

# PEKING REVIEW

37

September 10, 1965

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報

## Chinese Government Statement On India's Armed Attack On Pakistan

Denounces Indian aggression, supports Pakistan.

## Great Revolutionary Changes In Tibet

## South Viet Nam: The People Are Winning

A military scorecard.

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Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

*Order from your local dealer or write direct to the*

**Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN,** P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

September 10, 1965 Vol. VIII No. 37

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW  
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China  
Post Office Registration No. 2-922  
Cable Address: Peking 2910

Printed in the People's Republic of China

## THE WEEK

### Chinese Leaders Meet Guinean Guests

Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi had a cordial talk on September 5 with Alassane Diop, Guinean Minister of Post, Telegraph and Telephone, and members of the Guinean government delegation he led. The Chinese leaders also met at the same time Madame Camara Loffo, Member of the National Political Bureau of the Guinean Democratic Party and Vice-Minister of Social Affairs and Health.

Two days earlier, Premier Chou En-lai met the Guinean government delegation which had returned to the capital after a two-week tour of east China.

### Premier Chou Receives Pakistan Ambassador

Premier Chou En-lai received Pakistan Ambassador to China N.A.M. Raza on September 7. They had a talk on India's expansion of her acts of aggression against Pakistan.

### Vice-Premier Chen Yi Visits Syria

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi arrived in Damascus on September 5 on a friendship visit to Syria. He was welcomed at the airport by Foreign Minister Hassan Muraywid who is also member of the Presidential Council.

Shortly after his arrival, Vice-Premier Chen Yi called on Amin El Hafez, President of the Syrian Presidential Council. That evening, the Syrian President gave a banquet in his honour. During his two-day stay in Damascus, Vice-Premier Chen Yi held talks with Nureddin Attassi, Vice-President of the Syrian Presidential Council.

On his way to Damascus, Vice-Premier Chen Yi stopped over at Karachi on September 4. Pakistan Foreign Minister Z.A. Bhutto greeted him at the airport and entertained him at a luncheon. They later held talks in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

While in Karachi, the Vice-Premier gave a press conference (see p. 5). In Damascus, he told correspondents that China and Syria would cooperate on the question of the Second African-Asian Conference, not only for its convocation but also for its success.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi flew to Algiers on September 7. Algerian Foreign Minister Bouteflika greeted him at the airport. Later, they held talks.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi will visit Mali and other countries in Africa.

### China-Nepal Press Communique

After a two-week visit, Kirti Nidhi Bista, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Agriculture, Food and Land Reform of Nepal, and Mme. Bista left China for home. A China-Nepal press communique was issued on September 8.

The communique said that the friendship and co-operation between the two countries, which were based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Declaration, had been greatly strengthened. The Chinese Government agreed to help Nepal build new highways and a corresponding protocol was signed by the two countries.

The communique noted that Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Vice-Chairman Bista had a frank exchange of views on various international issues. Both showed concern over the increasingly serious situation in Viet Nam. They reaffirmed their respect for the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Viet Nam and the inalienable right of the Vietnamese people to settle their own problems and chart their own future in accordance with their own will and aspirations and without foreign interference. Regarding the Second African-Asian Conference, both leaders agreed that the success of the conference would make positive contributions to the cause of world peace, the consolidation of

Afro-Asian solidarity and the elimination of imperialism and colonialism.

## Yenan Radio Station Anniversary

Peking radio workers took part in a rally on September 6 to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Yenan New China Broadcasting Station, which began operations on September 5, 1945. It was two decades ago from Yenan that the world was first able to hear the voice of the Chinese people.

Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and Vice-Premier, attended the meeting.

Addressing the rally, Lu Ting-yi recalled that China's broadcasting network, an important weapon in class struggle, started from scratch 20 years ago and had grown to a scale that is nationwide today. With the exception of very few areas, he noted, the voice of Peking could now be heard all over the world. He said: "Unlike imperialist or revisionist broadcasting, ours is the voice of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. It is the voice of revolution representing 95 per cent of the Chinese people and over 90 per cent of the world's population."

Speaking of the excellent international situation, Lu Ting-yi stressed that the imperialists, reactionaries and Khrushchov revisionists were having an increasingly difficult time. He praised the workers in radio for their hard work and achievements. He said: "Our technicians have turned out all the required equipment by their own efforts despite the scrapping of contracts and halting of supplies by the Khrushchov revisionist clique. As a result, our broadcasts have continued uninterrupted and our tasks in assisting other countries have been fulfilled." He urged all the workers to carry forward the

Yenan broadcasting tradition. He said: "In those days, even in the most difficult period of the liberation war, our broadcasts never stopped for a single day. We should today be prepared for the most difficult situation and make sure that the whole country and the whole world will, under all circumstances, hear the voice of People's China and of Mao Tse-tung's thinking."

## Tibet's C.P.P.C.C. Committee Meets

The first session of the Second Tibet Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which is reviewing its fore-runner's achievements over the last five years and deciding on future tasks, opened in Lhasa on September 4.

First Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Chang Kuo-hua and Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme were among the participating 197 members representing the Party, the various people's organizations, the various nationalities and outstanding workers in all fields in the region.

The session will elect leading members of the Second Tibet Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., discuss the domestic and international situation as well as policies on socialist revolution and socialist construction in Tibet, and decide on the Committee's main future tasks.

A report on the work of the C.P.P.C.C.'s First Tibet Committee was delivered by its Vice-Chairman, Chou Jen-shan, in the opening session. He said that the Committee had done much work in the past five years, such as helping to publicize the Party's policies, mobilizing the people of various circles to help put down the counter-revolutionary armed rebellion of the traitorous Dalai Lama clique in 1959, and rallying them to take an active part in carrying out the democratic reforms that followed and in repudiating the criminal activities of the anti-people, anti-motherland and anti-socialist serf-owner clique represented by Panchen Erdeni. The Vice-Chairman also spoke of the success of organiz-

ing patriotic people to remould their ideology by studying Chairman Mao's works and the Party's policies.

Referring to the future tasks, Chou Jen-shan pointed out that the people in Tibet should earnestly study the Party's policies and contribute to the completion of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the region, and the consolidation of national defence. Noting that the people's democratic united front in Tibet had been consolidated and developed under the leadership of the Communist Party in the past 15 years, Chou Jen-shan called on the C.P.P.C.C. members to strengthen their unity and march forward and work together to build a socialist new Tibet.

The session is still going on and all members of the Committee are attending, by special invitation, the current first session of the First People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

## Refuting Fabrications by French Weekly

The HSINHUA News Agency has been authorized to refute fabrications and distortions by the French weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* and Western news agencies and papers concerning China's position regarding the United Nations and the Viet Nam question.

*Le Nouvel Observateur* carried an article on August 24 in which distortions and fabrications were made in connection with statements by Chinese leaders to French Minister of State Andre Malraux during his recent visit to China. The weekly went so far as to say that China had changed its consistent stand on the United Nations. It alleged that China had indicated that "once reinstated as a full member of the Security Council, there would be an appropriate framework there for discussion [on Viet Nam]."

In a September 1 statement, HSINHUA said that such allegations were completely groundless. "China's stand on the United Nations," it said, "is known to the whole world. The U.N. has done all kinds of evil under the manipulation of the United States and has degenerated into its tool. It must correct its mistakes and be thoroughly re-

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## Chen Yi's Press Conference in Karachi

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, at a press conference in Karachi on September 4, expressed the complete sympathy and support of the Chinese Government and people for the Kashmir people's just struggle.

He sternly denounced India's provocations and expressed firm support for Pakistan in its just action in striking back at these provocations.

Answering a question put to him by a Pakistan reporter, the Chinese Vice-Premier said that China completely sympathizes with and supports the Kashmir people's just struggle to resist India's tyrannical rule. China resolutely condemns India for its provocative acts of violating the ceasefire line and kindling and aggravating the conflict. China firmly supports Pakistan's just action in hitting back at India's armed provocations. China firmly holds that the Kashmir question should be settled according to the pledges made by India and Pakistan to the Kashmir people and in accordance with the aspirations of the Kashmir people.

In reply to a question on the slander spread by the Indian press that China helped train Kashmir guerrillas, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said, this is persistent lie-mongering by the Indian press. Indian papers have even joined the Western press in linking any struggle for freedom and independence in the world with China, alleging that it is instigated by China which supplies arms and trains cadres. By doing so, they give China the honour of supporting all struggles for freedom, independence and liberation. But

China has neither the ability nor the qualifications yet to accept such honour.

Referring to the present situation in Viet Nam, Chen Yi said that the most important thing in the Viet Nam question is to distinguish between the aggressor and the victim of aggression. The world knows that the so-called Viet Nam question is precisely that of U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam. This aggression has met with firm resistance from the entire Vietnamese people, who have declared their readiness to carry through their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and defend the country until final victory, even if they have to fight five, ten or twenty years. The Chinese people highly admire the mighty resolve of the great Vietnamese people and give them all-out support until their ultimate goal is attained.

The Viet Nam situation is developing more and more to the disadvantage of U.S. imperialism, Vice-Premier Chen Yi continued. U.S. imperialism is trying by various means to arrange "peace talk" and mediation frauds so as to extricate itself from its predicament. He stressed that the Viet Nam question can be really settled only in accordance with the four-point proposition of Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the five-point demand of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. In other words, the United States must stop its aggression, U.S. troops must withdraw from south Viet Nam and the Viet Nam question must be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that it is impermissible to have the United Nations interfere in the Viet Nam question. It is also wrong to mediate the Viet Nam issue in the name of non-aligned nations. On this issue, one either sides with the Vietnamese people, the side of justice, or with the United States, the side of injustice, and there can be no compromise between justice and injustice. The Belgrade appeal has failed in the past and any similar appeal is bound to fail in the future.

He stressed that anyone who really upholds justice should condemn U.S. imperialism and demand the withdrawal of its troops from south Viet Nam and should definitely not offer his good offices or mediate. Any effort at mediation which confounds right and wrong can only be a service to U.S. imperialism.

The Vice-Premier told the correspondents that on his way to visit the Republic of Mali he had taken the opportunity of his stop-over in Pakistan to have another talk with Foreign Minister Bhutto. They had exchanged views on questions of common interest and believed that the current international situation is unfavourable to imperialism and favourable to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples fighting for independence and liberation. Both parties, in the spirit of the Bandung Conference, expressed the view that it is necessary to strive for the success of the Second African-Asian Conference so that it can reflect the common aspirations of the Afro-Asian peoples for solidarity against imperialism.

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organized." The statement said that the Chiang Kai-shek clique must be driven from the U.N. and that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China must be restored. There could be no bargaining on this question.

HSINHUA stressed that the Viet Nam question had nothing to do with the U.N., declaring: "On the

Viet Nam question, China stands firmly opposed to U.N. intervention. Under no circumstances will we change this stand."

### Protests Against "Two Chinas" Plot

China again has lodged strong protests with the Standing Commis-

sion of the International Red Cross for toeing the U.S. line in the "two Chinas" plot.

The protests were contained in messages sent to Andre Francois-Poncet, Chairman of the Standing Commission of the I.R.S., by Tung Yueh-chien, Director of the General

(Continued on p. 28.)

## Chinese Government Statement

*On September 7, the Chinese Government issued a statement sternly condemning India's naked aggression against Pakistan and expressing firm support for Pakistan's struggle against it.*

*The statement reads:*

**O**N September 6, 1965 India suddenly launched an armed attack on Pakistan. Indian troops have crossed the international boundary between India and Pakistan and are pushing towards Lahore, the capital of West Pakistan. The Indian radio has announced general mobilization. Thus, **the Indian Government has enlarged the local conflict between India and Pakistan in Kashmir into a general conflict between the two countries.** In the face of the massive armed attack by India, the President of Pakistan has called on the entire people of the country to rise in resistance against the enemy and has appealed for sympathy and support from all peace-loving peoples of the world.

**The Indian Government's armed attack on Pakistan is an act of naked aggression. It not only is a crude violation of all principles guiding international relations, but also constitutes a grave threat to peace in this part of Asia. The Chinese Government sternly condemns India for its criminal aggression, expresses firm support for Pakistan in its just struggle against aggression and solemnly warns the Indian Government that it must bear responsibility for all the consequences of its criminal and extended aggression.**

**The Indian Government has always been perfidious on the Kashmir question.** It once pledged solemnly with Pakistan to grant the Kashmiri people the right of self-determination. But far from honouring its pledge, it has brazenly declared that Kashmir is an integral part of India and has subjected the Kashmiri people to brutal national oppression. Where there is oppression there will be resistance. It is entirely proper that the people in the Indian-occupied area of Kashmir should rise up in resistance. In order to cover up its sanguinary suppression of the Kashmiri people, the Indian Government openly breached the cease-fire line in the disputed territory of Kashmir to intrude into the area under the control of Pakistan and carried out military provocations and armed occupation. This of course could not but arouse Pakistan to counter-attack in self-defence. All this was in the nature of a local conflict in the disputed territory of Kashmir between India and Pakistan.

**India already committed aggression on the Kashmir issue. Now it has openly launched a massive armed**

**attack on Pakistan. This is a still more serious act of aggression.**

**The United Nations has always had a bad reputation concerning the Kashmir question.** It solemnly pledged to guarantee national self-determination for Kashmir. However, 18 years have passed during which the United Nations looked on without lifting a finger while India acted lawlessly in Kashmir. The United Nations did not breathe a single word when India violated the cease-fire line. But as soon as Pakistan fought back in self-defence, the United Nations came out to mediate. This is by no means the end of the story. It is inconceivable that the United Nations, which has been unfair for 18 years, should suddenly become fair. The so-called mediation by the United Nations is based on a report of the Secretary-General. The report itself is unfair. How can a fair conclusion be drawn from an unfair premise? **On the Kashmir question, the United Nations has once again proved a tool of U.S. imperialism and its partners in their attempt to control the whole world. This will be further proved true during the current extended aggression against Pakistan by India.**

**India's armed aggression against Pakistan is another exposure of the chauvinist and expansionist features of its ruling circles.** The Indian Government glibly says that it pursues a policy of "peaceful coexistence." But actually it has never ceased for a single day its activities of bullying and encroaching upon its neighbours wherever possible. Almost every neighbour of India knows this from its own experience. **The Indian ruling circles are the greatest hypocrites in contemporary international life. The Chinese people have had deep experience of this. Although the Indian ruling circles did not gain anything from their massive armed attack on China in October 1962, they have never stopped making intrusions and provocations along the Sino-Indian border. India is still entrenched on Chinese territory on the Sino-Sikkim border and has not withdrawn. It is constantly probing furtively and making intrusions and harassment against Chinese territory in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. Indian violations of Chinese territory are far from coming to an end. The Chinese Government has served repeated warnings, and it is now closely following the development of India's acts of aggression and is strengthening its defences and heightening its alertness along its borders.**

The Indian Government probably believes that since it has the backing of the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists, it can bully its neighbours, defy



public opinion and do whatever it likes. This will not do. Aggression is aggression. India's aggression against any one of its neighbours concerns all of its neighbours. Since the Indian Government has taken the first step in committing aggression against Pakistan, it cannot evade responsibility for the chain of conse-

quences arising therefrom. The Chinese Government is deeply convinced that, with the sympathy and support of the peace-loving countries and peoples of Asia and the whole world, the 100 million people of Pakistan will rise as one man to save their country and finally drive back the Indian aggressors.

# Indian Reactionaries' Expansionism

by OBSERVER

**T**HE people in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir started large-scale armed resistance early last month because they could no longer tolerate the brutal rule and communal persecution of the Indian reactionaries. The Indian Government has sent in large numbers of troops and police to carry out sanguinary suppression but the local people have put up a firm resistance.

In order to cover up their wanton slaughter of the Kashmir people and to divert the people's attention at home and mislead public opinion abroad, the Indian reactionaries have been trying to shift the responsibility for their crimes on to Pakistan. They charge that "Pakistan has attacked Kashmir." They have also made vile slanders against China repeatedly, with a view to creating the false impression that China is involved in the incident engineered by themselves. On August 15, Indian Prime Minister Shastri alleged that the attack on Kashmir "is guided and controlled by Chinese officers." The next day Indian Defence Minister Chavan came out with an assertion about the "training of guerrilla warriors in Pakistan and Azad (free) Kashmir by Chinese instructors." Can these fantastic tales save the Indian rulers? Certainly not, because they cannot stand examination.

Any one who has followed the development of the situation sees that the armed uprising is an inevitable result of the Indian Government's reactionary rule. For more than a decade the Indian Government has defied the Kashmir people's demand for self-determination and deprived them of their democratic rights. It has gone to all lengths in subjecting them to communal oppression and political persecution, made wholesale arrests and held local public leaders in prolonged detention. It has made life impossible for the local population through extortionate taxation and ruthless exploitation. It is therefore no surprise that, pressed beyond the limits of endurance, the people in the Indian-occupied sector of Kashmir should have risen in revolt. In fact, this popular struggle against Indian tyranny is quite understandable because even in many states of India itself there have been numerous cases of hungry people ransacking rice stores, workers and students going on strike and businessmen observing hartal. **The truth is that where there is oppression, there is bound**

**to be revolt and the more violent the oppression, the bigger the revolt. The Indian Government's predicament is entirely of its own making, and it can blame no one but itself.**

As is well known, the question of the status of Kashmir is an unsettled question left over from history. For more than ten years, India has sought to grab this disputed territory for itself. Both India and Pakistan had in the past agreed to settle the question peacefully through plebiscite. However, the Indian Government has since 1953 unilaterally gone back on its commitment by publicly declaring that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India. While barbarously cracking down on the Kashmir people recently, India has at the same time openly violated the ceasefire line agreed upon between the two countries, sent its troops into the area controlled by Pakistan and launched armed provocations against that country. Under these circumstances, Pakistan is perfectly justified in striking back in self-defence. President Ayub Khan has said that India's blatant acts of aggression cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchallenged. This is the just stand which any sovereign country must take.

It is also well-known that the Indian reactionaries never lose a single opportunity to bully and threaten their neighbours. India's provoking of the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1959 is a case in point; its kindling of the clashes in the Rann of Kutch area is another. There also have been numerous cases of wanton intervention and even unscrupulous subversion against its small neighbours. From Nehru to Shastri, this line pursued by the Indian reactionaries in disregarding other countries' sovereignty and encroaching upon their interests has never changed. We Chinese people and the people of other victimized countries have enough experience of this.

**The fact that the Indian reactionaries dare to carry on this unscrupulous expansionism cannot be separated from the backing and instigation of the United States and some other big powers.** For many years U.S. imperialism has given India enormous sums of money and large quantities of arms. The Khrushchov revisionists, too, have vied with the United States in giving money and arms to India. The Indian reactionaries have become their favourite and think that, since they have

the backing of such strong world powers, they can do whatever they please. Hence their anti-China and anti-Pakistan campaigns, not to mention their domineering attitude towards all their other neighbours. This is the root cause of tension in this part of Asia.

The Chinese people deeply sympathize with the just struggle of the Kashmir people for their right to self-determination and support Pakistan's counter-attack in self-defence against India's armed provocations. It must be pointed out that the Indian Gov-

ernment will never gain any benefit from its chauvinist and expansionist policy towards its neighbours. We would like to advise the Indian Government to stop its domineering and arbitrary practice of bullying its neighbour by relying on imperialism and return to the path of settling the Kashmir issue in accordance with the Indian-Pakistan agreement and the aspirations of the people of Kashmir.

(Abridged translation from  
"Renmin Ribao," September 5.)

## Great Revolutionary Changes in Tibet

*Following are excerpts from the speech delivered at the opening session of the First People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region by Hsieh Fu-chih, leader of the delegation sent by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, Member of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council.—Ed.*

**T**IBET has undergone tremendous changes and achieved very great successes in the 15 years since it was liberated, and especially in the five years since the rebellion of the reactionary clique of the upper strata was put down and the democratic reform inaugurated. There have been 15 unusual years in which Tibet experienced the greatest social changes in its history. Guided by the Communist Party, the people of Tibet carried out their own revolution and emancipated themselves. Former serfs and slaves have become masters of their own fate. Tibetan society has skipped over several centuries: from a feudal serf society, it has been advancing through democratic revolution towards socialist society.

Let us review the paths travelled by the people of Tibet as well as the revolutionary struggle we have waged and the work we have done.

1. The liberation of Tibet in 1951, which swept away the aggressive influence of imperialism, marks a great turning-point in Tibet's historical development. Together with all the other nationalities of China, the people of Tibet have been living on terms of equality, unity, friendship and mutual assistance in the big family of the motherland, and have opened up a great new era for themselves.

2. The quelling of the rebellion of the reactionary clique of the upper strata and the carrying out of the democratic reform between 1959 and 1961. Led by the Party, the million serfs have completely destroyed the most reactionary, the darkest, cruellest and most barbarous feudal serfdom and brought into being the people's democratic dictatorship. The serfs and slaves received shares of land, livestock, and housing and won personal freedom.

3. The patriotic enthusiasm of the broad masses of working people in Tibet, who had a glorious tradition of resisting imperialist aggression, rose to unprecedented heights after their emancipation. During the 1962 counter-attack against Indian aggression in self-defence, the Tibetan people did not spare any efforts in support of the People's Liberation Army, thus making an important contribution to the sacred cause of defending the motherland.

4. The successful democratic reform emancipated the productive forces of society and raised the working people's enthusiasm for production to an unprecedented level. Mutual-aid teams containing the rudiments of socialism are growing up all over Tibet and have now reached more than 20,000. Good harvests were won in agriculture and stockbreeding six years in succession. Production rises steadily and the life of the peasants and herdsmen shows remarkable improvement.

5. Socialist, state-run industry, commerce and communications have developed rapidly. A network of roads with the Szechuan-Tibet, Chinghai-Tibet and Sinkiang-Tibet Highways as its trunk lines has been built up. An army of over 25,000 workers, the first generation of the Tibetan working class, has come into being. Part of the Chinese working class as a whole, they are the leading force in the revolution and in construction in Tibet.

6. Cultural, educational and health work in Tibet has also gone ahead by leaps and bounds. More than 60,000 former serfs and slaves are enjoying the right of education for the first time. Socialist culture and art are developing vigorously and medical facilities for the people have been greatly improved. The Tibetan population, which was steadily declining in the past, has been increasing rapidly.

7. Movements for class education, socialist education and education in patriotism, with class struggle as the central theme, have been unfolded. Associations of poor peasants and herdsmen have been established and the class consciousness and patriotism of the working people, especially of the poor peasants and herds-



men, have been rising steadily. Their enthusiasm for socialism is growing.

8. Basic organizations of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League have been established in the farming and pastoral districts. The Party's leadership and vanguard role have been strengthened.

9. The people's democratic united front, led by the working class and based upon the worker-peasant alliance, has been consolidated. The patriots of the upper strata in Tibet have progressed as a result of the Party's work of uniting with them and educating and remoulding them.

10. The feudal privileges of the monasteries and the system of feudal exploitation and oppression have been abolished. The principle of the integrity of state power, and the separation of religion from the state, has been put into effect. The people's freedom to believe or not believe in religion has been fully protected by the Party and the Government.

The great progress made in all spheres in the past 15 years has laid a sound foundation for the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

During a long period, the broad masses of serfs in Tibet over and over again rose up against enslavement by the serf-owning class and against imperialist aggression. Armed with swords and spears, they stubbornly and heroically fought the armed aggression of the British imperialists in 1886-88 and then again in 1904, writing a brilliant chapter in the history of the Chinese people's revolution.

Before liberation, Tibet was a blood-soaked world of darkness under the diabolical serf system and the monastic-aristocratic dictatorship which combined political and religious rule, plus imperialist aggression and national oppression within the country. As a result, for a long period Tibetan society was stagnant, with a declining economy and a backward culture, while the population declined by three-fifths in the hundred years preceding the 1959 democratic reform; the Tibetan nationality was on the brink of extinction.

The national question is essentially a class question, and its solution involves revolution. The history of Tibet's liberation, and of the 15 years since, is one of sharp class struggle.

The victory in the work in Tibet is the result of the complicated and sharp revolutionary and class struggles waged by Tibet's million serfs, led by the Chinese Communist Party, against the serf-owning class which has the backing of the imperialists and foreign reactionaries.

The people of Tibet demand revolutionary changes and want to safeguard the unity of the motherland. But the reactionaries, who want to maintain their feudal rule, are opposed to the people and to revolution and dream of splitting up the motherland.

The clique of traitors in the Tibetan upper strata, headed by the Dalai Lama, was a pillar of imperialist

and foreign reactionary rule in Tibet. They inveterately opposed the emancipation of the broad masses of serfs.

After the liberation of Tibet in 1951, the serfs and slaves, the bulk of the Tibetan nationality, remained under the savage rule and exploitation by the serf-owning class. Unable any longer to bear the intolerable life under serfdom, they demanded the reform of the serf system according to the agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet signed by the Central People's Government and the former local Tibet government.

While supporting the just demands of the people, the Party and the Central People's Government adopted an attitude of patience, magnanimity and waiting towards members of the Tibetan upper strata, hoping they would see the situation clearly and comply with the trend of social development by opposing imperialism, showing patriotism, approving social reforms and following the people along the path of progress. Many of them did so and have been well cared for by the Government and the people. But in order to preserve the reactionary serf system, the reactionary clique of the upper strata, headed by the Dalai Lama, worked hand in glove with the imperialists and foreign reactionaries, showed bitter hatred towards reform, opposed it and continued to exploit and oppress the serfs and slaves cruelly.

Eventually, in 1959, they turned their backs on the agreement and launched their treacherous rebellion, embarking on the path that led to their doom.

The rebellion of the serf-owning class greatly enraged the serfs and slaves. Uniting to emancipate themselves, to destroy the vicious serf system and to safeguard the frontiers of the motherland, they came forward and waged a resolute armed struggle against the treachery and rebellion of the serf-owning class.

The armed struggle that quelled the rebellion in Tibet was in essence a class war fought by the million serfs against the extremely reactionary serf-owning class. It was absolutely just. The speedy putting down of the rebellion greatly accelerated the democratic reform in Tibet.

The rule of the serf-owning class was overthrown after victory was achieved in the democratic reform. But the serf-owners were not reconciled to their doom. They tried all sorts of sabotage in their futile attempts to subvert the people's democratic regime and restore the feudal serf system.

After the Dalai Lama turned traitor, the Panchen organized a counter-revolutionary clique on behalf of the overthrown serf-owning class and engaged in wild activities against the people, the motherland and socialism.

Last year, the people of Tibet and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region exposed and repudiated the crimes of the Panchen clique. Victory in this struggle was of tremendous im-

portance for the consolidation of the victories of the democratic revolution and the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The Panchen's crimes were very serious. But the Party and the people have given him a chance in the hope that he will repent and make a fresh start. The Party and the people have dealt with him leniently and it is entirely up to him whether he will decide to undertake to reform.

The establishment of regional autonomy in Tibet fully demonstrates that the Communist Party's policy for national unity and national regional autonomy is correct and that all the nationalities of China enjoy true equality.

National regional autonomy is a system of people's democratic dictatorship. Autonomy must be autonomy for the working people, and the right to autonomy must be the right of the working people to become masters of society. In Tibet, it is the million emancipated serfs, united with the other people who are patriotic and progressive, who now exercise their rights as masters of Tibet under the unified leadership of the Communist Party and the Central People's Government; it can never be a dictatorship of the serf-owner class or any other exploiting classes.

### Sino-Cambodian Friendship

## Mao Tse-tung Boulevard in Phnom Penh

ON August 30, a new boulevard in Phnom Penh was named after Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people. This is one more symbol of the long standing friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples.

The ceremony to mark the occasion was presided over by Cambodian Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk. "We wish," he said, "to pay high tribute to the great hero of New China, who has guided the Chinese people to liberation and along the road of a revolution which has no precedent in history, a revolution which has enabled a great friendly nation to attain amazing development. Our tribute goes to a respected leader who admirably symbolizes China's support to all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America — victims of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, of the incorrigible great powers and of the United States in particular."

In his speech Prince Sihanouk expressed gratitude to the leaders of New China, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien, for their

The establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region will play an important role in further consolidating the unification of the motherland and the unity of all nationalities, in consolidating the fruits of the victory of the democratic revolution in Tibet, and in ensuring the successful carrying out of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in Tibet.

After the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region, our tasks should be: Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government and under the illumination of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to unify the people of the Tibetan and other nationalities and hold high the banner of the Party's general line for building socialism; continue the movement of mutual aid and co-operation and gradually and steadily carry out socialist transformation as the conditions become mature, keeping to the principle of benefiting production; achieve a great development of agriculture and animal husbandry; extend industry and communications in accordance with the local conditions and correspondingly develop commerce and socialist culture, education and health work; energetically, industriously and thriftily build Tibet into a firm socialist bastion on the southwest frontier of China, capable of weathering any storm and stress.

friendship and encouragement. "For my part, whenever the illustrious name of Mao Tse-tung is mentioned, I cannot help recalling, with emotion, his words of encouragement, his expressions of respect for us and his invaluable advice. In performing my duties to serve the country, I have had the good fortune to benefit from the experience and teachings of a statesman of such stature. Chairman Mao is in effect the beacon light not only of the Chinese people, but also of the Cambodian people, of the whole of people's and embattled Asia, and of all the peoples who share our ideals of liberty, justice and progress. To us all he is the noble symbol of uncompromising resistance to the colonialists, neo-colonialists, imperialists, racists and all the apologists of big-nation chauvinism and of the division of the world into dominating great powers and small nations dominated by them."

Speaking of Cambodia's relations with China, he said that the aid which China had extended to Cambodia was the "most generous and most unconditional." This aid contributed most effectively to Cambodia's

economic and social development, to the raising of the living standards of the Cambodian people, and especially to the maintenance of Cambodia's independence, neutrality, peace and territorial integrity.

"I would like to recall," he said, "that China is one of the few friendly powers which promised to come to our aid by throwing the weight of its 650 million population behind us if the imperialists and their flunkys dare to attack us."

In his speech Chinese Ambassador to Cambodia Chen Chu-liang expressed thanks to the Cambodian Head of State and the Cambodian people. He pointed out that as a result of Prince Sihanouk's efforts in rallying the people throughout the country to resolutely defend their national independence and adhere to the principle of building the country by their own efforts, Cambodia had taken on a new look in the decade since independence, with its people living in happiness and peace.

The ambassador added: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung has told us that U.S. imperialism, which has done every sort of evil, is the No.1 enemy of the people of the world. The Chinese people are uniting with all other peoples in order to fight against this arch enemy. In this struggle we have found a friend in Cambodia which

has the courage to struggle against the strong and the bully. The Chinese people are very proud of having such a comrade-in-arms."

In a message to Prince Norodom Sihanouk dated September 4, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai expressed thanks for the naming of the Mao Tse-tung Boulevard and the speech made by Prince Sihanouk. The event, said the message, gave full expression to the invaluable friendship of the Cambodian people for the Chinese people who had a great admiration for Prince Sihanouk's outstanding contributions to the development of friendship between the two countries.

The message added: "The Chinese people are very happy to see the steady growth of the relations between the two countries along the broad road of friendship, solidarity, mutual assistance and co-operation. The Mao Tse-tung Boulevard stands as a shining symbol of this broad road. The Chinese and Cambodian peoples will surely be on friendly terms from generation to generation and will continue to march shoulder to shoulder along this broad road, to make new contributions to the steady development of their respective countries and to the common struggle against U.S. aggression and for the defence of world peace."

## ***S. Viet Nam: The People Are Winning***

**W**ITH world attention focused on the war in south Viet Nam the question arises as to what is the situation on the battlefield there today.

To begin with, here are some vital statistics:

### **Facts Speak for Themselves**

1. The first seven months of 1965 saw the south Vietnamese people's forces inflicting heavy punishment on the puppet troops. Over 110,000 were killed, wounded, captured or induced to desert. This includes the complete annihilation of 25 main force battalions totalling more than 20,000 men. Of these two figures, the former is one-fifth the total strength of the 500,000-man puppet army, while the latter is equivalent to two of the ten main force puppet divisions.

2. In the same period, the south Vietnamese people's forces wiped out more than 3,000 U.S. invaders, raided U.S. air bases ten times and shot down or destroyed more than 500 U.S. planes. The number of American aircraft destroyed or damaged in the first half of the year equals more than half the number of U.S. planes in south Viet Nam, which totals over 800.

3. In the first half of the year, the south Vietnamese people's forces fought more than 12,000 engage-

ments, 36 of which were major battles. In the south, the people's forces attacked on an average of more than 60 times a day, and large-scale offensives numbered as many as six a month.

4. Together with the people of various localities, the south Vietnamese people's forces destroyed nearly 2,000 "strategic hamlets" and liberated 11 districts, 11 military sub-sectors and nearly one million people. The liberated areas now account for four-fifths the total area of south Viet Nam and its population has grown from over 9 million to more than 10 million.

5. In the same period, the south Vietnamese people's forces destroyed more than 100 bridges, more than 400 kilometres of highways, and cut many railway lines. Thus, the enemy's lines of land communication have been paralysed and the U.S.-puppet clique's big cities and military strongpoints have become veritable islands.

### **How Do the People's Forces Fight**

These figures graphically show the great increase in the South Viet Nam Liberation Army's fighting power. They also reveal the following characteristics in the Liberation Army's mode of warfare.

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## 500 U.S. Planes Downed in D.R.V.

**A**NOTHER heavy blow was dealt to the so-called "air superiority" of U.S. imperialism by the army and people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at 7:30 in the morning on August 29. It was at this hour, when an F-4 jet fighter came hurtling to the ground, that the 500th U.S. military plane was blasted out of the skies over north Viet Nam since the Washington aggressors began their aerial war of destruction against the D.R.V. on August 5, 1964.

The 500 downed planes include nearly all the most up-to-date warplanes in the U.S. arsenal. Among them are the much-vaunted F-105D Thunderchiefs, the F-4H Phantoms and the B-57 strategic bombers capable of carrying atomic bombs. The army and people of north Viet Nam have fully proved that no matter what kind of plane is used by the U.S. aggressors, what time of day they come, or how they come, they cannot escape punishment.



The loss of 500 planes in a year is a telling blow to the U.S. aggressors: militarily, politically, as well as economically. It is reported that an AD-6 propeller-driven fighter costs 300,000 U.S. dollars, an F-105 jet fighter costs 3 million dollars and a B-57 jet bomber 4.5 million dollars. If one takes the average cost of a military plane to be 2 million dollars, then the total loss for the U.S. aggressors adds up to at

least 1,000 million dollars in the one year since Washington began its air raids on the D.R.V. This figure, however, does not even cover the tremendous expenses involved in carrying out the air raids.

An article in the August 30 *New York Herald Tribune*, "Are Bombings Worth Cost?", by Arnold Beichmann aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier *Midway* reveals some of the anguish of the White House about its air adventure over the D.R.V. Beichmann wrote: "On Friday, August 13, five navy warplanes were shot down over north Viet Nam by small arms or conventional anti-aircraft fire, not missiles. . . . Each plane cost about 4 million dollars and it cost 250,000 dollars to train each pilot. . . . No one can say with any certainty if the U.S. attrition campaign against north Viet Nam benefited from this loss. . . . These events underscore a behind-the-scenes debate in military circles in Saigon and among officers of the U.S. 7th Fleet as to whether bombing the north is worth the effort and sacrifice."

In sharp contrast to the doubts and worries of the U.S. aggressors, the Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* in an editorial on August 30 hailed the shooting down of the 500th U.S. plane over north Viet Nam as eloquent proof of the bankruptcy of the U.S. imperialists' air war against the D.R.V. It pointed out that the fighting over the past months clearly showed that the force deciding victory in a war was the entire fighting people with the armed forces as the core, and that every battle against U.S. aircraft was a splendid and living example of the co-ordinated fight of the armed forces and the people.

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• First, the Liberation Army is fighting a war of annihilation. By putting large numbers of enemy effectives out of action it has caused the balance of forces in the battlefield in south Viet Nam to develop a step further in favour of the people.

Over 110,000 enemy wiped out in seven months is no small number. It is more than the total number of enemy troops wiped out in all of 1963. How many similar blows can the south Viet Nam puppet army sustain? As everyone knows, it has only a total of a little over 500,000 men and is lacking in reinforcements. In such serious circumstances, their masters in Washington are deeply troubled. After a recent "inspection" of the south Viet Nam front, U.S. Secretary of Defence McNamara gloomily admitted: the central reserve of the puppet forces "has been seriously depleted in recent months." In the July 26 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* a dispatch from Saigon also said: "The Saigon central reserve, normally consisting of ten battalions, is exhausted." The south Viet Nam puppet forces are daily disintegrating as more and more soldiers revolt and come over to the side of the people or surrender. In the first half of 1965, more than 13,000 puppet troops crossed over to the people's forces in the central

part of south Viet Nam alone. The same *U.S. News & World Report* article said that the puppet troops' "desertion rate is high, with men vanishing in the height of battle."

It is specifically because the South Viet Nam Liberation Army is wiping out large numbers of the puppet army's effectives that the U.S. aggressors can no longer continue to rely mainly on the puppet troops to carry out its colonial war as they did before.

• Second, under the slogan "Seek out and strike at the U.S. aggressors and wipe out the U.S. invaders when you see them," the Liberation Army has been annihilating more and more U.S. aggressors. In the victory at Thanh Son in the latter part of May the Liberation Army used bayonet charges in wiping out 139 U.S. troops.

Though Washington has done its utmost to cover up the growing American casualties, it has failed to do so. On July 25, Admiral G. Sharp, Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Forces in the Pacific, said: "There is only one way the [American] casualties can go — up." With more and more U.S. aggressors being killed on the south Viet Nam battlefield Washington had to dispatch

a mortuary company to south Viet Nam in June to dispose of the American dead.

- Third, the Liberation Army operates flexibly, employs a variety of tactics, takes full advantage of all favourable conditions inherent in a people's war and also fully utilizes the climatic and geographical conditions in south Viet Nam.

The people's forces fight mobile and offensive warfare as well as guerrilla warfare; they fight in densely populated river valleys and on the plains as well as in the highlands and forests; and in the cities as well as in the countryside. As for their tactics, they flexibly put to use the principles of surprise attacks, frontal attacks, encircling the enemy to attack its reinforcements, encircling but not attacking, making a noise in the east while attacking in the west, a mixture of false and real operations according to the specific conditions. As a result they have completely baffled the enemy. The South Viet Nam Liberation Army has brought the strategic and tactical level of the oppressed people's armed struggle to a new high.

The new situation in which there is a great increase in the strength of the Liberation Army, its frequent attacks and its flexible tactics have made the U.S.-puppet clique tremble at the very mention of the Liberation Army. When McNamara returned to the United States from Viet Nam in July, he acknowledged, "The number of battalion-size operations [by the South Viet Nam Liberation Army] is increasing, the duration of them is increasing, the intensity of the attack is increasing. . . ." Richard Russell, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, recently had to admit that the south Vietnamese people's forces are "probably the best guerrilla fighters that have ever operated in the history of mankind." Johnson, too, of late had to confess that the situation in Viet Nam "will get worse" and that "they [the South Viet Nam Liberation Army] are swinging wildly."

- Finally, the fourth characteristic is that the Liberation Army is vigorously cutting the enemy's lines of communication thus further paralysing the U.S.-puppet clique's land transport system.

If the U.S.-puppet clique was still able to cling to some system of "points and lines" in the previous stage of the war, then today the situation has greatly changed. Now the Liberation Army, in co-ordination with the broad masses of the people, has carried out such widespread destruction that the ten highways which link Saigon with the outside have been basically cut. Many bases of the U.S. aggressors and their puppets have been forced to rely on air transport for supplies. The Associated Press on July 30 had to concede that "in the past three months, airlifts of supplies to inland U.S. installations have increased by nearly 1,000 per cent" and "this has resulted in dangerous shortages in many points."

The brilliant victories of the South Viet Nam Liberation Army in the first half of this year have dealt

heavy blows to U.S. imperialism and have made great contributions to safeguarding world peace.

### Washington Sends More Cannon-Fodder

U.S. imperialism is not reconciled to its defeats on the south Vietnamese front. Like an incurable gambler, Johnson has shouted that Washington was "not going to tuck tail and run away." Since last March, the U.S. aggressors have kept on sending reinforcements to south Viet Nam: three to five thousand men at a time at first and, later on, by the tens of thousands. The number of American reinforcements reached an all-time high when, on July 28, Johnson announced the dispatch of another 50,000. U.S. armed forces in south Viet Nam will soon add up to 125,000, and, as Johnson has openly declared, "additional forces will be needed later." Obviously, U.S. imperialism is doubling its efforts in preparation for fighting a Korean-type local war in Indo-China.

To date, the number of American troops in south Viet Nam has reached close to 90,000. This includes ground forces of about 50,000 strong — the Third Division of the Marine Corps, the Seventh Regiment of the First Marine Division, the 173rd Airborne Brigade, the 101 Airborne Division and the First Infantry Division — now stationed in such points as Hue, Da Nang, Nha Trang, Chu Lai, Qui Nhon, Cam Ranh Bay, Bien Hoa and Dau Don. With the exception of Bien Hoa, all these are *points d'appui* with their backs to the sea. The U.S. aggressors have spread their troops in this manner so as to avoid an American Dien Bien Phu by not sending troops to penetrate the interior single-handed. By means of these seaboard points of support, they vainly hope to hold on for a while and at the same time make it easier for them to continue to pour in reinforcements, thus moving towards large-scale war expansion.

### Johnson's Wishful Thinking

Washington's next move, as disclosed by its mouth-pieces, is to send in large numbers of troops after the monsoon season and make south Viet Nam a "blockaded zone" all along the 17th Parallel up to the Laotian and Cambodian borders. This is to be followed by "cleaning-up" operations in the liberated areas bit by bit. The U.S. propaganda machine has described this strategy of "closed-door fighting" in south Viet Nam as the "long-range strategy for victory."

However, this plan is only a kind of wishful thinking by the Johnson Administration.

The aim of U.S. imperialism is to isolate the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist American aggression and defend their country and cut its links with the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the world. But this is impossible. The Vietnamese people will not tolerate such scheming by the U.S. aggressors. Nor will the peoples of Laos and Cambodia allow Washington to spread the flames of war to their soil. If the U.S. aggressors go ahead with this scheme, the battlefield will become more extended, not shorter. Even the

American press shows no confidence in this plan. The *National Observer* (June 14) said, "And it could be torpedoed before U.S. troops can effectively secure the would-be security zones." Hanson Baldwin, military commentator of the *New York Times* also understands that this will "involve . . . more risk."

The increase of American troops in south Viet Nam has provided the South Viet Nam Liberation Army with more and better chances to chew up the enemy. The South Viet Nam Liberation Army knows where the Americans are but the Americans do not know where the Liberation Army is. It is the Liberation Army which decides when, where and what the conditions are that are favourable to fight. This can be proved by the fact that the Americans failed to find the Liberation Army during their recent "mopping-up" cam-

paigns in Zone D in the liberated area and in their air raids by B-52 strategic bombers. On the contrary, however, every time the South Viet Nam Liberation Army comes out to strike the Americans, it never misses. This is clearly demonstrated by its attacks on Da Nang, the shelling of Bien Hoa, the penetration into Thanh Son and the blowing up of a four-storey U.S. army billet at Qui Nhon.

### Shortage in U.S. Manpower

The mere 100,000 or 200,000 American troops which Washington plans to throw in are far from enough if there is to be a war in south Viet Nam fought mainly by the Americans. An article in the July 31-August 1 *New York Herald Tribune* said: "They would be absurdly inadequate if our objectives were the

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## U.S. Defeat at Van Tuong

CLAIMS by Washington and the American press of "the biggest American victory of the war in Viet Nam" have turned out to be a dud. Actually, the big two-day battle in Van Tuong on August 18 and 19 was a serious defeat for the U.S. aggressors.

In this "biggest marine action of the war," 8,000 marines supported by fighter-bombers, helicopters, armoured vehicles and ships of the U.S. 7th Fleet launched a large-scale "mopping-up operation" in south Viet Nam's Quang Ngai Province. When the smoke of battle had cleared the Liberation Army units and guerrillas of the province had made mincemeat of the "mopping-up" operation. In destroying four companies, they killed or wounded 600 U.S. marines, shot down 13 American planes and destroyed 15 and damaged 7 armoured vehicles. Little wonder that in their grandiose claims of a great "victory," the U.S. aggressors refused to disclose the number of their casualties. In typical Pentagonese they referred to their losses as "the heaviest of any single engagement in the war."

The attack on Van Tuong, a small coastal hamlet of less than 18 square kilometres some 14 kilometres south of the big U.S. military base at Chu Lai, was the eighth attempt by U.S. marines to break the tight encirclement of the guerrillas of Binh Son District, where Van Tuong is located, and of Tam Ky and Hoa Vang Districts. But each time they were thrown back. Up to August 14, 362 marines had already been killed or wounded by the guerrillas of nearby Binh Giang Village.

Attempting to drive the Liberation Army units and guerrillas in Van Tuong to the beach and then annihilate them by intensive bombing and shelling, the U.S. aggressors launched a pincer attack on Van Tuong. But the south Vietnamese people's forces broke both arms of the pincer. West of Van Tuong, as U.S. helicopters began disgorging troops, the people's forces lying in ambush opened up with devastating fire. Many helicopters were hit, 13 of them before they could land their cargo of troops. Three crashed on the spot.

Under air cover, the panic-stricken marines regrouped to try and occupy a nearby hill. They were mowed down by deadly machine-gun fire from the Liberation Army fighters entrenched on the hill. Thus, the first arm of the pincer was broken.

To the south, the U.S. 7th Fleet had pounded the area before the marines landed. However, the aggressors were pinned down by mortars and heavy machine-gun fire when they were about 100 metres from Van Tuong. Air and artillery support covered U.S. tanks and amphibious armoured cars coming in to rescue the marines. The Liberation Army fighters zeroed in all their guns at the rumbling machines in support of their comrades who were using hand-grenades against them. A dozen M-113 and M-118 armoured cars and tanks were knocked out and the second arm of the U.S. pincer was slashed.

The panicky U.S. aggressors then threw in more troops under cover of five armoured cars and two M-48 tanks. As these armoured vehicles flopped from one paddyfield to another they bogged down in the mud and the Liberation Army fighters surged out of nearby hedges to engage the enemy in hand-to-hand combat. This marine force was completely wiped out and not one armoured vehicle in this group escaped.

The defeat of this large-scale "mopping-up" campaign, which the U.S. aggressors had wistfully named "Operation Starlight," was a heavy blow to the American "ink blot" strategy to expand their occupied areas in south Viet Nam and nibble away at the liberated areas.

The failure of "Operation Starlight" once more proved that the U.S. aggressors cannot escape defeat in the immense sea of the people's war in south Viet Nam.





reconquest of south Viet Nam, instead of 125,000 men, the troops needed would, according to the usual formula of ten to one for guerrilla war, mean more nearly a million." The United States now has a total of more than 2,600,000 men in its three services. Of these, more than a half million are stationed in Europe, over 600,000 in Asia, and some 1.5 million at home. By boosting its armed forces in south Viet Nam to 125,000 now, it faces a serious shortage of troops; it has mustered that many only by "robbing Peter to pay Paul," as Baldwin puts it. If Washington is to throw in, say, a million or so troops into south Viet Nam, not only will its worldwide aggression be affected on all fronts, there will be a drain on manpower at home as well.

Even the terrain is not favourable to the United States if it enters a local war on its own. The U.S. aggressors themselves are already aware of this. Having compared the Indo-China war theatre with that of Korea, *U.S. News & World Report* (July 26) noted that "a vastly expanded ground war in Viet Nam will be much more difficult to fight than the Korean war was. The terrain and climate in Viet Nam are far more imposing problems. . . . A solid front could be held in Korea. . . . For the Americans, Viet Nam—now and for the foreseeable future—consists of a number of enclaves. . . . And no possibility is in sight of establishing a solid front such as the U.S. held in Korea."

Actually, the disadvantageous geographical and climatic conditions which the U.S. aggressors have to

contend with in Viet Nam are far greater than what this weekly described.

### The Basic Cause for U.S. Defeats

The armed struggle of the south Vietnamese people against the United States is a just war, a truly people's war. The root of power in a war lies deep in the masses. The 14 million people in south Viet Nam have been mobilized on a vast scale and can be likened to an enormous sea that will drown the U.S. aggressors—this is the basic cause for the repeated defeats the Americans have suffered and for their total defeat in future. However, as the U.S. aggressors come closer and closer to the verge of defeat, they will strive to strike back with increased fury. The U.S. imperialist intention to seize south Viet Nam at whatever cost is determined by its aggressive nature. Thus, one must have a proper appraisal of its madness and risk-taking. The huge reinforcements of U.S. aggressors sent to south Viet Nam will of course make the war fiercer and crueller. But, no one can ever change the basic law of development in a war situation, even though the anti-U.S. armed struggle of the south Vietnamese people still has to follow a difficult course. As President Nguyen Huu Tho of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation pointed out recently, "The situation today has become very clear: we are bound to win and the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys are doomed to failure."

## News Analysis

# Johnson's Velvet Paw

**What is the Johnson Administration up to with its recent professions of a desire to "de-escalate" and moderate its conditions for "peace talks" on Viet Nam? And with whom is it collaborating or seeking to collaborate in its "peace offensive"?**

**I**N the course of escalating the war and making preparations for fighting a Korean-type war, the Johnson Administration is trying hard to win consent from public opinion at home and abroad through a new "peace offensive." This latest scheme of the U.S. Government has been clearly revealed by its chief executive.

Speaking to newsmen on July 28 in the East Room of the White House, the U.S. President wanted people to believe that his government was ready to discuss the four-point proposal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and to solve the Viet Nam question in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreements.

After Johnson had given the new signal, Washington's panjandrums chimed in. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the President, and Arthur Goldberg, new U.S. delegate to the United Nations, in a joint television interview on August 23 chorused that the United States was "prepared for discussion and for negotiation at any time" and ready to accept the 1954 Geneva agreements and "unconditionally ready to return to Geneva."

But who will be so foolish as to take the words of these politicians at their face value? The test is not what they say but what they do. The Geneva agreements provide specifically for Viet Nam's sovereignty, independence, reunification and territorial integrity. But the U.S. Government has trampled underfoot the national rights of the Vietnamese people, divided the country and occupied its southern part by force of arms, interfered in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people, and, last but not least, has waged and is expanding a war of aggression in Viet Nam. On the contrary, the essence of the Geneva agreements is contained in the D.R.V. four-point proposal for the United States to stop its aggression against Viet Nam,

to pull its aggressor troops out of south Viet Nam and for the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs.

**“Shift in Approach.”** In “de-escalating” the conditions for “peace talks,” Washington has only one thing in mind: to get by guile what it has so far failed to get through “escalation” on the battlefield, namely, for the Vietnamese people to give up their struggle against American aggression and in defence of their country, to surrender and place themselves at the mercy of U.S. imperialism. Rusk recently stressed that “in any discussion or negotiation,” the so-called withdrawal of north Viet Nam from south Viet Nam “is going to be the central issue.” In the same breath he said that it was “very unrealistic” to demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Viet Nam! And when Johnson launched his “peace offensive” at the July 28 news conference he announced the dispatch of another 50,000 men to do his butcher’s work in south Viet Nam. See what a lover of peace he is! Giving itself away completely, Washington chose this very moment to intensify its air raids over north Viet Nam, both in scope and frequency. Commenting on this latest “peace talks” trick, AP correspondent William L. Ryan observed that the “U.S. stand basically has not changed, although there has been a shift in approach.”

**Johnson the Boxer.** On August 25, the American President aspired to become a boxer to illustrate the counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics Washington is employing. He promised that while his Defence Secretary was fighting in south Viet Nam with “our right hand,” his senior representative to the United Nations would do everything possible for “peace” with “our left hand.” “We’re like a man in the ring. . . using our right and our left constantly.” Out shot his right fist symbolizing, he said, U.S. power. “I say to Secretary McNamara, ‘You be sure that our men have the morale and have the equipment and have the necessary means of seeing that we keep our commitments in Viet Nam.’” Then out went his left fist, which, he said, represented American diplomacy’s continued effort “to get us away from the battlefield and back at the conference table.” *Time* magazine explained that, in assuming an “uppercut-with-olive-branch stance,” Johnson was seeking “to underscore his hope of ending the Viet Nam war with a one-two punch—military success leading to a settlement from a position of strength.” Thus, Washington’s tactics boil down to this: using war to force the Vietnamese people to surrender while using “peace talks” to cover up its war schemes. Johnson’s “left fist” with its “fancy feints and jabs,” as *Time* put it, is used only to divert attention from his “right fist” punch.

Johnson has been playing his two-fisted tactics for several months though without success. He is still at it, now shorn of all disguise but more aggressive than before. Johnson has talked lavishly about peace while frenziedly engaging in aggression. He also energetically expanded war while hawking a peace hoax. But, like all aggressors, Johnson will not succeed. The

American Senator Wayne Morse, for one, does not think that his “peace talks” trick can fool anyone. While Johnson was saying that his “every waking hour is going to be spent trying to find the means” for bringing people to the conference table, Morse remarked that “the President is not trying to make peace, he is making war 24 hours a day.” The Geneva paper *La Suisse*, too, has seen through Johnson, commenting that “never is there a war government like the U.S. Government which talks so much about peace.”

**The Third Party.** Another feature of the Johnson Administration’s latest “peace offensive” is that it now strives to stay behind the scenes and let a third party peddle its wares. Here, the listing of Washington’s collaborators will not be complete without mentioning the modern revisionists who are rendering their American friends yeoman service. In mid July, Johnson sent his roving ambassador Averell Harriman to Moscow on a probing mission concerning the Viet Nam question. Upon his return, Harriman seemed to be quite satisfied with his Moscow talks. “I got the impression,” he said, “that the Soviet Union would like to see that matter settled so that we could get on to what they consider more important matters.”

After Moscow, Harriman visited Belgrade and New Delhi to discuss plans to sell the “peace talks” hoax with his Yugoslav and Indian friends. But because both Tito and Shastri, and also Britain’s Wilson, though still working hard to assist Washington, have become too notorious for the job, Washington is now turning to some Afro-Asian countries for help, hoping that they will bring pressure to bear upon the Vietnamese people and force “peace talks” on them. In the words of Rusk, the United States has been making “many contacts through third parties or with third parties.” A UPI correspondent also reported that peace soundings had been started through “a selected group of unaligned nations.”

**Using the U.N.** Apart from its “contacts” with third parties, Washington is trying to use the United Nations as another “channel” to push forward its peace talks fraud and to intervene in Viet Nam. Western news agencies have reported that the U.N. Secretary has frequently held clandestine talks with Washington and has quietly sounded out a number of countries for a “peaceful solution.” But the United Nations is a tool used by the United States to carry out its policies of aggression and war; it has nothing to do with Viet Nam, nor has it any right to intervene in the affairs of the Vietnamese people. Washington will never succeed in its attempt to make the United Nations to intervene.

The U.S. aggressors are sustaining one defeat after another on the Vietnamese battlefield. Their “peace talks” swindles, too, are being exposed one after another. As nobody has been intimidated by the U.S. escalation of its war, so no one will be fooled by its de-escalation trick for “peace.”

—HSIN WEN

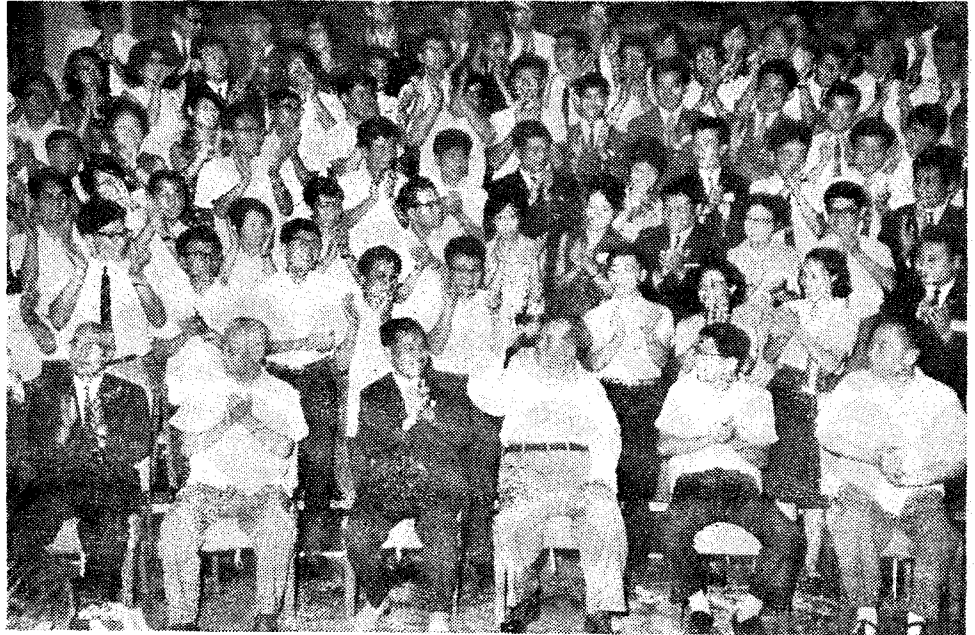
# Nine Days in Peking: Cementing Unity Between the Youth of China and Japan

THE young Japanese guests who came to China to attend the grand, first-of-its-kind China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival (see *Peking Review*, No. 35, Aug. 27), are now visiting places in China in three groups. The group which is on a tour of south China was joined on September 4 in Wuhan by another 16 new arrivals, who, after weeks of struggle against the Sato government, finally succeeded in coming to China. Another group is touring northeast China while the third is travelling in the northwest. After more than a fortnight's sight-seeing and get-togethers with Chinese youth, they have a great deal to write home about. Their most memorable occasion, however, took place on their fourth day in Peking, when, on August 26, the 271 members of the 23 Japanese youth delegations and other young Japanese friends attending the festival went to the Great Hall of the People to meet Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Chinese leaders. Resounding cheers came from the 400-odd Japanese present with many shouting in Chinese "Long Live Chairman Mao!" as the Chinese leaders extended them a warm welcome.

That evening, Mayor Peng Chen gave a big dinner party in honour of the young visitors. Some 2,000 people, both Chinese and Japanese, clinked glasses in the brightly lit banquet hall as the Mayor proposed a toast

- to Sino-Japanese friendship from generation to generation;
- to the great unity of the youth of both countries;
- to the struggle against U.S. imperialism, our common enemy, and for Asian and world peace.

Mayor Peng Chen, stressing that Sino-Japanese friendship represented the common interest and common aspiration of the two peoples, also explained why U.S. imperialism feared this joyous festival, and why the forces that toe the U.S. line were trying to obstruct it. This, he said, was because what was favourable to



Chairman Mao, Chairman Liu and Premier Chou with guests from Japan

the Chinese and Japanese people was unfavourable to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Mayor Peng Chen then went on to propose: **"Anything which they dislike and fear most, we'll do all the more resolutely, until they are driven out of China's Taiwan and Japan's Okinawa, until the people of all lands unite to throw them out from where they are playing the bully."**

Peng Chen, whose speech was heartily applauded by the Japanese guests, affirmed that the Chinese people wanted nothing from the Japanese people save friendship and co-operation based on equality and mutual benefit, the kind of co-operation which the two peoples needed to throw out the same aggressor who was bullying them both.

On the same day, a "Forest of Friendship Between Chinese and Japanese Youth" was planted in Peking's western suburbs.

Their other activities in Peking were also something to remember.

**August 24:** At the Museum of the Chinese Revolution, the sightseers read the letter of protest against the imperialist massacre of Chinese on May 30, 1925, which had been issued at that time by the Japan Council of Labour Unions in support of the Chinese workers'

movement. Some remarked that "this friendship must be developed still more in this generation, our generation!"

**August 25:** Attending a rally of 10,000 Peking youth at which the youth leaders of both countries who spoke all stressed the unity and friendship of the youth and people of China and Japan.

And unity and friendship was in the air. During a recess, addresses and souvenirs were exchanged. Young Chinese artists gave stage performances to entertain their guests. One success was a dance called *The Cherry Blossom*, depicting how the quiet life of the Japanese people was disturbed by the U.S. forces of occupation and by the establishment of American military bases on Japanese soil. The dance also showed how the Japanese people, marching in united action against U.S. imperialism, demanded the dismantling of American bases in Japan.

**August 27:** Visiting factories, rural people's communes, and other public institutions to meet more of the capital's young workers, peasants and students. They also called on a model peasant in his late sixties, listened to veteran railway workers' stories of the first political strike in the Chinese workers' movement in February 1923, and met grey-haired Chinese physicist Chou Pei-yuan, Vice-President of Peking University. Chou, after showing them into his home, told the young people: "Not only the young but we of the older generation also rejoice over this festival." He expressed his belief that Japan's younger generation would make still greater contributions to Sino-Japanese friendship.

**August 28:** Visiting the Great Wall, picnicking under the cypress trees near the underground palace tomb of one of the Ming emperors. In the evening, they saw a classic Peking opera and attended a concert by the Symphony Orchestra of the Central Philharmonic Society.

**August 29:** While enjoying a ballet on a contemporary theme of the Chinese revolution, *The Red Detachment of Women*, the visitors from Japan were joined during the performance by 12 late-comers, members of the Youth Delegation of the Japan-China Friendship Association, who had just arrived in Peking and gone to the theatre straight from the airport. The Sato government, according to Yoshikazu Kasuta, head of the delegation, did not issue them passports until August 18 and afterwards had refused passports to 150 members of other 15 delegations who wished to attend the festival. Since his delegation wanted the others also to visit China, they stayed behind to protest against the government action, together with delegations which were discriminated against. Kasuta had told the welcoming crowd at the airport that on August 25 the Sato government had sent armed police to beat the protesting youth up and severely wounded many of them. But the struggle would be carried on, he said.

At a sports rally, nearly all the Japanese attending the festival took part in one or more of the wide variety

of events, which included badminton, basketball, tennis, volleyball, table tennis, billiards, swimming, and chess.

**August 30:** The last day of their stay in Peking was another busy day for the young guests. In the morning, they formed into groups according to their profession and met with young Chinese of the same trade. It was an occasion on which workers met workers, peasants met peasants, lawyers met lawyers, artists met artists and those engaged in the Japanese women's movement met their Chinese counterparts, an opportunity for experiences to be exchanged and professional links made.

In the afternoon, the visitors entertained their Chinese friends at the Tienchiao Theatre with more than 20 kinds of performances: militant, rich in national flavour, and ranging from solo and choral singing to sketches and recitations. They reflected the vigorous struggle of the Japanese people for national independence.

Liao Cheng-chih, President of the China-Japan Friendship Association, gave a dinner party on the same day at which Vice-Premier Chen Yi praised Japan as a great nation. "You have come to China after waging a stubborn struggle and overcoming many obstacles," said Chen Yi. "This success gives powerful support and encouragement to the Chinese people in their work of socialist construction." The Vice-Premier said that there were both achievements and shortcomings in China's socialist construction. He therefore hoped the Japanese friends would see not only the achievements but also the shortcomings and say so. **Vice-Premier Chen declared that the Chinese people were willing to live on friendly terms with all the people of the world, except for the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries, whom, headed by U.S. imperialism, the Chinese people opposed.**

The last evening in Peking was spent at Zhongshan Park, where fireworks, Chinese lanterns, dances and gorgeous national costumes turned the place into a gay and glittering scene of festivity. It was a jubilant carnival which brought to a climax the varied activities in the capital during the current China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival. Many of the Japanese guests had dressed in their colourful kimonos and obis so that wherever they went in the large, flood-lit park, they were greeted with cheers, handshakes and invited to join in the merry-making. Here, besides plays, films, acrobatic shows, songs and dances and many other varieties of entertainment, the young Japanese met celebrated Chinese actors and actresses, writers, worker-engineers and men and women from all walks of life.

The young Japanese friends left Peking on August 31. Following their current tours of China in three groups, they will all meet in Shanghai where the youth of that great metropolis are ready to give their Japanese friends another big welcome.

— OUR CORRESPONDENT

# Past Lessons Determine Present Tasks

— Kenji Miyamoto's speech at a Tokyo meeting commemorating 20th anniversary of the defeat of Japanese imperialism (a summary) —

**U.S.** IMPERIALISM and Japanese monopoly capital have been working hand in glove to revive militarism and imperialism in Japan and suppress the democratic rights of the Japanese people in the 20 years since the defeat of the reactionary and aggressive war launched by imperialist-militarist Japan, said Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Japan, on August 15 at a Tokyo meeting marking the 20th anniversary of the defeat of Japanese imperialism.

From the defeat of the war of aggression launched by Japan, Kenji Miyamoto drew the following three lessons: aggressive war must be relentlessly opposed; the Japan-U.S. military alliance must be abrogated; and democratic rights brook no infringement.

He called for all-out efforts to form a broad and powerful national-democratic united front against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital and to build the Japanese Communist Party into a powerful Party.

Kenji Miyamoto's speech was delivered at a meeting commemorating the end of the war, calling for efforts to oppose aggressive wars and striving for independence and peace. Entitled "Past Lessons Determine Present Tasks," it was published in full on August 29 by *Akahata*, central organ of the Japanese Communist Party.

"The only way to prevent our country," he declared, "from repeating its mistake of starting an aggressive war, to force U.S. troops to withdraw from Japan at an early date, and to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and prosperous Japan, is to make a new people's democratic revolution against imperialism and monopoly capital."

He pointed out that at the national memorial meeting for the war dead held by the Japanese Government on August 15 with the participation of the Japanese Emperor, Prime Minister Sato in his speech mourned and paid homage to the war dead and thus tried to justify the Japanese war of aggression.

The Japanese Government "was making use of the memorial meeting to speed up the revival of militarism, and trying to create, through the activities in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the end of the war, an atmosphere facilitating its efforts to again drive the Japanese people to make sacrifices for militarism."

In reviewing the history of the past 20 years, Miyamoto said that one had to consider two questions: (1) What was the nature of that war? (2) What was the most important question in Japan in the last 20 years?

There are two different approaches to the two questions. One is to admit that World War II in which Japan participated and which began with Japan's invasion of China was an aggressive, unjust war. The other is to collude with U.S. imperialism to revive militarism and show no remorse for that war, so that Japan may again be turned into a formidable imperialist power to overrun Asia once more. The Japanese Communist Party adopts the first approach and the Japanese Government the second.

Reviewing the unjust war of aggression against China started by Japanese imperialism and its development into World War II, he pointed out that the war against China took a heavy toll of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. "It was a matter of course that Japan should be defeated in that unjust war by the Chinese people who fought for a just cause of resistance under the leadership of the Communist Party of China to achieve China's genuine independence and democracy.

"The conclusion which we should draw from that war is that it is absolutely impermissible to repeat this serious historical crime of starting a war of aggression, or to lead Japan in that direction. Nor is it permissible to conclude a military alliance with a foreign country which is embarking on such a dangerous venture."

After the war, the United States, which occupies a so-called key position in the United Nations, has kept Okinawa under its military occupation. To date it has maintained more than 200 military bases in Japan, trampled on Japan's national sovereignty and is working to drag Japan into its war of aggression against Viet Nam.

Japan has practically rebuilt its army with the aid of the United States. In terms of combat strength, Japanese militarism now has a fire power several times greater than in the years before World War II.

Kenji Miyamoto added, "A general characteristic of the 20 postwar years is that U.S. imperialism, by working hand in glove with Japanese monopoly capital, has become the ruler of Japan and is taking firm steps to revive militarism and imperialism in Japan and infringe on the democratic rights of the Japanese people.

"What surprises us most is the fact that instead of expressing repentance to China, which lost 10 million lives as a result of savage aggression by Japanese militarism, and concluding a peace treaty on its own initiative, Japan has not yet concluded such a treaty with China 20 years after the end of the war. Although this should not have happened; it has happened entirely because the United States rules supreme in Japan, and the Japanese

Government willingly serves as its docile ally, and is pushing ahead with a policy of hostility to China."

He went on to say that **one should learn a few lessons from the Japanese war of aggression, the first of which is that one must categorically oppose wars of aggression.** "All wars of aggression must be opposed firmly, explicitly and categorically. The war now going on in Viet Nam is obviously and truly a war of aggression launched by the United States."

The United States is now sending large contingents of troops to south Viet Nam and bombing north Viet Nam every day, hoping that this may force the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to agree to something more or less like "an admission of defeat." But who will "admit defeat" in the face of such a stupid exploration? The Vietnamese people will never be taken in by the "peace talks" hoax which is designed to make them agree to the U.S. plan to keep Viet Nam divided for ever and turn south Viet Nam into a U.S. colony or semi-colony. Therefore, "the schemes of unleashing unjust wars, interfering in the affairs of other nations and wilfully drawing one's lifeline outside one's own territory is bound to fail. The failure of Japan's ruthless war of aggression against China and the failure of France's wars of aggression against Viet Nam and Algeria are cases in point. We are convinced that what is now happening in Viet Nam will conclusively prove this point.

"Today, a lot of people have expressed their views on the Viet Nam question. Some of them merely call for an unconditional cessation of fighting, saying that it is good enough just to bring peace to Viet Nam. But in the final analysis, unconditional cessation of fighting means a 'ceasefire' on the condition of accepting U.S. aggression. It will not restore independence or true peace to the Vietnamese people. When all is said and done, they will remain the bond slaves of the United States. This is not a real settlement."

Exposing the dual tactics employed by U.S. imperialism on various questions, Miyamoto noted that "the United States says that it will live in peace with the Soviet Union and will refrain from a nuclear war with it. In this sense, it is in favour of peaceful coexistence. But China, it says, is warlike and abominable, and so is the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam because it backs south Viet Nam. Thus it can be seen that the tactic used by the United States recently is to distinguish one socialist country from another in the light of their different conditions and treat them separately, hoping that in this way it may crush them one by one. We must say explicitly and with regret that Khrushchov fell into this trap.

"The ruling class in the United States claims that world peace can be maintained through negotiation between the two big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, alone. It also claims that it is all right for the United States and the Soviet Union to possess nuclear arms, while the nuclear tests conducted by

China undermine world peace. This is how the United States uses double-dealing tactics."

Miyamoto cited a number of facts to show that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of peace and the ringleader of aggression. U.S. imperialism committed a historic crime in dropping two atom bombs on Japan at the end of World War II. At that time, the Chinese Communist Party unequivocally denounced this crime.

He pointed out that it is imperative to oppose U.S. nuclear blackmail and the use of napalm bombs and other weapons of mass slaughter of civilians.

Khrushchov's errors, he said, in lauding John F. Kennedy and then Lyndon B. Johnson to the skies as men of peace have done great harm to the peace movement. This has made it possible for U.S. imperialism to throw its weight around still more insolently.

**The second lesson of the Japanese war of aggression, he continued, is that the Japan-U.S. military alliance — a replica of the anti-communist military alliance — must be abolished. "For the sake of its own independent and peaceful development, Japan today must not enter into military alliance with other countries."**

Since the end of World War II, Japan has been reduced to a virtual dependency of the United States and has concluded a military alliance with it. Recently, it has concluded a treaty with south Korea, which is fraught with the danger of opening the way to a military alliance with south Korea. Such a military alliance will become a most dangerous shackle hampering Japan's independence and peace, and, together with foreign imperialism, it will result in plunging the Japanese people once again into a catastrophe. Miyamoto called on the Japanese people to fight for the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" and oppose the "Japan-south Korea treaty."

**The third lesson is to forbid any infringement upon democratic rights.** "While opposing aggressive wars and struggling for the genuine independence of Japan, we must always work to ensure the freedom of launching such a movement. That is to say, we must never forfeit the democratic rights of the Japanese people.

"The ruling classes of the United States and Japan are trying to create a condition to suppress, by brutal measures and through the deprivation of democratic rights, the Japanese people's struggle against aggressive wars and the Japan-U.S. military alliance and for independence and peace.

"That is why in carrying on the movements against the aggressive war in Viet Nam and opposing U.S. military bases, we have to struggle unswervingly against the machinations for the gradual deprivation of democratic rights in Japan. . . .

**"Therefore the most important thing for us to do is to make an all-out effort to fulfil the task of forming a broad and powerful national-democratic united front against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. To accomplish this, it is necessary to augment the**



**strength of the Japanese Communist Party which forms the nucleus of the front and is standing in its van.**

“The course of world events is proving with increasing clarity the correctness of the stand of the Parties of various countries, our Party included, which, basing themselves on genuine Marxism-Leninism, have been struggling valiantly against Khrushchov revisionism and against U.S. imperialism.



# A Guide for 500 Million Peasants Advancing Along the Socialist Road

— Commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the Publication of Comrade  
Mao Tse-tung's "On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation"

by TAO CHU

*The following is the second and final instalment of a slightly abridged translation of an article published in the July 31, 1965, issue of "Hongqi" (No. 8). The author is a Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, First Secretary of the Central-South China Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council. The first instalment of the article appeared in our No. 34 issue. — Ed.*

### 3. On the Question of Correct Handling of Production Relations and Productive Forces in Agriculture

**I**N our socialist transformation of agriculture, the question of the correct handling of the relations between agricultural co-operation and agricultural mechanization is an important one. This is essentially a question of the correct handling of production relations and the productive forces in agriculture. Is it possible to achieve agricultural co-operation with little or practically no farm machinery available for agriculture and with a rather poorly developed state industry? Certain comrades held that it would be impossible to achieve agricultural co-operation before the mechanization of agriculture and that this should not be tried. These comrades failed to see that capitalist ownership and individual ownership in the rural areas had become a serious obstacle to the growth of the agricultural productive forces, that individual agricultural economy had ceased to suit the needs of the growth of the national economy. They clung desperately to the backward pro-

“Viewing the world revolutionary movement as a whole, the revisionist forces which have spread poison deep in the communist movement will inevitably be smashed in the international sphere and the day will come when the Communist Parties of the world will unite under the banner of genuine Marxism-Leninism and communism.”

duction relations of a small-peasant economy and so ran counter to Marxist-Leninist theory on the relations of production and the productive forces.

In sharp contrast to these various erroneous views, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: “In agriculture, under the conditions prevailing in our country, co-operation must precede the use of big machinery. (In capitalist countries agriculture is impelled to develop along capitalist lines.)”<sup>7</sup> Under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the socialist state economy, it is not only possible but necessary to undertake agricultural co-operation first and then bring about agricultural mechanization, or, in other words, to tackle, at a given period, social reform as the main task and technical reform as the subsidiary one.

It is a fact that China is rather underdeveloped industrially. But, precisely because of this, China must first carry out agricultural co-operation. Only with agricultural co-operation does it become possible to open up broad prospects for the technical reform of agriculture; only with the rapid rise in agricultural production does it become possible to speed the development of heavy industry and give agriculture large quantities of machinery at an earlier date. Therefore, we should lose no time in getting the peasants organized for collective labour and management of the farms. By so doing, it is not only possible to prevent effectively the development of capitalism in the countryside

<sup>7</sup> *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, p.20.

but, even though the same farm tools are used, it is possible to achieve higher labour productivity than with individual peasant production, promote the growth of agricultural production and thereby accelerate the process of agricultural mechanization in China.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung thus creatively solved the question of the relations between agricultural co-operation and agricultural mechanization, and developed Marxist-Leninist theory on relations between production relations and the productive forces. In his work *On Contradiction*, he pointed out that the development of the productive forces, as a matter of course, necessitates change in production relations, but the change in production relations, in turn, plays a gigantic role, and in certain conditions, a decisive role, in promoting the development of the productive forces. It is clear to all that the growth of the productive forces was greatly stimulated precisely because we brought about agricultural co-operation in good time, changed the old production relations and established new ones in the rural areas, and brought the subjective initiative of the people and the enthusiasm of the broad masses into full play.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out that after the establishment of socialist relations of production, production relations and the productive forces continue to be both in conformity and in contradiction. "As these contradictions are resolved, new problems and new contradictions will emerge and call for solution."<sup>8</sup> It is precisely these contradictions that propel society forward. It was thought by many people that in socialist society there would be no contradictions between production relations and the productive forces. If this were true, then dialectics would be inoperative, the movement of contradictions would cease and the development of society would come to a standstill. Such a metaphysical point of view could only reduce one to passivity when faced by the contradictions of reality, do us harm in the practice of transforming the world, and, therefore, utterly erroneous.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that contradiction still exists between production relations and the productive forces in socialist society sheds a profound light on the law of development of socialist society. It enables us, in accordance with concrete conditions, to take the initiative consciously to improve and change production relations constantly so as to ensure the continuous growth of the productive forces.

#### **4. On the Question of Class Struggle and the Party's Class Line in the Countryside**

Since the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, continuing to arm the Party with the scientific and revolutionary views of Marxism-Leninism, has constantly urged all comrades to bear in mind that throughout the period of transition

<sup>8</sup> *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1964, p.16.

there will be class contradictions, class struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the socialist road and capitalist road. After the land reform, the question is whether we should let capitalism grow and spread or whether we should advance to socialism. With the realization of agricultural co-operation, the question is whether we should carry socialist revolution uninterruptedly through to the end or rest satisfied with what has been achieved and thus stop half-way or even retrogress to capitalism. These constitute the main content of the class struggle in the rural areas throughout the period of transition. This class struggle is protracted, complicated, tortuous and sometimes very acute.

It is particularly important to note here that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also pointed out the following new feature of the class struggle under the new historical conditions: After the socialist transformation of ownership is basically completed, the class enemy who opposes socialism tries his utmost to restore capitalism by means of "peaceful evolution." That is why we must sharpen our vigilance, always hold class struggle as the key, adopt correct lines and policies and wage a protracted and unremitting struggle to shatter the "peaceful evolution" intrigues of the class enemy.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has again and again pointed out that the class struggle in China's countryside is a protracted and complex one. Proceeding from actual conditions and applying the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis, he made a creative scientific analysis of rural classes and strata after the land reform. This enabled us to make a correct appraisal of the various classes and work out correct tactics of struggle.

At the time when agricultural co-operation was in full swing, most of the former poor peasants in the countryside had already become new middle peasants, and there was thus a conspicuous increase in the percentage of middle peasants (old and new middle peasants included) in the rural population as a whole. Comrade Mao Tse-tung then made a concrete class analysis of the various strata of the middle peasants. This was an important matter that concerned the working out of the Party's class line in the countryside in the period of socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

If the working class and the Communist Party want to use the spirit of socialism and the socialist system to completely transform the system prevailing throughout the countryside of private ownership of the means of production in small peasant holdings, they can do so relatively easily only by relying on the great mass of the former semi-proletarian poor peasants. Otherwise the transformation will be very difficult.

The rural semi-proletariat are not so insistent on private ownership of the means of production in small peasant holdings; they accept socialist transformation fairly readily. Most of them have already become middle peasants, but compared with the old middle peasants, except for a few poor peasants who have

become well-to-do middle peasants, the majority are of a relatively high level of political consciousness and often recall the hard life they led in the past.

Furthermore, the lower ranks of the old middle peasants are fairly close to the lower ranks of the new middle peasants, both in economic position and in political outlook but they are different from both the upper ranks of the new and the upper ranks of the old middle peasants — that is, the well-to-do and comparatively well-to-do middle peasants.<sup>9</sup>

Although most of the well-to-do middle peasants may agree to agricultural co-operation, they still have rather pronounced capitalist tendencies and often attempt to take the old path of capitalism. A struggle against their capitalist tendencies therefore becomes inevitable. Furthermore, since China's rich-peasant economy is quite weak while the strength of the well-to-do middle peasants is rather strong, the struggle between the two roads in the rural areas often takes the form of a struggle against the well-to-do middle peasants who get support from the rich peasants and landlords.

On the basis of this analysis, Comrade Mao Tse-tung called upon the Party to rely on the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants in the rural areas in the period of socialism. In China, poor peasants and lower-middle peasants make up approximately 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population. With such a great number of labouring peasants for the working class to rely on in the countryside, the rural collective economy has a dependable force to rely upon and the proletarian dictatorship has a powerful social support in the rural areas. In these circumstances the triumph of the socialist road in the countryside is assured.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's analysis of the various classes and strata in the countryside solved the important tactical problem of how the working class should deal with the middle peasants. He formulated the class line of relying on the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants and uniting with the middle peasants in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the countryside.

## 5. On the Question of the Worker-Peasant Alliance In the Period of Socialist Revolution

What the basis, content and form of the worker-peasant alliance should be under socialist conditions is a question of the greatest importance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "These two classes [the workers and peasants] comprise 80 to 90 per cent of China's population. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance."<sup>10</sup> The question

is: On what basis should the worker-peasant alliance be built and what methods should be adopted to consolidate it in the stage of socialist revolution?

In Comrade Mao Tse-tung's view, the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a process of educating the peasants in proletarian ideology and in transforming agriculture in accordance with socialist principles. It is a process of developing the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road in the countryside. It is also a process of integrating industry with agriculture and gradually narrowing down the differences between workers and peasants and between the city and the countryside.

When the individual economy of the peasants no longer conformed to the development of the national economy as a whole, the carrying out of agricultural co-operation became the pivotal question for consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung firmly refuted the opportunist argument that if we did not "get off the horse" on the road of co-operation, there would be a danger of breaking up the worker-peasant alliance. He said: "We think exactly the opposite is true. If we do not get on the horse quickly, we are in danger of breaking up the worker-peasant alliance. There is only one word different here — one wants to get 'off' the horse while the other wants to get 'on', yet it demonstrates the difference between two opposing lines. As everybody knows, we already have a worker-peasant alliance based on a bourgeois-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism, a revolution which took the land from the landlords and distributed it to the peasants so as to free them from the bondage of feudal ownership. But this revolution is now a thing of the past and feudal ownership has been done away with." Now only on a new basis could the worker-peasant alliance continue to stand fast. "That basis is, simultaneously with the gradual realization of socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, to bring about, step by step, the socialist transformation of agriculture as a whole, that is, to carry out co-operation, put an end to the systems of rich-peasant economy and individual economy in the countryside and so enable all the people in the rural areas to enjoy a common prosperity. Only in this way, we hold, can the worker-peasant alliance be consolidated. If we fail to act in this way, that alliance will really be in danger of breaking up."<sup>11</sup>

Of course, in order to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance it would still not be enough merely to solve the contradictions between the individual peasant economy and socialist industrialization. After co-operation is organized, it is still necessary to handle correctly various contradictions within the collective economy (such as contradictions between production and distribution, between accumulation and consumption,

<sup>9</sup> *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1957, pp.236-7.

<sup>10</sup> "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.421.

<sup>11</sup> *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1962, pp.26, 27.

between the leaders and the masses) and contradictions between the various collective economies themselves; it is also necessary to handle correctly the contradictions between collective ownership in agriculture and ownership by the whole people in industry; and gradually resolve the contradictions between the technical backwardness of agriculture and the relatively advanced technique of industry and so on.

In the countryside, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues throughout the entire transition period. The most important guarantee for the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance is to stand with the broadest mass of the labouring peasants, resolutely oppose capitalist influences and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

## 6. On the Correct Attitude Towards the Revolutionary Mass Movement

How they view the role of the masses of the people in history — whether they should be regarded as the makers of history or as a muddle-headed “rabble” — has always been a fundamental difference between historical materialists and idealists. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly pointed out that history is created by the people, “It is the people, and the people alone, who are the motivating force of history.”<sup>12</sup> According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, any great revolutionary movement led by our Party must be a great mass movement and the goal of the revolutionary movement must be attained as a result of mass struggle, not of charity or as a gift from the Government or anyone. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is always full of enthusiasm in his approach to the mass revolutionary struggle and in leading the masses in liberating themselves. In the course of carrying out agricultural collectivization in China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung set another example for the whole Party in his attitude to the revolutionary mass movement. He repeatedly pointed out that agricultural collectivization was a socialist mass movement in the countryside as well as a great cause of the over 500 million peasants and not something to be granted or monopolized by anyone. “The leadership should never lag behind the mass movement.” “We should guide this movement vigorously, enthusiastically and systematically, and not use all sorts of methods to drag it back.” “We must guide the movement boldly, and not ‘always fear the dragons ahead and the tigers behind.’” “What we have to do is to take the initiative, not remain passive; to strengthen our leadership, not abandon it.”<sup>13</sup> This is a manifestation of the Marxist-Leninist spirit of thorough revolution and profound confidence in the revolutionary people.

The correct attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement is a fundamental question that demands the constant attention of the political party of

<sup>12</sup> *On Coalition Government*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1960, p.4.

<sup>13</sup> *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1962, pp.2, 1, 2, 29.

the working class. We should not neglect it for one moment even after the seizure of political power. The aim of the proletariat in seizing political power is precisely to use it to mobilize the masses fully and arouse the revolutionary initiative of the millions, to carry to the end the struggle between the capitalist road and the socialist road and to finally eliminate classes. It also aims to mobilize and organize the strength of the millions upon millions of working people, bring into play their wisdom and talent, so as to conquer nature and develop the productive forces to the fullest extent. If we do not use the favourable condition of holding state power to strengthen our reliance on the people, mobilize them and lead them forward, but on the contrary, if we turn state power into a bureaucratic organ divorced from the people and binding them hand and foot, we shall achieve nothing; not only that, we shall even cause the revolution to fail.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has constantly taught the whole Party that to ensure a sound development of the revolutionary mass movement, we must not just sit and wait for the masses to rise by themselves. We must strengthen the Party's leadership and, through painstaking and meticulous work in accordance with the revolutionary aim of each stage, educate and arouse the masses fully so that the mass movement will become a genuinely conscious struggle of the masses. On the question of agricultural co-operation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us that we must systematically and repeatedly publicize the Party's principles, policies and measures on agricultural co-operation among the peasants, in order to raise the socialist consciousness of the masses.

There was an idea of “creeping along,” like a woman tottering along on bound feet, that had become a serious obstacle to the movement for agricultural co-operation in China; it was precisely because the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung rebuffed this idea, and boldly mobilized the broad masses of poor peasants and lower-middle peasants that China's socialist transformation of agriculture quickly developed into a mighty revolutionary wave surging irresistibly forward. It was precisely because China's agricultural collectivization was the product of a great revolutionary mass movement, something won by the masses with their own hands and not something granted by others, that it could stand the test of any storm and not be swept off course by any adverse wind or current.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a tremendous contribution to the socialist transformation of agriculture. The great action of over 500 million Chinese peasants in embarking on the road of collectivization was conducted under his personal leadership. This followed a Marxist-Leninist line in solving the question of agriculture. This line has been warmly praised by all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world. It has set an example for all the people struggling to get rid of poverty and backwardness and has an ever-growing and far-reaching international influence.

The Khrushchov revisionists, however, are trying their utmost to attack our Marxist-Leninist line in solving the agricultural question. Why should they do that? The fundamental reason is that they are pursuing an out-and-out revisionist line. Both Khrushchov himself and those who have succeeded to his mantle are carrying out capitalist policies in agriculture by one means or another. According to Marxist-Leninist teaching, a socialist country that has achieved agricultural collectivization should persist in carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, wage an irreconcilable struggle against the spontaneous forces of capitalism, steadfastly consolidate and develop socialist agriculture and work unceasingly, as Lenin said, in "digging out the root of capitalism" so as to create conditions for the final elimination of classes and class differences. Yet the Khrushchov revisionists, in perverse fashion, betray the line for rural work laid down by Lenin, retreat from the path of agricultural collectivization, and use every possible means to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. The line of the Khrushchov revisionists runs completely counter to Marxism-Leninism and the will of the Soviet people, and it will go utterly bankrupt. The Khrushchov revisionists' attempt to negate the great achievements in China's agricultural collectivization will have no other effect than to lay bare their features as renegades from Marxism-Leninism.

### III

The situation in China's countryside has changed very greatly in the past decade since the publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's work *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*. A grave question then confronted the Party: It was whether to guide the peasants actively to take the road of socialist collectivization or rest content with the then situation of a small peasant economy. Now this question has long been solved. The speedy carrying out of agricultural collectivization and the replacing of age-old private ownership of the means of production by socialist collective ownership, represent an earth-shaking revolutionary leap forward in the stage of socialist revolution in the Chinese countryside. This revolutionary leap has played an immense role in carrying forward the whole socialist revolution and socialist construction, laying solid foundations for the victory of socialism in the Chinese countryside and for the vigorous development of socialist construction.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly taught us that socialist society covers a very, very long historical stage. In socialist society, class contradictions continue to exist and class struggle does not die out even after the nationalization of industry, the collectivization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. Iron clad facts both at home and abroad have proved the complete correctness of this thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. As the objective law of class struggle in the transition period functions, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road in China's countryside (and its cities

as well) is serious and acute. The overthrown reactionary classes conspire to stage a come-back; embezzlers, grafters and degenerates also launch wanton attacks on socialist positions.

At the same time, certain aspects of the superstructure, especially in the ideological sphere, do not conform well with the new economic base, certain aspects of the new production relations established after collectivization in our rural areas need to be perfected. They all militate against consolidation of the socialist positions in the countryside, against the fuller development of the advantages of the socialist system and a quicker development of agricultural production. The socialist education movement we are carrying on aims to solve these questions all together.

The socialist education movement in the rural areas today is a measure of capital construction of a fundamental nature which the Party and the state are carrying out in the political, economic, organizational and ideological fields. It is a revolutionary mass movement of great historical significance, a great and dynamic force advancing our cause. This movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, is a deep-going socialist revolution, a movement to re-educate the people. Successful development of this movement and persistence in this work will greatly consolidate the position of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countryside, ensuring that our country will never change its colour [revolutionary nature — *Trans.*].

Great successes have already been achieved through the socialist education movement. Signs of steadily growing prosperity prevail wherever the socialist education movement is successfully carried out. This movement has further consolidated the collective economy and given a great impetus to production and capital construction in the rural areas.

A vigorous upsurge in agricultural production is now shaping up and developing all over the Chinese countryside. This is a manifestation of the soaring revolutionary spirit of the people throughout the country. In reviewing Comrade Mao Tse-tung's work *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation* today, the most fundamental point for us is to grasp the spirit of thorough revolution, conscientiously carry forward the socialist education movement and press the socialist revolution through to the end; we should learn from Comrade Mao Tse-tung his deep confidence in and enthusiastic support for the revolutionary masses and continue to carry forward the great cause of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. We are fully confident that under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and guided by the beacon light of the general line for building socialism, a new upsurge will appear in all fields of our work and a new immense leap forward will be brought about throughout the country as we continue to foster the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, enterprise, hard struggle and building the country by thrift and diligence, and give full play to the creativeness and enthusiasm of the masses.

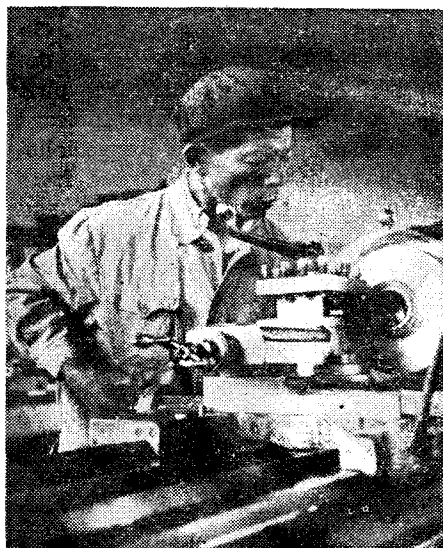
# ACROSS THE LAND

## Glimpses of Tibet Today (I)

**Rising Population.** The population of Tibet has been rising at an average annual rate of 2 per cent since the abolition of serfdom there in 1959. There are now 1,321,500 Tibetans in Tibet, or 124,500 more than in 1960, an increase of 10.4 per cent in five years. The number of families went up from 230,000 to 274,400.

The population was declining steadily under the moribund reactionary regime. The masses were forced to live under conditions of unimaginable poverty and oppression. They were decimated by epidemics. Serf-owners could callously separate husbands from wives and children from parents. The democratic reform that began in 1959 emancipated the oppressed and gave them land and livestock. Farm output has risen sharply and so have standards of living. This alone has improved the masses' well-being and health. But in addition, since Tibet's peaceful liberation in 1951, an increasing number of medical facilities has been set up by the People's Government.

A big and sustained effort is bringing smallpox, typhoid fever, venereal



**Skilled worker Dawa, ex-slave, is a Deputy to the National People's Congress**

disease and other scourges under control and modern methods of delivery and post-natal care for mothers and children are being widely introduced.

**Modern Factories.** Tibet's expanding industry now has 67 enterprises. They include a number of power plants, a coalmine 4,900 metres above sea level, eight plants making farm tools, seven plants to repair trucks, tractors and road-building machinery, as well as to make replacements, and components for building bridges.

A cement works which went into production in 1962 supplies cement for construction in Tibet (its cement is being used on the Sino-Nepalese Highway). The nine sawmills in eastern and southern Tibet have provided a million cubic metres of timber for local construction. Buildings with half a million square metres of floor space have been put up since 1959.

**Industrial Workers.** Tibet has its first generation of workers and technicians. Its rapidly growing modern industry employs 25,000 Tibetan industrial workers. Many are women. Almost all of them are emancipated serfs or slaves who had never set eyes on a motor until after Tibet's peaceful liberation in 1951.

Literacy and industrial skills came with the freedom they have won under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. There was not a single Tibetan industrial worker up to 1951. Now there are Tibetan motor mechanics, power station operators, electricians, building technicians. There are 7,600 technical workers and 500 technicians of Tibetan nationality. They include surveyors, draftsmen, veterinarians, medical and laboratory workers and well-trained tractor drivers.

**More Metal Farm Tools.** Since 1959 enough new metal farm tools have been made in or brought into Tibet to provide an average of 8 per peasant household. This is one reason why the cultivated area has increased by 40,000 hectares in six years and yields have risen so rapidly. Enough grain was raised last year to give each inhabitant 36.4 per cent more grain than in 1959.

Iron farm tools were being made in Tibet as far back as the 7th century but methods of production remained unchanged until 1951. They were crude, backward and expensive and few iron farm implements were in use. Before liberation most of the 30 blacksmiths in Lhasa were slaves. One of their chief occupations was making iron fetters for other slaves.

**Scientific Farming.** Science is replacing superstition. It is being called in to wipe out farm pests and livestock diseases in Tibet. The masses there were taught it was a "sin" to kill insects and other pests such as rats. Today, Tibetans know better and are using to good effect the best insecticides they can get, and scientific methods and poisons to wipe out vermin.

They are also using selected seeds of improved strains to increase grain production. The old saying in that part of China that "Man sows, but the gods give the harvest" is being given the lie by Tibet's seven successive bumper harvests since 1959. Grain output in 1964 was 45.71 per cent higher than that of 1958.

Herdsmen who used to put their trust in prayers to protect their herds from epidemics are finding that the hypodermic needle gives surer results. Cattle plague has been wiped out; anthrax and foot and mouth disease have been brought under control and livestock mortality has dropped from roughly 20 per cent in the years before liberation to 3.5 per cent last year. The number of livestock in 1964 was 36.36 per cent above 1958.



# CINEMA

## **"Long Live the Victory of The People's War"**

This newly released documentary vividly recalls and explains the events of the Japanese invasion of China and of the Chinese people's war which defeated that invasion, the subsequent civil war launched by the U.S.-backed Kuomintang reactionaries and the new victories that led to the founding of People's China. At once a remembrance and an inspiration, it shows the might of a people's war.

Now being shown all over China, it was made by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio to mark the 20th anniversary of the Chinese people's victory in the war against Japanese aggression. It brings together documentary shots made by the film group of the Communist-led Eighth Route Army during the war, newsreel clips from foreign cameramen and material captured from the Japanese aggressors and Kuomintang reactionaries. It includes sequences being made public for the first time.

The script traces events chronologically from the early 1930s, the Japanese invasion of China's northeast and the formation of the fascist Berlin-Tokyo axis, to the people's victory celebrated on Tien An Men Square after liberation in 1949. It shows the mounting anger of the people as the Japanese imperialists press on into China aided by the criminal policy of capitulation of the Kuomintang government; the agony of homeless refugees and revolting enemy crimes. Part of the imaginative musical score underlines the arrogance of the invading juggernaut. Tension mounts and then with a sense of relief and growing excitement, sequences follow of the growth and development of the people's war led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung; the advance of the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies into the rear of the Japanese invaders; the training of people's guerrillas; attacks on Japanese communications; the building of guerrilla base areas deep in the rear of the enemy and the final storming and

destruction of Japanese and puppet strongholds.

There are memorable shots of Yen-an, the directing centre of the anti-Japanese people's war, and particularly of Chairman Mao: lecturing to cadres and students of the famous Anti-Japanese Military and Political University; talking to peasants of north Shensi; in his cave headquarters, writing his now famous articles on people's war which guided the people from victory to victory.

The final part of this record deals with the infamous intervention of the U.S. imperialists, following the defeat of the Japanese, in frenziedly arming and transporting Chiang Kai-shek's troops for civil war against the democratic liberated areas. A close-up shows the face of an old man watching U.S. troops marching into Peiping (now Peking). His wordless look speaks volumes: "What, again!"

The audience is hushed at the sight of the concentration camp run by the notorious "Sino-American Co-operation Organization" (SACO) in Chungking, where hundreds of Communists and other patriots were butchered before liberation. Then the film sweeps to its climax: victorious people's war against the U.S.-equipped Kuomintang troops and the advance of the People's Liberation Army across the Yangtse to free all mainland China. The final scenes of the celebrations of liberated China on Tien An Men Square in Peking are in splendid colour. In its one and a quarter hours, never palling for a moment, *Long Live the Victory of the People's War* is an education in a great revolutionary tradition.

## SPORTS

### **2nd National Games to Open**

Posters are out in Peking announcing the opening of the 2nd National Games on September 11. The big inaugural meeting and parade will be held at the Workers' Stadium. Some 5,000 competitors—3,300 men and 1,700 women—from all parts of the country have already arrived in the capital. They include sportsmen from over 20 of China's many nationalities: workers, peas-

ants, soldiers, students and others from a host of callings. From September 12 to 28 they will compete in 23 events.

The Games this year will be a major event in China's sports history. They will review progress since the First National Games in 1959 in track and field, swimming and diving, weightlifting, gymnastics, road and track cycling, wrestling, fencing, archery, rifle and pistol shooting, football, basketball and other events.

Members of the 29 teams representing the various provinces, major cities, autonomous regions of national minorities and the armed forces lost no time in last-minute work-outs as soon as they got to Peking. All are eager to do their best by mutual study and emulation to raise the national records and make the 2nd National Games a big success.

Several athletes have shown excellent form in pre-games competitions. On September 1, Hsuan Hsiao-mei, a 22-year-old Shanghai girl, cleared 1.81 metres in the women's high jump at a competition in Peking. This broke the 1.80 m. national record held by Peking's Wu Fu-shan and gives Hsuan Hsiao-mei the third best jump in the world. On August 28 in another competition in Peking, two other good performances were chalked up by Szechuan athletes. That province's discus champion Liu Teh-tsui pitched her discus 55.10 metres. This is the best throw yet in Asia and better her own old national record by 1.24 metres. In the men's 100 metres that same day, her fellow provincial Chen Chia-chuan equalled his own national record of 10.2 seconds.

Such performances augur well for the coming games.

\* \* \*

An exhibition on New China's sports achievements is now on at the Museum of Chinese Art in Peking. In charts, figures and pictures, it shows the rapid development in all fields of sports in China under the care and attention of the Communist Party and People's Government since the birth of the People's Republic in 1949.

## Marriage Boom in LBJ's Great Society

**I**N U.S. politics no one knows the tricks of the trade better than Lyndon Baines Johnson. That's why he is now President of the United States in his own right. Like any other nimble politician in a Western democracy, he was lavish with his promises in his vote-wooing speeches. He even goes on making them from the White House. He has declared war on poverty and crime; he promises to beautify America and build the American people a Great Society to live in. "Johnson has something for everyone," say his admirers. He has, even before seeing to it that these promises can be kept, brought his countrymen something which he didn't promise — a marriage boom.

U.S. casualties in Viet Nam are mounting. Johnson is running out of readily available manpower. Americans are showing a healthy reluctance to go and get killed in Viet Nam in a dirty war for U.S. imperialism. More and more of them have been dodging the draft by getting married and qualifying for temporary exemption. So Johnson cracked down. He decreed that a marriage ceremony performed after midnight August 26 would not prevent a man from being called to the colours. And the stampede was on.

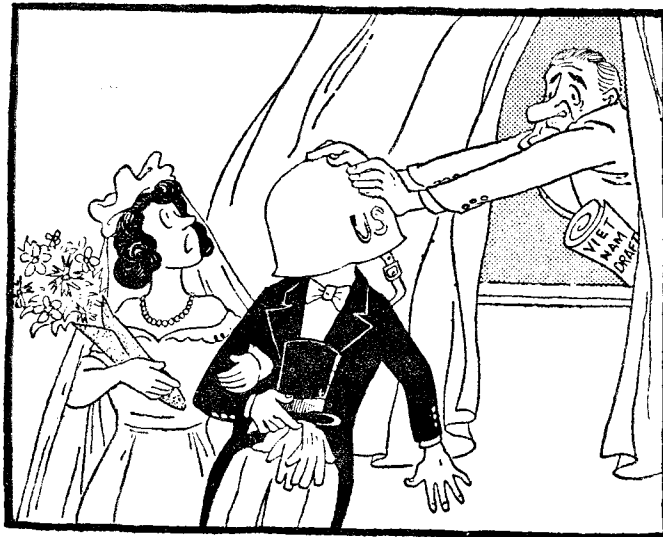
Hundreds of young couples, reported UPI, anxious to get married quick, streamed into Las Vegas better known for its gambling and quickie divorces. They went there because this is the only place in the country with such minimum marriage requirements — no blood tests, no waiting period.

"Wedding chapels were besieged by anxious lovers trying to beat the midnight deadline. . . . Prospective honeymooners packed into the yards and halls of the Clark county courthouse and police had to be summoned to control the crowd." UPI noted that "one

couple flew here from New Jersey; another from Pennsylvania even brought along their parents to insure there would be no hitches over their getting hitched." There were long queues waiting to be processed for wedding licenses so they could dash off to one of the numerous wedding chapels for a quick ceremony. "Taxicabs were lined along the streets in front of the courthouse to expedite the trip to the preacher. . . ."

But what about those less lucky ones, those who for one reason or another failed to become man and wife before the Presidential deadline? The Johnson Administration, while sugar-coating the carrot by increasing servicemen's pay and paying out "combat allowances" for those fighting in Viet Nam, has also sent special military units there to handle funerals and burials on a speeded up basis. The lines of an ancient Chinese poet seem to have been written for those whose husbands have been caught in the draft:

*How sad that the skeleton by the riverside  
Is still the man who enters her dream!*



After Midnight, August 26, 1965

Cartoon by Chin Cheh

### THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Chien Hsin-chung, President of the Red Cross Society of China.

Earlier in the year, the Standing Commission, in notices to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Red Cross Society of China, invited the Chinese Government and the Red Cross Society of China to send representatives to attend the 20th

International Red Cross Conference to be held in Vienna in October. On the lists of conference members and observers attached to the invitations were the "Republic of China" and the "Red Cross Organization of the Republic of China" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan. Against this erroneous act of following the United States in trying to push the "two Chinas" plot, strong protests were made in messages to Francois-Poncet on April 11. China's stand on this issue has won the support of the Governments and Red Cross Societies of many friendly countries.

In his July 21 letter of reply, however, Francois-Poncet disregarded the protests by China and other countries and refused to cancel the invitations to the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Director Tung Yueh-chien and President Chien Hsin-chung have thus again strongly protested to Francois-Poncet. They pointed out that the I.R.S. Standing Commission must immediately cancel the invitations to the Chiang clique and its illegal Red Cross organization, otherwise it would be held responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## Dominican Republic

### No Reconciliation With Yankees

Through a "three-nation committee" of the O.A.S. (Organization of American States), the U.S. has imposed on the Dominican people an "act of reconciliation" allegedly to "resolve the Dominican crisis." The "act" calls for the formation of a "provisional government" pending "elections" to be held within nine months under O.A.S. supervision. The catch, however, is the provision that the Dominican patriots are to be disarmed and the areas under their control demilitarized, whereas the "inter-American force," composed mainly of American troops, will hang on in the island republic.

The U.S., it may be recalled, flung in 30,000 troops to occupy Santo Domingo after the overthrow on April 24 of the U.S.-reared Cabral dictatorial regime. Casting aside all pretence, Johnson declared, "We do know what kind of government we hope to see in the Dominican Republic." His open proclamation of the "Johnson doctrine" that the U.S. would send troops to crush any foreign government not to its liking, was universally denounced as neo-Hitlerism.

But the time is long past when the colonialists could dictate their will with a few gun-boats. The Dominican patriots, undaunted by the Yankee invasion, put up a heroic resistance in Santo Domingo's streets. They have won worldwide acclaim and support.

Under these circumstances Washington had to couple its armed intervention with long-drawn-out political manoeuvres which culminated in the August 31 "act of reconciliation." The two-faced invaders know that once the patriots are deprived of their arms, they will have no effective means to safeguard their country's independence. And the U.S. will be able to interfere freely in Dominican affairs, install

its placemen and once again dominate the republic. Then, and only then, will Washington consider the withdrawal of its occupation troops.

No wonder Johnson has spoken glowingly about the "reconciliation." The Khrushchov revisionists, too, have chimed in with praise.

But the Dominican people are not being taken in. The June 14 Revolutionary Movement and the Dominican People's Movement, both participants in the anti-U.S. struggle, have opposed the U.S.-imposed terms and stressed the need to wage armed struggle. On August 28, the two movements and 44 other organizations issued a joint statement declaring their readiness to form a broad anti-U.S. united front. Many patriots, with their arms, have moved to rural areas and hilly regions in anticipation of a protracted fight.

Even *Time* magazine has remarked: "The hatreds of the Dominican Republic run deep" and "how long any settlement or provisional government will last is a moot point." In fact, there is nothing moot about it at all. There can be no reconciliation between Yankee imperialism and the Dominican people whose revolutionary movement, though facing a temporary obstacle as a result of the "reconciliation" trick, will once more gain momentum and resume its triumphant advance.

## South Korea-Japan "Treaty"

### The People Won't Ratify

Washington's quisling regime in Seoul, euphemistically named the "Republic of Korea" (ROK), signed on June 22 a "basic treaty" with the Sato government of Japan. The declared purpose of the "treaty" was to "normalize" their mutual relations. Behind it, however, is a diabolic U.S. plot with two aims: first, to link Japan and south Korea together as a key step to form another aggressive military alliance known as NEATO (Northeast Asia Treaty Organization); and second, to reintro-

duce resurgent Japanese militarist forces into south Korea as a prop for the shaky U.S. neo-colonialist rule there.

But Washington and its lackeys have reckoned without their host. The people of Korea and Japan are strongly against this "treaty." Last month tens of thousands of south Korean students went out on to the streets to demand the abrogation of the "treaty" which means a double sell-out of their country to U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarist forces.

Clear signs of a storm appeared as soon as the Pak Jung Hi regime in Seoul manipulated its bogus "national assembly" into "ratifying" the "treaty" on August 14. Tension mounted as more and more students returned to their campuses after the summer vacation. On August 20, 4,000 students in Seoul and the port city Pusan staged demonstrations. For seven days in succession, the students turned out in ever increasing numbers which reached 18,000 on August 24. Seoul was thrown into utter chaos. The demonstrations spread to other south Korean cities, as far as Cheju Island off the southern coast.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the students not only demanded the scrapping of the "treaty" but hit out at the root evil. They called for the overthrow of the traitorous Pak Jung Hi clique and warned the U.S. aggressors not to meddle in south Korean affairs. "We dislike the U.S.," the demonstrators shouted. Meanwhile, they also voiced strong opposition to the sending of south Korean soldiers to south Viet Nam as American cannon-fodder. (The Pak clique has recently decided to dispatch a combat division of 15,000 in addition to the 2,000 south Korean troops already in south Viet Nam.)

Emulating what their American masters had just done in Los Angeles, the Pak clique resorted to tear gas, arrests and police terror, and moved a division of regular troops plus a contingent of paratroopers into Seoul. The intrepid demonstrators fought back with bare hands or bricks, and street fighting often continued for hours. Dismayed, Pak ordered the "temporary closing" of a number of universities and blustered: "From

now on, all demonstrations, large or small, will be severely and thoroughly crushed." But the active volcano of popular wrath may again erupt under his feet at any time.

The Seoul storm once again shows that wherever the U.S. makes trouble, it will get itself into greater trouble. By the "ROK-Japan treaty," Washington seeks to further its war schemes in this part of the world. But the result has been stronger opposition from the people which makes its war-path tougher than ever. By the "treaty" Washington also hopes to stabilize the Pak regime. But that regime has been badly shaken by the recent events which are reminiscent of the mass demonstrations in Seoul in April 1960 that toppled Washington's old lap-dog Syngman Rhee.

### U.S. Nuclear Sub

#### Chase It Out!

While south Korea was rocking with demonstrations, nearby Japan, too, seethed with anti-U.S. sentiment. The people there angrily protested against the docking of another U.S. nuclear-powered submarine at Sasebo.

It was of course not a courtesy call or sightseeing trip that brought the 3,750-ton *Permit* to Japan. The docking of this vessel capable of carrying missiles with atomic warheads was another provocation against Asian peace. As early as 1961 Washington demanded that Japan open its ports to American nuclear submarines. Like the stationing of nuclear-capable American aircraft in that country, the move was aimed at turning Japan into a U.S. forward base for nuclear war. The Japanese people expressed their vehement opposition in many ways. But Tokyo bowed to Washington in August last year. Since then four U.S. nuclear submarines have berthed at Sasebo.

Developments in the U.S. dirty war in Viet Nam give these visits even more sinister implications. The U.S. nuclear submarine which left Sasebo last May has since been prowling off the Vietnamese coast. Recently U.S. B-52's in Okinawa have conducted bombing raids on

south Viet Nam. Some time ago, U.S. and Japanese fleets even held joint war games in the Sea of Japan in co-ordination with U.S. moves to escalate its war of aggression in Viet Nam. All these point to the fact that the U.S. is working overtime to make Japan a base for its war in Viet Nam. The Sato government, on its part, appears quite willing to pull Washington's war chariot.

Hence the strong feeling in Japan against the American submarines. On the morning of August 24 when *Permit* arrived, hundreds of workers, students and other Sasebo citizens, waving red flags and placards on the wharf, shouted: "Get out!" and "Yankees, go home!" Two days later, a protest rally of 10,000 people took place in the city. In Tokyo, where representatives of the Japanese Communist Party and Socialist Party lodged protests with the Sato government, a rally was also held with over 10,000 people present. After a four-day stay *Permit* slipped away from Sasebo amidst shouts of "Never come again!"

This mass action against nuclear submarines is only one part of a much wider anti-U.S. struggle that has been sweeping across Japan

wave upon wave. The Japanese people are fighting hard to prevent their country from being embroiled in U.S. aggression in Viet Nam, to expel U.S. troops and remove U.S. bases from their territory, to abolish the Japan-U.S. "security treaty," and to recover Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands which are now under U.S. occupation.

From Sasebo to Los Angeles, from south Korea to south Viet Nam, from the streets of Santo Domingo to the jungles of the Congo (L), every square foot under Yankee iron heels is crumbling or smouldering — a clear augury of the inevitable collapse of U.S. imperialism.

### U.N. Assembly

#### U.S. Pulls the Strings

The farce of the 19th U.N. General Assembly session has ended. Reconvened on September 1, it closed after a one-day meeting.

Before the session began on December 1, 1964, the U.S. tried to force France and the Soviet Union to foot part of the huge bill incurred by the U.N. in its armed intervention in the Congo (L) and elsewhere. The U.S. delegate in-

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Lie Department at Work

Next time you hear one of those Washington "denials," remember the following: On August 31, State Dept. press officer McCloskey flatly denied that a C.I.A. man had been caught in 1960 conducting subversive activities in Singapore. On Sept. 1, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew repeated the charge and showed newsmen a letter addressed to him from Dean Rusk dated April 15, 1961, regretting "very much" that "certain officials of the U.S. Government had been found . . . to be engaged in improper activities in Singapore."

McCloskey next day retracted and claimed he had been "misinformed."

### Teaching Respect for Law and Order

American professors and students have spent many hours of "teach-ins" denouncing Washington's dirty war in Viet Nam. Not liking what they say, Representative Durward G. Hall (Rep. Missouri) wants them to "change the subject." In a speech to the House, he said: "Let all the college professors, ministers, parents and college students currently engaging in teach-ins change the subject of these teach-ins from U.S. policy in Viet Nam to the proper behaviour for young men and women. Let the teach-in go back to fundamentals and teach respect for law and order . . . go back to teaching young men and women how to be good, decent, law-abiding citizens. . . ." Like Mr. Hall who backs imperialist war and murder in Viet Nam?



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## NEWS NOTES

**Yugoslavia: Capitalist "Liberalization."** Subscribing to the capitalist jungle law of "profit incentive," Belgrade recently introduced a "price reform" which, in the words of the Tito clique's dignitaries, was meant to "end administrative intervention with prices" and enable "the market to play its role more freely." Here's how the "reform" has worked. In Belgrade, retail prices of flour, bread and milk rose by 42 to 105 per cent; rents, 110 per cent; electricity and water for civilian use, 80 and 75 per cent respectively. Some speculators, it was reported, "became millionaires overnight," while the citizens at large, even the Belgrade paper *Politika* had to admit, expressed "legitimate indignation" at the "illegitimate" price hike.

"Liberalization" for the privileged few while tightening the screws on the toiling masses. That's capitalist exploitation pure and simple.

**Japan: Rewriting History.** The Sato government's Education Ministry has been revising Japanese textbooks. Middle school students' history books no longer will have the picture of war criminals before the Far East Military Tribunal. Instead, there

will be a photograph of arch war criminal Tojo "caring for war orphans." Other samples are: the launching of a manned U.S. space ship in place of a picture of the hated American nuclear test at Bikini, and the complete deletion of photographs showing the suffering brought to the Japanese people by the aggressive war, such as girl students doing forced labour in factories and housewives drawing meagre food rations.

The Sato government's bright idea is to try to make Japanese youth forget an old tragedy to condition them for a new. But history has long proved that it brooks no tampering by anyone trying to halt its advance.

**Thailand: Guerrillas Active.** Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. August reports in Bangkok papers have revealed growing guerrilla activity in northeastern and southern Thailand, a country restless under an American-nurtured tyranny. Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn himself was reported to be uneasy over the situation. His Vice-Minister of the Interior, complaining that the guerrillas enjoy popular support, said that the police

forces could not obtain information from the people about guerrilla activities. Popular forces have executed a number of despotic local officials and inflicted casualties on the police.

**S. Viet Nam: Tunnel Warfare Thwarts Invaders.** "One of the toughest problems for American infantrymen in Viet Nam is the tunnel. The Viet Cong use it masterfully, exquisitely even, to lay ambushes and defend their villages." So wrote UPI. "From his camouflaged hole the guerrilla can snipe with relative safety and then disappear underground before American mortar or small arms fire can search him out." "Popping up in unlikely places to snap off a few sniper shots and then disappearing," the guerrillas "made life rough" for the G.I.'s.

UPI wondered how these networks of tunnels crisscrossing villages and jungles were built. The answer is simple enough. When tens of millions of hands start digging together, they can work miracles. And herein lies the secret of the herculean strength of a people's war, in face of which the American aggressors, for all their ultra-modern weapons, are powerless. UPI lamented, "there is no science or cure-all" to cope with the tunnel warfare.

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voked article 19 of the U.N. Charter which would deprive member states in arrears of their vote. To avoid a "showdown," the Soviet Union and the U.S. made a deal behind the scenes to the effect that the assembly should refrain from discussing questions calling for a vote until the payments issue had been resolved. Thus the assembly session muddled along without even a formal agenda and adopted handclapping, instead of vote, as the procedure for conducting its business. On February 18 the session adjourned without having agreed on anything except that it reconvene on September 1.

Then a new factor came into play. The U.S. now badly needs the U.N. as a lever to push its Viet Nam peace talks swindle. But how could the as-

sembly, paralysed as it was, do Washington's work at the 20th session due to be convened soon?

So Arthur Goldberg, U.S. delegate to the U.N., announced last month that the U.S. would not insist on applying article 19. U.S. Senator Cornelius Gallagher added a revealing footnote to this move when he declared: "Perhaps if the United Nations gets on with its business we may yet find a peaceful solution to the Viet Nam fighting."

The reconvened 19th assembly session, accordingly, decided that article 19 should not be applied to U.N. activities in the Middle East and the Congo (L); that the assembly should resume normal work in accordance with its rules of procedure; and that the "financial crisis" should

be solved through "voluntary contributions" by the member states with the highly industrialized ones making "substantial contributions." France has explicitly refused to commit itself to the "voluntary contributions" formula. But the Soviet Union has repeatedly indicated its willingness to "contribute."

These developments once again prove how shamelessly the U.S. manipulates the U.N. When it tightens the strings, the so-called "world organization" becomes inoperative. When it loosens them a bit, the assembly starts moving again, and, of course, moving as Washington directs. This unseemly state of affairs merely emphasizes the crying need to thoroughly overhaul the U.N.

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