What Is the U.S. Up to in Putting Off The Signing?

“Renmin Ribao” Commentator

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FRIENDSHIP LOG

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Two Decades of Harnessing  
  The Yellow River

Chairman Mao issued the call  
“Work on the Yellow River must be  
done well” when he was on an inspection  
tour of the river and the People’s  
Victory Canal on its north bank on  
October 30 and 31, 1952. Over the past  
two decades, millions of people living  
in the river’s basin have made gigantic  
efforts to harness it. Once a  
scourge, it is being turned into a  
useful river.

The Yellow River is 4,845 kilo­ 
métres long and its basin about  
745,000 square kilometres. According  
to historical records, there were  
more than 1,500 dyke breaches on its  
lower reaches and 26 major changes  
in its course in the more than 2,000  
years before liberation, causing tremen­  
dous losses to the people’s lives and  
property.

Soil erosion on the loess highland  
on the upper and middle reaches of  
the river in northwest China was so  
seductive that its lower reaches got  
more and more silted up and the river  
bed in this section became higher and  
higher with each passing year. Since  
liberation, the people on both banks  
on the lower reaches have worked  
industriously to build flood-prevention  
dykes. While reinforcing and  
highening 1,800 kilometres of dykes,  
they have built or rebuilt over 5,000  
embankments with stone revetment,  
involving a total of 330 million cubic  
names of earthwork and some 9 million  
cubic metres of stonework. If  
the earth and stones were built into a  
dike one metre high and one metre  
wide, it would encircle the Equator  
more than nine times. Thanks to  
these efforts, big autumn floods on the  
lower reaches, which used to  
br south the dykes in two out of three  
years, have been checked for more  
than 20 years running. Even the  
exceptionally big flood in 1958 did not  
br south the dykes.

People in areas along the middle  
and upper reaches have carried out  
water and soil conservation work  
thereby doing their bit to bring the  
Yellow River under permanent control.

Water and sand resources have been  
made good use of. Hsinhsiang Coun­  
y in Honan Province has set an example  
by building the People’s Victory  
Canal to divert the water of the  
Yellow River to irrigate farmland.  
Greatly inspired by Chairman Mao’s  
inspection, the people there have dug  
drainage and irrigation channels with  
a total length of 7,500 kilometres; in  
addition, they have sunk over  
2,500 power-operated wells to irrigate  
more than 300,000 mu of farmland.  
Now more than 140 water conservancy  
projects have been built on the  
lower reaches, including culverts,  
sluice-gates, siphon-projects and  
irrigation stations. The wasteland  
resulting from inundation has become  
high-yielding paddy and wheat fields.  
Five major hydro-electric stations, including  
the one at Sanmen Gorge have been  
put up on the river and 78 big and  
medium-sized water conservancy and  
hydro-electric projects completed on  
its tributaries. Total average under  
irrigation has increased from 12  
million mu in the early post-liberation  
years to over 48 million mu today.

Albanian Friendship Military  
  Delegation Arrives in Peking

The Friendship Military Delegation  
from the People’s Republic of Albania  
arrived in Peking on November 6 for a  
friendly visit to China at the invitation  
of the Chinese Ministry of National  
Defence. Leader of the delegation is  
Beqir Baliku, Member of the Political  
Bureau of the Central Committee of  
the Albanian Party of Labour. Vice-Chairman of the  
Council of Ministers and Minister of  
People’s Defence, the deputy leaders  
are Hito Cako, Chief of the Political  
Department of the Albanian People’s  
Army, and Rahman Peëllaku, Deputy  
Chief of the General Staff of the  
Albanian People’s Army.

Members of the delegation arriving  
by the same plane were: Mendu Backa,  
Deputy Chief of General Staff  
of the Albanian People’s Army; Sul  
Domi, Commander of the Artillery;  
Abdi Mafii, Commander of the Navy;  
Kristaq Janka, Commander of the  
Air Defence Forces; Abuz Fejzo,  
Commander of the Armoured Corps;  
and other comrades.

On the evening of their arrival in  
Peking, Yeh Chien-ying, Member of  
the Political Bureau of the Central  
Committee of the Communist Party  
of China and Vice-Chairman of the  
Military Commission of the C.P.C.  
Central Committee, gave a banquet  
to welcome all members of the  
delegation.

In his speech at the banquet, Com­  
rade Yeh Chien-ying warmly praised  
the Albanian People’s Army for its  
outstanding contributions made in  
the struggle to liberate the father­ 
land and in the socialist revolution  
and construction under the wise  
leadership of the Albanian Party of  
Labour headed by Comrade Enver  
Hoxha, a great Marxist-Leninist. He  
also spoke highly of its rich gains in  
the revolutionization movement over  
the past few years. “The Albanian  
People’s Army,” he said, “is a heroic  
army that has traversed a brillianc­  
eous course and won great victories.” “This  
new-type people’s army is more  
powerful than ever.”

Having analyzed the excellent  
situation of the present-day world,  
Comrade Yeh Chien-ying pointed out  
that the world is far from peaceful  
because Soviet revisionists: social-imperialism and U.S. imperialis­  
ism are contending and colluding  
with each other. He said: “While  
flaunting a signboard of socialism,  
social-imperialism is actually engaged  
in acts of imperialism, flagrantly  
carrying out expansion everywhere.  
It is more deceptive than old-line im­  
perialism, and therefore more dan­ 
gerous.” He stressed: “No matter  
how tortuous the road ahead may  
be, the law of historical development  
believes, is independent of the will  
of one or two superpowers. Victory

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Comrade Yeh Chien-ying added that the peoples and armies of China and Albania are the closest comrades and comrades-in-arms. The two Parties, countries and armies of China and Albania always support and encourage each other and act in close co-operation in their protracted common struggle. He expressed the conviction that the current visit to China by the Albanian comrades-in-arms will further strengthen the revolutionary friendship and militant unity of China and Albania.

Comrade Balluku, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Party Central Committee, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Army and the Albanian people's great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, extended the most cordial regards and warmest greetings to the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Comrade Balluku said: "Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China has defeated the plots of enemies of all shades who attempted from both Right and ultra-'Left' to prevent China from building socialism, and is leading the great China in advancing victoriously along the socialist road." The People's Republic of China always pursues a correct and revolutionary foreign policy. As a result, all attempts of imperialism and revisionism to contain and isolate the People's Republic of China have burst like bubbles, he noted.

"We are overjoyed at these brilliant victories for the political line of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tsetung. We regard these victories as our victories, and victories of all the revolutionary people," he said.

Comrade Balluku pointed out: "Although U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have met with failure time and again in the course of carrying out their counter-revolutionary global strategy, they have never stopped at hypocrisy and deception." "While clamouring for disarmament, they actually attempt to disarm the people of various countries." "Their warships recklessly prowl the seas like mad wolves, attempting to subjugate the people. It is the two superpowers that try by hook or by crook to back Israel to oppose the Arab people and undermine the Palestinian and the Arab cause as a whole. They carry out outrageous sabotage and interference in all the revolutionary and liberation movements."

Speaking warmly of the friendship between the two peoples, the two Parties and the two armies, Comrade Balluku said: "Our friendship is our greatest pride. It is forged by our two Marxist-Leninist Parties and our two great leaders—Comrade Mao Tsetung and Comrade Enver Hoxha. No force in the world could harm it in the least."

**Malagasy Republic Delegation**

The Malagasy Republic Delegation led by Didier Ratsiraka, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Malagasy Republic, arrived in Peking on November 3 for a friendship visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government. This is a new development in relations between China and Africa.

The Malagasy Republic is a beautiful and richly endowed island country in the Indian Ocean off the east coast of Africa. Its people have waged a brave and protracted struggle to shake off the yoke of colonialism.

Since independence in 1960, the Malagasy people have inherited and carried forward their glorious tradition of anti-imperialist struggle and continued to fight unremittingly in defence of national independence and state sovereignty. Last May, with the approval and support of the Malagasy people, General Ramanantsoa formed the new government and took measures to consolidate national independence, safeguard state sovereignty and develop national economy. He declared his intention to give active support to the African... (Continued on p. 22.)
What Is the U.S. Up to in Putting Off The Signing?

by “Renmin Ribao” Commentator

As a result of the complications made by the United States, peace in Viet Nam has not been restored as scheduled. How will the Viet Nam situation develop? Will the war be dragged on, or will peace be restored as early as possible? The world’s people cannot help showing grave concern over the matter.

The U.S. Government has kept on spreading optimistic views in the last few days. According to the U.S. assertion, the “agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam” already reached between the Vietnamese and U.S. sides remains unsigned because of “certain ambiguities in the draft agreement” that “required modification and improvement,” and this “can easily be settled.” The United States also repeatedly plays up the so-called difficulties it encountered in Saigon, but these, they say, are also not difficult to solve. In a word, it seems that everything is going to be fine and people need not question the sincerity of the United States, but just sit down and wait for peace to come in Viet Nam.

However, the state of affairs is just the opposite!

What the United States wants to revise are not mere “nuances” as it claims to be. How can the “six or seven very concrete issues” which Dr. Kissinger referred to as requiring modification at his October 26 news conference be described as matters of little importance? For instance, far from being insignificant, such matters as international supervision, the relationship between the ending of the war in Viet Nam and ceasefire in Indochina, are major issues of substance. They are questions which are already clearly stipulated in the agreement, and the formulation of the agreement has been affirmed by the President of the United States in his two messages, dated October 20 and 22 respectively, to the Premier of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. And now the United States has gone back from its own word, seeking “modification and improvement.” Evidently its aim is to throw obstacles in the way of the signing of the agreement and raise difficulties.

As a matter of fact, Dr. Kissinger has not mentioned all the points the United States wants to modify. What the United States chooses not to state in plain terms Nguyen Van Thieu has blurted out in detail. It is not without a background that Nguyen Van Thieu has babble quite a lot in the last few days and come out with all sorts of absurd demands. These absurd demands are summed up by UPI into seven points, involving the scope of ceasefire; troop withdrawal from south Viet Nam; widening the areas for armaments replacements on a piece-for-piece basis; alleging that the national council of three equal segments to be established is a “disguised coalition” which is not born through election; involving release of captured and imprisoned personnel, and the signing of the agreement by the four parties, and so forth. These practically require the revision of all the principal clauses formulated in the agreement. The seven points of Nguyen Van Thieu dovetail superbly into the “six or seven” issues of the United States. That is why Nguyen Van Thieu clamoured that peace “will come only when I personally sign the treaty for a ceasefire and peace.” Nguyen Van Thieu has been working hand in glove with the United States, and yet the U.S. Government declares that it has encountered difficulties in Saigon. Is this credible?

Of late, the U.S. Government is repeatedly changing its position on the Viet Nam issue, reaching out for a yard after taking an inch. It refuses to honour its words; it refuses to sign the agreement reached. While creating obstacles, it is spreading optimistic views. In resorting to such tactics, it hopes to mislead world public opinion, go on putting off the signing of the agreement and make changes in the substance of the agreement. If the United States succeeds in its schemes, the war in Viet Nam is bound to continue and the restoration of peace there will be postponed indefinitely.

How can there be positive results in further meetings between Viet Nam and the United States if the latter refuses to change its attitude? The solemn and just stand of the Government of Democratic Republic of Viet Nam towards the U.S. act of putting off the signing of the agreement is entirely correct. Now the people of the world and all the peace-loving countries are strongly demanding that the U.S. Government honour its words and sign the agreement so as to end the war in Viet Nam. The U.S. attempt to repudiate the agreement is absolutely impermissible. If the U.S. Government does not change its unjustifiable attitude and continues with its delaying tactics, it must be held entirely responsible for the consequences of the failure to restore peace in Viet Nam.

Now, let us wait and see how the U.S. Government will act.

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On Studying Some History of the National-Liberation Movement

by Shih Ch'un

In Nos. 21, 24, 25 and 26, 1972, "Peking Review" carried three articles on the necessity to study history, namely, "Why It Is Necessary to Study World History," "Again On Studying World History" and "On Studying Some History About Imperialism," which have received warm response from our readers. Following is the fourth article by the same author.— Ed.

The history of the national-liberation movement is an important part of modern and contemporary world history. In studying world history, we should, proceeding from the needs of the revolutionary situation and tasks, pay attention to studying the history of the national-liberation movement and learn from the rich historical experience of the world's oppressed nations and peoples in opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. This will help us to know and grasp the objective laws of the development of present-day world history and take a more effective part in the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism.

Historical Cause of National-Liberation Movement

The history of the world shows that modern colonialism emerged in the wake of the inception and growth of capitalism in Europe. In 1415, the Portuguese colonialists occupied Morocco's Ceuta in North Africa and established the earliest colonialist stronghold in the world. Then they went southward, set up a number of colonial settlements along the West African coast, sailed round the Cape of Good Hope and carried out expansion in Asia. Towards the end of the 16th century, the Spanish colonialists crossed the Atlantic and invaded the Americas. This was followed by other colonialist countries whose tentacles reached various parts of the world.

Lenin pointed out: "Colonies are conquered with fire and sword." (Socialism and War.) The process of colonialist expansion is a sanguinary history of aggression and plunder, massacre and enslavement. It brought catastrophe to the people of various nationalities in Asia, Africa and Latin America and seriously hampered the social development of countries on these continents.

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In the Americas, they slaughtered millions of Indians and looted several million kilograms of gold and some 100 million kilograms of silver. In Africa, they engaged in the criminal slave trade. To get one Black man shipped alive to America, at least five died on the way or even before they left the mainland, with the result that Africa lost 100 million Black people in 400 years. Colonialist pillage was no less savage in Asia. In India, colonial rule brought utter poverty to the people who died in large numbers. A famine in 1770 took a toll of some 10 million lives in a region in the northeastern part of India. In China, the combined forces of eight imperialist powers bloodily suppressed the Yi Ho Tuan Movement in 1900 and forced the Ching government to sign the unequal "Protocol of 1901" under which, among other stipulations, China had to pay an "indemnity" of 450 million taels of silver which was extorted from the people. Atrocities committed by the colonialists have exposed the shameless lies spread by imperialism and revisionism that colonialism is "the emissary of civilization." The common plight of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America under colonialist bandit invasion and subjugation is the historical cause that makes these regions the storm-centres of the national-liberation movement today.

Colonialism has resorted to all manner of stratagems in perpetrating crimes of aggression and plunder under ostentatious signboards. In 1886, U.S. imperialism forcibly occupied the Philippines and established its colonial rule there under the signboard of supporting the Philippine people in their fight against Spanish colonialist rule and for national independence. As Engels pointed out: "There was no land grab, no outrage, no repression on the part of Tsarism which was not carried out under the pretext of enlightenment, of liberalism, of the liberation of nations." (The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsarism.) Flaunting the banner of maintaining "peace" and "order," tsarist Russia time and again suppressed the uprisings of the Polish people for national independence. It sent 140,000 troops to drown the 1848 Hungarian revolution in blood. It was also under the pretext of "safeguarding the capital" that it swallowed up Finland by armed force. And again under the name of "supporting the fraternal Slav nations' struggle for liberation," it stepped up infiltration and expansion in the Balkan region.

Irresistible National-Liberation Movement

Where there is oppression and aggression, there is resistance. The process of invasion and enslavement of the colonies and semi-colonies by colonialism and im-
Imperialism is also the process of resistance by the oppressed nations. The liberation movement of the oppressed nations and the wars of national liberation constitute a great cause sweeping away stumbling blocks on the path of history and propelling society forward. Historically unavoidable and reasonable, they are "inevitable, progressive and revolutionary." (Lenin: The Junius Pamphlet.) For hundreds of years the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, dauntlessly advancing wave upon wave, have never ceased fighting against colonialism and imperialism. From the very day the colonialists set foot on the sacred territories of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, the oppressed nations and peoples who love freedom and independence dealt head-on blows at the invaders with rocks, arrows, spears and cannons. In 1510, the Hotentots in the area of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa wiped out harassing colonialist marauders at one fell swoop. In early 16th century, the Araucanian people of Chile in South America resolutely repulsed the colonialist invaders and valiantly defended their independence. In 1661, the Chinese people, led by Cheng Cheng-kung, drove the colonialists out of Taiwan and recovered the island which is China's sacred territory. In late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Latin American peoples launched revolutionary struggles against colonial rule and for national independence. The African peoples have also carried out epic struggles against colonialist and imperialist invasion and partitioning. From mid-19th to early 20th century, one revolutionary wave after another swept the Asian continent, dealing heavy blows at the colonialist and imperialist forces. In 1882, the heroes of the Taiping Revolution in China annihilated the foreign rifle detachments under the American colonialist Ward, who received due punishment and was killed. In 1911, revolutionary soldiers and people in Tavrez, Iran, courageously resisted the invading armies of tsarist Russia which had come to suppress the Iranian revolution. All this illustrates the unyielding spirit of resistance on the part of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who would never submit to colonial rule.

The Great October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin ushered in a new era in human history. "Having created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian Revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East." (Stalin: The October Revolution and the National Question.) The national-liberation movement entered a new historical stage and became part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. After World War II, the balance of class forces in the international arena underwent a major change in favour of the revolutionary people. The national-liberation movement surged forward as never before, forming an irresistible historical torrent in the present-day world. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Chinese people overthrew the counter-revolutionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its running dog, the Kuomintang reactionaries, won great victory in the new-democratic revolution, and embarked on the socialist road. The people of more and more countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America have taken the revolutionary road of armed struggle. In the two decades or more after the war, the people of over 60 countries have won political independence after unremitting struggles. The dykes of the imperialist colonial system are crumbling under the impact of the revolutionary storm of the national-liberation movement.

**Biggest Neo-Colonialists of Present Era**

Imperialism and colonialism, however, will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord. They invariably resort to every means possible to hold back this historical tide of revolution. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have gradually replaced old colonialism and become the main pillars of modern colonialism and the biggest neo-colonialists of the present era. They are suppressing and undermining the national-liberation movement everywhere and carrying out expansion in Asia, Africa and Latin America and other parts of the globe in a vain attempt to establish a new colonial system to enslave the world's peoples. Thus, the national-liberation movement faces the arduous militant task of opposing the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., the two overlords, and it cannot win complete victory without opposing the neo-colonialism of these two superpowers.

In the early postwar years, U.S. imperialism, taking advantage of the fact that it had fattened on the war while Germany, Italy and Japan had been defeated and Britain and France had been weakened, became the overlord of the capitalist world. Its counter-revolutionary "global strategy" is aimed at making inroads into and controlling the intermediate zone between the United States and the socialist countries, putting down the revolutions of the oppressed nations and peoples, with the ultimate aim of dominating the whole world. To realize this plan, it has resorted to counter-revolutionary dual tactics. For more than 20 years since World War II, it has ceaselessly launched aggressive wars and carried out subversion and interference. However, like "lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet," U.S. imperialism's attempt to dominate the world has boomeranged; it has earned nothing but universal condemnation and is bewitched ring upon ring by the people of the whole world.

The Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionist renegade clique restored capitalism in the Soviet Union in the mid-50s, which made that socialist country undergo a qualitative change. Following this, the Soviet Union emerged on the world stage as a social-imperialist country. Usurping the fruit of the Soviet people who had spent long years in building socialism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not only followed in the footsteps of the old tsars but greatly enlarged their blueprint of a "Slav empire." Carrying nuclear weapons, warships of the Soviet revisionists prowl the...
Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. They rave that it is the "infallible, legitimate right" of the Soviet revisionist fleet to sail "anywhere on the high seas." Colluding as well as contending with the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists are dreaming of establishing a great colonial empire stretching from Europe, Asia, Africa to Latin America.

Under the guise of "supporting the national-liberation movement," Soviet revisionist social-imperialism does its best to infiltrate into the Asian, African and Latin American countries to carry out neo-colonialist aggression in an attempt to turn those countries into "eggs in the Russian basket." However, deceit and blackmail by the Soviet revisionists are becoming less and less effective. More and more Asian, African and Latin American countries and people have come to see that their "military aid" is nothing but a bait to control the armed forces of the recipient countries. Their "economic aid" is an even more important means to carry out colonial expansion in these areas. By exporting capital, dumping commodities and other methods, they are working overtime to plunder the strategic materials and natural resources of these countries. Like the old-line imperialists who sucked the blood of the people of other countries, the Soviet revisionists are doing everything they can in "skinning the ox twice." (Lenin: Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.)

Broad Intermediate Zones

Like two slices of bread with meat between them, the two superpowers—Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism—are trying to sandwich other countries in various parts of the world. They not only plunder the small and medium-sized countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also practise the "jungle law" policy towards their "allies" in Europe, Asia, North America and Oceania. The Soviet revisionists are sparing no effort to extend their sphere of influence to West Europe. Thus, between these two overlords and the socialist countries there exist two broad intermediate zones. The first intermediate zone includes the Asian, African and Latin American countries which have suffered from colonialist and imperialist aggression and oppression in the past and are today carrying on a valiant struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and especially against the two superpowers. The second intermediate zone includes the major capitalist countries both in the West and in the East except the two superpowers. These countries, too, are subjected to the control, intervention and bullying of the two overlords to varying degrees, and the contradictions between these countries and the two superpowers are daily developing. The two superpowers' wild ambitions to dominate the world and their aggressive activities have aroused the world's people to rise and fight against them. Countries in the first as well as in the second intermediate zones are getting united in different forms and different scopes to oppose the power politics and hegemonism of the superpowers. This is a trend of world history.

The historical experience of the world's people in opposing colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism tells us that old colonialism is a paper tiger, imperialism is another paper tiger and superpowers are also paper tigers. British imperialism, swaggering around and blustering as it did during its heyday, dominated the world for only 200 years or so and declined in World War I. The next to lord it over the world is U.S. imperialism. After World War I, it stretched its aggressive claws to every part of the world and swaggered like a conquering hero. But after half a century or so, this paper tiger has also been punctured by the people of the world and fell off from its apex. Today Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is baring its teeth and looks overbearing, actually it is also beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and is sitting on a volcano of crises. The "revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too." (A talk given by Chairman Mao on January 30, 1964.) So long as the world's people distinguish true from false friends, are not afraid of pressure or threat, refuse to be deceived and stand up to persist in struggle, they can surely repulse aggression, threat and control by Soviet revisionism and expose the true nature of this paper tiger.

For Complete Victory of National-Liberation Movement

Chairman Mao pointed out: "To defeat the reactionary rule of imperialism, it is necessary to form a broad united front." (Talks with guests from Asia, Africa and Latin America in May 1960.) In opposing the hegemonism of the superpowers, the countries and people in the two intermediate zones share common interests. To win victory in the national-liberation movement, the people of Asian, African and Latin American countries must not only support and help each other; there is the necessity and also the possibility for them to unite with the people in the second intermediate zone who are struggling against hegemony, thereby uniting all the forces that can be united and forming the broadest possible united front.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In the fight for complete liberation the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance." (Talk with African friends in August 1963.) The historical experiences—both positive and negative, successes and setbacks—of the national-liberation movement have repeatedly proved this principle to be correct. Today, under the signboard of "international aid," Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is imposing its counter-revolutionary revisionist line on others, and betraying and strangling the national-liberation movement. Under these circumstances, all the oppressed nations and Asian, African and Latin American countries and people will find themselves in a passive position and in a blind alley if they do not adhere to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands and rely-
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Our great leader Chairman Mao wrote Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War in 1936 to sum up the experience of the Second Revolutionary Civil War. In this work, which was the result of a major inner-Party controversy on military questions during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37) and a summing-up of the struggle of Chairman Mao's correct line against the erroneous line, Chairman Mao used the principle of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to analyse the characteristics and laws of China's revolutionary war and systematically explained its problems of strategy. Upholding the materialist theory of reflection with regard to the problem of war and opposing idealist apriorism, he stressed that the line for directing war must conform

Notes on Studying “Problems of Strategy in China’s Revolutionary War”

by Chin Tsan

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary storm in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow." (October 25, 1966 Message of Greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour.) The liberation struggle of the world's oppressed nations and peoples, the struggle against hegemony waged by all the countries subjected to the aggression, control, intervention and bullying of one or two superpowers and the revolutionary struggle of the world's proletariat, which converge into a sweeping historical torrent, will bury once and for all vicious colonialism and imperialism and the hegemonism of the superpowers, and herald the liberation of the world's people.
with objective laws and regarded the study of the laws of war as the point of departure in mapping out strategy and tactics.

Specific Laws of China's Revolutionary War

Chairman Mao has said: "We must study not only the laws of war in general, but the specific laws of revolutionary war, and the even more specific laws of revolutionary war in China. "The laws of China's revolutionary war are a problem which anyone directing China's revolutionary war must study and solve." "Without an understanding of the characteristics of China's revolutionary war, it is impossible to direct it and lead it to victory." These are guiding principles which we must follow in our study of China's revolutionary war.

War is a motion of matter and a historical phenomenon of class society. Like other things in the world, it has its own inherent laws which exist objectively and cannot be conjured up in the mind. They are the inner links between the political, economic, military and geographical factors of the two warring sides, determine the general trend of the development of war and run through the entire course of war. To wage a revolutionary war, we must study its laws. Unless we understand the actual circumstances of a revolutionary war, its nature and its relations to other things, we will not be able to direct a war or win victory.

Every war is waged at a specific time and place, against specific opponents and for specific political purposes. This accounts for the fact that between one war and another there are at once similarities and dissimilarities. The similarities constitute the laws of war or revolutionary war in general. For example, attack and defence are the basic forms of fighting, and preserving oneself and destroying the enemy the object of war. They are applicable to all wars, ancient or modern, in China or elsewhere. On the other hand, the dissimilarities mean particular contradictions which distinguish one war from another and constitute the specific laws of that war. China's revolutionary war was waged in the specific environment and under the specific conditions of China. Compared with war and revolutionary war in general, it has its own specific circumstances and nature. Therefore, in addition to the general laws of war and revolutionary war, it has its specific laws of its own. To direct China's revolutionary war, it is imperative to study its specific laws.

After the First Revolutionary Civil War had failed, our Party entered a new period of seizing political power by armed force. Several small armed independent areas under Red political power emerged amidst the encirclement of a White regime. The enemy ruled the whole country, while we had only small armed forces which were constantly under enemy "encirclement and suppression." Such being the case, how should the Red Army deal with its enemy? And how should it fight? Chairman Mao used the Marxist standpoint and method to make a concrete analysis of the concrete conditions—political, economic, military and geographical—on the enemy's side and our own in China's revolutionary war. He pointed out that China's revolutionary war had four principal characteristics, namely, a vast semi-colonial country which was unevenly developed politically and economically and which had gone through the great revolution of 1924-27; a big and powerful enemy; a small and weak Red Army; and the leadership of the Communist Party and the agrarian revolution. These characteristics determined that it was possible for the Red Army to grow and defeat its enemy, but at the same time it was not possible for it to grow very rapidly and defeat its enemy quickly; in other words, the war would be protracted and might even be lost if it was mishandled. This showed that there were both favourable factors and difficulties in China's revolutionary war and these two aspects existed simultaneously. These were the basic laws of China's revolutionary war. We must base our guiding line and strategic and tactical principles on these characteristics and laws. On the basis of studying the characteristics and laws of China's revolutionary war, Chairman Mao opposed the idealist and mechanical approach to the problem of war, critically absorbed what was useful to us in war and revolutionary war in general and scientifically summed up the rich practical experience of China's revolutionary war. As a result, he worked out the guiding line of active defence and a series of correct principles of operation—harming the enemy in deep, concentration of troops, mobile warfare and war of annihilation—all of which corresponded with the laws of China's revolutionary war, and led it to win one victory after another.

Active Defence

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Active defence is also known as offensive defence, or defence through decisive engagements. Passive defence is also known as purely defensive defence or pure defence. Passive defence is actually a spurious kind of defence, and the only real defence is active defence, defence for the purpose of counter-attacking and taking the offensive."

The strategic concept of active defence was Chairman Mao's basic guiding thought in directing China's revolutionary war, which found expression in: despising the enemy strategically and taking him seriously tactically, gaining mastery by striking the enemy only after he has struck, using a small force to fight a large one and using a weak force to defeat a strong one. This strategic concept dialectically combined attack and defence, the two fundamental forms of war movements, and closely integrated strategic defence with attack in campaigns and battles, embodying attack in defence, carrying out defence for the purpose of attack, and alternately using attack and defence. Through the correct implementation of a series of strategy and tactics such as luring the enemy in deep, concentration of troops, mobile warfare
and war of annihilation, we gradually brought about a change in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, completely gained the initiative strategically and forced the enemy to move from a superior position as a whole to an inferior position and to shift from the strategic offensive to the defensive. Then we launched a strategic counter-offensive and moved on to the attack to fight decisive strategic battles against the enemy and make strategic pursuit until his troops were thoroughly put out of action and victory in the war was won.

Chairman Mao's strategic concept of active defence and the series of principles of fighting he has formulated give full expression to the dialectics of revolutionary war—resorting to retreat as a means of advance and defence as a means of attack, transforming the enemy into the weak and ourselves into the strong. War is a contest of strength and at the same time a contest of subjective ability in directing it. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In his endeavour to win a war, a military man cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the material conditions; within these limitations, however, he can and must strive for victory. The stage of action for a military man is built upon objective material conditions, but on that stage he can direct the performance of many a drama, full of sound and colour, power and grandeur." When attacked by a powerful enemy, the Red Army did not rely on its "weakness" to defeat the enemy, but on the basis of objective material conditions, it brought into full play its subjective initiative to transform itself into the strong and triumph over the enemy. Contradictory states between the enemy and ourselves, such as superiority and inferiority, having the initiative and in a passive position, attack and defence, are not dead and rigid, but living and mobile. They transform themselves into their opposites under given conditions in the course of war. To bring about this transformation hinges on correct guiding principle and subjective effort. To carry out active defence is to use defence as a means to change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves, thereby enabling us to shift from defence to counter-offensive and attack and completely annihilate the enemy. During the first, second, third and fourth counter-campaigns against "encirclement and suppression," strategically and as a whole, the enemy employed superior forces to attack on exterior lines while we employed inferior forces to defend on interior lines; the enemy was strong and had the initiative while we were weak and in a passive position. But guided by Chairman Mao's military line, we adopted the principle of luring the enemy in deep before launching the strategic counter-offensive; we resorted to protracted defensive warfare on interior lines strategically and quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines in campaigns and battles. By concentrating a force several times that of the enemy, we struck at one part of the enemy forces before turning on the rest and smashing them one by one. In this way, we emerged the stronger and had the initiative while the enemy became the weaker and was in a passive position in each campaign or battle and in separate areas of the war theatre. This gradually changed the general situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak, and strategically, the enemy had the initiative and we were in a passive position. And when the general situation had changed in the direction advantageous to us and disadvantageous to the enemy, we staged strategic counter-offensives and annihilated the enemy in large numbers. It was under the guidance of Chairman Mao's strategic concept of active defence that we triumphed in the four counter-campaigns against "encirclement and suppression."

Bankruptcy of the "Left" Opportunist Line

The "Left" opportunist line represented by Wang Ming knew nothing at all about the laws of development in China's revolutionary war, nor did they understand the dialectics of revolutionary war; they advocated and pushed passive defence in opposition to Chairman Mao's strategic concept of active defence. "Beginning from January 1932," the 'Left' opportunists attacked these correct principles, finally abrogated the whole set and instituted a complete set of contrary 'new principles' or 'regular principles.'" Ignoring the fact that the enemy was powerful and we were weak, they demanded the use of positional warfare, and the carrying out of "regular" warfare, a strategy of quick decision and protracted campaigns by purely relying on the main force of the Red Army. They wanted to "attack on all fronts" and "strike with two 'fists' in two directions at the same time" and opposed luring the enemy in deep, branding the necessary shift from one place to another as "retreat- and flight-ism." They clamoured for fixed battle lines and absolutely centralized command and so on. In operations during the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression," they at first resorted to adventurism in offensive, proposing to "engage the enemy outside the gates"; and then to conservatism in defence, advocating the dividing up of the forces for defence and engaging in a "contest of attr-

* Between late 1930 and July 1931, Chiang Kai-shhek launched three large-scale counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" against the Central Revolutionary Base Area in Kiangsi. Under the personal command of Chairman Mao, the Red Army won great victories in its three counter-campaigns. In June 1932, Chiang Kai-shek launched his fourth "encirclement and suppression" campaign. At this time Wang Ming who carried out a "Left" opportunist line had excluded and rejected Chairman Mao's correct leadership, but the Red Army continued to implement Chairman Mao's correct military principles and won still another tremendous victory in the counter-campaign.

† In October 1933, Chiang Kai-shek once again launched attacks on the Central Base Area. Led by Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line, although this counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" lasted a year with battles fought from place to place, the Red Army was finally forced to withdraw from the base area and start its Long March in October 1934.
flightism. As a result, the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" met with defeat and the Red Army had no alternative but quit the Kiangsi Base Area and start the Long March. This was the aftermath of passive defence pursued by Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line.

In strategic defence, to effect a strategic retreat in a planned way — that is, to lure the enemy in deep and hit the enemy when he comes into our area — is a necessary strategic move aiming at conserving our military strength and biding our time to defeat the enemy; this has always been our most effective military policy in vanquishing the enemy. Chairman Mao has said: "When the enemy launches a large-scale 'encirclement and suppression' campaign, our general principle is to lure him in deep, withdraw into the base area and fight him there, because this is our surest method of smashing his offensive." To lure the enemy in deep has a twofold significance: it means firstly fighting on just grounds and secondly fighting to our advantage. Let the enemy come into our territory so that the whole country and the whole world can see that we are fighting on just grounds, that it is the enemy who has come and attacked us, not the other way round. In this way, we will be able to mobilize the broad masses to join the fighting by going into action in multifarious ways and bring the power of people's war into full play. To lure the enemy in deep in a planned way makes it possible for us to concentrate our main forces accordingly and engage the enemy in mobile operations, to find terrains favourable for operations and thus manoeuvre the enemy into our desired position. This will make the enemy swell with pride and commit mistakes; to dispense his forces and take on heavy burdens; to become tired out and demoralized and suffer blows wherever he goes. In that event, his weak points will be fully revealed and our strong points can be brought into full play, and we can fight in a way to our advantage. That swindlers like Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi opposed the idea of luring the enemy in deep and favoured what they called "short and swift thrusts" fully testified to the fact that they did not understand revolutionary war, especially China's revolutionary war.

In the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression," the "Left" opportunists represented by Wang Ming, in the face of enemy attacks by means of blockhouse warfare, feared the enemy as if he were a tiger: they did not dare to advance to the enemy's rear and attack him there, which would have been to our advantage, or boldly to lure the enemy troops in deep so as to concentrate our forces and annihilate them. On the contrary, they cherished passive defence as a talisman; they dispersed their forces to a great extent and forced the Red Army to dig itself in in front of enemy blockhouses, making short and swift thrusts against the enemy who built blockhouses at each halt in his advance; they milled around between the enemy's main forces and his blockhouses in seeking battle and engaged the enemy in positional warfare, blockhouse warfare and war of attrition in the hope of "withstanding" enemy attacks by defence. This was nothing but a metaphysical line of pure defence and military conservatism through and through. As a result, we completely lost our initiative and missed the chance to annihilate the enemy: we could neither conserve our own strength nor wipe out the enemy, and not only had we failed to break through enemy attacks but were broken by him. Like other military blunders of the "Left" opportunist line, the so-called "short and swift thrusts" involved, as Chairman Mao put it, "theories and practices [which] were all wrong," and "did not have the slightest flavour of Marxism about them; indeed they were anti-Marxist."

**Reliable Weapon in Vanquishing the Enemy And Winning Victory**

Chairman Mao has highly summarized this strategy and tactics of our army into these words: You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't. This is a scientific creation of the Chinese proletariat in its armed revolutionary struggle and is our army's most reliable weapon to defeat the enemy and win victory; it fully embodies the peculiarities and laws of China's revolutionary war. When the time is not ripe, our main force will not fight the enemy recklessly but will disengage him. But when we are sure to destroy the enemy, we will concentrate three to five divisions to wipe out one enemy division after another, eating up enemy troops mouthful by mouthful. When we can win, we wipe the enemy out; when we can't, we move away. All our moving is for the purpose of fighting and all our strategy and tactical plans are based on fighting. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Mobile warfare or positional warfare? Our answer is mobile warfare." When fighting mobile warfare, our main forces on the vast battlefields will be highly mobile; they move back and forth in giant strides, assemble or disperse quickly, seek and seize favourable opportunities for fighting and annihilate the enemy by surprise. Chairman Mao has also pointed out: "Mobile warfare is primary, but we do not reject positional warfare where it is possible and necessary." Out of the needs of strategic defence or strategic counter-attack, it should be admitted that positional warfare should be employed for the tenacious defence of certain strategic points and important positions, and also in attacking certain fortified enemy positions and strongholds. But it is not positional warfare in the general sense of the word, neither should it be put on an equal footing with mobile warfare. During the Long March, the Central Red Army, seriously enfeebled as a result of flightism of the Wang Ming line and encircled, pursued, obstructed and intercepted by huge enemy forces, found itself in a very difficult posi-
tion. The Tsunyi Conference put an end to the rule of Wang Ming’s ‘Left’ opportunist line in the Party’s Central Committee and established Chairman Mao’s leadership in the whole Party, thereby switching the Party line on to the correct Marxist-Leninist course. Under Chairman Mao’s personal command, the Red Army crossed and recrossed the Chishui River four times, making detours and moving about amidst huge enemy troops to look for opportunities to strike and wipe out a large number of enemy troops. In this way, the Red Army shirked off the enemy who tried to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept it, and successfully crossed the Chishina River. This smashed the enemy’s counter-revolutionary plan of annihilating our forces in the area bordering on Szechuan, Yunnan and Kweichow Provinces, saved the Red Army from danger and prepared the ground for the victory of the epic Long March.

Engels pointed out: “The new military science must necessarily be the product of the new social relationship.” (Conditions and Outlook of a War of the Holy Alliance Against a Revolutionary France in 1852.) Chairman Mao’s military line and his strategy and tactics are based on faith in and reliance upon the masses. They have a distinct class nature and a wide mass character. Originating from the practice of people’s war and in turn serving it, the strategy and tactics of the Red Army embodied our Party’s mass line in relation to war; it is therefore impossible for any army opposed to the people to make use of them. All “Left” and Right opportunists are bound to be defeated because they do not understand historical dialectics, fail to see the strength of the people and are divorced from them. Relying on the masses, the revolutionary war will win; divorced from them, it will fail. This is a truth which has been repeatedly proved in the practice of China’s revolutionary war and a universal law of all revolutionary wars.

The Line Is the Key Link

“Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle.” It is precisely in the protracted struggles against “Left” and Right opportunist lines that the correct political and military lines of Chairman Mao emerged and developed. Practice is the criterion for testing the truth. We judge the correctness or incorrectness of a guiding line in war not by subjective thinking but by its results in objective social practice.

The Second Revolutionary Civil War can be divided into three stages according to the nature of our strategy: the first is from the days on the Chingkang Mountains to the fourth counter-campaign; the second is the period of the fifth counter-campaign, and the third is from the Tsunyi Conference onwards. The history of these three stages was one of victory, defeat, and again victory. During the fifth counter-campaign, the opportunists mistakenly negated the original correct principles, and the subsequent Tsunyi Conference in its turn correctly negated the erroneous principles, which prevailed at the time of the fifth counter-campaign, and reasserted and developed the original correct principles. Thus, historical experience has time and again proved the great truth that “the line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place.” With the correct line guiding its war, the Red Army repeatedly defeated an enemy which was stronger than itself and repulsed enemy forces several times and even a dozen or more times larger than its own, and its revolutionary base areas constantly expanded. But when the line was wrong, its revolutionary base areas and troops suffered losses even though it had men and guns. Chairman Mao’s military line correctly reflects the objective laws of China’s revolutionary war and is a summing-up of the rich experience gained in the course of its practice. It is the fundamental guarantee for our army to vanquish the enemy. “Left” and Right opportunist lines, on the other hand, are products of idealism and metaphysics; they run counter to the objective laws of China’s revolutionary war and cannot but meet with defeat in practice.

Problems of Strategy in China’s Revolutionary War, like other military writings of Chairman Mao, is a priceless ideological treasure of our Party. It is an embodiment in the full sense of the word of the unity of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Permeated with dialectical materialism and historical materialism, it is a powerful weapon for us in criticizing both the bourgeois military line and revisionism. We relied on Chairman Mao’s correct political and military lines to win victories in the past, and we will continue to do so in the future. Only in this way can we win still greater victories in the struggles of the Chinese revolution.

November 10, 1972

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* In January 1935, the Red Army reached Tsunyi in Kweichow Province during the Long March. Here the Party’s Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau, which is known as the Tsunyi Conference.

** The Chishui River, originating from north Kweichow, runs northward into Szechuan and before long flows into the Yangtze. After the Tsunyi Conference, from late January to March 1935, the Red Army under Chairman Mao’s direct command disengaged the powerful enemy forces, swiftly crossed the Chishui River and headed for the region abutting on the Szechuan and Yunnan Provinces. To shatter enemy encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception and make him tired of running to and fro, the Red Army again turned back to Kweichow, recrossed the Chishui River and reoccupied Tsunyi city. Later, it re-entered southern Szechuan and turned back again to Kweichow to directly threaten the city of Kweiyang. At the same time, the Red Army dispatched part of its forces in a feint against eastern Kweichow while actually making a quick attack on Yunnan. This was the famous four crossings of the Chishui River.

*** The Chishina River refers to the upper stretch of the Yangtze running from Chingshi through Szechuan and Yunnan to the city of Yiping in Szechuan. Under Chairman Mao’s command, the Red Army in May 1935 crossed with unusual swiftness the Chishina River running through northern Yunnan and entered the border area of Szechuan and Sikang.
Harnessing the Yellow River

The rebuilt Yellow River dyke on the lower reaches.

A large hydro-junction.

The People's Victory Canal.

Orchards have risen on the land once flooded by the waters of the Yellow River when the Kuomintang ordered the dyke to be breached at Huayuankou.
A new hydroelectric station on the upper reaches.

A pumping station near Chengchow, Honan Province.

At a work-site.
China's Economy at a Glance

Iron and Steel Industry

China's iron and steel industry has scored great achievements since the founding of the People's Republic 23 years ago.

Even before 300 B.C., the labouring people in ancient China had mastered the technique of smelting iron and making steel. In old China, however, this industry was extremely backward owing to exploitation and oppression by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism. It began to thrive only after the founding of New China. In 1971, the nation's steel output was 21 million tons, or 130 times the output in 1949. China can now produce more than 1,000 varieties of steel and more than 20,000 varieties and specifications of rolled steel instead of only several kinds of carbon steel as it did in pre-liberation years. With our own iron, steel and other metals, we have built the Yangtze River Bridge in Nanking, ocean-going vessels and supersonic aircraft.

Before liberation, the few iron and steel enterprises were concentrated in the coastal areas. Today major iron and steel centres are being built in the interior and small and medium-sized iron and steel works are mushrooming in many areas.

How should we develop industrial enterprises? Two diametrically opposed lines have always existed concerning this question since the birth of New China. In 1958, Chairman Mao laid down the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" which has propelled the rapid advance of China's industry. Opposing Right conservatism, bringing their revolutionary enthusiasm into full play and persisting in the big leap forward, the workers and staff members of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, China's biggest, launched a vigorous mass movement for technical innovations and technical revolution. In 1960, Chairman Mao summed up their experiences into the Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, laying down the following basic principles for running enterprises: keep politics firmly in command; strengthen Party leadership; launch vigorous mass movements; institute the system of cadre participation in productive labour and worker participation in management, of reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations, and of close co-operation among workers, cadres and technicians; and go full steam ahead with the technical innovations and technical revolution. Under the guidance of this Constitution, China's iron and steel industry has forged ahead. But Liu Shao-chi and his followers, opposing Chairman Mao's instructions, wantonly slashed the number of iron and steel enterprises and seriously undermined the growth of the industry. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, these towering crimes of Liu Shao-chi and company were repudiated and this has helped enhance the people's consciousness in the struggle between the two lines and has further sparked their socialist initiative. Following the fulfilment of the third five-year plan for the development of the iron and steel industry in 1970, production of iron and steel has gone up steadily since the fourth five-year plan began. The Anshan workers have renovated old equipment and introduced new techniques to tap potentialities. The over 3,000 technical innovations they made have resulted in a continual increase in output.

In line with Chairman Mao's teachings, China has built a number of small and medium-sized iron and steel enterprises while building, rebuilding and expanding large integrated works. Compared with 1969, the 1971 output of ores and pig iron by small enterprises increased fourfold and fivefold respectively.

The small and medium-sized iron and steel works, which need only small investments but give quick results, can make full use of locally available mineral resources. Apart from helping improve the geographical distribution of industrial enterprises, they support local agricultural production with their products and promote the development of local industries. The Yentai region in Shantung Province, for instance, took only a little over two years to build a small iron and steel complex em-
bracing ore extraction, iron smelting, steel making and rolling.

In order to build up an independent iron and steel industry, China's geological workers, miners and technicians have prospected all over the country and located large numbers of mineral deposits and built many new mines over the past two decades. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the iron and steel complexes in various places shifted the emphasis of their capital construction to building mines. After being rebuilt, the Nanfen Iron-Ore Mine in Penki, northeast China, has raised its annual output of iron-ore to more than 7 million tons, surpassing its designed annual capacity of 4.7 million tons by 50 per cent. Meanwhile, mines built and run by the masses are playing a significant role. In Fanchang County, Anhwei Province, 22 small mines and 54 small mining points have been built by the county or people's communes through the efforts of the masses. The ores they produce not only meet local needs for smelting iron, but are shipped to other places. The small, medium-sized and big metallurgical plants, with the latter as the backbone, have been organized to co-operate closely in tapping their productive capacity to the best advantage. This has led to a marked increase of varieties. As compared with 1965, the year before the Great Cultural Revolution began, steel varieties in 1971 nearly doubled and rolled steel varieties and specifications tripled. The varieties of non-ferrous metals increased by 76 per cent and the specifications of non-ferrous ingots were nearly five times what they were.

In addition, good results have been obtained in producing high-temperature alloys, precision alloys, super high-strength steels and other new-type materials.

A small iron and steel complex in Yentai, Shantung Province.

Old China's iron and steel industry was insignificant in terms of output and still less in variety. Since liberation, while making efforts to increase output, energetic measures have been taken to improve quality and increase variety. As a result, China now has a standing list of products. Chinese workers and technicians have always seen to it that learning from foreign advanced technology is combined with their own creations. In this way, they have succeeded in turning out a number of new varieties of steel by making use of the rich domestic resources of alloy elements. The Shanghai Shaped Steel Tubing Mill, formerly a small neighbourhood factory, has increased the varieties of steel tubes it produces from 230 to over 2,200 thanks to the efforts and ingenuity of its workers who reformed technological processes and made the needed equipment. In Shanghai, all agricultural development

China's socialist agriculture has developed rapidly under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Beginning in 1962, bumper harvests have been reaped for ten years in succession. Total grain output last year was 492,000 million jin, or 2.2 times that of 1949 when the country was liberated. The three north China provinces of Hopei, Honan and Shantung have stopped importing grain from other provinces as they now grow enough for their own needs. The strategic task put forward by Chairman Mao to "change the situation in which grain has to be transported north from the south" has been initially realized.

Fairly big progress has also been achieved in the past 20 years or so in developing forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations and fishery. Compared to 1962, the output in 1971 of cotton, cooking oil, sugar, hemp, tobacco, tea and silk cocoons increased twofold to severalfold, and the number of live pigs more than doubled. The number of draught animals, sheep and goats went up by over 30 per cent, while the total output value of side-line products doubled. Aquatic products rose by 50 per cent and the afforested area in 1971 was more than twice the total for the 13 previous years.

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Scanned and prepared by It's Right to Rebel!
The comprehensive development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line occupations, fishery and industrial crops has consolidated and strengthened the collective economy of the people's communes, expanded their reproduction capacities, increased the commune members' incomes and raised living standards in both the urban and rural areas. At the same time, more raw materials and funds have been made available for developing industry, the domestic market has become more flourishing, foreign trade has expanded and state revenue has increased. All this has vigorously propelled the development of the entire national economy.

The socialist road is the only road that China's agriculture can take. Land reform carried out after liberation wiped out the feudal relations of production. This was followed by the agricultural co-operative movement and the setting up of people's communes, freeing the productive forces in the countryside. China's agriculture has moved steadily ahead under the guidance of the general principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy. In 1964 Chairman Mao issued the great call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." The poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tachai Production Brigade in Shansi Province have succeeded in transforming their poor hilly village into a thriving socialist village by relying on their own efforts and carrying on hard struggles to overcome difficulties. Per-ha yield of grain in Tachai has soared step by step, from some 100 jin to over 1,000 jin. Its advanced experience has set a good example for other villages throughout China. The "Learn from Tachai" mass movement has given a powerful impetus to developing agriculture in China.

Rural cadres and commune members have gone in for farm capital construction in a big way and built large numbers of water conservancy works in the revolutionary spirit of "transforming China in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains." Projects completed each year have involved several thousand million cubic metres of earth- and stone-work. In 1971 alone, more than 5,000 million cubic metres of earth- and stone-work were done, and 30 million mu of land giving guaranteed harvests in spite of excessive or inadequate rainfall were added. Work is going on without let-up to harness six major rivers—the Yellow, Huai, Haiho, Liaohe, Hanshui and Yangtze Rivers, and tens of thousands of reservoirs of all sizes have been built. The ability to prevent floods and combat drought has been vastly strengthened and much greater use has been made of water resources.

The level of farm production has gone up as a result of the meticulous cultivation of land by the commune members and the implementation in an all-round way of the "Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture" laid down by Chairman Mao for scientific farming. In many places farming methods and systems have improved. Advanced experiences have been gained and popularized, beefing up the ability of the communes to fight natural adversities and to improve the conditions of the soil, fertilizer and water resources.

Gradually achieve the mechanization and electrification of farm production on the basis of collective farming—this is the fundamental line for developing China's socialist agriculture. Compared with 1962, the number of tractors in 1971 has more than doubled, irrigation and drainage machinery trebled, chemical fertilizer and insecticides quadrupled, and the amount of electricity used in the villages is six times greater. More machinery is being used in forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fishing.

"The Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture" refers to soil (soil improvement), fertilizer (rational application of fertilizer), water (building water conservancy works), seeds (popularization of good strains), close planting (rational close planting), protection (plant protection), management (field management), and tools (innovation of farm implements).
ROUND THE WORLD

SOUTH VIET NAM

The People Oppose Nguyen Van Thieu

Immediately after the October 26 broadcast of the statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the present state of the negotiations relating to the Viet Nam question by the Voice of Viet Nam, the north Vietnamese radio, the political atmosphere in Saigon became astir. Group discussions were held on the streets and in the lanes. Many listened carefully to the statement over the radio. Some tape-recorded the broadcast to relay it to others. Many students jotted down the statement and showed it to their schoolmates.

Learning the volte-face of the U.S.-Thieu clique, one veteran worker said angrily: “those warmongers!” Another old worker said, “how these diehards overestimate themselves! we must continue to open fire at them and overthrow them!”

One An Quang Buddhist praised the statement as an important proposal of the D.R.V.N. Government which, he said, had done its best. “The responsibility for the failure to sign the agreement as scheduled and to restore peace must be borne by Saigon and Washington,” he said.

Even soldiers in the public security force and policemen tuned in to the south Viet Nam Liberation Radio and the Voice of Viet Nam. Some said openly, “the only way to know the policies of the National Front for Liberation is to listen to the broadcast.”

The people in My Tho city and its suburbs warmly welcomed the stand of the D.R.V.N. Government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. Thousands of middle school teachers and students in the city held discussions and condemned the bellicose and obstinate U.S.-Thieu clique after listening to the broadcast of the D.R.V.N. Government statement. Many students discussed measures to oppose Nguyen Van Thieu’s expansion of the army by impressment. Some Saigon puppet troops stationed in My Tho city listened openly to the broadcast of the Voice of Viet Nam and the Liberation Radio. A puppet army officer said: “Nguyen Van Thieu who has come to the end of his tether speaks like a man out of his mind. Nobody will be so foolish as to go on killing the fellow countrymen for Thieu’s interests.” Some puppet soldiers refused to carry out their officer’s order to ravage the people’s orchards in the suburbs.

The contents of the statements of the R.S.V.N.P.R.G. and the D.R.V.N. Government were explained to some puppet soldiers by their families who persuaded them to return home to make a living.

On October 26 and 27, thousands of Saigon puppet army officers and men and puppet government employees in Hau Nghia and Long An cities discussed publicly with the people the statement of the D.R.V.N. Government and expressed support for its stand.

U.S.-Thieu Clique Murders Patriots

In a savage repression of the patriots in Phu Quoc prison on October 11, the U.S.-Nguyen Van Thieu clique opened fire at the prisoners, killing many of them. To cover up its crimes, it invented the story of “prisoners stealing rifles of the guards and escaping when they were sent to collect wood.”

In committing these crimes in Phu Quoc and other prisons in south Viet Nam, the clique obviously has in its mind the extermination of the detained patriots. At present, over one hundred thousand patriots detained in thousands of prisons and jails in south Viet Nam are being tortured; they are in danger of being murdered. Incomplete figures show that on the average 9 per cent of the more than 35,000 persons in Phu Quoc prison are murdered each year and 15 per cent tortured and malnourished.

The Chinese people feel great indignation at the atrocity committed by the U.S. aggressors and the Nguyen Van Thieu clique. Renmin Ribao in an article by its Commentator on October 25 expressed firm support for the solemn stand of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the R.S.V.N.

The article pointed out: “The Nguyen Van Thieu clique has been serving as a criminal tool of U.S. imperialism in its aggression against Viet Nam. It has established military fascist rule in south Viet Nam and deprived the people of all democratic rights and freedoms and thrown innumerable peaceable civilians and patriots into strategic hamlets and concentration camps.” But “its bloody massacres and barbarous suppression of the south Vietnamese patriots are only a manifestation of its weakness and its last-ditch struggle. It is certain that such barbarous means which will only arouse still stronger resistance from the south Vietnamese people can never save the U.S. aggressors and the Nguyen Van Thieu clique from their inevitable doom,” the article added.

U.S.A.

War Supplies Rushed to Saigon

In the last few days the U.S. Government has rushed more war supplies, including jet fighters, transport planes, helicopters, tanks and naval

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vessels, to the Saigon puppet clique. This shows clearly that in putting off the signing of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam, the United States aims at continuing its “Vietnamization” programme and dragging out the aggressive war in Viet Nam.

U.S. news agency reports from Saigon disclosing that the U.S. Government is carrying out a “newly launched military aid programme to speed up military aid to the puppet clique in south Viet Nam. The new military aid programme “goes well beyond the equipment originally planned for in the Vietnamization schedule” and was “a tightly guarded rush programme.”

Western news agencies reported that Pentagon spokesman Jerry W. Friedheim acknowledged on November 3 that the United States was speeding up the delivery of war supplies to the Saigon puppet clique. To justify the U.S. move, this spokesman used the same argument: “The delivery of new weapons is in support of the efforts to negotiate a peace settlement.”

AP on November 4 reported: “By sea and by air, the United States rushed more warplanes to south Viet Nam Saturday [November 4] in the biggest military aid effort of the war that will boost the South Vietnamese [puppet] air force to more than 2,000 aircraft.” It quoted U.S. military sources as saying “the South Vietnamese [puppet] air force will have received as many as 400 new aircraft by mid-November. These include F-5, A-37 and A-1 fighter-bombers, Chinook helicopters and four-engine C-130 transports. The shipments began Thursday [November 2] and are continuing.”

The AP dispatch continued: “A-1 fighter-bombers began arriving Saturday [November 4] by ship and were being unloaded at the big American-built Newport Docks just outside of Saigon. Dismantled F-5s were being hauled into Bien Hoa Air Base, 15 miles northeast of Saigon, by giant C-5A transports. And more equipment was flowing into Saigon’s Tan Son Nhat Air Base. Thirty of the big Chinook helicopters are now at the base being assembled.”

It was reported that, on November 2 alone, four C-130 transport planes were flown to Saigon’s Tan Son Nhat Air Base and that “they were immediately turned over to the South Vietnamese [puppet] air force.” After the fifth C-130 transport plane flew to Saigon on the morning of November 3, south Vietnamese puppet military sources said: “Fourteen more of the transports were due in throughout the day Friday [November 3].”

Reports said that a Pentagon spokesman admitted that to accelerate the supply of jet fighters, the United States has “persuaded” South Korea and the Chiang Kai-shek clique “to lend South Viet Nam U.S.-supplied F-5 fighter planes for a hurry-up buildup of the south Vietnamese [puppet] air force.” A Reuters dispatch said the U.S. “Vietnamization” programme “is now in the important air phase.”

In addition to aircraft, the U.S. Government is supplying more tanks, armoured vehicles, naval vessels and other means of war to the Saigon puppet clique. AP reported from Saigon on November 3: “Several hundred armoured vehicles—perhaps as many as 500 tanks and armoured personnel carriers—are also being flown to the South Vietnamese from the United States.”

Reuters reported on the same day that the “South Vietnamese [puppet] navy has taken delivery of two converted United States coastguard cutters.” The vessels were identified as “2,800-ton small cruisers.” Reuters quoted the official news agency of the Saigon puppet clique as saying “more modernized warships are expected to arrive from the United States navy.”

Cambodia

Frustrating U.S. Intrigue

Responding to the call of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the Cambodian armed forces and people have launched powerful offensive against the Lon Nol puppet troops to resolutely smash the intrigue of “ceasefire on the spot in Cambodia” plotted by U.S. imperialism.

In October, the People’s National Liberation Armed Forces fiercely attacked areas around Phnom Penh and the remaining positions of the puppet troops along Highways 1, 2, 5 and 7, and won great victories.

On October 7, the P.N.L.A.F. mounted an attack on the position of the puppet second armoured company in Phnom Penh, the Chul Changwar strategic bridge and other enemy positions, wiping out 285 enemy troops, and destroying 33 military vehicles and 25 tanks.

The P.N.L.A.F. in Takeo Province initiated an attack on October 6 and, after several days of fierce fighting, drove away the puppet troops stationed in Kirivong and Ton Lea Districts and liberated Love and Koh Andet Districts and all villages on the section of Highway 2 from Takeo City to the border of Viet Nam. Preliminary reports show that 2,000 enemy troops were killed, wounded or captured.

In October, the Phnom Penh puppet clique massed a large number of forces in an attempt to open Highway 5, which had long been cut, but these enemy forces were repeatedly intercepted. Up to October 17, over 750 men were killed or wounded.

Laos

Patriotic Forces Smash Enemy Military Adventures

The Lao patriotic armed forces and people in October smashed one enemy military adventure after another. They wiped out over 3,500 enemy troops, shot down 13 aircraft and liberated 20 hamlets with more than 6,000 inhabitants.

In Xieng Khoang Province, the Lao People’s Liberation Army dealt a heavy blow to Vang Pao’s “special forces” and Thai mercenary troops in the southern part of the Plain of Jars.
In the first 20 days of the month alone, they put out of action over 620 enemy troops and shot down 2 aircraft. They also intercepted the Rightist troops in Muong Soui region, and put out of action 300 enemy troops.

On October 26, the patriotic armed forces and people launched fresh attacks south of the plain and put over 1,200 enemy troops out of action and captured hundreds of weapons.

In Lower Laos, the L.P.L.A. and guerrillas cut Highway 23, encircled the enemy in Pakse, attacked many Thai battalions venturing out at the Lao Ngam crossroads, and intercepted the Vientiane puppet army in Saravane region and Lao Ngam District. They wiped out or captured altogether nearly 1,100 enemy troops, including the 624th Infantry Battalion, overran an artillery site and the headquarters of the Thai 401st Regiment, and seized or destroyed a great number of weapons.

In three battles at Keng Kok in Savannakhet Province, the patriotic armed forces and people wiped out or captured many enemy troops, including two lieutenant-colonels, seized over 100 pieces of arms and three trucks, and shot down one U.S. aircraft.

The patriotic forces also smashed a major bandit lair in Luang Nam Tha Province, knocking out or taking prisoner more than 200 enemy troops, and capturing or wrecking over 100 guns.

KOREA

North-South Joint Information

Receiving on November 3 Li Hu Rak, Director of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency and Co-chairman of the south Korean side of the North-South Co-ordination Committee of Korea, and his entourage who came to Pyongyang to attend the second meeting of the Co-chairmen of the Committee, Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people, gave programmatic words on faithfully fulfilling the north-south joint statement based on the three principles of national reunification and realizing multilateral cooperation and intercourse in all fields, political, economic, scientific, cultural and military, between the north and the south to achieve at the earliest possible date the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, the greatest aspiration of the entire Korean people.

Held in Pyongyang between November 2 and 4, the second meeting of the Co-chairmen of the North-South Co-ordination Committee of Korea made public a joint information on November 4. The joint information said:

"At the meeting the two sides agreed on the following matters:

1. The two sides reached a unanimity of views on the formation and operation of the North-South Co-ordination Committee and, on this basis, signed and exchanged an agreement on the composition and operation of the North-South Co-ordination Committee.

2. In conformity with the point of the north-south joint statement on refraining from slandering and calumniating each other, the two sides decided to stop the radio broadcasting toward the north and toward the south, the loudspeaker broadcasting toward the north and toward the south on the military demarcation line and the distribution of leaflets in the area of the other side, as from zero hour November 10, 1972."

The first meeting of the Co-chairmen of the North-South Co-ordination Committee of Korea was held in Panmunjom on October 12.

The meeting, the joint information made public by the two sides at that time said, discussed questions of dispelling misunderstanding and distrust between the north and the south, seeking great national unity and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the country through the faithful fulfillment of the agreed points of the north-south joint statement by the two sides.

P.D.R.Y. AND A.R.Y.

Agreement on Solving Border Conflicts

Premier Ali Nasser of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Premier Mohsin Al Aini of the Arab Republic of Yemen issued a joint statement in Cairo on the evening of October 28, announcing that an agreement on solving border conflicts between the two countries had been reached by their governments.

According to the Middle East News Agency, the agreement which was reached after two days' talks contains the following points: withdrawal of troops and opening of common borders; withdrawal of the two countries' forces from areas occupied after September 26, 1972 — when flareups took place on borders; the repatriation of all refugees who wish to return to their native land; a ban on all sabotage operations and harmful activities on both sides; the close down of training camps and an end to all hostile acts.

Both sides, the preamble of the agreement said, reached agreement for the sake of unity of the Yemeni people, for achieving peace and for consolidating the relations binding the two sister states.

The agreement also expressed the deep desire of both parties to preserve revolutionary gains of the two countries and to save their resources for development purposes and to reserve their potentials for the battle of the Arab nation against imperialism and Zionism.

Premier Mohsin Al Aini and Premier Ali Nasser also signed an agreement on unity between the two countries at the Arab League Headquarters on October 28.
FRIENDSHIP LOG

Bridge of Green

When Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited China over a month ago, he told Premier Chou En-lai that 1,000 cherry saplings of the Oyama variety and 1,000 Japanese larch saplings would be presented to China as a token of Japan-China friendship. These saplings were shipped from Tokyo to Peking by special plane on October 28. On the following day, a ceremony to hand over these gifts from the Japanese people was held at Peking's Tientan (Temple of Heaven) Park.

Mr. Yanai Shinichi, Head of the Division of Overseas Establishments of the Japanese Foreign Ministry who had brought the saplings to Peking, spoke at the ceremony. The Japanese people, he said, have been fond of cherry blossoms and larch since antiquity. It is their hope that these saplings, symbolizing the growing ties between the two countries, will strike deep root in Chinese soil, grow with the years and truly become a green bridge between the two peoples.

On behalf of the people of Peking and the whole country, Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee Wu Teh accepted the gifts with heartfelt thanks. At the ceremony he said that these gift saplings from the Japanese people marked the continuous growth and development of the profound friendship between the peoples of the two countries. He added that, as a symbol of this friendship, they would be cultivated with great care so that they would thrive and be as everlasting as the friendship which the two peoples would foster from generation to generation.

To make sure that Japanese cherry trees would blossom in Peking, the Japanese friends decided after careful selection to send the Oyama sakura saplings, a cold-resisting variety grown in northernmost Hokkaido. When news of this decision reached the Matsushiro Primary School in Matsumae, southern Hokkaido, many of the pupils talked enthusiastically about it. One of them said, “It will take over ten years for the Oyama sakura trees to grow and blossom. We want our little friends in Peking may see the cherry blossoms next spring!”

The Japanese people have grown cherry trees since ancient times; the word sakura appeared in ancient Japanese songs some 1,200 years ago. When the cherry trees are in full blossom in spring time, the whole nation turns out to see the sakura. The working people in Japan like sakura because, blossoming in early spring, it is the harbinger of a new year. Today it serves as a beautiful link in the time-honoured history of friendly intercourse between the peoples of China and Japan.

(Continued from p. 4.)

In recent years, the relations between China and Africa have made steady progress on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence; many African countries have established or resumed diplomatic relations with China, and friendly contacts between China and Africa have been increasing daily. This has not only further strengthened the traditional militant friendship between the Chinese and African peoples, but also powerfully propelled the development of the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. China has always sup-
peoples who are still under colonialist and racist rule.

Although China and Malagasy are separated by mountains and oceans, there has existed a profound friendship between the peoples of the two countries since ancient times. It is worthy of note that descriptions of Malagasy can be found in Chinese historical records dating back to the beginning of the 12th century. After the 13th century, there were continual exchanges of friendly envoys between China and Malagasy. These traditional friendly contacts were unfortunately interrupted by imperialist aggression in recent centuries. But the Chinese and Malagasy peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Not long ago, the Malagasy Government headed by General Ramanautson took positive measures for the development of Sino-Malagasy relations, and now Foreign Minister Ranarivelo has personally led the Malagasy delegation to China for a friendly visit and has signed with Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. This has opened new prospects for the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries on a new basis.

**Foreign Secretary Home Concludes Visit**

Having concluded their friendship visit to China, Alee Douglas-Home, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and his wife left Peking on November 2 by special plane.

On November 1, Premier Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei and Minister of Foreign Trade Hsiang-kuo met and had a free and unstrained conversation with Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home and members of his party.

At the return banquet given by him the same day, the Foreign Secretary reviewed the successes of his visit. He said: "We have established a relationship of respect, understanding and, I feel, a greatly increased knowledge of each other's views."

He said: "This augurs well for practical co-operation and closer contact between us in the future in many different ways."

He added: "We have laid a sure foundation of a house of neighbourliness on which we can build."

Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, who was invited to the banquet, pointed out in his toast that the current visit to China by Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home "is a great event in the Sino-British relations since the exchange of ambassadors between the two countries." "In the past four days, we have had several sessions of constructive and candid talks. With the common desire of further developing the relations between our two countries, our two sides have earnestly explored the possibilities of its realization and achieved positive results. We have also had an extensive exchange of views on international issues and increased our mutual understanding. This is useful to both sides. Sir Alec's visit is a good beginning of high-level contacts between our two Governments and a useful contribution to the development of the relations between our two countries."

Foreign Minister Chi said: "Times are advancing and the situation develops. We believe that, basing ourselves on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and striving to handle the problems facing us in a reasonable and positive attitude, the relations between our two countries will further improve and that this will be in the interests of our two Governments and our two peoples."

**October Revolution Anniversary Greeted**

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council of the People's Republic of China on November 6 sent a message to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., warmly congratulating the fraternal Soviet people on the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. The message said:

"The October Revolution is a great proletarian revolution in the history of mankind. The Soviet people are a great people with a glorious revolutionary tradition. The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat shows that it is more arduous to safeguard the fruits of revolution than to seize the victory of revolution. The Chinese people always treasure their fraternal friendship with the Soviet people and sympathize with and support the Soviet people in their long, arduous and complicated struggle to safeguard the fruits of victory of the October Revolution.

"There are now controversies of principle between China and the Soviet Union, but this should not hinder the normalization of the relations between the two countries. It is the common desire of the Chinese and Soviet peoples to strictly observe the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence and on this basis settle the important issues in the relations between the two countries, and thus turn the latter into friendly and good-neighbourly relations. The Chinese Government will, as always, work for the realization of this desire."

**NEWS BRIEFS**

▲ Premier Chou En-lai and leading members of departments concerned on November 5 met Algerian Minister of Commerce Layachi Yaker and all members of the Algerian Government Delegation led by him.

▲ Premier Chou En-lai and leading members of departments concerned on November 1 met Austrian Minister of Commerce and Industry Josef Starbacher, all members of the Austrian Government Delegation led by him, the accompanying journalists, and all members of the Austrian Delegation of Journalists led by Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Die Presse Ilse Lethenberget.
CHINA PICTORIAL is a large-format pictorial of general coverage on China published monthly in Peking. It carries reports of achievements in China's socialist revolution and construction, of struggles waged by the people of China and other countries against imperialism and all reaction and of the Chinese people's firm support for the revolutionary struggle of the world's oppressed peoples and nations.


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