

# PEKING REVIEW

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February 16, 1968

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## **Victory Certainly Belongs to the Heroic Vietnamese People Persevering In Struggle**

*Jiefangjun Bao* editorial

## **The Command of South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces Issues Special Communique**

*Heroic Exploits of a Chinese P.L.A. Air Squadron*

# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.

*On Coalition Government (April 1945)*

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The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.

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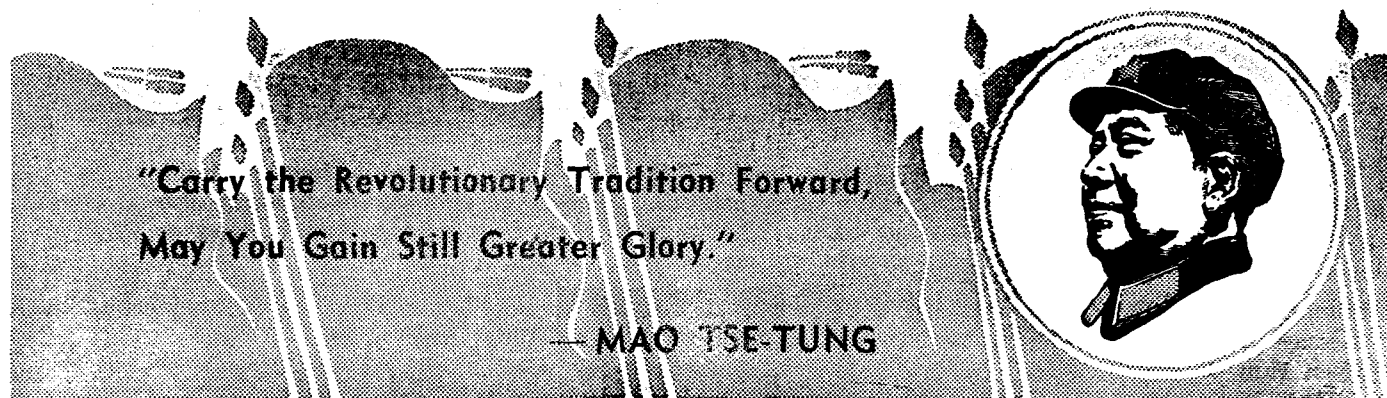
The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.

*Be Concerned With the Well-Being  
of the Masses, Pay Attention to  
Methods of Work (January 1934)*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman



## THE WEEK

# The Great Leader Chairman Mao Approves Renaming Kiangsi Province's Chian Special Administrative Region the Ching kangshan Special Administrative Region

OUR great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee have approved the eager request of the proletarian revolutionaries, the broad revolutionary masses and all commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. units stationed in the region, to change the name of Kiangsi Province's Chian Special Administrative Region into the Ching kangshan Special Administrative Region. This is the area where the Ching kang Mountains are — site of the first Red base area of the Chinese revolution.

Forty years ago, Chairman Mao personally raised the red flag of revolution on the Ching kang Mountains, and opened up the glorious revolutionary road of encircling the cities from the countryside and seizing political power by force of arms. Today, China has become the base area of the world revolution; the revolutionary red flag of the Ching kang Mountains flies over the whole world, and the revolutionary road of the Ching kang Mountains leads to all parts of the world.

Over the past year and more, the people of the Ching kang Mountains, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, closely fol-

lowing his great strategic plan and resolutely carrying out his proletarian revolutionary line, have achieved a decisive victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

On February 5, the establishment of the Revolutionary Committee of the Ching kangshan Special Administrative Region was solemnly proclaimed. At the meeting held to found it and celebrate this event, Comrade Cheng Shih-ching, Chairman of the Kiangsi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, read out the decision of Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee approving the change of name. The revolutionary masses attending the meeting, 50,000-strong, long and enthusiastically cheered this expression of Chairman Mao's deepest solicitude for and greatest encouragement to the sons and daughters of the Ching kang Mountains. Again and again the masses cheered: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

Speaking at the celebration rally on behalf of the people of the Ching kangshan Special Administrative Region, Comrade Wang Shih-chang,

chairman of the region's revolutionary committee, expressed their resolve to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, develop, on a still bigger scale, the mass movement to foster great devotion to the public interest and great loyalty, implement Chairman Mao's latest instructions in an all-round way, and turn the Ching kangshan region into a big red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

There was jubilation wherever the happy news spread. In Nanchang there was an 80,000-strong celebration rally. The other five special administrative regions and Ching-tehchen city in Kiangsi also held rallies and other celebrations. Everywhere the revolutionary people pledged: We sons and daughters of the Ching kang Mountains are determined to carry on and mightily enhance the firm and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the Ching kang Mountains, follow the great teaching of the great leader Chairman Mao. "Carry the revolutionary tradition forward, may you gain still greater glory," be always loyal to Chairman Mao, to his thought and his revolutionary line, and fight valiantly for the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

# President Nguyen Huu Tho's Message of Thanks to Premier Chou En-lai

- The wholehearted support given by the 700 million Chinese people, led by Chairman Mao, to Vietnam's war against U.S. aggression strongly encourages the armed forces and people of south Vietnam to deal still more powerful blows at the U.S. and puppet troops.

Premier Chou En-lai has received a message dated February 4 from Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, thanking him for his warm congratulations which were extended on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese Government on the splendid victories of the armed forces and people of south Vietnam since the Spring Festival. The message reads:

Peking

His Excellency **Chou En-lai**,

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

**Respected and beloved Premier,**

On behalf of the south Vietnamese people and the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, I express heartfelt thanks to you for your warm congratulations extended in the name of the Chinese people and the Chi-

nese Government on the brilliant victories scored by the south Vietnamese armed forces and people since the Spring Festival and for your reiterated pledge that the 700 million Chinese people will provide us with powerful backing in our cause against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The noble sentiments of militant solidarity of the Chinese people expressed in your message strongly inspire and encourage our armed forces and people to dash forward in the midst of victory, continue to inflict still harder and successive mortal blows at the U.S. aggressor troops and their lackeys and achieve complete victory.

We are deeply aware that in their death throes the U.S. aggressor troops and their hirelings will react madly, put up desperate struggles, and perpetrate many more crimes against our people in south Vietnam. But, however barbarous and stub-

born they may be, they cannot avert their doom.

On this occasion, I express the profound gratitude of the south Vietnamese armed forces and people and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the brotherly Chinese people headed by the respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tse-tung for their wholehearted support and assistance to our war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Please accept, Your Excellency the Premier, the assurances of my highest consideration.

**Nguyen Huu Tho,**

President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

February 4, 1968  
South Vietnam

## Press Conference by Nguyen Van Quang

Nguyen Van Quang, head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to China, gave a press conference in Peking on February 7. He told Chinese and foreign correspondents about the exceedingly brilliant victories won recently by the south Vietnamese armed forces and people in their all-round offensive. On the basis of the new victories, he said, they would launch a general offensive which would be more powerful and on a wider scale and more penetrating so as to wipe out the U.S. aggressors and overthrow the Nguyen Van Thieu-Nguyen Cao Ky clique, and win complete victory.

Nguyen Van Quang said: Our armed forces and people have never

before attacked the U.S. imperialists and their puppets on the battlefields in south Vietnam on such a great scale, with such all-round, country-wide, lightning and highly efficient attacks as in the last few days. Never before have the various strata of the patriotic masses of south Vietnam, from Quang Tri Province down to Cape Ca Mau, risen up and staged uprisings with such a seething and powerful spirit. Nguyen Van Quang's vivid and inspiring description drew rounds of warm applause from those present.

The recent victories, he pointed out, reflect the capacity of the south Vietnamese armed forces and people to carry out a powerful, all-round and continued offensive, and their exceedingly rapid growth and maturity in leadership and com-

mand, strategy, tactics and technique. These show that they are fully capable of thoroughly defeating the 1,200,000 U.S., puppet and satellite troops in south Vietnam.

Nguyen Van Quang said: These victories are victories for the correct programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, a programme which is bringing about a new upsurge in the revolution in south Vietnam.

He added: The more than a million U.S., puppet and satellite troops in south Vietnam are now in an impasse. He pointed out at the same time: U.S. imperialism will never change its nature. It is trying to save itself from defeat there, but no matter what barbarous means it may resort to and no matter what desperate struggles it may carry

(Continued on p. 10.)

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**“Perseverance means victory. I am deeply convinced that by persevering in protracted war the Vietnamese people will surely drive the U.S. aggressors out of their country.”**

**— MAO TSE-TUNG**

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JIEFANGJUN BAO

# **Victory Certainly Belongs to the Heroic Vietnamese People Persevering in Struggle**

**— Warmest congratulations to the south Vietnamese people on their brilliant victories**

**T**HE heroic south Vietnamese people and their armed forces have, in their sweeping whirlwind new spring offensive, won brilliant world-shaking victories. In the short space of six days, they have wiped out more than 50,000 enemy troops, among them over 10,000 U.S. aggressors, disintegrated 200,000 puppet troops, destroyed over 1,500 enemy aircraft and inflicted most serious defeats on the U.S. gangsters and their lackeys militarily, politically, strategically and tactically. At present, the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces are following up their victories by launching fierce offensives on the Khe Sanh and other battlefields and sweeping away the panic-stricken U.S. and puppet troops to seize new and still greater victories.

These powerful and fierce attacks in the new spring opened up a new situation for the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and pushed the south Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle to a new height. These great victories showed the invincible power of the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces, proved the omnipotence of people's war and declared the shameful bankruptcy of U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression against Vietnam. They gave the U.S. gangsters, who are madly trying to expand the war of aggression in Vietnam, thundering blows. They were a big slap on the face of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique who have been running hither and thither doing their best to serve the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" frauds and they delivered fatal blows to those diehard lackeys and running dogs of U.S. imperialism. The earth-shaking victories of the Vietnamese people are a great encouragement to the Asian, African and Latin American and other peoples of the world who are waging anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles.

Heroic Vietnamese comrades-in-arms, you have put up a fierce, powerful and splendid fight! From the depth of our hearts the Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army admire you and we rejoice over your

great victories! We extend to you our warmest congratulations, sincerest regards and highest respects!

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that **“the richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people.”**

The magnificent victories won by the people of south Vietnam in their new spring offensive are another soul-stirring ode to the theory of people's war. This offensive stands unmatched in the annals of the south Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation by its scale, overpowering momentum, excellent organization and the number of casualties inflicted on the enemy. It has carried the Vietnamese people's war to a higher plane. A salient feature of this offensive is the co-ordination between army and civilians, between city and countryside and from within and outside. Wherever the liberation forces went, the broad masses of the people in the cities and countryside rose in uprising and the various patriotic forces combined to form a grand revolutionary army and fought shoulder to shoulder and in close co-ordination with the liberation forces. They gave a sound thrashing to the U.S. gangsters and rounded up Vietnamese traitors and thugs and overthrew the rule of traitors and lackeys, with the result that a powerful revolutionary storm is sweeping the land. The patriotic officers and men in the puppet army have, in big groups, turned their guns to join in fighting against the enemy. In south Vietnam today, the people's political forces and armed forces have rapidly expanded and grown stronger. The vast sea of people's war has now swept not only the broad countryside but the cities as well.

The hammer blows of people's war, like thunderbolts, have beaten U.S. imperialism, the so-called superpower of the capitalist world, black and blue. A good number of nerve centres and key departments of the U.S. aggressors and the puppet clique in the land have been hit hard; their military bases, airfields, camps and warehouses have been crippled and blasted; and large

numbers of their effectives have been put out of action. The puppet regime, which U.S. imperialism has been propping up with might and main, is now crumbling. The U.S. aggressors have thrown half a million of their own troops into the south Vietnam battlefield, yet they now find that there is not a single spot that is safe for them on the land. All this has thoroughly showed up their true features as paper tigers. Facts have once again eloquently confirmed the great truth pointed out by the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "A nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wages a people's war."

In the new spring offensive, the heroic South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces have given full play to their spirit of revolutionary heroism and have displayed their sense of organization and discipline to a high degree and have given full play to the human factor. They have been fighting continuously and with extraordinary courage, fearing no fatigue or sacrifice. Defying death they have distinguished themselves by their boldness and daring to break into the very citadels of the enemy and to engage it at close quarters. They overran the strongholds of the U.S. aggressors and the puppets and invariably caught them by surprise. We should learn in earnest from the heroism of the armed forces and people of south Vietnam, their scorn for the formidable enemy, their courage and tenacity in fighting and their flexibility in strategy and tactics.

The situation today in Vietnam's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is excellent — better than ever before. It is now not a question of whether the Vietnamese people can win the war or not, nor is it a question of whether they can win big victories or small ones; it is that they are definitely going to win and have already won great victories. U.S.

imperialism though in unprecedented dire straits, still refuses to reconcile itself to its defeat. Exhausted and glum, Lyndon Johnson has consulted again and again his top military and political aides in the past few days and actively planned new ventures to widen the war of aggression against Vietnam in a more frenzied attempt to put up a last-ditch struggle. But, no matter how many more stakes the Johnson Administration may pile up, it has no hope of saving itself from total defeat.

In his message of greetings to President Nguyen Huu Tho of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung said: "Perseverance means victory." President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people, also called upon the Vietnamese army and people to "fight perseveringly, harder and without let-up, so as to win still greater victories." The Vietnamese people, in their victorious advance, are firmly resolved to fight on to the end. They will certainly win final victory so long as they advance from strength to strength, surmount every difficulty, persevere in protracted fighting, give full play to the enormous power of people's war and constantly wipe out enemy effectives.

Our great supreme commander Chairman Mao declared: "The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area." The struggle of the Vietnamese people is also ours and the victory of the Vietnamese people means our victory. The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and have been steeled in the great proletarian cultural revolution, resolutely support the Vietnamese people to fight to the finish, until every single U.S. aggressor is driven out of Vietnam.

(*"Jiefangjun Bao" editorial, February 9*)

## Chinese Army and People Warmly Hail Great Victories of South Vietnamese Armed Forces and People

CHINA'S 700 million people who share joy and sorrow with the Vietnamese people are overjoyed at the happy tidings announcing the great new spring victories won by the south Vietnamese armed forces and people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. From Peking the capital to the southern port city of Kwangchow, from Shanghai on the east coast to Sian in the northwest, armymen and civilians have been holding rallies and organizing various celebrations to warmly hail and greet the smashing victories won by the south Vietnamese people. Huge slogans are splashed along the roads and at street corners acclaiming these great victories. The press is full of articles praising the valiant Vietnamese people.

The south Vietnamese armed forces and people have got the U.S. aggressors encircled in the great ocean of people's war. The people of Vietnam will certainly win! U.S. imperialism is sure to go down in defeat! This is the opinion of the Chinese people everywhere. From the depth of their hearts, the Chinese people admire and are resolved to learn from the firm will, high sense of organization and discipline of the Vietnamese people and from the dauntless spirit of fearing no sacrifice in facing any ordeal that they display in fighting. The Chinese people are confident that by persevering in protracted war the Vietnamese people will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the 700 mil-

**"The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area. In the face of the solid militant unity of our two peoples, all military adventures and political deceptions by U.S. imperialism are doomed to fail."**

**- MAO TSE-TUNG**

lion Chinese people are determined to provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people and resolutely support them in carrying the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end.

In Peking, the people broke into loud cheers once more on hearing the special communique No. 2 (see p.12) issued by the Command of the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces. They congratulated their Vietnamese brothers for fighting so well and winning such splendid victories.

Delegates to the Second Congress of Activists in the Study of Chairman Mao's Works in the P.L.A. Air Force and the Second Congress of Activists in the Study of Chairman Mao's Works in the P.L.A. General Logistics Department gave expression to their elation by enthusiastically shouting these slogans: "Learn from the heroic armed forces and people of south Vietnam!" "Salute the heroic armed forces and people of south Vietnam!" "Long live the victory of people's war!" They recited time and again the following passage in the great leader Chairman Mao's Message of Greetings to President Nguyen Huu Tho: **"You are putting up a good fight! Relying on your own strength, you have under most difficult conditions badly battered U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious of imperialism in the world, and landed it in an impasse. This is a great victory. The Chinese people salute you."** Chairman Mao's good fighter Nien Ssu-wang said: "The victory of the armed forces and people of south Vietnam is a great victory for people's war. Their victory has greatly raised the morale of the revolutionary people and has punctured the arrogance of imperialism, revisionism and reaction."

Learning over the radio the good news in the special communique, the poor and lower-middle peasants of the China-Vietnam Friendship People's Commune who cherish deep love for the Vietnamese people said jubilantly that their Vietnamese brothers have done an excellent job in the fighting, and this is wonderful news. Our Vietnamese brothers, they pointed out, have brought the infinite power of people's war into full play and developed it to new heights. "We must learn from our Vietnamese brothers their dauntless revolutionary spirit of daring to fight, daring to seize victory and fearing no sacrifice," they declared.

In Shanghai, when the special communique was read at a celebration meeting of the Public Utilities Administration's office in charge of Vietnamese trainees and the Public Transport Company, the overjoyed gathering shouted: "The Vietnamese people will surely win! U.S. imperialism is doomed to fail!" "Long live the victory of people's war!" "Long live President Ho Chi Minh!"

"Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" A leading member of the revolutionary committee of the Public Transport Company pointed out at the rally that the time for the complete defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam was not far off. But the enemy would not accept doom lying down, he would struggle to the last ditch. The Vietnamese people must travel a hard stretch of road involving bitter struggles before they won complete victory. The great leader Chairman Mao has said: **"Perseverance means victory."** We are confident, said the committee member, that final victory certainly belongs to the Vietnamese people who dare to fight and dare to win.

Nguyen Ngoc Chinh, head, Tran Quang Minh, deputy head, and members of the Vietnamese trainee group in Shanghai attended some of the city's celebration rallies. In his speech, Nguyen Ngoc Chinh said that the recent victories of the armed forces and people of south Vietnam eloquently proved once again that no enemy weapon of any kind could frighten the heroic Vietnamese people. They would fight on to the very end, he continued, no matter how frantic U.S. imperialism might be. The more frenzied the enemy became, the more it proved his feebleness. All the Vietnamese people were determined to fight to the finish to liberate the south, defend the north and reunify the fatherland.

P.L.A. commanders and fighters in Kwangchow held celebration rallies on receiving the news of the great victories of the south Vietnamese armed forces and people. They warmly cheered their great victory. Full of enthusiasm, the P.L.A. commanders and fighters detailed to help the Left at Whampoa Harbour quoted Chairman Mao's teaching: **"The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area."** The Chinese people, they pointed out, are brothers of the Vietnamese people sharing joy and sorrow together. The struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is as much a cause of the Chinese people. Every single victory won by the Vietnamese people inspires the 700 million Chinese people. We must by practical action grasp revolution and promote production to support the struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people, they declared.

Meetings of many kinds were held by the revolutionary people in Kwangchow. Representatives of the revolutionary workers and staff of the Kwangchow Shipyard, a leading member of the Whampoa Harbour Bureau and representatives of the Whampoa Harbour



workers expressed the opinion that the victories won by the armed forces and people of Vietnam eloquently proved that they had completely taken the initiative in the war in which large numbers of enemy effectives had been put out of action. At present, they stressed, it was not a question whether the Vietnamese people could or could not win the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, nor was it a question of whether they could win big victories or small ones. "They are going to win without fail and have already won great victories," they said.

Nguyen Van Tuoc, consul, Le Xuan Bach, vice-consul, of the D.R.V. Consulate General in Kwangchow, and Vietnamese trainees and seamen in Kwangchow attended various celebration meetings. Nguyen Van Tuoc and Le Xuan Bach spoke at those they attended. The recent victories, they said, showed the stupendous power of people's war. The wholehearted sympathy and support and effective aid given to the Vietnamese people by the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and Chinese people with the beloved and great leader Chairman Mao at the head, and in particular the message of greetings sent by Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Vietnamese people, to President Nguyen Huu Tho, together with Premier Chou En-lai's recent message of congratulation to President Nguyen Huu Tho, have greatly inspired the 14 million people in the south and the 17 million in the north. The people of Vietnam, they stressed, resolutely responding to the sacred call of President Ho Chi Minh, would fight to win, defy difficulties and sacrifices and carry the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end until final victory is won.

In the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region bordering Vietnam, P.L.A. men and civilians have held rallies, warmly hailing the brilliant, world-shaking vic-

tories won by the valiant armed forces and people of south Vietnam. In Nanning, capital of the Kwangsi region, the representative of revolutionary students of the Institute of Nationalities declared at one of the meetings that the Vietnamese people had set a ring of flames around the U.S. imperialists, who dashed helplessly to and fro like mad bulls. Poor and lower-middle peasants on the outskirts of Nanning expressed the view at celebration rallies that they stand in the frontline of supporting the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and will resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's latest instructions, do a good job in grasping revolution and promoting production and by practical action support their Vietnamese brothers in carrying their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end. Representatives of P.L.A. commanders and fighters pointed out at celebration meetings that the south Vietnamese armed forces and people once again proved by their great victory the brilliant statement of our great leader Chairman Mao that **"a nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wages a people's war."**

At the celebration rallies and discussion meetings held throughout China, armymen and civilians pledge: they will hold higher still the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, adhere firmly to Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, completely fulfil Chairman Mao's latest instructions, grasp revolution and promote production and other work and promote preparations against war. They will, by practical actions, win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution to support the Vietnamese people in carrying their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to the end.

(Continued from p. 6.)

out, U.S. imperialism can never avert its final defeat.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the armed forces and people of south Vietnam, he said, have complete confidence in the steel-like determination of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the entire Vietnamese nation, to support the revolutionary cause in south Vietnam. The 14 million people and armed forces of south Vietnam are determined to stand shoulder to shoulder with their north Vietnamese compatriots and rush forward in the midst of victories and deal still more powerful blows to the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and achieve the objec-

tives of their fight, i.e., build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous south Vietnam and then to reunify their fatherland.

Nguyen Van Quang declared: The respected and beloved Chairman Mao's message of greetings to President Nguyen Huu Tho on the 7th anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (see *Peking Review*, No. 52, 1967) and Premier Chou En-lai's February 2 message to President Nguyen Huu Tho greeting the great victories of the south Vietnamese armed forces and people since the Spring Festival (see *Peking Review*, No. 6, 1968) constitute a tremendous encouragement to us in rallying the south Vietnamese people to rush forward and win still more splendid victories.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, I express my heartfelt thanks to the People's Republic of China, the 700 million Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party headed by the respected and beloved Chairman Mao for their enthusiastic and all-round support for the south Vietnamese people.

Nguyen Van Quang said: Our struggle is a just one. We have a correct political line and we have the might of people's war. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to fight and to win, and we have the sympathy and support of the revolutionary people of the whole world. We are sure to win final victory in our fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

# President Ho Chi Minh Most Warmly Congratulates President Nguyen Huu Tho

**H**O CHI MINH, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on February 4 sent a message to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and to the Front's Central Committee, extending the warmest congratulations on the splendid victories won by the armed forces and people of south Vietnam since the new spring.

The message said: In the first few days of the new spring, the armed forces and people in our south Vietnam fought very well, launching widespread attacks in harmonious co-ordination; they attacked on all battlefields and won tremendous victories everywhere! The U.S. bandits and their hirelings have received thunderbolt blows that left them in utter bewilderment and panic while the puppet administration and puppet army are disintegrating by whole segments. Highly elated, our compatriots throughout the country are proud of these victories. Our friends on all the five continents are extremely happy!

It added: The victories won by the armed forces and people in south Vietnam in the new spring have brought the war of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation in which our entire people are engaged to a new and very favourable situation. No force on earth can save the U.S. bandits and their henchmen from complete collapse.

The nearer the victory, it pointed out, the greater the hardships. The enemy, like a cornered beast, will react more madly. Therefore, our armed forces and people should further strengthen their solidarity, fight perseveringly, harder and without let-up, so as to win still greater victories.

The message said in conclusion: Justice is on our side. Our compatriots and fighters throughout the country are of one mind, valiant, resourceful and determined to fight and to win. We are sure to win complete victory!

## President Nguyen Huu Tho Sends Message of Thanks to President Ho Chi Minh

**P**RESIDENT NGUYEN HUU THO of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation sent a message on February 6 to President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, thanking him for his warm congratulations on the brilliant victories won by the south Vietnam armed forces and people since the Spring Festival.

The message said: During the stirring days of the new spring which seethed with revolutionary fervour, all the compatriots and fighters in the south, who were launching incessant attacks, rising up everywhere in struggle, overwhelming the enemy and winning great victories, heard with firm conviction and boundless enthusiasm President Ho's tremendous encouragement to and warm praise for all the compatriots, people's liberation armed forces and all other patriotic forces in the south.

It added: The encouragement and praise from President Ho are a great honour to the armed forces and people of south Vietnam, and have helped to increase their strength and raise their confidence in sure victory.

For nearly a decade now, the message said, the south Vietnamese people, who are united as one and devoted to the same cause under the banner of the Na-

tional Front for Liberation, have surmounted all difficulties, smashed all U.S. imperialist plots of aggression, and won most spectacular victories. The attacks of the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces, which have the force of a hurricane, and their rising up everywhere in struggle in the new spring have thrown the enemy into a panic. These victories have created a highly favourable new situation for the revolutionary struggle in liberating the south. Nothing on earth can save the U.S. imperialist aggressors from thorough defeat and the puppet administration and puppet army from complete collapse and disintegration. More splendid victories are in store for the south Vietnamese people.

The message said: The extremely magnificent, all-round victories by the south Vietnamese people are inseparable from the wholehearted support of the 17 million flesh-and-blood compatriots in the north and the daily solicitude and care shown for the south Vietnamese people by President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our nation, and from the invaluable support and aid given by brothers and friends on the five continents. The message added: The U.S. bandits are now suffering heavy defeats and are panic-stricken. True to their aggressive and bellicose nature, they will resort to all kinds of brutality and cunning schemes

*(Continued on p. 16.)*

# South Vietnam P.L.A.F. Command Issues Special Communique

- Splendid battle achievements of the people's war characterized by close co-ordination between armed forces and civilians in south Vietnam: in six days, over 10,000 U.S. aggressor troops and 40,000 puppet troops wiped out, 200,000 puppet troops disintegrated, over 1,500 enemy planes and over 4,000 military vehicles destroyed and 50 enemy warships and gunboats sunk or destroyed.
- The communique calls on all armed forces and people to bear in mind the teaching of President Ho Chi Minh, strengthen their solidarity and hit hard at the enemy who is reacting madly.

**T**HE heroic armed forces and people of south Vietnam won unprecedented spectacular victories in sweeping attacks on all fronts in the new spring — attacks characterized by close co-ordination between armed forces and civilians, between cities and countryside, and from within and without — by giving full play to the dauntless spirit of fearing no sacrifice in facing any ordeal.

According to the figures published in the special communique No. 2 issued on February 6 by the Command of the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces, in the six days from the night of January 29 to February 4, the liberation armed forces and people of south Vietnam wiped out more than 50,000 enemy troops, including over 10,000 U.S. aggressor troops, and disintegrated 200,000 puppet troops. Many U.S. and puppet army units were annihilated, including three armoured regiments and 29 battalions. The armed forces and people of south Vietnam also mounted surprise attacks on 30 American and puppet airfields including Da Nang, Tan Son Nhut and Bien Hoa, destroyed more than 1,500 enemy planes and over 4,000 enemy military vehicles, and sank or destroyed 50 enemy warships and gunboats.

The special communique said: in response to the call to battle issued by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces, together with the local people and various kinds of patriotic armed forces, launched fierce attacks against the enemy on all fronts on the night of January 29 or in the small hours of January 30. The people in cities and villages that were still temporarily held by

the enemy rose in battle simultaneously. With the force of an avalanche, the 14 million people in south Vietnam have advanced courageously, carried out spectacular exploits in fighting such as were never seen before in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and brought the revolution in the south to a new high tide.

The communique said that the armed forces and the people in south Vietnam mounted attacks and rose in struggle in six major cities — Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Nha Trang, Qui Nhon and Da Lat — and in virtually all provincial capitals and cities. Up to February 4, they had launched extensive attacks and struggles against 37 provincial capitals and cities, hundreds of district cities and towns and large tracts of rural areas that were still temporarily occupied by the enemy.

A great number of top military and administrative organizations of the U.S.-puppet clique in various cities such as the U.S. "embassy," the puppet "president's residence," the headquarters of the general staff of the puppet army, the puppet navy command, the U.S. marines' command, and the puppet police general headquarters were attacked by the liberation armed forces and people. Attacks were also mounted against the commands of all four military sectors of the puppet army (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th), the commands of eight of the 11 divisions of the puppet army (1st, 2nd, 23rd, 25th, 7th, 9th, 21st and 18th), the headquarters of two of the puppet army's special sectors (one in Saigon and the 24th special sector in Kon Tum), the commands of 15 puppet regiments and two U.S. field commands, etc.

The south Vietnamese armed forces and people attacked 30 enemy airfields including 11 of the 14 major

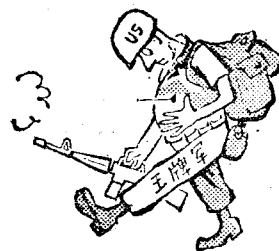
Straight  
Through  
to Johnson



South Vietnamese  
people



"Special forces"



"Ace troops"



"Pacification  
programme"

airfields of the U.S.-puppet clique: the Da Nang, Chu Lai, Nha Trang, Dong Tac, Bien Hoa, Tan Son Nhut, Phu Bai, Qui Nhon, Pleiku, Can Tho and Phan Rang airfields. The other 19 airfields attacked were those at Dong Ha, Ai Tu, Ta Con, Hue, Tay Loc, Nuoc Man, Ban Me Thuot, An Khe, Bong Son, Kon Tum, Dong Ba Thin, Vinh Long, Soc Trang, Ba Xuyen, Vi Thanh, Tra Vinh, Ben Tre, My Tho, and Dong Du. Altogether more than 1,500 enemy planes were destroyed.

The communique said that the south Vietnamese armed forces and people also disrupted various enemy land and water communication lines, completely paralysing such important arteries as Highways 1, 4, and 14.

During this period, the south Vietnamese armed forces and people destroyed more than 4,000 enemy military vehicles of all kinds, including large numbers of tanks and armoured cars. They also sank or destroyed 50 enemy warships and gunboats.

All enemy radio stations in the six major cities and many rediffusion stations in various cities were destroyed.

Many enemy logistic bases, dumps and depots for strategic stockpiling were also assaulted. The south Vietnamese armed forces and people captured or destroyed millions of tons of ammunition, oil and all kinds of war equipment.

According to initial reports, the communique said, the south Vietnamese armed forces and people wiped out altogether more than 50,000 enemy troops including over 10,000 Americans and disintegrated 200,000 puppet troops. Many American and puppet army units were annihilated, including three armoured regiments (the No. 7 puppet armoured regiment and two U.S. armoured regiments stationed in Hue and Phu Bai) and 29 battalions (including 9 U.S. battalions and a battalion of Australian satellite troops). Many units of puppet troops were disintegrated, including 3 regiments, 12 infantry battalions, 1 armoured sub-regiment and 4 military training centres.

The south Vietnamese armed forces and people captured tens of thousands of arms of all kinds and destroyed hundreds of guns of different calibre.

The communique said that, fighting in close co-ordination with the various revolutionary armed forces, the people of all strata in various places rose in action to overthrow the local regimes of traitors and running

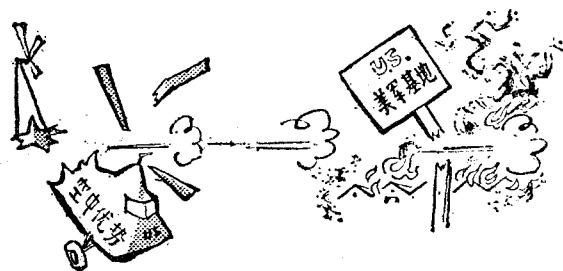
dogs, smashed the fetters of enemy rule, wiped out those notorious puppet officials whose hands were stained with the blood of the people, freed more than 20,000 people from enemy prisons and established revolutionary regimes.

The communique said that in the revolutionary storm, the political and armed forces of the people have grown very rapidly in size and strength. Millions of people, men and women, young and old, irrespective of difference in political beliefs, religious creed and nationality, have united as one, struggled vigorously and contributed their part to the cause of the liberation of the fatherland. The various alliances of national and peace forces in Saigon, the alliance of national, democratic and peace forces in Hue and various other revolutionary organizations came into being and took up the glorious tasks of the nation. The People's Liberation Armed Forces have given full play to their tradition of being determined to fight and to win. Various armed self-defence units, the militia-guerrillas and various insurgent contingents have emerged. Many patriotic armed groups have come into being. They fought side by side with the people against the enemy and for national salvation with arms captured from the enemy.

There was great commotion among the ranks of the puppet army and the puppet administration. Many officers and men and even whole units of the puppet army and many functionaries of the puppet regime have crossed over to the side of the people in response to the call of the fatherland. Preliminary reports said that puppet soldiers rose en masse and gave up 169 strongholds and posts in eleven provinces alone and joined the ranks of the revolutionaries. Many patriotic soldiers in the puppet army who oppose the American aggressors and the Nguyen Van Thieu-Nguyen Cao Ky clique have set up organizations of their own.

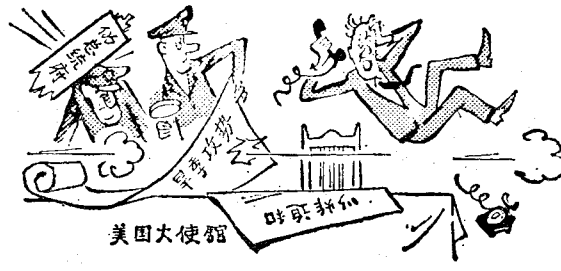
The communique said that in face of the crushing military attacks by the revolutionary armed forces of all categories and the lashing storms of struggle by the people rising everywhere, the U.S. bandits and their lackeys have suffered disastrous defeats in all fields, militarily and politically, strategically and tactically, and have been driven into dire straits. They have been pinned down everywhere and beaten in all key places. The Americans have been compelled to scatter their forces, weakening their combat strength immensely. The puppet army is fast disintegrating. The corrupt and

(Continued on p. 16.)



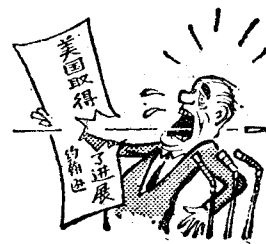
"Air superiority"

U.S. military bases



U.S. "embassy"  
Puppet "president's  
residence"

Dry-season offensive  
Forcing peace talks  
through bombing

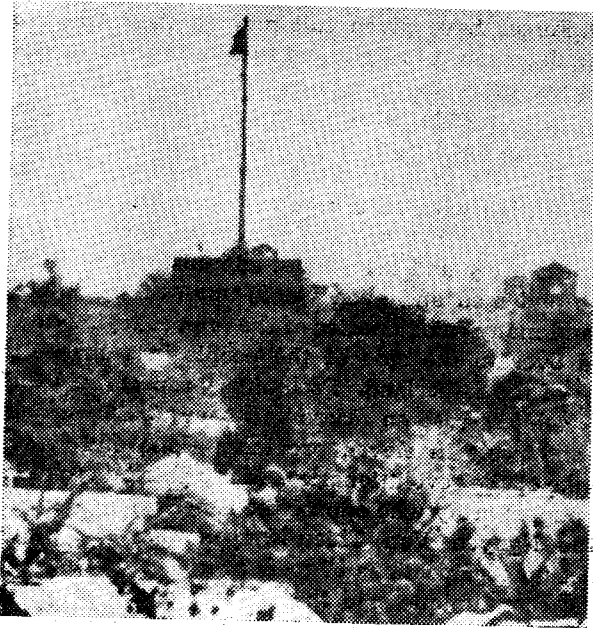


The United States  
has made progress.  
- Johnson

“Every Communist must grasp the truth, ‘Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.’ ”

— MAO TSE-TUNG

## The Boundless Power of People's War



The glorious flag of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation flies proudly over Hue.



Fighters of the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces summing up their experience in battle and laughing at the inherent weakness of the U.S. imperialist paper tiger.



The heroic South Vietnam P.L.A.F. pursuing the enemy.

**"The U.S. imperialists and reactionaries of all countries are paper tigers."**

**— MAO TSE-TUNG**

## **True Nature of the U.S. Imperialist Paper Tiger Exposed**



**Wreckage of the U.S. national emblem at the gate of the shot-up U.S. "embassy" in Saigon.**



**Enemy guards at the puppet "president's residence" scuttle away in panic after being overwhelmed by the South Vietnam P.L.A.F.**

**Scared to death under the powerful attack of the South Vietnam P.L.A.F., U.S. aggressor troops in Hue huddle together behind a tank to save their skins.**



**Thrashed by the South Vietnam P.L.A.F., the U.S. gangsters flee from the Khe Sanh battlefield.**

(Continued from p. 13.)

decadent puppet regime is falling apart. The foundations on which the neo-colonialist policy of the United States is based in south Vietnam are crumbling at their very roots.

The communique said that the victories won in the past few days by the south Vietnamese armed forces and people are extremely great, all-round victories of utmost importance. They have made it clear that the south Vietnamese armed forces and people are invincible. Their invincible might comes from the unity of the entire population rallying with one mind and one heart under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation.

This testifies to the joint might of people's war, the incomparably rich and creative forms of fighting and struggle, and the various armed and political forces which have fought brilliantly, fiercely and extensively and have won spectacular victories. These victories have also shown that our position is more secure and our forces have become stronger than ever. Our armed forces and people have given full play to their initiative in attack. They dashed forward in unison. The more they fought, the greater their victories. They attacked without let-up in the flush of their past victories, scored ever bigger ones and will go on fighting until complete victory. Our moral, organizational and other strength becomes greater in the course of the fighting. We develop our own strength while fighting. We are fully capable of defeating the enemy under any circumstances.

These victories are inseparable from the sincere support of our brothers and friends in the five continents who are giving us energetic assistance and encouragement, the communique said.

The communique said that the great victories won by the armed forces and people in the south have also shown that although U.S. imperialism possesses a huge aggressor force of 1,200,000 men and although it has resorted to all the most brutal and crafty means, it still finds itself helpless before the marvellous striking power of our armed forces and people in the south. The failure of the United States is obvious. Even if it carries on its last-ditch struggle obstinately and madly and increases its troops and means of war, it cannot pos-

(Continued from p. 11.)

sibly put an end to its predicament and is doomed to complete defeat.

puppet troops, overthrow the puppet regime and win final victory so as to fulfil most adequately their glorious duty towards the Vietnamese nation and their duty towards all nations which are fighting against U.S. imperialism, and for peace, independence, democracy and social progress.

The message concluded with: South Vietnam is bound to be liberated!

The Vietnamese people are sure to win complete victory!

Vietnam will certainly be reunited!  
A healthy, long life to President Ho!

May our compatriots in the north win more spectacular victories in battle and in production!

sibly put an end to its predicament and is doomed to complete defeat.

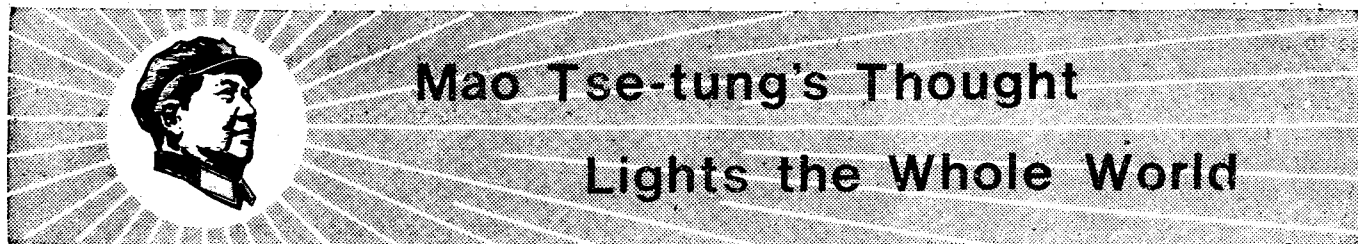
The communique said that in executing the order of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the Command of the People's Liberation Armed Forces warmly commends the matchless, courageous fighting spirit and outstanding ability and talent of all the cadres and fighters of the main-force units, regional armed forces and militia-guerrilla units, which have continuously dealt such heavy blows at the enemy on all battlefields that he is scared out of his wits. It warmly commends all the compatriots for their love of the fatherland and the nation and their unyielding spirit, compatriots who have stood up with a common resolve and, together with the various revolutionary armed forces, attacked without let-up and won one victory after another.

It warmly welcomes and praises the spirit of rising in struggle of the patriotic organizations, patriotic people's groups, revolutionary armed units, insurgent army units and other revolutionary armed organizations, which, together with our compatriots and the People's Liberation Armed Forces, have carried out most brilliant military exploits.

The communique said that the south Vietnamese armed forces and people are continuing their fierce and wholly triumphant battles and are performing one spectacular feat after another.

The communique called on all armed forces and people to bear in mind the teaching of President Ho Chi Minh: "The nearer the victory, the greater the hardships. The enemy, like a cornered beast, will react more madly. Therefore, our armed forces and people should further strengthen their solidarity, fight perseveringly, harder and without let-up, so as to win still greater victories."

The communique urged all the armed forces and people of Vietnam to unite as one man and continue their triumphant advance to exploit their victories and keep up the attacks on the U.S.-puppet clique, so as to wipe out still more enemy effectives, smash the U.S. bandits' aggressive designs, crush the puppet army, overthrow the puppet regime of running dogs and resolutely win complete victory in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.



## Vietnamese People Cherish Great Love for Chairman Mao

**C**HINESE comrades in Vietnam are deeply moved by the heroic Vietnamese people's praise for and confidence in socialist China and by their profound and militant friendship with the 700 million Chinese people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. These sentiments of the Vietnamese people find concentrated expression in their sincere love for our great leader Chairman Mao and infinite faith in Mao Tse-tung's thought.

**Chairman Mao's works are the guide to action.** At every interval during fighting, a veteran guerrilla, who is the commander of a regiment of the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces in the Trung Bo jungles, never fails to study conscientiously Chairman Mao's works. This has become a habit.

He not only is eager to study Chairman Mao's works himself, but he constantly does propaganda work among the people. He says: "Chairman Mao's works are the weapon of struggle and guide to action for us revolutionary people. Like a beacon at sea, it lights up the course for advance of all revolutionary people in the world."

This veteran commander has a four-volume set of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Carrying these treasured books with him, he has fought the enemy north and south of the Annam Mountains and travelled through the jungles of the western plateau. In order to wipe out U.S. aggressors, the south Vietnam liberation armed forces often cover long distances during which they always fight the enemy. On these marches, no matter how tired he is, he never puts

aside Chairman Mao's works. He often says: "Without Chairman Mao's works, how can I direct the fighting? Wherever I go, and no matter how tired I am, Chairman Mao's works will always be with me."

**"Thanks to Mao Tse-tung's thought, I became an advanced worker."** At the time he joined a youth shock brigade to struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, a Vietnamese high school graduate did not show much interest in his work because he was afraid of hardship. Taking the advice of his comrades, he later began to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously and made up his mind to emulate Lei Feng and other Chinese heroes. Subsequently, he made great progress, and was generally selected as an advanced worker.

With deep feeling, he wrote to his Chinese comrades:



Heroic guerrilla fighters in south Vietnam study Chairman Mao's works collectively and learn Chairman Mao's military thinking.



"Mao Tse-tung's thought is the red sun that helps me to overcome the non-proletarian ideas in my mind. I sing at the top of my voice *The East Is Red* in praise of Mao Tse-tung's thought. I'll hold higher the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and forge ahead courageously to render wholehearted service to the people and defeat the U.S. aggressors in defiance of all hardships and sacrifices."

He continued: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the beacon light guiding the people to march ahead with unwavering courage. It is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era. All proletarians of the world welcome it with great enthusiasm. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the great leader, great teacher and great supreme commander."

"Thanks to Mao Tse-tung's thought, I became an advanced worker," the Vietnamese youth wrote.

**Eager to get treasured book.** A worker named Tao sent two identical letters in Chinese and Vietnamese to Chinese comrades in which he said: "Comrades, we are very grateful to Chairman Mao and the Chinese people for their sincere and disinterested aid. Please be good enough to send me some of Chairman Mao's writings for study. Wishing you good health and progress in your work."

"Long live the People's Republic of China!"

"Long live the Communist Party of China!"

"Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Comrade Tao's request was soon met. He looked at Chairman Mao's picture in the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and said with deep feeling: "How good it is! My long standing wish has come true!" He burst out: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live Chairman Mao!" This Vietnamese worker enthusiastically told a Chinese comrade: "I will study Chairman Mao's writings and follow his teachings just as Lei Feng did."

When a technical cadre in a factory in Thai Nguyen learnt one evening the good news that the Vietnamese edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* was available in Hanoi, he was so overjoyed he could not sleep before he got a copy of the red book. It was too late for the last bus to Hanoi, so he rode his bicycle as speedily as possible to the capital during the night. When he got a copy, he felt as if he had obtained the most valuable treasure. After returning home, he made it a rule that he would study this treasured book one hour every day and jot down what he had learnt from it. He wrote in his notebook: "Chairman Mao is the Lenin of our time, the helmsman and supreme commander of the people of the world, the beacon and hope of mankind."

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## Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun

Two elderly Vietnamese wrote a poem which expresses the Vietnamese people's enormous affection for Chairman Mao. They recorded their great joy and deepest feeling in the following lines:

*Chairman Mao is the red sun,  
Your bright rays shine forth in all directions.  
With you in spring, a hundred flowers blossom,  
Green shoots sprout and rapeseed becomes golden.  
With you in summer, the seedlings grow vigorously,  
The peasants are filled with boundless joy.  
With you in autumn, rich harvests are gathered  
And barns overflow with golden grain.  
With you in winter, ice and snow melt  
The peasants are comfortable and warm.  
Dear leader Chairman Mao,  
We are always indebted to you.*

\* \* \*

## Long Live the Victory of Mao Tse-tung's Thought!

A Vietnamese friend who has been fighting at the front against U.S. aggression has written a poem extolling the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. The poem is called "Long Live the Victory of Mao Tse-tung's Thought!"

*Never will my faith in Uncle waver.  
A few flies humming ceaselessly,  
Can never shut out the sun's rays.  
Uncle Mao's torch  
Lights up the road of advance of the world's people.  
Never forget in tempestuous waves  
Uncle Mao's patient teachings.  
Uncle's statement that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers  
Has greatly increased our confidence in victory.  
Uncle says: "A single spark can start a prairie fire."  
We shall push the people's war to a new high.  
Guerrilla warfare is surging,  
Thanks to Uncle Mao's 16-character formula:  
"The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass;  
"The enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."  
The seas may run dry and rocks may pulverize,  
But we shall remember Uncle's teachings for ever.*

# A QUOTATION FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

You are putting up a good fight! Relying on your own strength, you have under most difficult conditions badly battered U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious of imperialism in the world, and landed it in an impasse. This is a great victory. The Chinese people salute you.

Your victory once again demonstrates that a nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wages a people's war.

— Message of Greetings to President Nguyen Huu Tho

## SPLENDID BATTLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE

— From January 29 to February 4 —



Over 50,000 enemy including more than 10,000 U.S. aggressor troops wiped out



Over 1,500 enemy planes destroyed



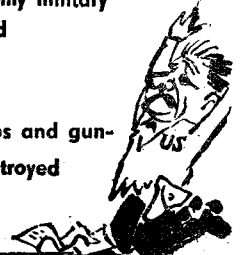
Over 4,000 enemy military vehicles destroyed



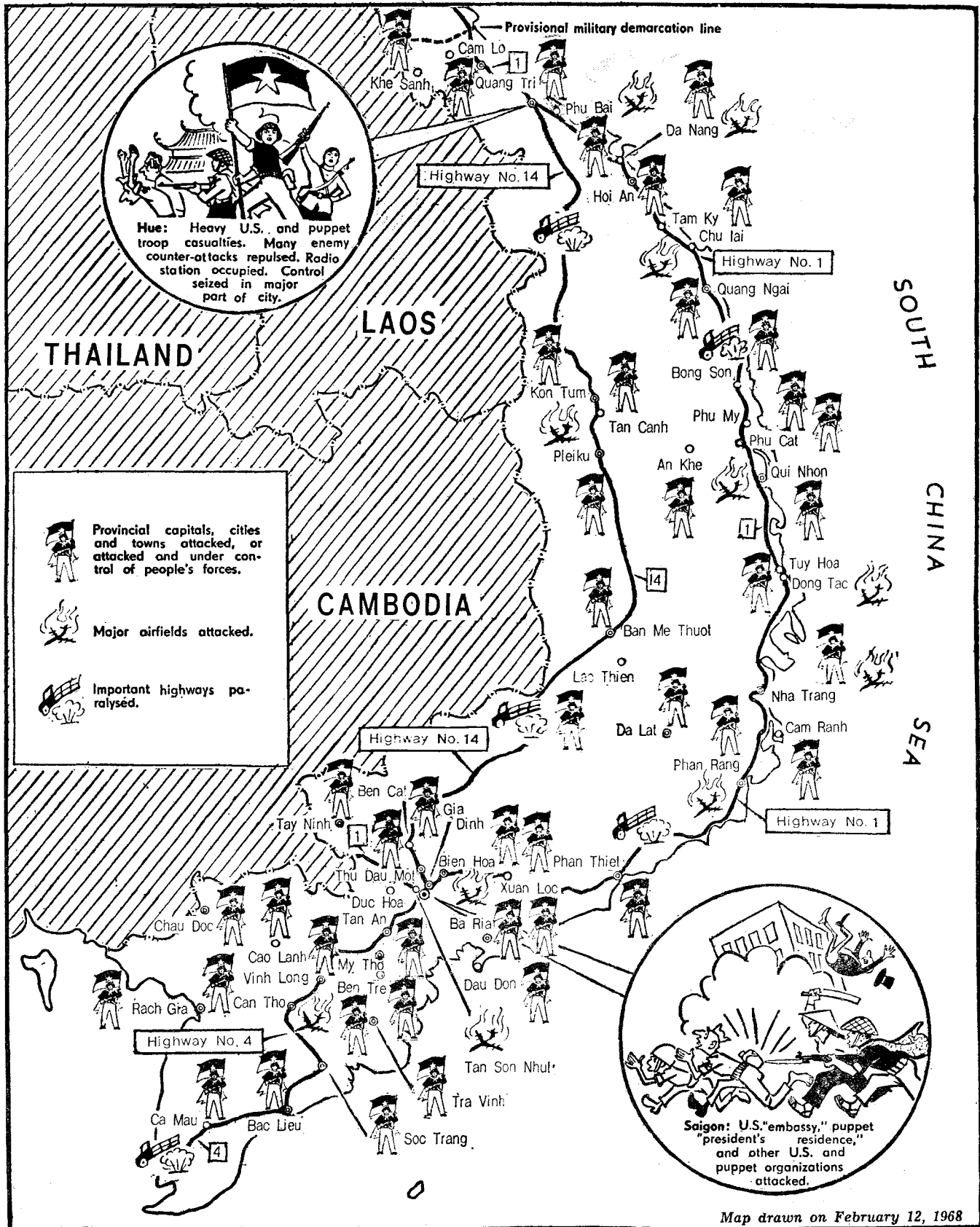
200,000 puppet troops disintegrated



50 enemy warships and gunboats sunk or destroyed



# SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE GREAT NEW SPRING VICTORIES OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE



# Hailing Laotian People's New Victories in Their War Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

**A**T a time when the armed forces and people of south Vietnam have won magnificent new spring victories and the U.S. aggressors were badly mauled, the heroic Laotian patriotic armed forces and people also unleashed new attacks on the stooges of U.S. imperialism and achieved spectacular results in battle. They followed up their big victory of wiping out nearly 3,000 enemy troops in the battle of Nam Bac by mounting a fierce attack on February 3 against the Rightist forces. They overran the enemy headquarters, liberated the whole Muong Ngan area and inflicted severe casualties and great losses on the enemy. Laotian comrades-in-arms, you have fought well, fought brilliantly! The Chinese people and all the revolutionary people of the world enthusiastically hail your splendid victories.

Led by the Neo Lao Haksat and united as one in their common hatred for the enemy, the heroic Laotian patriotic armed forces and people have been fighting hard under difficult circumstances. Giving full play to the matchless might of people's war, they have wiped out large numbers of enemy effectives. The situation in the Laotian revolutionary war is getting better and better with each passing day. In the past year, the Laotian patriotic armed forces and people fought more than 1,800 battles, put nearly 16,000 enemy troops out of action, and downed or destroyed 287 enemy aircraft. Since the beginning of this year, they have defied fatigue and kept up their triumphant advance by fighting successive battles, and have mounted attacks on their own initiative. They have constantly wiped out enemy troops, recovered such strategic points as Nam Bac and Huoi San, which had been nibbled away by the enemy, and thus brought on a new phase in the Laotian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The great victory of the Laotian people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a great victory for people's war. In Southeast Asia today, and on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula in particular, the flames of people's war are raging fiercely and the U.S. bandit aggressors are being badly burnt. The south Vietnamese armed forces and people, who have launched an all-out offensive and struck at the very den of the U.S. aggressors and their puppets, keep up their attack in the full flush of victory and are winning more splendid victories. The people's guerrillas in Thailand are also launching new operations with increased vigour. The new victories of the Laotian patriotic armed forces and people constitute another crushing

blow to the U.S. aggressors. The peoples of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula are supporting and closely coordinating with one another in their struggles against the U.S. aggressors; these struggles have become a powerful mailed fist pounding at the U.S. bandit aggressors from all sides. Like a wild beast struggling desperately, U.S. imperialism is being submerged in this ocean of people's war.

Badly mauled by the heroic Vietnamese people on the Vietnam battlefield, the U.S. aggressors are not reconciled to their defeat; they are vainly trying to find a way out by enlarging their military adventures. U.S. imperialism is stretching its tentacles of aggression further into Laos as an important step in its plan to extend its war of aggression against Vietnam to the whole of Indo-China. The United States recently has intensified the bombing of the Laotian liberated areas by its pirate planes. It has continuously heli-lifted "commandos" composed of U.S., south Vietnamese and Right-wing Laotian military personnel to the Laotian liberated areas to engage in sabotage. It has been bringing large quantities of weapons and large numbers of military personnel to Laos and is building strategic highways on Laotian territory along the Thai-Laotian border. Under the cloak of "preventing" so-called "north Vietnam infiltration into south Vietnam," it is plotting to extend the war of aggression against Vietnam into Laos.

However, the U.S. imperialists' aggressive and war activities can never save them from complete defeat in Vietnam and the whole of Indo-China, but will only stimulate the peoples of all countries in Indo-China to join in the torrential tide of the anti-imperialist struggle on a broader scale and speed up the final doom of U.S. imperialism. The victorious development of the Vietnamese and Laotian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and the unfolding of the anti-U.S. struggle by the Cambodian people are powerful testimony to this. Just as our great leader Chairman Mao has said, "Wherever it [U.S. imperialism] commits aggression, it puts a new noose around its neck. It is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the whole world."

The Laotian people are a long-tested heroic people. No matter what military manoeuvres and conspiratorial activities they may try, the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs will bang their heads against a stone wall when they are confronted by the Laotian people.

Prince Souphanouvong recently pointed out: "No intimidation can scare the Laotian people and no force can subdue them. It is U.S. imperialism which is invading Laos. The Laotian people must resolutely carry through to the end their resistance to the aggressors." This is the solemn oath of the Laotian people in striving for national liberation.

The heroic Laotian people are now carrying their victories forward. We are fully convinced that the Laotian people are surely able to overcome all difficulties, smash all schemes and plots of the enemy, completely defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and win final liberation for the whole nation!

(February 11)

#### INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

## Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is Marxism-Leninism At Its Highest Level in Present Era

— Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) calls on whole Party to unfold campaign to study Chairman Mao's works

**T**HE Central Commission for Political-Ideological Work of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) has issued a communique calling on organizations at all levels and Party members to carry out a campaign for studying Mao Tse-tung's thought, according to a report from Rome.

The communique stressed that the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the basic motive power for raising the political and ideological level of all Party militants.

Appearing in the January 20 issue of the Party's organ the weekly *Nuova Unità*, it was frontpaged under a banner headline: "Party Militants Commit Themselves to Study Mao Tse-tung's Thought Continuously and Penetratingly."

It recalled that at a recent Party conference, General Secretary of the Party Fosco Dinucci "had pointed out to all Party militants the task of studying continuously and conscientiously Mao Tse-tung's thought, the creative Marxism-Leninism at the highest level in the present era, and the permanent guide to revolutionary action."

The communique pointed out that all Party members are reading the red book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and have distributed it widely among the Italian people and workers.

It also pointed out that the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought will enable all Party militants "to understand more clearly the tactics and strategy of the revolutionary struggles that are developing throughout the world, understand ever more thoroughly the world significance of China's great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao, resolutely carry out the proletarian internationalist tasks, implement in a more effective way the tactics and strategy of the proletarian revolution in Italy, and develop and strengthen ever more firmly the organized and conscious proletarian vanguard in Italy."

The communique called on all Party cells, organizations and committees, from the Central Committee down, to hold special meetings to study *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, chapter by chapter, and the Italian edition of Chairman Mao's other works, and to report regularly on the development and experience in the campaign of studying Mao Tse-tung's thought.

## Using Mao Tse-tung's Thought as the Guide in Building the Communist Party

— Marxist-Leninist Movement of Mexico resolution points out that the revolutionary movement in that country can be developed only by relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought

**M**AO TSE-TUNG'S thought is the Marxism-Leninism of our era. To depart from it is to depart from Marxism, from revolution. Basing ourselves on this

point, we are able to carry out any resolute revolutionary actions. It is also a touchstone for seeing whether one is a true proletarian revolutionary." This is pointed

out in a resolution adopted recently by the Provisional National Leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Movement of Mexico, according to a report from Mexico City.

Entitled "Smash All Reactionary Bourgeois Trends of Thought Opposed to the Marxism-Leninism of Our Era — Mao Tse-tung's Thought", the resolution points out that Marxism has gone through three main stages of development: namely, the stage of the formulation of the theory of scientific socialism by Marx and Engels, the stage in which Lenin in the era of imperialism developed Marxism and advanced it to Leninism, and the present stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is the Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung "has creatively and comprehensively developed Marxism-Leninism and has elevated it to a new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Ever since its birth, Marxism has incurred the deepest hatred of the bourgeoisie, the resolution says. Whenever it advances to a new stage, it is attacked by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists with exceptional fierceness. The various reactionary bourgeois trends of thought disguised as Marxism then raise their heads and vainly try to check the new revolutionary upsurge. In the era when Leninism emerged, the revisionists of the Second International and the bourgeoisie came forward to oppose it ideologically, politically and in practice. Many bourgeois trends appeared in the garb of Marxism at that time. But all of them were discredited in the face of Leninism.

The resolution cites a quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought that is even more dangerous than dogmatism. The revisionists, the Right opportunists, pay lip-service to Marxism; they too attack 'dog-

matism.' But what they are really attacking is the quintessence of Marxism."

The resolution then points out that in the communist movement today there are "trends of thought which approve Marxism in words but are frantically opposed to it in fact. In this respect, the principal reactionary bourgeois trend of thought is Khrushchov revisionism."

The resolution stresses that Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Marxism-Leninism of the present era, must be applied as the guide in building a Communist Party, in combating all reactionary trends of thought, in conducting criticism and self-criticism, in closely integrating with the revolutionary masses, mainly the poor peasants, and in the constant study of the conditions and situation of the struggle of the peasant masses. "This is the only correct way to become true proletarian revolutionaries and to establish a true Marxist-Leninist organization." This organization should "lead the people in taking the road of people's war until national liberation and socialism are won."

It stresses: "The theory which guides our action and our thought is Marxism-Leninism. All our revolutionary activities proceed from the basis of recognizing Mao Tse-tung's thought as the Marxism-Leninism of the present era."

The resolution calls on all members of the Marxist-Leninist Movement of Mexico to make this the guiding principle and carry out a campaign of studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and all reactionary bourgeois trends of thought politically and ideologically and in their style of work, and give political and ideological construction first place.

In conclusion, the resolution says that the revolutionary movement in Mexico will certainly be developed so long as it relies on Mao Tse-tung's thought.

### Another Paean of Victory to Mao Tse-tung's Thought

## Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee Established

THE Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee was set up on February 5 amid the storms of class struggle and at a time when China's armymen and civilians in their hundreds of millions are striving for all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is another song of triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

On that day, jubilation filled the city of Wuhan, capital of Hupeh Province. Bearing aloft huge portraits of the great leader Chairman Mao and holding their

red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, over 700,000 people — proletarian revolutionaries, members of the revolutionary masses of all trades and from all over the province and the P.L.A. commanders and fighters stationed in Hupeh — gathered at a grand rally to celebrate the occasion.

The announcement of the establishment of the revolutionary committee was greeted by a burst of thunderous applause and cheers of: "Long live the victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live

the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!" and "Long live our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao have paid great attention and given timely guidance to the great proletarian cultural revolution in Hupeh from the very beginning. At every crucial moment in the struggle, it was none other than the great leader Chairman Mao who showed the correct direction. It was his all-illuminating thought that lit the road.

Guided by Chairman Mao's teaching that "**You must concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!**" the revolutionary people in Hupeh formed a mighty revolutionary force. In defiance of cruel suppression by the bourgeois reactionary line, and surmounting every difficulty and persisting in the struggle, they launched a fierce attack against the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party, exposed Wang Jen-chung and other counter-revolutionary revisionists and took back into the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries all the power these capitalist roaders had usurped.

The glorious birth of the Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee proclaimed the complete bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed in the province by China's Khrushchov and his agents, such as Tao Chu and Wang Jen-chung, and the total failure of their criminal plot to restore capitalism.

Soon after the publication of the extremely important series of latest instructions given by Chairman Mao during his inspection tour of north, central-south and east China last year, the revolutionary people in Hupeh launched a new upsurge in the study, dissemination and implementation of his instructions. Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes were started up throughout the province in both cities and villages. In these classes, the revolutionary masses are vigorously fighting self, repudiating revisionism, enhancing their proletarian Party spirit and destroying bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism. They are also making great efforts to promote revolutionary great alliances, boldly "liberate" the cadres and rapidly bring about revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations, to grasp revolution and promote production. The revolution is in excellent shape.

Acting in accordance with the great supreme commander Chairman Mao's instruction that "**The People's Liberation Army should help the broad masses of the Left,**" the commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. units under the Wuhan Command heroically defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line at crucial moments of the struggle and made immense contributions to the great cultural revolution.

Comrade Tseng Szu-yu, Chairman of the Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee, addressing the rally, said: "Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, making revolution depends on Mao Tse-tung's thought. We proletarian revolutionaries rely on Mao Tse-tung's

thought both in seizing power and in maintaining and exercising power effectively. We must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, vigorously put proletarian politics to the fore and develop the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought on a bigger scale and in a still deeper-going way. We must do a really good job of running all types of classes in the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry forward the revolutionary style of study which Chairman Mao himself advocates, study and apply Chairman Mao's latest instructions well, so that each and every one of them is implemented in an all-round way in Hupeh Province and Chairman Mao's brilliant thought and policies are directly mastered by the masses and translated into their own conscious revolutionary action."

Comrade Tseng Szu-yu stated: "We must get rid of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism, steadily strengthen the proletarian Party spirit and keep a sharp look-out against the class enemy's attempts to use factionalism to undermine or interfere with the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao.

"We must correctly treat the cadres and the masses, gradually achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses, further consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliances and 'three-in-one' combinations and make a success of the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit. We must rectify Party organizations and strengthen Party building in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings. The Communist Youth League, the Red Guards and the revolutionary mass organizations should also be rectified ideologically and organizationally. We should enthusiastically answer Chairman Mao's great call to '**support the army and cherish the people.**' We should do a still better job in carrying out Chairman Mao's brilliant injunction to '**grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparations against war**' and, proceeding from the revolutionization of people's thinking, guarantee still bigger industrial and agricultural progress in 1968. We should develop the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, advance from strength to strength, achieve all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution ideologically, politically, economically and organizationally, and turn the whole of Hupeh Province into a big red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Comrade Liu Feng, Political Commissar of the P.L.A. units under the Wuhan Command and Vice-Chairman of the Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee, spoke on behalf of the leading organs and all commanders and fighters of the Wuhan Command. He extended warmest congratulations on the establishment of the Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee and pledged resolute defence of its proletarian revolutionary authority. The incomparable power of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the radiance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he said, were the source of our strength and the basic guarantee of victory. The P.L.A., he pledged, would do still better in

helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training and would strive to win fresh merit in the great struggle for all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The rally was also addressed by Chang Ti-hsueh, Vice-Chairman of the Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee, Fang Ming, Chairman of the Wuhan Municipal Revolutionary Committee and Wang Ken-yuan, Deputy Commander of the Hupeh Provincial Military Command. They extended warm greetings on the establishment of the provincial revolutionary committee and expressed their firm support for it.

Other speakers included representatives of the revolutionary workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and young Red Guards from the Wuhan area and various parts of Hupeh. With lofty revolutionary aspirations, they expressed their determination to hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher under the leadership of the Hupeh Provincial

Revolutionary Committee, implement Chairman Mao's latest instructions in an all-round way, win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution and always follow courageously the revolutionary course opened up by the great leader Chairman Mao.

Amidst stormy applause and cheers, the rally adopted a message of salute to our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao.

The message said: "Every victory we have won results from acting in accordance with your instructions and crystallizes your brilliant thought.

"We pledge our determination to take your close comrade-in-arms, our deputy supreme commander Lin Piao, as our great example and be ever loyal to you, your thought and your revolutionary line."

The rally was followed by mammoth demonstrations held separately in the triple city of Wuhan—Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang.

### Guided by Mao Tse-tung's Thought

## Heroic Exploits of an Air Squadron

**A** CHINESE People's Liberation Army air squadron, which is boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to his proletarian revolutionary line, is a heroic collective defending China's skies.

Members of this unit have defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and downed or damaged 14 enemy planes during the last decade or more.

"Fill our very souls with Mao Tse-tung's thought!"

"Use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide our every move in every air combat mission!"

Such are the pledges of this heroic collective.

The Ministry of National Defence has conferred upon it the honoured title of "Heroic Air Squadron."

### **Relying on Mao Tse-tung's Thought to Wage Battles That Put Politics to the Fore**

For a decade and more, the Heroic Air Squadron has unswervingly followed the proletarian line of the great leader Chairman Mao in army building, the line of giving first place and chief emphasis to building the army politically. Following the course so brilliantly charted by Mao Tse-tung's thought, it has won one outstanding victory after another in battles that put politics to the fore.

The airmen had only just mastered their basic skills when they came face to face with war provocations by U.S. imperialist planes. Burning with hatred, they were eager to fight the enemy, but China's Khrushchov and the counter-revolutionary revisionist

Peng Teh-huai tried to hold them back, alleging that modern warfare depended solely on steel, technique and machinery. These revisionists expressed their doubts that these airmen, sons of poor families with little previous schooling and with flying records of only 20 or 30 hours, could defeat "ace" U.S. air pirates.

Facing these two enemies, China's Khrushchov and Peng Teh-huai, should the airmen give prominence to proletarian politics and, relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought, go into the attack to defeat the enemy or should they be slaves of weapons and technique and swallow the poison of the bourgeois military line? This was a matter of a life-and-death struggle between persisting and not persisting in Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building. Spurred on by their loyalty to the motherland, to the people and to the great leader Chairman Mao, the airmen decided to refute the revisionists' absurd argument with action. Giving full play to the factor of man and displaying tremendous courage in fighting, they shot down three enemy planes in their very first engagement. This victory dealt a telling blow to the arrogance of the seemingly powerful U.S. air pirates and squashed the nonsense that "technique comes first" advocated by China's Khrushchov and the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Teh-huai. It fully bore out the truth that the greatest fighting power resides not in steel, technique or machinery, but in people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the airmen of the Heroic Squadron have not only won repeated victories in battles in the air, but on the ground too, have



successfully withstood all tendencies straying from the correct line on army building. Certain people once said that, because of its complicated equipment and technique, the air force should alternately give prominence to politics and technique. Quoting Chairman Mao's teaching "**Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul,**" the airmen refuted this, saying that the more complicated the equipment and technique, the more necessary it was to revolutionize people's thinking and put politics to the fore. Some people then alleged that giving prominence to politics would affect fulfilment of the heavy tasks of preparation against war. The airmen gave a firm answer: "Giving prominence to politics is the greatest and most fundamental preparation against war. At no time may we deviate from this foundation!"

The counter-revolutionary revisionist Lo Jui-ching once came to "congratulate" the Heroic Air Squadron on its victory in shooting down enemy planes. When analysing the factors contributing to the victory, he spoke only about weapons and technique, without a single word about politics. The airmen countered by stressing the importance of the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of Chairman Mao's military dialectics. This gave Lo Jui-ching a fitting rebuff. His sinister talk served to heighten the vigilance of the Heroic Squadron against his attempt to undermine political work. They plunged into the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought with redoubled enthusiasm. Within a month, they shot down another invading enemy plane, and so dealt another heavy blow to Lo Jui-ching.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, members of the Heroic Squadron have made new progress in placing Mao Tse-tung's thought in the lead. Quotations from Chairman Mao are now being used from beginning to end as the words of command in air battles.

They take off with soaring spirit when they hear Chairman Mao's command "**This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield.**" They fight with ever-growing courage when they hear his command "**Give full play to our style of fighting—courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).**" On their successful return, they heighten their vigilance when they hear Chairman Mao's command that "**under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance.**"

In September 1966 when the great proletarian cultural revolution was developing victoriously throughout China, the U.S. imperialists, in mortal fear of the cultural revolution, once again sent planes to intrude into China's air space.

"**Go all out and be sure to destroy the enemy intruders.**" With this quotation from Chairman Mao, ground command gave the order for the take-off. "We'll firmly carry out that supreme instruction," replied the pilots, and four planes rose into the air.

At the sight of our planes, the crafty enemy turned tail and fled south. They flew at high speed and were equipped with guided missiles. But the pilots of the Heroic Squadron went in hot pursuit, determined to give the enemy a mauling with the Chinese people's iron fists tempered in the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Just as their planes were catching up with the enemy, Liu Yeh-hsiao, pilot of the No. 4 plane, saw his fuel gauge falling, warning that he should return to base immediately. What should he do? If he continued the pursuit, he might find it difficult to return to base safely. Thinking only of Chairman Mao's teachings with no thought of personal safety, he continued the pursuit and punished the U.S. planes.

### Using Mao Tse-tung's Thought to Guide Combat Flights

Chairman Mao says: "**The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.**" Relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought, the members of the Heroic Squadron have transformed the air from a "realm of necessity" into a "realm of freedom" by breaking with revisionist foreign stereotyped ways and dogmas to defeat the enemy.

Doing a tactical drill exercise on the ground one day, Chao Teh-an, acting as pilot of the lead plane, and Chang Yi-lin, acting as his wingman, held model planes in formation chasing the "enemy." When Chang reported that he had spotted an "enemy plane" at a lower altitude to his right, Chao Teh-an, following the old rule that "lead plane attacks and wingman provides cover," gave the usual order: "I attack and you give cover." Chang objected, because it would be better in this situation for the wingman to attack. "Why must all attacks be assigned to the lead plane and never to the wingman?" he asked. Chao Teh-an was non-plussed. Here was a question that called for careful thinking: Was there something wrong in the "old rules" governing relations between lead pilot and wingman?

In the keen debate that followed, the airmen decided that they must discard foreign dogmas, which were part of the revisionist military concept, and advance triumphantly by following Chairman Mao's line on army building. They referred to Chairman Mao's teaching that "**the flexible employment of . . . forces is the most important means of changing the situation as between the enemy and ourselves and of gaining the initiative.**" Then, by applying a set of tactical principles formulated by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and drawing on their own practical experience, they worked out flexible tactics under which the task of attack could be assigned to either the lead pilot or the wingman depending on the situation, while ensuring close co-ordination between the two.

One day, a formation of four planes of the Heroic Squadron intercepted four U.S.-made Chiang Kai-shek planes engaged on a harassing raid. They were first spotted by wingmen who reported it to

Chao Teh-an, the formation leader. Because the wingmen were nearer the enemy planes, Chao Teh-an gave the order: "You attack and we give cover." The wingmen dived into the attack. The enemy planes had hardly taken in the situation when two of them were shot down. The other two tried to attack our wingmen but our lead planes brought them under heavy fire and seriously damaged one. The whole operation took less than two minutes, and the enemy planes never got to fire a single shot.

This battle, fought in full accordance with Chairman Mao's military thinking and with a high degree of flexibility, gave a shattering blow to the influence of foreign revisionist stereotypes. It was a victory for Chairman Mao's great teaching "**break down fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind.**" During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the airmen of the Heroic Squadron have once again scaled new heights.

Once when returning from a combat mission, pilot Hsu Shih-an found his plane out of fuel. The engine stalled at an altitude of just over 1,000 metres when he was still several dozen kilometres from base. For a supersonic jet in such a predicament the military regulations of the Soviet revisionists call for the pilot to bail out and abandon his plane since it would be "impossible" to land it safely if the engine stalls at an altitude of less than 2,000 metres.

But at this perilous moment, Hsu Shih-an had only one idea in his mind—to "**be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory**" in saving the plane entrusted to him by Chairman Mao. He operated the control system with great ingenuity to restart the engine with the last drops of fuel. This carried him along for another minute or so. When he was approaching the airfield, not a drop of fuel was left but he still had to circle in for a normal landing on the runway. In this extremely difficult situation, this teaching of Chairman Mao's sprang to his mind: "**Frequently a favourable situation recurs and the initiative is regained as a result of 'holding out a little longer.'**" With astonishing presence of mind and extraordinary courage, he decided to make a forced landing and he succeeded, thus setting a brilliant example of a forced landing by a supersonic jet.

This story shows most vividly that fighters with the most practical experience, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are the best at advancing from "the realm of necessity" to "the realm of freedom." It shows that only revolutionary practice guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought can produce the most revolutionary science.

### **Applying Chairman Mao's Theory of People's War to Air Warfare**

One of the questions met by the Heroic Squadron in the course of carrying out Chairman Mao's military line was whether or not the air force should wage a people's war and how it should wage it.

Certain "technical authorities" took the negative view but members of the Heroic Squadron firmly upheld Chairman Mao's great teaching that "**the revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.**" Illustrating this with their own experience, the airmen proved that this teaching is a great truth which likewise applies to the air force.

The Heroic Squadron was once scheduled to move to a new area for a certain combat mission. The local people worked day and night to build the new airfield. Shortly after the squadron moved in, there was a heavy storm and the runway was inundated. The local people helped to drain away the water overnight, feeling that in doing so they were playing their part in the war in the air. The very next day a group of enemy planes intruded over the area, the fighters of the Heroic Squadron were able to take off, and bring down two enemy planes. Without the people's support, the airmen said, it would have been impossible to win this air battle.

Expounding Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics of people's war, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao says: "You [the enemy] rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out." From their own experience, the airmen of the Heroic Squadron see clearly that the people's eyes are like innumerable "live radar sets," the guns of the militiamen are a big threat to enemy planes flying at low altitudes and the vast and close-knit defence system organized by the people leave no way of escape for pilots who have bailed out from shutdown enemy planes.

The airmen of the Heroic Squadron have also applied the tactics of people's war to air combat by taking full advantage of high mountains, clouds and fog as cover in springing surprise attacks on enemy planes. Once our planes took off to meet two harassing enemy reconnaissance planes. The enemy thought they had the advantage of higher speed and yelled: "Never mind! Let's compete with them." We headed for them at full speed. In a flash, our roaring guns brought down one of the two. Scared out of their wits, the air pirates on the other screamed to Taiwan: "... exploded. Hit by a Communist guided missile!"

Speaking of their struggle to defend Chairman Mao's line on army building, comrades of the Heroic Squadron said that his teaching "**the army and the people are the foundation of victory**" is true for battles in the air as well as for land and naval warfare.

### **Fostering Boundless Loyalty to Chairman Mao**

Members of the Heroic Squadron have fostered their boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao and his mili-

tary line in the People's Liberation Army, that great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They carry out to the full every one of Chairman Mao's instructions.

They have done farm work as part of their efforts to revolutionize their ideology. In the summer, they went weeding and described it as rooting out the fallacious argument spread by the counter-revolutionary revisionists Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching that airmen should receive preferential treatment. They participated in the socialist education movement in the people's commune where the home village of the early revolutionary martyr Yang Kai-hui is, and shared the life and work of the poor and lower-middle peasants there. When Chairman Mao issued the call that "the People's Liberation Army should help the broad masses of the Left," they immediately set about helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training. Tung Hsiao-hai and Hsiao Kung-chia, two activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works, by propagating Chairman Mao's latest instructions in a factory, helped the masses of the Left there put their plant in the lead in forging the revolutionary great alliance.

Seizing every possible moment, the airmen of the Heroic Squadron have undertaken a vigorous drive for revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation of revisionism. Tung Hsiao-hai, whose father died a tragic death and who himself was once wounded by a Japanese police dog before liberation, has written more than 100,000 words condemning the nonsense advocated by China's Khrushchov that "exploitation has its merits." Each member of the Heroic Squadron has written an average of over ten articles of revolutionary criticism during the past year or so.

With boundless love for and loyalty to Chairman Mao, men of the squadron recently made a three-metre-high embroidered portrait of Chairman Mao. Standing before this portrait they vowed: "Chairman Mao, you are the representative of our era, of our Party, of the masses and of the proletariat. You are the great leader of the Chinese people and of the revolutionary people of the world. To be loyal to you is the first requirement of our era, of the revolution and of the proletariat. It is our highest ideal and happiness to dedicate ourselves entirely to you. Should we die in battle destroying the enemy in the skies, even at that moment we will declare our boundless loyalty to you."

## A P.L.A. Company Arms a Village With Mao Tse-tung's Thought

by Chang Pi-chuan, Assistant Instructor of the 7th Company of a Unit of the 2nd Artillery Corps

IN May of last year, our P.L.A. company went to an out-of-the-way mountain hamlet called Uonichai. The poor and lower-middle peasants here, who lived in dire poverty when the landlords, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and other reactionary forces exploited and oppressed them in the old China, deeply and ardently love Chairman Mao for their liberation and the collectivization of farming which has brought them prosperity.

But we found people here were very ill-informed both politically and culturally. This was due to the activity of the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party who prevented the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and pushed a reactionary bourgeois line. The village received no regular newspapers and hadn't even got a radio set.

"Support the army and cherish the people" — this is Chairman Mao's great call. But how should we do the work of cherishing the people well in this specific locality? We turned to Chairman Mao's works for guidance.

Chairman Mao teaches: "The Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should

shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations."

The first thing we did was to present each household with a picture of Chairman Mao and give everybody a Chairman Mao badge. We performed a short play *Long Live the "Three Constantly Read Articles"* and sang *The East Is Red*.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism." With this as our guide, we first of all organized the militiamen to study Chairman Mao's works.

Before the study class began, we talked to them about the vital importance of studying Chairman Mao's works and encouraged them to compare their sufferings in the old society with their present happiness. This was a great stimulus to their enthusiasm in study.

Then we helped them study Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" on wholehearted devotion to the

public interest, on proletarian internationalism and on fearlessness in the face of difficulties. We also introduced them to other works by Chairman Mao on classes and class struggle and people's war.

The militiamen studied these works intensively and after a short period, most of them had learnt to read and copy out quotations from Chairman Mao, and apply them too. As the political consciousness of the militiamen rose and they began to win praise from others, more and more people wanted to study Chairman Mao's works.

To turn the whole country into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought is a matter of vital importance to ensure that China will not change its political colour and will support the world revolution. So the Party branch of our company decided to turn every household into a study class of Mao Tse-tung's thought. No matter how tired we were because of the day's work, no matter what the weather, we made a point of regularly visiting the peasant households to talk to them and help them study Chairman Mao's works. Sometimes when we got back from work late we would go to the peasants' homes before eating.

Before long, the study began to show results.

Aunt Lung, over 50, had a very bitter past. Her husband had been killed by the Kuomintang bandit troops and in the old days her family never had decent shelter or enough to eat or wear. Now her family of 16 have a deep love for Chairman Mao and heartily welcomed the study of his works. After studying his "three constantly read articles," Aunt Lung criticized herself for having thought of telling her son in the army to return home. Then she wrote to tell him to act according to Chairman Mao's teachings to serve the people devotedly and wholeheartedly. During one of their family meetings on the study of Chairman Mao's works her granddaughter told how she drew infinite strength from Chairman Mao's instructions to fight and overcome difficulties at work.

When the masses had begun to arm themselves with Chairman Mao's teachings, we explained to them the importance of the great proletarian cultural revolution and told them of the crimes of China's Khrushchov in pushing a revisionist line in all fields. On hearing this, the poor and lower-middle peasants were enraged and rose in a great campaign of revolutionary mass criticism against China's Khrushchov. They angrily repudiated the revisionist trash he peddled, such as the "freedom to practise usury, to hire labour, to buy or sell land and to engage in private enterprise," the "extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and the fixing of output quotas based on the household," the absurd theory of "exploitation has its merits," and so on.

Deputy production team leader Li Mei-ying said: "We used to stand for the extension of plots for private use. This was due to the pernicious influence of China's Khrushchov as well as our own selfishness. If selfish-

ness is not uprooted, there is danger of being misled by China's Khrushchov."

This mass drive to fight self and repudiate revisionism has brought about a noticeable growth in the people's love for the collective and the state. Now selfish ideas and acts that damage the interests of the collective are frowned upon while acts of utter devotion to the public good are admired and are being done by more and more people. Last year before they made their deliveries of public grain, they did their best to winnow it clean and sun it. They said: "Less moisture means less selfishness and greater loyalty to Chairman Mao."

In July last year, a considerable area of the production team's rice fields was attacked by an unusually severe pest. Some people lost heart. Our company Party branch immediately called an emergency meeting and decided to give all-out support to the commune members and treat this matter of the pest as a political battle. The whole company turned out to publicize Mao Tse-tung's thought to help the masses to arm themselves with it and to build up confidence in victory over the pest.

Aunt Lung, for example, encouraged others by quoting Chairman Mao's saying: "**In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage.**" She told them that they would certainly beat the pest, as long as they acted according to Chairman Mao's teachings.

The militiamen declared: "The pest, too, is a paper tiger. We are not afraid of U.S. imperialism. So what's there to be afraid of in a few insects?"

Inspired by Chairman Mao's teachings, the whole village, from the old folk to the children, turned out to launch a mass attack on the pest. And every man of our company joined forces with them. When the work grew tough, people encouraged one another with quotations from Chairman Mao: "**Give full play to our style of fighting — courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest)**" and "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.**"

Within a week, the pest was wiped out.

When the new crop of rice was brought in, the poor and lower-middle peasants sang: "There may be a thousand difficulties, but they are as nothing when we have studied Chairman Mao's works. Of all treasures, Chairman Mao's books are the most precious. Of all calamities, selfishness is the biggest, and of all plagues, China's Khrushchov is the worst."

Within a few months of the unfolding of the movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in Uonichai, the local people have acquired a completely new mental outlook, and a tremendous change has taken place in the village. The villagers gave their hamlet a new name — "The Red Flag Hamlet."

When our company was leaving, we presented the poor and lower-middle peasants with a gilt tablet inscribed with this quotation from Chairman Mao:

**"If the army and the people are united as one, who in the world can match them?"**

We were given a warm send-off by the whole village. With tears in their eyes, many old peasants bade us good-bye, our hands held firm in theirs, saying: "You're leaving us but our hearts will never part. You'll always be Chairman Mao's good fighters, and we, Chairman Mao's good commune members."

## Proletarian Revolutionaries Criticize the Revisionist Line on Party Building

# Be Vanguard Fighters in the Class Struggle!

*The proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses are everywhere vigorously implementing Chairman Mao's latest instructions on the rectification of Party organizations. There is an upsurge in the mass study, propagation and implementation of Chairman Mao's line on Party building and this is accompanied by*

*a wave of criticism and denunciation of the revisionist line on Party building advocated by China's Khrushchov.*

*The following are excerpts from articles carried by "Renmin Ribao" on January 20 and written by Communist Party members of the Tachai Brigade in Shansi Province, north China. — Ed.*

## The Communist Party Is One for Waging Class Struggle

by Liang Fien-liang, deputy secretary of the Tachai Brigade's Party branch

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy."** That is to say, our Communist Party is one for waging the class struggle. We waged it in the previous period of democratic revolution and we are doing so now in the present period of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Not only must we wage the class struggle; we must also regard this as a matter of first importance.

However, that scoundrel, China's Khrushchov, is against our Party waging the class struggle. He grew more arrogant in his opposition particularly after socialist transformation was in the main completed with respect to the ownership of the means of production. He talked such nonsense as that "in our country the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled." The tasks he set for the Party were to "develop the productive forces" and "organize social life."

This was just camouflage for the landlords and rich peasants, a smoke-screen to conceal his own ambition to usurp the leadership of the Party and the state. Although the rule of the landlords and rich peasants was overthrown long ago in our countryside, the exploiting classes are not prepared to take their defeat lying down and still dream of a come-back. If we do not engage

in the class struggle, the class enemy will return to exercise a dictatorship over us.

Our Tachai's total grain output has risen year after year, from 40 or 45 tons in pre-liberation days to 320 tons. Our life is much better than ever before. When asked how production has been increased so quickly, our answer is: "Primarily because we have creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works and, in accordance with his teachings, have paid great attention to the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the socialist and capitalist roads." We have grasped the revolution and promoted production, instead of applying ourselves only to the "development of the productive forces" and the "organization of social life."

In 1963, Tachai was hit by a great flood, loess cave-dwellings collapsed, houses were swept away and the terraced fields destroyed. Tachai's Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants, however, did not give in to these difficulties. Guided by the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, the masses led by the Party branch acted in the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle to rebuild our farms and home. In less than a year, all damage to the land was made good and in three to four years all the houses and cave-dwellings were rebuilt. The houses are now tile-roofed and the cave-dwellings are lined with stone. How was it possible for us to win such a great victory? The fundamental reason is that

we rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought, and first of all our vigorous grasp of the class struggle. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed, revisionism has been criticized and repudiated, and at the same time the revolutionary masses have received a good education. This has promoted the revolutionization of people's thinking. As a result, our brigade gathered in a bumper harvest last year, a harvest greater than in any previous year.

All the class enemies who want to make trouble and sabotage wish that we would sleep on, our arms laid down. China's Khrushchov advocated the theory of the "dying out of class struggle," saying that the chief task for the Party in the future was to "develop

the productive forces." His purpose was to throw us off-guard and lure us into devoting ourselves only to production and neglecting the class struggle, so that he could freely pursue his vicious revisionist line. If we could be badly fooled, capitalism would be restored and the dictatorship of the proletariat would become the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes." China's Khrushchov opposes the Communist Party waging the class struggle. This shows that our Party is right and has achieved a great victory in grasping the class struggle. So long as classes and class struggle exist, there must be a militant Communist Party and it must grasp class struggle with great determination.

## The Interests of the Revolution Are the Very Life Of a Communist

by Chia Chin-tsai, head of Tachai Brigade's poor and lower-middle peasants' association

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We Communists seek not official posts, but revolution. Every one of us must be a thoroughgoing revolutionary in spirit." The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. A Communist should, from the first day of his admission to the Party, make up his mind to devote his whole life to revolution in order to end all systems of exploitation and realize socialism and communism.

China's Khrushchov, however, talked such nonsense as: "One can be an official when he is admitted to the Communist Party, Party members are reserves for cadres." This is a vicious slander against our Party members. I joined the Party in 1947 for the purpose of overthrowing the three big enemies—imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, liberating the whole of China, and building socialism and communism. In joining the Party, I did not give a moment's thought to getting an official post, as China's Khrushchov said. During the 20 years since my admission to the Party, I have worked persistently at the grass-roots level, and at no time have I divorced myself from productive labour.

We genuine Communists are definitely not aiming to get official posts, but working to build a happy communist society and to be, in the truest sense, servants of the people. Countless revolutionary martyrs laid down their lives for the revolution. Did they do this because they wanted to be officials? Certainly not! The interests of the proletarian revolution are the very life of us Communists. In the interests of the revolution, Party members are prepared to sacrifice their all, including their lives.

What they join the Party for—to get official posts and become lords over the people or to serve the people in the interests of the revolution—this is the line dividing genuine Communists from sham ones.

We are Communists nurtured and trained in Mao Tse-tung's thought. We joined the Party in order to serve the people "wholly" and "entirely." As to joining the Party "to become officials" and other such reactionary nonsense coming from China's Khrushchov, we are determined to repudiate and utterly discredit it and never allow it to poison the souls of the Party members.

## Chairman Mao's Works Are the Best Textbooks For Party Members

by Kuo Feng-lien, member of Tachai Brigade's Party branch committee and people's militia instructor

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao calls on us to "study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters." With

boundless loyalty to and boundless love for Chairman Mao, we Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai Brigade love best to study Chairman

Mao's writings and closely follow his teachings. For us Communists the best textbooks are Chairman Mao's works.

China's Khrushchov raved that "textbooks for Party members should be written in a rather popular way. Don't quote Chairman Mao's words, just incorporate them in the text in your own words." China's Khrushchov opposed textbooks quoting Chairman Mao's words for the "reason" that they are "not popular." This is an obvious lie. Chairman Mao's works are written for the proletariat and they tell the revolutionary truth. Taking the proletarian stand and reading them with deep class feeling, you find Chairman Mao's works are written in the most popular way. They express the words in our hearts and you understand them easily. Our Tachai Brigade lies in formerly poor mountain valleys and those of its Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants who are over 30 years old had relatively little schooling. But they know what is exploitation and revolution and after they have read or heard many of the fundamental concepts in Chairman Mao's writings, they feel these are very near to their hearts. They think these ideas are very easily understood and written in a very popular way. They praise them unanimously, saying: "Chairman Mao's

works are the best of all treasures, for generations hence we will not be able to do without them. With such a treasure, the proletarian dictatorship will become most solid; with such a treasure, we will be able to move the earth and shake the mountains; with such a treasure, we will always stand together with the Party." For scoundrels like China's Khrushchov, Chairman Mao's works are certainly not "popular." How can counter-revolutionaries study revolutionary books! In fact, it is not a question of popularity at all. Most of all they fear and hate Chairman Mao's works.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors.**" The highest theory is contained in Chairman Mao's works and they are always the best textbooks for Party members and the revolutionary people. We Communists must devote our whole lives to studying Chairman Mao's works and making revolution. Whoever opposes this will surely become something filthy and contemptible, like dog's dung.

## Communists Are Conscious Revolutionary Fighters

by Chia Cheng-jang, member of Tachai Brigade's Party branch committee and the brigade's leader

China's Khrushchov said that Party members and leading cadres should "take part in some productive labour. The purpose is not to create a certain amount of value, but to change the masses' impression of them." This was simply throwing filth at us Communists and spreading poison in an attempt to disintegrate our Party ranks.

We Party members of Tachai have always taken the lead in collective productive labour. We have done it in order to maintain for ever the fine qualities of the working people and to produce as much grain as possible in support of our national construction and of the emancipation of all the oppressed peoples of the world. I am fully convinced that only by taking an active part in collective productive labour can a cadre who is also a Party member lead production well, and get fruitful results both in ideological work and in production. Only by so doing can he strengthen his ties with the masses, listen to the criticisms and opinions of the masses at any time and wherever he may be, and carry on ideological work according to the living ideas of the commune members. Party members taking an active part in labour help increase social wealth. What is more important, this helps the Party members and cadres resist corruption by bourgeois ideas and prevents revisionism. All such talk as that the purpose of taking part

in productive labour is to change the masses' "impression" of us and put on a show for the masses is nothing but reactionary nonsense, and a vain attempt to lead us Communists astray, to divorce ourselves from the masses, become double-dealers and degenerate.

In the past ten or twenty years, we Party members of the Tachai Brigade, following Chairman Mao's teachings, have taken the lead in participating in collective productive labour and the struggle against the class enemy. If we had followed the advice of China's Khrushchov and taken part in labour just to put on a show and change the masses' "impression" of us, things would have been entirely different. Then we Party members of Tachai would not have been able to put our roots down among the masses, enjoy their support and have a Party branch which today plays the role of a leading core. Still less would we have been able to build the thriving new socialist Tachai of today.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is always the beacon light guiding our way forward. We must study Chairman Mao's writings hard, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions, and be his good fighters. We will thoroughly repudiate and discredit the fallacies spread by China's Khrushchov and for ever maintain the fine qualities of vanguard fighters of the proletariat.

# APOLOGISTS FOR CAPITALISM

Modern capitalism resembles, as the saying goes, "a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills." It already has one foot in the grave. Yet, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is taking great pains to give this "dying person" a shot in the arm and dressing him up as if he is still in his prime. The purpose is to find a "theoretical" basis for its own counter-revolutionary line of "peaceful transition." An illustration of this attempt is the article, "Changing Structure of Capitalism," by S. Dalin, a Soviet revisionist hack, published in issue No. 37 (1967) of the Soviet revisionist weekly *New Times*.

Having listed the so-called "deep-going changes" in the "socio-economic structure" of the capitalist countries, the author comes to the conclusion that "modern capitalism bears the earmarks of the transitional stage."

All this gibberish about "deep-going changes" and "earmarks of the transitional stage" is nothing more than the worn-out arguments advanced by the apologists for imperialism.

Marx taught us that "the sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society. . . ." The sum total of the capitalist relations of production constitutes the economic structure of capitalist society. The essence of these relations is that the bourgeoisie owns the principal means of production in society and the great mass of the proletariat is compelled to sell their labour power. Now, has capitalist private ownership of the means of production undergone any "deep-going changes" and even "fundamental changes" with the development of capitalism, as Dalin alleges? Of course not.

In talking profusely about the "changes" in capitalism, the *New Times* article plays up the joint-stock companies as a case in point. The author utters the nonsense that thanks to the development of the joint-stock companies, capitalist "private property" has become "collective capitalist property."

What "collective capitalist property"!

Under modern capitalism, the joint-stock company is only a form of control and utilization by the big capitalists of the funds of the medium and small ones. Its development has led to the greater concentration of capital and the further strengthening of the rule of monopoly capital. It by no means signifies any change in capitalist private ownership.

For more than ten years, monopoly capitalists in the capitalist countries, especially in the United States, have resorted to a new device: dividing up stock by issuing a large amount of shares in small denominations, forcing the workers to buy them, and thus increasing the number of shareholders. On the strength of this development, professional apologists for Wall Street loudly assert that "everyone is becoming a capitalist" and "workers have also become capitalists" in the United States. Other apologists say that in the United States capitalism is "collective capitalism," "a mixture of

capitalism and socialism," and it is "converging towards socialism," etc.

What the Soviet revisionists call "deep-going changes" in capitalism is in fact only another name for such deceitful tricks played by the monopoly capitalists.

But what is the real situation? Leaving aside the question as to how many people in the United States actually hold shares, let us take a look at the so-called shareholders and see what they are like.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company is a huge company. In recent years, its stock has been "divided" into more than 200 million shares through the so-called splitting-up process, and the total number of shareholders has jumped to over 2.2 million. Does this mean that all these shareholders have become capitalists, owners of means of production? Not at all. Most of its shareholders, as this company itself has to admit, are very small ones. Several hundred thousand hold "hardly ten shares" each. What really happened was simply that deductions were forcibly made from the workers' wages in exchange for a few fancy share certificates issued by the real bosses of the company — the Morgan and Rockefeller bloodsuckers and their agents. In this way, these monopoly capitalists kill two birds with one stone — increase their capital and at the same time benumb the workers.

Another "change" in capitalist private ownership as proclaimed by the *New Times* article is the so-called "development of state ownership." It says that "a higher form of capitalist socialization of production is state ownership."

What is this so-called capitalist state ownership? Engels pointed out explicitly long ago: "The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers — proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head." Actually, both private and state monopoly under capitalism are merely two complementary forms used by the monopoly capitalists to produce fabulous profits for themselves.

The *New Times* article also babbles on that "the evolution of 20th-century capitalism has thus been marked by changes in the relations between labour and capital." It alleges that the financial oligarchy "no longer is able directly to manage either production or the marketing of the output," that "the actual management of production and sales has shifted to hired personnel," and so on and so forth. In fact, the scholars in the pay of the monopoly capitalists long ago created the myth of the "managerial revolution," asserting that "the essential change — the de-bourgeoisification of the bourgeoisie and the de-proletarianization of the pro-



letariat — is developing.” How similar this is to the Soviet revisionist fallacies!

True, many financial tycoons do not directly control the process of production and marketing. To begin with, they are complete parasites. They keep a horde of foremen and stewards to supervise the workers for them. They employ all sorts of “economists” and “scientists” to work out a “sweating system” and “speed-up” to suck the workers’ blood. With a portion of their profits they hire bureaucrat-politicians to be the agents of their firms, or send their right-hand men to fill government posts and act as overseers. In any case, whether production is managed directly by the bosses themselves or by their agents, the bosses remain bosses, the workers remain workers, and the chains fastened on the proletariat by the capitalists constantly become tighter, not looser.

After a lot of rot about the so-called “deep-going changes” in the capitalist “socio-economic structure,” the *New Times* article arrives at the conclusion that “modern capitalism bears the earmarks of the transitional stage.” The author dares not come straight to the point as to what the earmarks are, but indulges in quibbling. However, anyone with a discerning eye can tell at a glance that what he actually means is that capitalism is “growing peacefully” into socialism, since, as he puts it, a “collective” capitalist ownership or even one on a “higher plane” has come into being in capitalist society, with the bosses losing their power with each passing day and the employees becoming more and more powerful.

The enemies of the proletariat are always fond of talking about the “changes” in modern capitalism which they spuriously claim is different from 19th or early 20th century capitalism. In doing so, all of them try, but in vain, to fool the masses of the people and spread the fallacy that the fundamental theories of Marxism-

Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, on class struggle, violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are out of date, and that a “peaceful transition” of modern capitalism to socialism is possible.

However, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, has taught us — and the historical experience of the struggle of the world proletariat has borne it out — that capitalism can never “grow peacefully” into socialism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: “**The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution.**” The proletariat can fundamentally change the capitalist relations of production and economic structure and build up socialist public ownership only when it has seized political power and smashed the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie.

By advertising the so-called “deep-going changes” in capitalism and peddling “peaceful transition” poison, the ruling Soviet revisionist clique and the scholars in its pay have in fact once again exposed themselves as a pack of renegades to the proletariat.

(Yun Shui-nu of Fudan University, Shanghai)



RED GUARDS ON WORLD AFFAIRS

## Capitalist Restoration in the Soviet Union

# The True Picture of So-Called “Welfare for the Whole People”

**T**HE Soviet revisionist ruling clique has often gone out of its way to boast about “all for man and all for man’s welfare.” It is trying in this way to colour its all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union with “welfare for the whole people.”

So-called “welfare for the whole people,” just like “state of the entire people,” is simply demagogical nonsense. “Welfare for all men” or “welfare for the whole people” irrespective of classes simply does not exist in a class society. Welfare for the bourgeoisie means the disappearance of welfare for the proletariat. With political power, the proletariat has everything; without it, there cannot be any happiness for the proletariat and the labouring people.

## The Wage Increase Fraud

The Soviet revisionist clique energetically advertises so-called wage increases for workers and employees as a major “welfare” measure. In reality, however, the incomes of the masses of the Soviet labouring people are very low while the bourgeois elements such as “academicians,” “factory directors” and “managers” provide themselves with high salaries. The salaries of some academicians are as high as 6,500 roubles a month while many workers can earn only 60-70 roubles. The chief engineer of a factory making plastic goods arrogates to himself a salary of 1,400 roubles a month, while an ordinary technical worker earns only 70-80 roubles.

Wage advances for Soviet workers and employees, moreover, lag far behind increases in commodity prices. Statistics show that during the six years from 1959 to 1965 retail prices of 15 major consumer goods including flour, cotton textiles and leather shoes rose 42 per cent while wages of the workers and employees went up only 18.9 per cent from 1959 to the end of 1964.

The all-round capitalist restoration brought about by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has landed the country in economic chaos, and market supplies are in serious trouble. There are acute shortages of commodities in state shops and prices on the free market are very high, and hence the scenes of buying rushes. Whatever shops you may go into in Moscow, long queues for consumer goods immediately catch the eye. In some of the big department stores customers queue along the staircases, from the ground floor to the first or second floor, in order to buy a shirt or a woollen sweater. Police are also called in to "maintain order" in the shops. On the eve of the October Revolution "jubilee" the Soviet revisionist clique put some expensive imported goods on the market to make up for domestic shortages. These foreign goods obviously are not the sort the Soviet labouring people can afford to buy. It is unimaginable that a worker who earns a few dozen roubles a month will spend a month's wages to buy a British-made nylon shirt.

Food prices are also prohibitive. For instance, on the free market, pork costs two and a half to three and a half roubles per kilogramme, beef three roubles, cabbage 30 kopeks, cucumbers 8 roubles, tomatoes two roubles, and apples one and a half roubles.

### The "Five-Day Week" Myth Exploded

The Soviet revisionist clique has made a big fanfare about "shortening" working hours. And on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution it made a big to-do about the "five-day week," describing this as one of the important measures for "making the transition to communism" and "raising the material well-being of the people."

As a matter of fact, the so-called "five-day week" does not shorten the originally stipulated work time at all. The Soviet revisionist clique has laid down the "prerequisite" for the transition to the "five-day week" — total work time for a whole year when the six-day week was enforced must be fulfilled. The introduction of the "five-day week" also has made a lot of trouble in the workers' lives. In factories where the "five-day week" has been introduced, lunch time for all shifts is, as a rule, shortened to 20-30 minutes, and there is no resting time for those working on the night shift; they have to work 7-8 hours without a stop. In the No. 15 ball-bearing plant in the city of Volga, the original lunch time was one hour, but now the first shift works 8 hours with a mid-day break of 25 minutes, the second shift works 8 hours and gets 20 minutes and the third works seven hours and a quarter with

no break at all. With only 20-30 minutes for eating and long mess lines, workers have a very hard time in a crowded canteen. "What kind of 'five-day week' is this!" angrily asked Nezhenko, a worker of the plant. The Soviet revisionist paper *Trud* revealed that when a textile factory introduced the "five-day week" woman workers complained: "There is not enough time for lunch. The queues in the canteen are awfully long, we can't even have a cup of tea."

### "Principle of Profit-Making" Brings Serious Consequences to Labouring People

The Soviet revisionist clique has acted on the bourgeois economic law that the "principle of profit-making" stands above everything else, and this has brought on most serious consequences for the masses of labouring people. *Trud* reported that the director of the building material factory in Kirovograd, in order to boost output and seek profits, paid no attention at all to what happened to the workers. Working conditions there were horrible: in some workshops the air was filled with dust. In others the amount of coal gas reached the danger point. No sanitary facilities were provided. One after another, serious industrial accidents took place in the factory. Leaders of the farm machinery building industry in the Soviet Union have turned out machines of the worst quality; they just don't care so long as they can make a big profit. As a result, accidents in which tractors overturned causing serious injuries to many drivers were often reported in various parts of the country. The factory concerned turned a deaf ear to the criticism made by the workers about the designing drawbacks of these machines, and went on mass producing them just to make profit.

The Soviet revisionist press reported that the leaders of the "Komsomol" Colliery of the "Lenin" Coal Mining Company, in order to get rewards, deliberately violated the safety regulations. Since April of 1967, the colliery has not done any spraying on the work face to prevent dust from spreading; it simply sought for increased output which would top the fixed target. And so the miners have had to work amid coal dust for a long time. Ventilation supervisors did not intervene because getting more coal than the scheduled amount means more rewards.

Reality in the Soviet Union has completely nailed the lie of Brezhnev and his kind about so-called "welfare for the whole people." Under the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the state apparatus is in the hands of the privileged bourgeois stratum and an out-and-out dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is enforced. What the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has been doing proceeds completely from the interests of the privileged stratum. This stratum leads the luxurious, corrupt and rotten life of a bourgeois lord, while the broad masses of the Soviet labouring people have once again been oppressed, enslaved and exploited. This is the true picture of so-called "welfare for the whole people."

# ROUND THE WORLD

**Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.**

— MAO TSE-TUNG

## THAI PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES

### Hitting the Enemy Everywhere

The flames in Thailand of the revolutionary people's armed struggle which is led by the Communist Party of Thailand are raging in many localities and the reactionary U.S.-Thanom clique is being seared by the blaze.

Applying the strategy and tactics of people's war formulated by Chairman Mao and fighting valiantly, the Thai people's forces have attacked the enemy and are rapidly increasing their strength.

In northern Thailand, they have won remarkable victories in the past two months and have smashed a series of "encirclement and suppression campaigns" launched by several battalions of the U.S.-Thanom clique.

According to incomplete figures, more than 100 troops and policemen were wiped out in Nan Province alone. The areas where the people's forces are active have swiftly extended from Tung Chang District in the north to Sa District in the south.

The armed struggle of the Miao people in Mesod District, Tak Province, began with an attack on a police station early last November and has been growing rapidly ever since. Late in December, they ambushed a border patrol, wiping out more than 10 policemen. In recent engagements, they have captured grain sent by the U.S.-Thanom clique to the reactionary troops and police.

In Lampang Province, the people's forces on January 24 derailed a train loaded with ammunition and killed or wounded four officers and men.

In the northeast provinces too, the people's forces have been very active recently. Early in January, they

wiped out a 13-man police patrol in Nong Khai Province. In Na Kae District they burnt down a newly built police station. While launching assaults on enemy posts, those in Sakol Nakorn and Nakorn Phanom Provinces dispatched armed propaganda teams to arouse and organize the peasant masses. With the assistance of the local people, they liquidated many spies.

The people's forces also won successive victories in south and central Thailand. After a fierce fight in Savan District, Nakorn Srithamarai Province, they wiped out a unit of "Territorial Defence Volunteers." In Songkla Province they sabotaged railways and cut enemy communication lines.

While the people's forces are winning one victory after another in their attacks, the U.S.-Thanom clique is stepping up its suppression in an attempt to save itself from defeat. As a means to isolate the people's forces from the masses, martial law was clamped down on 15 provinces in the northeast and four in central Thailand. The clique also blocked all highways leading to Nan Province and savagely drove the Miao residents into concentration camps. Indiscriminate "carpet bombing" was conducted against the people there. On January 19, puppet Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn went to this province to supervise the suppression in person.

However, as the Voice of the People of Thailand has pointed out, because the people's forces in many provinces are making use of every opportunity to eliminate the enemy's effectives, the panic-stricken U.S.-Thanom clique has been compelled to spread its troops thinly in different parts of the country. This makes

it clear that despite its outward appearance of strength, the U.S.-Thanom clique can be liquidated piecemeal once the people are united and wage a resolute struggle against it. Through a protracted war, the people can completely wipe out any enemy, however strong.

## INDONESIA

### Growing Armed Struggle

News of more victories won in the revolutionary armed struggle has also come from Indonesia.

Western news agencies reported that during January the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people waged armed struggle in villages and suburban areas in eight regions in East Java — Tulungagung, Blitar, Kediri, Djember, Banjuwangi, Bodjonegoro, Malang and Ngawi. They dealt telling blows to the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime and the local landlords, despots, bullies and bad gentry. Arms in hand, the revolutionary people executed 13 landlords and despots near Blitar and a number of counter-revolutionaries in the Tulungagung area.

In mid January, Soegih Arto, Attorney General of the Suharto-Nasution regime, disclosed that a people's revolutionary force named the "Surabaja People's Guerrillas" was operating in East Java.

Even Antara had to admit that the upsurge of the people's revolutionary struggle in East Java was a "planned action," that "some villages were left defenceless" under the impact of the storm of the people's revolution and that the reactionary forces there were in a panic.

In January too, the gunfire of the revolution was heard for the first time in East Kalimantan. Late last month, a people's revolutionary armed force had a fierce battle with the reactionary troops in the Kelajan region.

The West Kalimantan people's force, which was described by Western news agencies as "a powerful guerrilla force," fought a series of battles with the reactionary troops in January. On January 4, a patrol was ambushed in the Sebalau area and, on January 21, a unit of the Siliwangi

Division was attacked in north-western Bengkajang.

With the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people courageously marching forward in the face of all difficulties, the storm of revolutionary armed struggle will rage throughout Indonesia.

#### INDIAN PEASANTS TAKE "NAXALBARI" ROAD

### Armed Seizure of Land in Bihar

Under the leadership of the revolutionaries of the Indian Communist Party, peasants in Bihar State, north-east India, are rising in struggle to take back their land by force.

The *Hindustan Times* revealed on February 5 that in Champaran District in northwest Bihar, large tracts of land in and around the Mandanpur forests which were occupied by the government had been seized by several thousand landless labourers.

The paper also divulged that some of the Indian C.P. revolutionaries who had led the struggle in Naxalbari had arrived in northern Bihar and were carrying out organizational and mobilization work. Reactionary police sources said that they had gone there to "plan and guide a Naxalbari type of struggle in the entire border region."

The Bihar government is panic-stricken. It has stepped up its brutal suppression of the Indian C.P. revolutionaries who are leading the peasants in their struggle for the land, so as to prevent the "suspected flareup of a 'Naxalbari type' agrarian trouble in north Bihar bordering West Bengal, Nepal, and Uttar Pradesh." Up to early February, about 200 revolutionaries who were organizing the peasant land struggle had been arrested by the reactionary authorities.

The armed peasants have been strongly resisting this suppression by

the reactionary government. On January 30, when police were escorting three arrested peasant leaders through a thick forest near the Nepal border, they were ambushed by about 200 armed people. Nineteen of the police were wounded and the peasant leaders were rescued from the police jeeps.

Under the brutal exploitation of the Indian reactionaries and the feudal landlords, the Bihar peasants lead an extremely miserable life. Among the 50 million people of the state, at least 40 million, mostly peasants, have not enough food to eat and millions were starving in India's nationwide famine last year.

The north Bihar peasants' armed struggle for land shows that the vast rural population there are rising up to fight against the criminal regime. The reactionary Indian Government can never subdue them by brutal suppression but will only make them take the revolutionary path ever more resolutely.

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