and the importance of national unity. We have made great efforts to publicize the historically close economic and cultural contacts and friendly intercourse between the various nationalities and particularly those between the Han people and the national minorities in Sinkiang. We have also given publicity to the common endeavour of all nationalities and their mutual support in the great cause of building socialism and to the many moving examples of national unity. At the same time, when the ideologies of great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism had grown to such an extent as to seriously undermine national unity, we waged timely struggles against these ideologies, and prevented them from impairing national unity. Before 1957, we directed our main efforts to repudiating great-nation chauvinism, which was basically overcome. In 1958, we struggled against local nationalism, and refuted many mistaken statements that impaired the unity of the motherland and of the nationalities and opposed the leadership of the Communist Party and the cause of socialism. A decisive victory was won against local nationalism. The struggles against great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism have given our broad masses of cadres and people of various nationalities a most profound, practical and vivid education in the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the national question and in national unity. Great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism are all reflections of class struggle in the national question. They will exist for a long period. The contradiction between ourselves and a handful of diehard protagonists of local nationalism is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. They represent the interests of the exploiting classes. Colluding with the landlords, rich peasants and counter-revolutionaries at home and entering into the service of the revisionists abroad, they malevolently undermined the unity of the nationalities and of the motherland, opposed socialism and attempted to restore the rule of the reactionary classes. Our struggle against them was a serious struggle in defence of the unity of the nationalities and of the motherland and the cause of socialism.

National regional autonomy is the only correct, fundamental policy for the solution of the national question in our country. Such autonomy is part of our people's democratic dictatorship. The implementation of national regional autonomy has safeguarded the unification of our motherland and the unity among the nationalities and protected their rights to equality and self-government. It has helped to unite the labouring people of the various nationalities and all those who can be united, brought into full play the initiative of the people of these nationalities and given great impetus to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in Sinkiang.

Only Thoroughgoing Revolution Can Effect Thorough Solution of the National Question

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us that "national struggle is, in the last analysis, a matter of class strug-

gle." This is a Marxist-Leninist principle that guides one in studying and handling the national question. In Sinkiang, over the 16 years since liberation, we have followed this principle and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on uninterrupted revolution and launched a series of revolutionary movements in accordance with the general lines and policies of the Party in the various periods. We have thus won victories in the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, brought about rapid advances in the various undertakings in Sinkiang, and created the basic conditions for the solution of the national question.

In the course of the continuous advance of the various revolutionary undertakings in Sinkiang over the last 16 years, we have been able to see more clearly that there have been acute and complicated class struggles in the area, that the principal contradiction in the national minority areas is also class contradiction and the principal struggle in such areas is also class struggle and that the fundamental way to the solution of the national question is to persist in class struggle and carry out thoroughgoing revolution. The labouring people of the various nationalities in Sinkiang were subjected to bitter exploitation and oppression in the past, and it is in line with the fundamental interests of the people of these nationalities to lead them in eliminating the system of exploitation and oppression and gradually eradicating the social basis that gives rise to exploitation and oppression. Any extravagant talk about the solution of the national question without considering these fundamental interests is nothing but a hoax. Before liberation, the exploiting classes of the national minorities in Sinkiang collaborated with the Han rulers to exploit and oppress the labouring people of the national minorities. This was the essence of national oppression in Sinkiang. With the liberation of Sinkiang and the immediate abolition of national oppression, the continued existence of the system of exploitation within the various nationalities became the fundamental obstacle to the economic and cultural development of the area and to the realization of actual equality of the nationalities. In view of this, the Party led the labouring people of the various nationalities in eliminating the feudal system of exploitation, transforming the capitalist relations of production and establishing the socialist relations of production on an extensive scale. This has brought a new phase in the solution of the national question in Sinkiang and in the development of its nationalities. But the victory of the socialist revolution in the economic field does not mean the end of class struggle, the resistance of the capitalist and feudal forces is still quite obstinate, the question of "who will win" in the struggle between socialism and capitalism is not yet finally solved. What is more, as Sinkiang is a multi-national area and frontier region, the class struggle there is inevitably interwoven with the questions of religion of the various nationalities and with the worldwide class struggle. This adds to the gravity and complexity of the class struggle in Sinkiang. After the basic completion of socialist transformation in 1957, the class enemies more than once launched their frenzied attacks on the

Party and socialism and engaged in all sorts of sabotage against the cause of socialism. If we had not smashed their attacks and triumphed in the class struggle, the people of the various nationalities would not have been able to maintain the socialist positions they had already gained, there would have been the danger of losing the fruits of revolution, and it would, of course, have been out of the question to push ahead with economic construction and strengthen the unity of the motherland and of the nationalities. Adhering to the directives of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, we have held aloft the red banner of revolution and scored one victory after another. After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September 1962, we launched in the cities and countryside throughout Sinkiang the socialist education movement in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction that we should never forget about classes and class struggle. In the course of the movement, we have effectively repulsed the attack of the capitalist and feudal forces and further raised the socialist consciousness of the people of the various nationalities. We will make untiring efforts to carry through this revolutionary movement until the final victory of the socialist revolution is achieved. Only in this way, will it be possible to solve the national question in Sinkiang in a thoroughgoing manner and ensure victory in the building of socialism.

Building the Ranks of the Party With Mao Tse-tung's Thinking

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "A great revolution requires a great party and many first-rate cadres to guide it." On another occasion, he said: "Without a large number of communist cadres from minority nationalities, it is impossible to thoroughly solve the national question and to utterly isolate the national reactionaries."

Following the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Party organizations in Sinkiang have done a great deal of work and carried out unremitting struggle since Sinkiang's liberation to raise an army of Marxist-Leninist Party members and to train communist cadres of different nationalities. Now, we already have a strong force of Party members and cadres—people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, capable of weathering storms, of leading and uniting with the people of all nationalities in successfully unfolding the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

At the time of liberation, Sinkiang had only some 3,000 cadres from its minority nationalities; Party membership was also small. Now, the region has more than 13,000 basic Party organizations with more than 220,000 members, of whom over 106,000 come from minority nationalities. This is more than 12 times the figure we had when this Autonomous Region was established. Sinkiang has more than 190,000 cadres at different levels, including 106,000 minority people, an increase of 34.5 times compared with the early post-lib-

eration period, and of 1.5 times compared with the figure at the time of the establishment of the Autonomous Region. Cadres of minority nationalities are holding leading positions in offices at all levels—Party committees, government organizations, and economic and cultural departments. In Party committees at all levels, 67 per cent of the members are from minority nationalities. Moreover, the Party has trained a technical force of 7,600 from among the region's minority peoples. These Party members and cadres have been steeled and tested in many ways in the last 16 years: in the democratic revolution, in socialist revolution and construction, in the struggle against local nationalism and modern revisionism and in the struggle for consolidating national unity and unification of our motherland. They have proved to be a staunch army capable of giving effect to the lines, policies and directives of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and of leading and rallying the people of the different nationalities in Sinkiang in their advance from victory to victory.

The highest principle guiding our Party's policy on cadres is to place equal stress on both integrity and ability and to educate them in communist ideas. That is to say, we pick our cadres of different nationalities from people of the working class, from the poor and lower-middle peasants, the working herdsmen, and other labouring people as well as revolutionary intellectuals. They are fine men and women who have acquired a high level of political consciousness, who are firm in taking the socialist road, loyal to the Party and our motherland, and imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm, and who maintain close links with the masses of all nationalities.

The fundamental question in building up the ranks of a Marxist-Leninist party is to study Chairman Mao's writings on a wide scale and to arm the Party members and cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This thinking is creatively developed Marxism-Leninism in the era when imperialism is heading towards collapse and socialism is gaining the victory; it is a guide for the Chinese people in their cause of revolution and construction, a powerful ideological weapon in combating imperialism and all reactionaries as well as modern revisionism and modern dogmatism. Our Party members and cadres, once armed with this weapon, will be able to reform their non-proletarian world outlook, build up a proletarian world outlook and keep a correct political orientation in the cause of revolution and construction; they will be imbued with the spirit of thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and soaring revolutionary enthusiasm; they will be able to master the dialectical materialist method of thinking and avoid metaphysical views. In a word, an effective study of Chairman Mao's works and a grasp of Mao Tse-tung's thinking will enable our Party to raise greatly its Marxist-Leninist level and make our cause ever successful. Here in Sinkiang, it is precisely by relying on Mao Tse-tung's thinking that we combated and overcame the influence of bourgeois nationalism, modern revisionism, capitalism and different types of anti-

Marxist ideas, that we achieved successes in Party building and in the cause of socialism.

No Vilification by Khrushchov Revisionists Can Dim The Great Light of Our Party's National Policy

The tremendous successes scored in revolution and construction in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the close unity among the people of all nationalities and the unprecedented consolidation of the unification of our motherland have inspired the people of all nationalities. However, the Khrushchov revisionists, renegades from communism and lackeys of imperialism, harbouring a deep-seated hatred, are carrying out constant subversive and sabotage activities, unceasingly spreading rumours and slanders and making virulent attacks on us. Passing themselves off unabashedly as "defenders" of the interests of the people of different nationalities in Sinkiang, they spare no effort to slander and attack the Chinese Communist Party for its national policy.

In accordance with Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, we have carried out in Sinkiang democratic and socialist revolutions, which have eliminated for good the system of class exploitation and the social basis for national oppression and have built up a socialist system and liberated the productive forces. This is the fundamental desire of the people of all nationalities and represents their highest interests. The Khrushchov revisionists, however, slander our revolution as "alien to Marxism-Leninism," a "chauvinistic movement" and a "movement at the expense of the minority nationalities," in an attempt to undermine our revolutionary movements and prevent us from continuously pushing forward our revolution.

In meeting the demands of the people of different nationalities, we have exerted great efforts to push ahead with socialist construction in Sinkiang, bringing about an earth-shaking change in the region's backward economy and culture as well as a genuinely happy life to the people of all nationalities. The Khrushchov revisionists, however, slanderously charge that Sinkiang saw "no development in industry" after liberation, that its "agriculture has gone bankrupt" and that "the people's livelihood there is in a state of poverty," and so on and so forth, in an attempt to deny the great achievements we have scored in our socialist construction and to confuse the people of the world.

In accordance with the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle for the solution of the national question and with our Party's national policy, we have given reality to national equality, implemented regional autonomy and established for the people of the different nationalities the right to be masters in their own house, thus unprecedentedly consolidating and strengthening the unity among the people of the different nationalities in Sinkiang. The Khrushchov revisionists, however, slanderously allege that Sinkiang is China's "colony," that a policy of "deception and national discrimination" was practised, etc., in an attempt to undermine and disrupt our national unity.

The purpose of the Khrushchov revisionists in doing all this is to sow discord in the brotherly relations between the minority peoples and the Han people in Sinkiang and undermine the close unity between different nationalities; to disrupt the unification of our great motherland by separating Sinkiang from it; and to subvert our Party's leadership in Sinkiang by instigating people of different nationalities in Sinkiang to oppose the Chinese Communist Party. However, the various nationalities in Sinkiang have a deep understanding, acquired through more than ten years of experience in life, of the truth that it is the Party and Chairman Mao that have freed them from dire misery and led them to a happy life. They firmly believe that only by following in their advance the direction shown by the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, by upholding national unity and safeguarding the unification of our motherland, can they achieve a more beautiful future. In the eyes of these peoples, the Party and Chairman Mao represent their lives and everything they possess. Just as "the fly's wings cannot shut out the sun" so the vilifications of the Khrushchov revisionists cannot in the least besmirch the high prestige the Party and Chairman Mao enjoy among all the Sinkiang peoples or dim the great light of our Party's Marxist-Leninist national policy. All they do is to expose more clearly their vicious schemes and own ugly features. As Marx stated, truth is best compared with a flint — the harder it is struck, the brighter are its sparks.

Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, we have in the past smashed the subversions and sabotage of the Khrushchov revisionists by relying on the people of our different nationalities. Whatever subversion and sabotage the Khrushchov revisionists may attempt in the future they will not succeed and will only meet with still more shameful defeats.

The current situation is excellent both at home and abroad. Our motherland has never been so strong, the unity among different nationalities has never been so consolidated, and their revolutionary enthusiasm has never been so high as it is today. So long as we correctly carry out the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, resolutely implement the Party's lines, principles and policies and unite as one man, we will certainly be able to advance from victory to greater victory.

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is a fortified frontier and a great wall in defence of our motherland. In the storm of struggle, it will for ever stand majestically on the western frontier of our motherland.

Raising still higher the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, let us forge valiantly ahead for the defence of our motherland and for the construction of a new, revolutionary Sinkiang.

(Abridged translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" on September 30.)

ACROSS THE LAND

Sustained Upsurge in Agriculture

AGRICULTURAL production in China is in excellent shape. Output of wheat, barley, early rice and other summer crops was larger than that of last year, which was again better than that of 1963. Harvests of autumn crops are confidently expected to be good, despite prolonged drought in parts of Shansi, Hopei and Inner Mongolia, and too much rain in some areas in the lower Huai River basin of east China.

The present continued upsurge in agricultural production is due to a number of reasons. One is the nationwide campaign to do as well as the Tachai Production Brigade of Shansi Province in reshaping natural farming conditions through hard work and in relying mainly on their own efforts to get larger yields. Across the land today numerous Tachai-style teams, brigades, communes, counties and even larger areas have appeared. They in turn are examples for others and are an important contributing factor to the healthy upward trend in agriculture.

Another reason is the better leadership given in collective production by the cadres of the central agricultural departments and provincial, county and commune administrations through working on the land, helping to sum up and popularize the proven farm practice of advanced farmers or production units and through cultivating demonstration fields.

The ten thousand agricultural scientists and technicians who have gone this year to work in the rural areas have contributed to the upsurge by working alongside the commune members, helping them to make scientific experiments and introducing improvements in seed selection, manuring and crop cultivation.

The massive water conservancy effort of last winter and this spring added 1.3 million hectares to the

country's total irrigated area. This has helped, and so has the application of 3 million more tons of chemical fertilizer than last year. And so also have the larger quantities of irrigation and drainage equipment, farm tools, motors and other means of production supplied by industry.

Of greater importance has been the Party's policy of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy. As a result of it, all industrial, financial, cultural, educational and public health departments concentrated their efforts on providing better services for the people in the countryside.

Villages Use More Electricity

MANY villages in 1,300 of China's 2,000 and more counties today have electricity, a power unknown to most peasants before the country's liberation in 1949. Electricity is now running irrigation and drainage systems, farm produce processing machines and brightening up the night for millions of peasants.

Consumption of electricity in the rural areas is 25 times what it was in 1957, the year before the people's communes were set up.

This swift advance in electrification owes much to the initiative of the communes in doing what they could

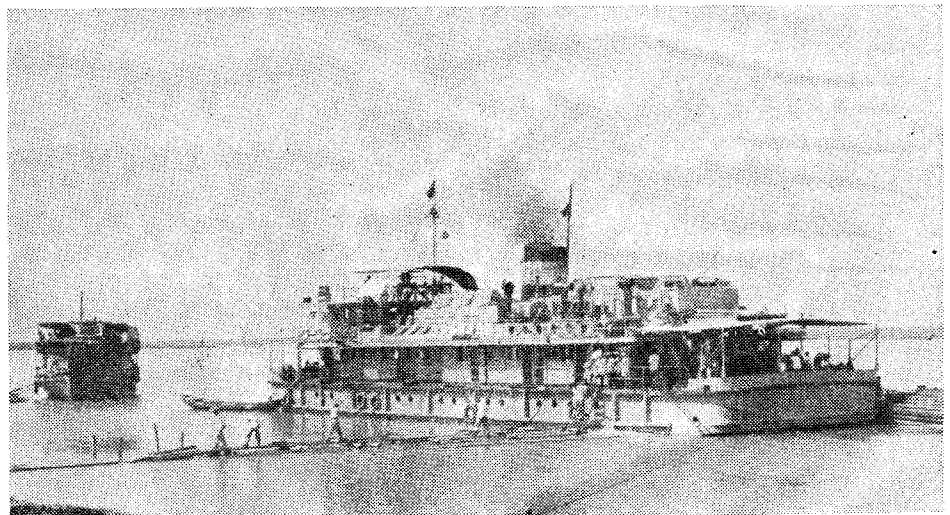
for themselves to complement state efforts. About one quarter of the total investment in rural electrification came from the communes. Through active participation, about 100,000 peasants have gained a working knowledge of electricity, its generation and how to use it, an invaluable asset in speeding up the modernization of agriculture.

Electrification in the nation's more fertile areas such as the Pearl River Delta in Kwangtung Province, the plains of north and northeast China and along the middle reaches of the Yellow and Yangtse Rivers and the Yangtse Delta has been faster and more extensive as there are favourable factors for its development in those regions. Given adequate irrigation and drainage facilities, farm yields in these areas can be boosted quickly and considerably. Comprehensive, electrically powered irrigation and drainage systems are already helping raise yields on 5.6 million hectares of farmland.

Besides powering pumps, electricity is being used increasingly to drive threshing, husking, ginning and other farm machines. It is estimated that in these operations alone electricity has already contributed about 700 million workdays this year to the people's communes.

New Valve for Human Heart

ON June 12 this year, a surgical team of the Changhai Hospital in Shanghai successfully substituted



A floating electric power plant in Hunan Province serving a rural commune

a Chinese-made artificial valve for the mitral* valve of a 34-year-old woman. This is the first time the operation has been done in China. The implantation of a prosthetic mitral valve has a history of less than ten years and the operation is still an unusual one.

The patient, Hsu Shu-pao, is doing well. Bed-ridden for the past four years, she was able to get up two weeks after the operation. Palpitations, shortage of breath and other distressing symptoms have disappeared. X-rays, electrocardiographs and cardiophonographs show that the heart is functioning normally.

Hsu's condition as one of mitral valve damage was diagnosed as being due to an attack of rheumatic fever she had had 15 years ago. Open heart surgery was undertaken under deep hypothermia, or lowering of the body temperature, and with the aid of a heart-lung machine.

The artificial valve is a small ball made of a special material which is resistant to acid, alkali and heat and which is encased in a stainless steel frame. The valve opens and closes regularly with each heart beat, keeping the blood flowing in the proper direction and preventing regurgitation. It was designed by surgeons and nurses of the Changhai Hospital in co-operation with workers and technicians of the Shanghai Rubber Industrial Goods Research Institute and the Shanghai Medical Apparatus Factory. It was made entirely of Chinese materials.

Heart surgery started in China five years after the country's liberation when the first close commissurotomy for mitral stenosis was done successfully in Shanghai. Today, Chinese surgeons regularly perform a number of different cardiovascular operations.

China itself makes heart-lung machines, cardiac pacemakers and dilators used in commissurotomy as well as dacron-woven cloth, prosthetic ar-

terial grafts made of silk or plastic, and other instruments and equipment.

Expansion of Transport

Inland Shipping. Inland shipping is moving more raw materials and manufactured goods at lower cost and faster to speed up socialist construction. Inland shipping routes are more than twice as long as that of 1949 and carry a bigger volume of freight on larger, faster and more powerful vessels. Improved waterways, better trained crews and the installation of modern navigational aids have also made sailing safer.

Maritime Shipping. China's maritime tonnage rose steadily after liberation but made the most impressive gains in the last four years. Chinese ships plying the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans visit ports in more than 30 countries and regions.

Many new ports have been built since liberation and old ones have been enlarged and their facilities greatly improved. Machinery does more and more of the heavy work. Some 70 per cent of all loading and unloading in ten major sea-ports are mechanized. New routes have been added in the last few years to the coastal network with Shanghai and Canton as the hubs.

Expanding Road Network. Section by section, all parts of the country are being linked by truck or bus transport. Almost all counties as well as a large proportion of the rural people's communes are now reached by motor. Where the big state-built highways end, local public initiative takes over. As a result the total mileage of highways is four times the 1949 total. Biggest increase has been in the more sparsely populated areas which are inhabited mostly by minority nationalities. Here the increase is 11-fold.

Swatow Plain Transformed

FARMLAND on subtropical south China's Swatow plain averages out at half a *mu* per person (about 30 persons to a large football field), yet the plain is growing more than

enough food-grain for its 5.3 million inhabitants. It also sells sugar-cane and other industrial crops to the state.

Before this densely populated seaboard plain in eastern Kwangtung Province was liberated in 1949, it had to import rice, and more than one million peasants, mostly able-bodied men, unable to find a living went abroad. Early this year, 2,400 Swatow peasants left their homes, but not as exploited, indentured labourers like their forefathers. They had been invited as guest-experts to the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and other rice-growing areas to pass on their skills in getting high rice yields. In 1963 and 1964 the Swatow plain had raised 7.5 tons per hectare on 130,000 hectares of double-cropping paddies.

This transformation came by stages: It began with the land reform after liberation when land was distributed to all the peasants, and progressed steadily as the co-operative movement in the countryside advanced. After the people's communes were set up they implemented a well-integrated plan of water control: strengthening the dykes holding back the sea, straightening out the bends in the rivers, building reservoirs on the upper reaches, and irrigation channels and sluice gates on the lower reaches near the estuaries.

Now 95 per cent of the plain, which embraces Swatow city and six counties, is levelled up, irrigated and well drained. These water control projects represent an investment of 300 million work days, most of which was done after 1958.

Besides introducing better and more meticulous field management, the people's communes undertook large-scale projects to improve the soil and launched experiments to work out an effective system for rotating and interplanting crops so as to get a larger area to give two and even three crops a year.

The result is that Swatow plain today has become fully self-sufficient in grain and is sending people out to teach and help other areas.

*The mitral valve allows blood to pass from the left auricle (left upper part) into the left ventricle (left lower part) of the heart, but not to flow back.

ROUND THE WORLD

Yankee Intervention

"Legal" Mantle for Big Stick

The U.S. House of Representatives adopted a resolution on September 20 which, in the words of the *New York Times*, calls for "the use of force if necessary by any American country to prevent a communist takeover in any nation of the Hemisphere." Translated into plain English, this means that the U.S. armed forces can intervene in any Latin American country without even observing the formality of referring the question to such organizations as the O.A.S. As for "communist takeover," all the world knows that it is an old bogey invoked by the U.S. to justify its repression of uprisings for independence and progress.

The reasons behind this brazen-faced resolution are not far to seek. When Dominican patriots toppled the pro-U.S. Cabral dictatorship last April, Johnson flung in tens of thousands of troops to intervene, but he found the big stick not very handy for the lack of a legal mantle. It was only after long and difficult bargaining that the U.S. finally rigged up an "inter-American force" (the bulk of which are still Yankees) to hide the stark truth of its outright colonialist expedition.

The Dominican events have apparently made the dollar imperialists feel that they need a legal prop if and when they again have to go it alone in armed intervention against their southern neighbours. During

the House debate on the resolution, some representatives said that "in certain instances, collective action would not be prompt enough." What they meant is that such machinery as the O.A.S., though manipulated by the U.S., often needs oiling and repair and that causes trouble and takes time. That's why the U.S. Government has to be "empowered" to act promptly.

But the Washington "law-makers" obviously have forgotten that they cannot make laws for the whole Hemisphere because the Latin Americans, after all, are not U.S. subjects. Across the length and breadth of Latin America, the U.S. resolution has evoked a storm of uproarious protests.

By the end of September the Congresses of Peru and Colombia, the Legislative Assemblies of El Salvador and Costa Rica, and the Senate of Chile had officially condemned the U.S. resolution. In Venezuela, many Congressmen had asked for an emergency session to denounce the U.S. decision and, in Argentina, the ruling party's parliamentary group had tabled a motion in the Lower House for the same purpose. The foreign minister of Mexico had publicly opposed the U.S. action.

Many fiery words have been spoken by Latin American parliamentarians, public figures, editorial writers, political parties and social organizations. They call the resolution "a grave danger for the uphold-

ing of the principle of non-intervention" (the Panamanian paper *Prensa*); a U.S. declaration of "war on the movements for national liberation and democracy" (the Costa Rican weekly *Libertad*); and "a desperate act taken by Yankee imperialism to counter growing resistance of the peoples" (the Chilean Popular Action Front).

It is evident that the resolution, instead of overawing the Latin Americans, has deepened their anti-U.S. sentiments. As a Costa Rican Legislative Assembly member, Munoz Bustos, has warned: "Latin America will smash the big stick into a thousand pieces."

NEWS NOTES

U.S. in Panama: Same Monkey, New Tail. While the U.S. House of Representatives was brandishing the big stick in front of Latin America, Johnson threw a few poisoned carrots to Panama whose people have been seething with indignation over U.S. occupation of their canal. The U.S. President announced on September 24 that as a result of many months of negotiations a new canal treaty would be signed to replace that of 1903. While nominally "recognizing" Panama's sovereignty over the canal zone, the new treaty will continue to allow the U.S. to keep large numbers of troops and military installations there. But the painful experience of many peoples has shown that the presence of U.S. forces on their territories spells the end of their sovereign rights.

As the Panamanian radio "Voice of Baru" has aptly said, the new treaty would be the same monkey with a different tail.

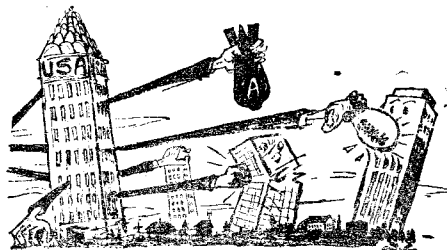
Philippines: Negotiation or Dictation. Panama is not the only country being victimized through the Yankee style of negotiation. The Philippines has had another bitter taste of it in recent civil aviation treaty talks. Deputy Foreign Secretary Librado Cayco said that the U.S. negotiators "would not even allow us to add a comma or period" to their written proposals, and that they "did not want negotiation but dictation." The talks were ruptured.

THE PASSING SHOW

The U.S. Excepted, of Course

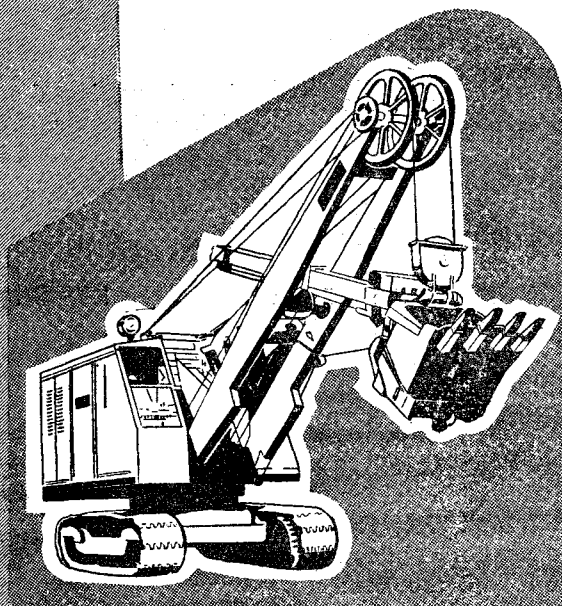
Commenting on current conflicts in the world, Dean Rusk, speaking on September 14 at the annual Southern Governors' Conference, exclaimed: "It is a tragedy in this year of 1965 that it is still necessary to insist that people leave their neighbours alone."

And this from the man who is Secretary of State of the country that has over 2,000 bases and military installations overseas and over a million troops stationed in more than 60 countries.



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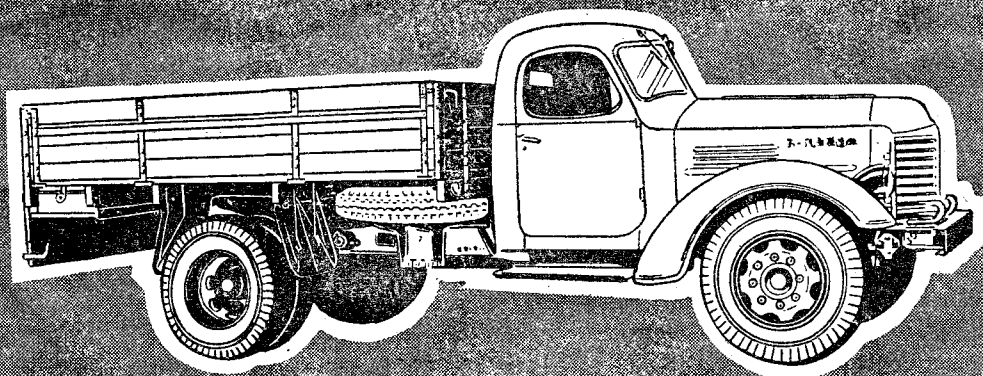
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