

VICE-PREMIER

CHEN YI

ANSWERS

QUESTIONS

PUT BY

CORRESPONDENTS

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CONTENTS

- VICE-PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHEN YI'S
IMPORTANT REMARKS AT A PRESS CONFERENCE
ATTENDED BY CHINESE AND FOREIGN COR-
RESPONDENTS (September 29, 1965) 1
- VICE-PREMIER CHEN YI'S ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
PUT BY TAKANO YOSHIHISA, PEKING CORRE-
SPONDENT OF THE JAPANESE PAPER "AKAHATA"
(December 30, 1965) 27

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(September 29, 1965)

ON THE SINO-INDIAN BOUNDARY QUESTION

Answering a question about the Sino-Indian border issue raised by the editor of the *Voice of Revolution* of the Congo (Brazzaville), Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: In its note of September 16, the Chinese Government demanded that India dismantle the 56 aggressive military works she had built within Chinese territory on the China-Sikkim border and withdraw the intruding Indian troops. The China-Sikkim boundary is the boundary between China and Sikkim and does not fall within the scope of the Sino-Indian boundary. It has long been delimited. India not only regards Sikkim as her protectorate, but has gone to the length of intruding into Chinese territory across the China-Sikkim boundary. It was her right, as a sovereign state and entirely reasonable for China to lodge the protest and raise the demands in her note to the Indian Government. We had shown forbearance for several years. Knowing that it was in the wrong, the Indian Government withdrew all the in-

truding Indian troops and demolished a part of the aggressive military works upon receiving our notification. That was a good thing, and it was wise of them to do so. If India had failed to do so, the Chinese Government would have been entitled to act in self-defence, drive out the intruders and destroy the aggressive military works.

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

ON THE INDIAN-PAKISTAN CONFLICT

A correspondent of the London *Daily Express* asked what assistance the Chinese Government would give Pakistan with the resumption of the conflict between India and Pakistan. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The fact is that Pakistan is the victim of aggression and India the aggressor. Recently Indian troops have continued to launch attacks in the Lahore area. We do not wish to see the aggravation of the situation, and we hope that the Indian side knows how to restrain itself. If the situation is aggravated, it is certain that the Chinese Government and people will give moral and material support to Pakistan. Relying on the support of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, the Indian Government

wants to do whatever it pleases, but that can frighten nobody. We hope that it will come to its senses.

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

ON TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND WEST GERMANY

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

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

ON SHARING NUCLEAR KNOWLEDGE

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

In reply, Vice-Premier Chen Yi first commented on the Western countries' practice of dividing nations into the "developed" and the "under-developed". He said: The Western countries have shown a superiority complex by claiming themselves to be "developed" while degrading some other countries by calling them "under-developed". I do not agree with these terms. Now they promote the so-called under-developed countries by describing them as developing countries. So far as China is concerned, we are not grateful for that. The facts over the past three centuries show that the so-called developed countries have developed by exploiting the colonies, while the so-called under-developed countries remain undeveloped as a result of imperialist and colonialist exploitation. No rigid line should be drawn by classifying certain countries as developed and some others as under-developed. We hold that, politically, the Asian, African and Latin American countries which persist in opposing imperialism and colonialism are advanced, while the West European and North American imperialist countries are backward. Economically, we do not believe that the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will for ever remain backward and that Western Europe and North America will for ever be in the van technically. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will overtake the industrially advanced countries within a few decades, once they shake off the control of imperialism and old and new colonialism and start to build their

countries by relying on their own efforts. The history of New China over the past 16 years provides a most vivid evidence. China has achieved great successes in national construction mainly through the united efforts of the government and the people, through self-reliance, hard work and the exploitation of her own resources. So far there has not been any country in the world which can change its state of backwardness by merely relying on foreign aid.

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

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

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

countries against imperialism and colonialism is the best atom bomb.

ON U.S. WAR OF AGGRESSION IN VIET NAM

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

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

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

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

U.S. imperialism has attempted, by bombing the north, to force the people of south Viet Nam to stop fighting and the whole of Viet Nam to give in. The Vietnamese

people have not given in, and this is the best answer. The Vietnamese people's heroic struggle has won them the respect of the people of the world. The Chinese people have boundless admiration for the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

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

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

draw from Viet Nam completely and the Vietnamese people should be free to settle their own problems.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The future of Viet Nam must be decided by the Vietnamese people themselves, by President Ho Chi Minh, Premier Pham Van Dong and President Nguyen Huu Tho, and it admits of no foreign interference. The Chinese people unreservedly stand on the side of the Vietnamese people until U.S. imperialism is defeated.

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

ON THE SECOND AFRICAN-ASIAN CONFERENCE

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

neo-colonialists headed by the United States. The Chinese Government has always stood for holding the conference along these lines and making it a success.

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

Recently, a cabinet minister of a certain country told me that some newly independent countries could not openly denounce U.S. imperialism at the African-Asian Conference because of their need for U.S. aid to solve the bread question. On the other hand, some other Afro-Asian countries hold that the first and foremost task of the African-Asian Conference is to denounce U.S. imperialism, otherwise there will be no sense in convening the conference. These two tendencies are now engaged in a struggle. China firmly sides with those that stand for condemnation of U.S. imperialism. This position of China's will never change. For without adopting resolutions condemning U.S. imperialism, the African-Asian Conference will disappoint the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. To hold such a conference would be a waste. As for the bread question, it is my view that if one relies on U.S. aid, one will get less and less bread, while by relying on one's own efforts one will get more and more. So far as certain countries are concerned, the more they denounce U.S. imperialism, the more bread they will probably get from it, otherwise they will not

get any. Such is the character of U.S. imperialism — bullying the weak-kneed and fearing the strong.

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

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

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

The Chinese Government is resolutely against the participation of U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, in the African-Asian Conference. Everybody is clear about the role U Thant is playing. He is not the head of the United Nations; the head of the United Nations is the United States. Not being the head of any

Afro-Asian state, what qualifications has he to participate in the African-Asian Conference?

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

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

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

forward its request, if its participation would not conduce to Afro-Asian solidarity.

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

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

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

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

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: Algeria is the host country of the Second African-Asian Conference. Some peo-

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

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

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

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

Of course, on the above basis, Afro-Asian countries need to help supply each other's wants and aid each other on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

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

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

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

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

Concerning the question of restoring to China her legitimate rights in the United Nations, which was raised by the Japanese correspondents, Vice-Premier Chen

Yi said: The United Nations has long been controlled by the United States and has today become a place where two big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, conduct political transactions. This state of affairs has not changed although dozens of Afro-Asian and peace-loving countries have made no small amount of efforts in the United Nations. China need not take part in such a United Nations.

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

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

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

The United Nations must rectify its mistakes and undergo a thorough reorganization and reform. It must admit and correct all its past mistakes. Among other things, it should cancel its resolution condemning China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as ag-

gressors and adopt a resolution condemning the United States as the aggressor; the U.N. Charter must be reviewed and revised jointly by all countries, big and small; all independent states should be included in the United Nations; and all imperialist puppets should be expelled.

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

ON KUOMINTANG-COMMUNIST CO-OPERATION

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

ON SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

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

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

ON CHINA'S THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Japanese correspondents asked about China's Third Five-Year Plan. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: Next year our country will commence its Third Five-Year Plan. During the Second Five-Year Plan, our country

met with great difficulties in its national construction because of natural disasters, the blockade imposed by the U.S. imperialists and the stoppage of aid by Khrushchov. After three years of readjustment, there has been an all-round turn for the better in the situation, and our industrial and agricultural production has entered a new stage of development, a stage of general upsurge. We shall have a good harvest this year, but there still are natural disasters. It will take decades — 30 to 50 years more of efforts to build up China's industry, agriculture and national defence and raise them to a higher level.

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

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

ON CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Japanese correspondents asked about the development of nuclear weapons in China. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: China has exploded two atom bombs. I know this and so do you. A third atom bomb may be exploded.

As to the time of its explosion, please wait for our communique. Atomic technology and delivery technology are, of course, rather complicated, but Chinese, Asians and Africans certainly can all master them, if efforts are made.

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

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

ON THE DELIMITATION OF THE SINO-MONGOLIAN BOUNDARY

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

In reply, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: Tibet and the Mongolian People's Republic are two different matters,

which should not be mentioned in the same breath. The Mongolian People's Republic proclaimed independence in 1924 following a revolution, whereas Tibet has always been a part of China's territory.

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

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

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

Answering questions put by the correspondents of the Hongkong *Cheng Wu Pao*, *The Hongkong Evening News* and *The Global Digest* about the use of Hongkong by the United States in its war of aggression against Viet Nam,

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

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

an integral whole. The people of the world should maintain sharp vigilance and support each other in these struggles.

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

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

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

The Chinese people are ready to make all necessary sacrifices in the fight against imperialism. It is up to the U.S. President and the Pentagon to decide whether the United States wants a big war with China today. We cherish no illusions about U.S. imperialism. We are fully prepared against U.S. aggression. If the U.S. imperialists are determined to launch a war of aggression

against us, they are welcome to come sooner, to come as early as tomorrow. Let the Indian reactionaries, the British imperialists and the Japanese militarists come along with them! Let the modern revisionists act in co-ordination with them from the north! We will still win in the end. The great Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will not allow their leaders to take such a criminal decision. Who will meet with destruction—the U.S. imperialists or the people of the world? It can be said with certainty that the U.S. imperialists will perish, while the people of the whole world will win liberation. As a Chinese saying goes, good will be rewarded with good, and evil with evil; if the reward is not forthcoming, it is because the time has not arrived; and when the time arrives, one will get all the reward he deserves!

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

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

For sixteen years we have been waiting for the U.S. imperialists to come in and attack us. My hair has turned grey in waiting. Perhaps I will not have the luck to see the U.S. imperialist invasion of China, but my

children may see it, and they will resolutely carry on the fight. Let no correspondent think that I am bellicose. It is the U.S. imperialists who are brutal and vicious and who bully others too much. They are bullying the Chinese, the Koreans, the Vietnamese, the Khmers, the Laotians, the Indonesians, the Congolese and the Dominicans. Even their ally France is being bullied by them. Those who are bullied by them have risen against them and become friends of China. This is of the United States' own making.

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

The choice now is either to re-impose colonial shackles on the people of various countries in accordance with the global strategy of U.S. imperialism so as to subject them to enslavement and plunder, or to wage resolute struggles to defeat U.S. imperialism and put an end to the colonial system according to the will of the people, who dare to fight and dare to oppose imperialism, so that countries with different social systems can truly coexist

peacefully throughout the world. One has to choose either of the two alternatives. The modern revisionist way of seeking ease and comfort at the expense of principles is a blind alley. China is ready to make her contribution to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and old and new colonialism.

**VICE-PREMIER CHEN YI'S ANSWERS TO
QUESTIONS PUT BY TAKANO YOSHIHISA,
PEKING CORRESPONDENT OF
THE JAPANESE PAPER "AKAHATA"**

(December 30, 1965)

**ONE CAN NEVER BE "EXCESSIVE" IN COMBATING
AGGRESSION**

Question: The press conference given by Vice-Premier Chen Yi on September 29, 1965, in Peking has had great repercussions throughout the world. In particular, the view has arisen among some people that "excessively tough" words were used in expressing China's determination to fight against the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression. What do you think of this reaction?

Answer: I have also read about this reaction. I can understand how it has arisen, but I cannot agree with it.

I believe that most of those who think my words "excessively tough" do so because they are not acquainted with the facts of the ruthless aggressions committed by U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism has forcibly occupied China's territory of Taiwan, is constantly intruding into China's territorial waters and air space and is making frequent military provocations against China. It has surrounded China with a chain of military bases directed against her. It is steadily expanding its war

of aggression in Viet Nam. And recently it has publicly called China the "enemy number one of the United States". It may be asked, under these circumstances what other policy can we adopt than that of resolute struggle against the U.S. policy of aggression? One can never be "excessive" in combating aggression. The fact is that the U.S. imperialists are too truculent and tyrannical.

Of course, there are other people who have described my words as "excessively tough" out of ulterior motives. They are obsessed with the idea of peaceful coexistence with the U.S. aggressors, whereas I said a resolute struggle must be waged against the U.S. policy of aggression. So how can they not feel my words "excessively tough"?

U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the Chinese people; it is also the common enemy of the people of the whole world. It is subjecting nearly every country to its threat, control, interference or aggression, with the aim of attaining world hegemony. For this purpose, it has built up the biggest war machine in human history. It has more than 2,200 military bases and installations on foreign soil and has sent over one million aggressor troops abroad. In these circumstances, it is only natural for China, as a socialist country, to resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and resolutely support all oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggles for freedom and independence. Otherwise, she would be betraying her internationalist duty.

Firm opposition to the U.S. policies of aggression and war is in the fundamental interests of the people of the world. I am deeply confident that this just stand of ours accords with the interest of the people of the world and will surely win their sympathy and support.

EXCELLENT GENERAL SITUATION IN ASIA AND AFRICA

Question: Recently, there have been great upheavals in Asia and Africa, such as the postponement of the African-Asian conference and the coup d'etat in Indonesia. Some people are spreading the view that China is isolated. What is your view of the recent turbulent situation in Asia and Africa? Moreover, I would like to ask for your estimate of how the international situation, and particularly the Afro-Asian situation, will develop in 1966.

Answer: It is true that great upheavals have recently occurred in Asia and Africa. This is a manifestation of the deepening of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the Asian and African peoples. Although some adverse currents have appeared in certain areas in Asia and Africa, the general situation in these continents is excellent; it is most favourable to the Afro-Asian peoples and most unfavourable to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. In this connection, I wish to emphasize the great international significance of the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Suffering one defeat after another, U.S. imperialism has come to the end of its tether in its war of aggression against Viet Nam. It has met with firm opposition and strong condemnation by the people of the whole world, the American people included. President Ho Chi Minh has called on the Vietnamese people "to be determined to persevere in the fight and to undergo sacrifices for 10 or 20 years or a longer time, till complete victory". The brilliant victories won by the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation are inspiring the fighting will of the people of

the whole world. This is the most important factor in the current situation in Asia and Africa. At the same time, tempestuous struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States have arisen everywhere—in Japan, south Korea, the Congo (Leopoldville) and Southern Rhodesia. The surging revolutionary struggles of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism are the main current in the situation in Asia and Africa.

Not reconciled to their defeats, imperialism and reaction headed by the United States are throwing in all their forces to suppress the forces of revolution in Asia and Africa in an attempt to undermine the Afro-Asian peoples' cause of unity against imperialism. If the Afro-Asian peoples' struggles have met with some setbacks in individual areas, these are only temporary phenomena. The course of advance of a people's revolutionary struggle is never straight, it is bound to be wavelike.

Contrary to the view spread by some people, China is not isolated. Take the case of the postponement of the Second African-Asian Conference, to which you have referred. Together with many other Asian and African countries, China initiated the holding of the Second African-Asian Conference. When the situation became unfavourable to its success, China and many other Asian and African countries, proceeding from the consistent stand of upholding Afro-Asian solidarity, proposed to postpone the conference. The Second African-Asian Conference was postponed, and the imperialist plot to split the Afro-Asian countries was foiled. China has stood with the overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian countries, and we do not feel alone. Again, take the case of U.S. obstruction to the restoration of China's

legitimate rights in the United Nations. It is precisely in 1965 that for the first time the United States has failed to muster a majority on this question in the United Nations. The number of those who follow the United States is getting smaller and smaller, while that of China's supporters is growing bigger and bigger. How can it be said that China is isolated?

China is not isolated, and I am confident that she never will be. The reason is that the Chinese people firmly stand on the side of the people who are subjected to control, bullying, exploitation and oppression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States and the reactionaries in various countries, and who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population. Although certain individuals in Afro-Asian countries have joined the imperialists' anti-Chinese chorus because they have entered into the service of imperialism, and although the modern revisionists are also supporting the anti-Chinese hullabaloo, they are after all a small handful. The broad masses of the people of the world want friendship with China. We have friends all over the world. And with the steady development of the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, China will definitely have more and more friends. It is those who aid and abet U.S. imperialism and cry out against China that are becoming increasingly isolated.

The year 1966 will witness the further deepening and expansion of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of the world and will witness still greater victories for them. In the coming year, the national-democratic revolutionary movement may still meet with new difficulties and setbacks in certain areas of Asia and Africa, and adverse currents may still arise. We

Afro-Asian peoples and revolutionary and progressive parties, organizations and individuals must be vigilant and prepared for this.

No reactionary current can prevent the victorious advance of the revolutionary people of the world. The hundreds of millions of Afro-Asian people are determined to carry their revolutionary struggles against imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys through to the end. They are advancing wave upon wave in their valiant and dauntless march. This constitutes the main current of our era which no force on earth can stop. There are already signs of an approaching new and great anti-U.S. revolutionary storm in Asia and Africa and the whole world.

WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT U.S. IMPERIALISM

Question: The U.S. imperialists are still pursuing the policy of "escalation" in Viet Nam. Particularly, after McNamara's recent visit to south Viet Nam, they have sent large U.S. reinforcements there, intensified their bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and extended their aggression against Laos and Cambodia, thus aggravating the tension. How will China cope with this situation in Indo-China?

Answer: You are perfectly right. U.S. imperialism is continuing its policy of "escalation" in Viet Nam. While intensifying its war of aggression against Viet Nam, it is preparing to extend the war to Laos and Cambodia, to the whole of Indo-China. In the meantime, it has instructed the Sato government of Japan and Pak Jung Hi puppet clique in south Korea to conclude the "Japan-

ROK Treaty" in order to hasten the revival of Japanese militarism and has instigated the Indian reactionaries to launch constant provocations on the Sino-Indian border. It is quite obvious that U.S. imperialism is directing the spearhead of its aggression against the Indo-Chinese peoples, the Chinese people, the Korean people and all the Asian countries and peoples who refuse to be its slaves, and that it is trying through the instrumentality of the Japanese reactionaries to plunge the Japanese people into the disaster of a new war and launch a general war of aggression in Asia.

We have no illusions about U.S. imperialism, and we have made full preparations. We resolutely support the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Korea and Japan and all other peoples suffering from U.S. imperialist aggression in carrying their fight against U.S. imperialism through to the end. No matter what tricks U.S. imperialism plays and no matter how it "escalates" the war, it will never be able to change this just stand of ours.

We are very glad to see that more and more Americans have come to realize that it is the United States that is bullying China, not vice versa. They have begun to take action against the Johnson Administration's policies of aggression and war. Nevertheless, the iron-clad fact confronting us is that the spearhead of U.S. imperialist aggression is more and more clearly directed against China. If U.S. imperialism insists on extending the war to China, we cannot but resolutely take up the challenge and we will not call off the battle until complete victory. Together with the other peoples of Asia and the whole world, we will do our part in overthrowing U.S. imperialism, which is the arch-aggressor and arch-warmonger of our time.

**SOVIET LEADERS' ULTERIOR MOTIVES
IN "AIDING" VIET NAM**

Question: The people of China and the whole world have given material and moral support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle. In this connection, in the spring of 1965 the rumour was spread through the medium of the Western press that China was holding up the transport of Soviet aid material to Viet Nam. This rumour has recently cropped up again. Would you please tell me the facts of the matter?

Answer: China has abided by agreement and punctually transported the military material for Viet Nam which the Soviet Union asked us to help transport. And this has always been done free of any charge. Such is the truth of the matter. It is an absolutely deliberate slander to say that China has held up the transport of Soviet military material for Viet Nam.

The Soviet Union is the largest European socialist country. If it really wanted to help the Vietnamese people, if it really wanted to support and help their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation in an effective and all-round way, it could have taken all kinds of measures in many fields to immobilize forces of the United States and constantly exposed the U.S. plots of peace talks. But the Soviet leaders have not done so; on the contrary, they have in fact been giving the United States every facility, so that it can concentrate its forces against Viet Nam and continuously spread smokescreen of peace talks to becloud world opinion. In these circumstances, who can believe that the Soviet leaders are giving genuine support to Viet Nam?

The Soviet leaders are evading the major issue when they deliberately reduce the important political question

of supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to a matter of "transit of aid material for Viet Nam", to say nothing of their complete lack of justification on the latter question. The Soviet leaders harp on the fact that the Soviet Union has no common borders with Viet Nam, as if all aid material for Viet Nam has of necessity to go through China. This is not true. There are sea routes between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam. Why can't Soviet military material for Viet Nam be shipped by sea as is that of other countries? But the Soviet Union dare not take the sea routes. It has asked us to transport all of its military material for Viet Nam. We know very well what are the things we have helped it to transport. Both in quantity and quality, they are far from commensurate with the strength of the Soviet Union. But the Soviet leaders are boasting about this meagre aid and have constantly and everywhere spread the rumour that China is obstructing the transit of Soviet aid material for Viet Nam. Naturally, this cannot but strengthen people's conviction that their so-called aid to Viet Nam is given with ulterior motives. In reality, the Soviet leaders have not been sincerely helping the Vietnamese people to carry their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end, but want to make use of their so-called aid to control the Vietnamese situation and bring the Viet Nam question into the orbit of U.S.-Soviet collaboration. Otherwise, why should they have been continuously and groundlessly slandering the Chinese people, who are giving full support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people?

NO GOOD END FOR U.S. CAT'S-PAWS

Question: The Sato cabinet of Japan has railroaded through the "Japan-ROK Treaty" in an attempt to push Japan on to a more perilous path. What are your views on the recent policies of the Sato government? How do you envisage the future relations between Japan and China?

Answer: The forcible passage of the "Japan-ROK Treaty" by the Sato cabinet is a grave step taken by U.S. imperialism in its scheme to enlarge its war of aggression in Asia; it is also a grave step taken by the Japanese reactionaries to accelerate the revival of militarism and the organization of a Northeast Asia military alliance, a step which marks their determination to take an open part in U.S. wars of aggression. The spearhead of aggression of the "Japan-ROK Treaty" is directed against Korea, and likewise against China and other Asian countries.

This act of the Sato government is in direct contravention of the interest of the Japanese people and the fundamental interest of the Japanese nation. All those who are willing to be cat's-paws of U.S. imperialism in its extension of aggression and in its plot to "use Asians to fight Asians" will certainly come to no good end.

The Japanese and Korean peoples have already gone into action to oppose the "Japan-ROK Treaty" and the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries.

The Communist Party of Japan and the other democratic and progressive forces in Japan are uniting the people on a broader and broader scale and are unfolding a gigantic struggle against the "Japan-ROK Treaty", the

revival of Japanese militarism and the U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam and other Asian countries. The Japanese people will never allow U.S. imperialism to turn Japan into a military base for expanded wars of aggression. They will never consent to become cannon-fodder for the U.S. aggressors. They will never permit the Japanese reactionaries to commit aggression against the fraternal peoples of Korea, China and other Asian countries in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists.

Under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the heroic Korean people have achieved brilliant successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction following their great victory in the War of Liberation of the Fatherland. The Korean people have sufficient experience and strength to frustrate the aggressive schemes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The Chinese people firmly support the heroic Japanese and Korean peoples in their great struggle against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

Ever since it entered office, the Sato government has been following U.S. imperialism and working hard to undermine the positive results accumulated over the years in Sino-Japanese relations. No improvement in Sino-Japanese relations is possible unless the Sato government changes its policy of tailing after U.S. imperialism, reviving Japanese militarism and being hostile to China.

The Chinese and Japanese peoples have always been friendly to each other. In recent years, the fraternal Japanese people have worked tirelessly for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations and won great successes. We are sincerely grateful for this. I firmly

believe that Sino-Japanese relations will eventually be normalized through the joint efforts of the Japanese and Chinese peoples.

**EVER-VICTORIOUS THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG
GUIDES US ON**

Question: China will start her Third Five-Year Plan in 1966. In the context of the present internal and external situation, what special features and character does it have as compared with the two previous five-year plans?

Answer: The central content of our Third Five-Year Plan is to further develop the national economy, raise the people's standard of living and strengthen national defence on the basis of the results of the First and Second Five-Year Plans.

We had great difficulties in our socialist construction in the Second Five-Year Plan period because our country encountered three consecutive years of natural calamities, because there were some shortcomings and mistakes in our practical work, and because, on top of this, Khrushchov abruptly tore up several hundred agreements and contracts and withdrew all the Soviet experts within a month. After strenuous work of readjustment, we have achieved tremendous successes under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and our economy has been further strengthened and developed in the last few years. In 1965 we have paid up our foreign debts and become a state free from all foreign debt. We have overfulfilled the annual state plan ahead of schedule in the output of major industrial

products, such as iron, steel, coal and petroleum. We have gathered very good harvests. There is an ample supply of commodities on the market, and prices remain stable. Our country is entering a period of new upsurge, a period of all-round development in industrial and agricultural production.

As our country embarks on the Third Five-Year Plan, she is richer in experience in socialist construction, there are broader foundations for regeneration through self-reliance, and the revolutionary spirit of our people is more vigorous than ever. Of course, we shall still encounter difficulties of one kind or another along our path of socialist revolution and socialist construction. For instance, some areas in our country were hit by drought in 1965, and natural calamities may occur again in the coming years. Take another example. U.S. imperialism is now scheming to spread its war of aggression against Viet Nam to China. All such factors must be taken into account in the drawing up of our Third Five-Year Plan.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are continuing to develop the revolutionary tradition of thrift and hard work, firmly executing the policy of attaining national prosperity and strength through self-reliance, and striving to fulfil the Third Five-Year Plan. Our people are determined, in a short historical period, to build China into a socialist power with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern defence and modern science and technology. We are convinced that, under the guidance of the brilliant and ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung, we can surely attain our goal whatever happens in the world.

* * *

In conclusion, let me take this opportunity to pay high tribute to the Communist Party of Japan and the Japanese people who are engaged in a heroic struggle. May the Communist Party of Japan and the Japanese people win still greater victories in the coming year in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries.

陈毅副总理答记者问

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