

PEKING REVIEW

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Statement of the Government Of the People's Republic Of China

May 24, 1969

*Tear Off the Wrappings From
Soviet Revisionists' "Definition
Of Aggression"*

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

“Lifting a rock only to drop it on one’s own feet” is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind.

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All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinction.

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China

May 24, 1969

On March 29, 1969, the Soviet Government issued a statement on the Sino-Soviet boundary question. On April 1, 1969, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out in his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China: In its statement, the Soviet Government was "still clinging to its obstinate aggressor stand, while expressing willingness to resume 'consultations'. Our Government is considering its reply to this."

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government have always held that boundary questions

should be settled by negotiations through diplomatic channels and that, pending a settlement, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained and conflicts averted. This was our stand in the past and remains our stand at present. The development of the Sino-Soviet boundary question to its present state is wholly the responsibility of the Soviet side. The Chinese Government hereby states the truth about the Sino-Soviet boundary question and its consistent position as follows:

I. Chenpao Island Is China's Territory and the Chenpao Island Incident Was Deliberately Provoked by the Soviet Government

Chenpao Island has always been China's territory. Before 1860, the Wusuli River where Chenpao Island is situated was still an inland river of China. It was only after the Opium War in the 19th century when the capitalist powers, one after another, imposed unequal treaties on China that the Wusuli River was stipulated as forming part of the boundary between China and Russia in the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" of 1860. According to established principles of international law, in the case of navigable boundary rivers, the central line of the main channel shall form the boundary line and determine the ownership of islands. Situated on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel of the Wusuli River, Chenpao Island indisputably belongs to China and has always been under China's jurisdiction.

The Soviet Government invoked the map attached to the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking", asserting that in the area of Chenpao Island the demarcation line shown on this map "passes directly along the Chinese bank of the Ussuri River" and vainly attempting to prove thereby that Chenpao Island belongs to the Soviet Union. But this attached map can in no way help it out of its present predicament.

The map attached to the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" was drawn unilaterally by tsarist Russia before

the boundary was surveyed in 1861. And in 1861, China and Russia surveyed and marked only the land boundary south of the Hsingkai Lake but not the river boundary on the Wusuli and Heilung Rivers, and a red line was drawn on the attached map on a scale smaller than 1:1,000,000 only to indicate that the two rivers form the boundary between the two countries. The red line on this attached map does not, and cannot possibly, show the precise location of the boundary line in the rivers, still less is it intended to determine the ownership of islands. Hence, it can in no way prove that Chenpao Island belongs to the Soviet Union.

In fact, after the conclusion of the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking", the two sides always took the central line of the main channel for determining the ownership of islands and exercised jurisdiction accordingly. This was also repeatedly borne out by letters from the frontier officials of tsarist Russia to the Chinese side. For instance, in his letter of May 8, 1908 to a Chinese official, the frontier commissar of the Amur Region of tsarist Russia Kuzmin made it clear: "If countries are divided by a river, then the line running along the middle of the river should be taken as the boundary line between them. On navigable rivers, this line should be drawn along the channel." Again, in his letter of September 6

May 30, 1969

of the same year to the Chinese official, Kuzmin stated: "Islands in the rivers are divided by the river channel."

During the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations in 1964, the Soviet representative also had to admit that the red line on the map attached to the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" cannot show the precise alignment of the boundary line in the rivers, nor can it possibly determine the ownership of islands; he could not but agree that the central line of the main channel should be taken for determining the boundary line on the rivers and the ownership of islands.

It should also be pointed out that Chenpao Island was originally not an island, but a part of the bank on the Chinese side of the Wusuli River, which later became an island as a result of erosion by the river water. To this day, Chenpao Island still connects with the Chinese bank at low water, and the river-arm to the west of the Island has never become a waterway.

The Chenpao Island incident was deliberately provoked by the Soviet side. In recent years, Soviet troops have repeatedly been sent in helicopters, armoured cars and vehicles to intrude into China's territory Chenpao Island for provocations. During the first two months of this year alone, they intruded into the Island as many as eight times. They kidnapped Chinese inhabitants, assaulted and wounded Chinese frontier guards and seized

arms and ammunition. With regard to the provocations by the Soviet side, the Chinese side all along exercised the utmost forbearance, persisting in reasoning things out on the basis of the facts and demanding that the Soviet side stop its intrusions and provocations. However, thinking that China was weak and could be bullied, the Soviet side became ever more unbridled. When they intruded into China's Chenpao Island on February 16, the Soviet troops flagrantly clamoured that they would use force of arms should the Chinese frontier guards go there for patrols again. Following that, the Soviet Far Eastern frontier troops entered into No. 1 combat readiness. On March 2, large numbers of Soviet troops in armoured cars and vehicles intruded into China's territory the Chenpao Island area simultaneously from Nizhne-Mikhailovka and Kulebyakinye, launched a sudden attack on the Chinese frontier guards on normal patrol duty and were the first to open fire with guns and cannons, killing and wounding many Chinese frontier guards on the spot. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance, the Chinese frontier guards were compelled to fight back in self-defence. On March 15, Soviet troops again intruded into Chenpao Island and shelled areas deep within Chinese territory on the Chinese side of the river, thus creating a new incident of bloodshed. Such is the truth about the Chenpao Island incident. No amount of lies will help the Soviet Government escape the responsibility for its crimes.

II. The Treaties Relating to the Present Sino-Soviet Boundary Are All Unequal Treaties Imposed on China by Tsarist Russian Imperialism

Tsarist Russia, a European country, was originally not contiguous to China. Tsarist Russia began to expand eastwards in the 16th century, and it was not until the latter half of the 17th century that there arose the question of a boundary with China. In 1689, China and Russia concluded their first boundary treaty, the "Treaty of Nipchu", which defined the eastern sector of the Sino-Russian boundary. In 1727, China and Russia concluded the "Burinsky Treaty", which defined the middle sector of the Sino-Russian boundary (the larger part of this sector of the boundary has now become Mongolian-Soviet boundary). As for the western frontier of China, it was then at the Balkhash Lake, a great distance from the boundary of tsarist Russia.

After the Opium War of 1840, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colony, while Russia was gradually becoming a military-feudal imperialist country. Beginning from the fifties of the 19th century, tsarist Russia colluded with the Western imperialist countries in pursuing the aggressive policy of carving up China. Within the short space of half a century, it forced China to sign a series of unequal treaties, by which it annexed more than 1.5 million square kilometres of Chinese ter-

ritory, an area three times that of France or twelve times that of Czechoslovakia.

While the allied Anglo-French imperialist forces were attacking Tientsin and threatening Peking in their aggression against China, tsarist Russian imperialism seized the opportunity to compel the authorities of the Ching Dynasty by force of arms to sign the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun" on May 28, 1858, by which it annexed more than 600,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory north of the Heilung River and south of the Outer Khingan Mountains and placed the Chinese territory east of the Wusuli River under the joint possession of China and Russia.

Taking advantage of the military pressure brought about by the occupation of Peking by the allied Anglo-French forces invading China, alleging that it had made contributions in mediation and threatening that "it is not difficult to renew the war", tsarist Russia forced the Ching Dynasty Government to sign the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" on November 14, 1860, by which it forcibly incorporated some 400,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory east of the Wusuli River into Russia.

By the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" and by the "Tahcheng Protocol on the Delimitation of Sino-Russian Boundary" which tsarist Russia forced the Ching Dynasty Government to sign on October 7, 1864, tsarist Russia further annexed more than 440,000 square kilometres of territory in the western part of China.

In 1871, tsarist Russia sent troops to forcibly occupy China's Ili area, who entrenched themselves there for as long as ten years; on February 24, 1881, it forced the Ching Dynasty Government to sign the "Sino-Russian Ili Treaty". By the "Sino-Russian Ili Treaty" and the subsequent protocols on boundary delimitation, tsarist Russia further incorporated more than 70,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory into the territory of tsarist Russia.

The great teachers of the world proletariat Marx, Engels and Lenin had long made brilliant conclusions on the unequal nature of these treaties. Commenting on the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun" in 1858, Marx said that ". . . by his second opium-war he [John Bull] has helped her [Russia] to the invaluable tract lying between the Gulf of Tartary and Lake Baikal, a region so much coveted by Russia that from Czar Alexey Michaelowitch down to Nicolaus, she has always attempted to get it".¹ Engels also pointed out in the same year that Russia despoiled "China of a country as large as France and Germany put together, and of a river as large as the Danube" and that "Not satisfied with this, she has obtained the establishment of a Russo-Chinese Commission to fix the boundaries. Now, we all know what such a commission is in the hands of Russia. We have seen them at work on the Asiatic frontiers of Turkey, where they kept slicing away piece after piece from that country, for more than twenty years."² Things turned out to be exactly as Engels had wisely foreseen. After 1858, tsarist Russia was "slicing away piece after piece" of Chinese territory with the signing of each treaty and with every survey of the boundary.

Lenin also bitterly denounced tsarist Russia more than once for its crimes of aggression against China. Lenin pointed out that ". . . the European governments (the Russian Government among the very first) have already started to partition China. However, they have not begun this partitioning openly, but stealthily, like thieves" and that "The policy of the tsarist government in China is a criminal policy."³

While glibly talking about being "true to Lenin's behests" in its statement of March 29, the Soviet Government in the very same statement directly opposed the brilliant conclusions made by Marx, Engels and Lenin and thoroughly betrayed their teachings.

In order to suit the needs of its social-imperialist policy, the Soviet Government even described tsarist Russian imperialist aggression against semi-colonial China after the mid-19th century as "disputes" between "Chinese emperors and tsars", in which there was no question of who was the aggressor and who the victim of aggression, nor was there any question of whether the treaties concluded between them are equal or not. This is a gangster logic in defence of tsarist Russian imperialist aggression.

In his time the great Lenin warmly supported China and all other oppressed countries in opposing aggression by tsarist Russian imperialism and all other imperialists. He said that ". . . if tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just', and 'defensive' wars, irrespective of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slaveholding and predatory 'Great' Powers".⁴ Today when people review these teachings of Lenin's, they can only come to one conclusion: Such energetic propagation of the imperialist gangster logic by the Soviet Government is not only "alien to the Leninist policy", but is also a most shameless betrayal of Leninism.

III. The Fact That There Exists a Boundary Question Between China and the Soviet Union Cannot Be Obliterated

There exists a boundary question between China and the Soviet Union not only because tsarist Russia annexed more than 1.5 million square kilometres of Chinese territory by the unequal treaties it imposed on China, but also because it crossed in many places the boundary line stipulated by the unequal treaties and further occupied vast expanses of Chinese territory. Even tracts of Chinese territory which have always been under the Chinese Government's jurisdiction have been drawn as Soviet territory. For instance, in the Pamir area, tsarist Russia occupied more than 20,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory in violation of

the stipulations of the "Protocol on Sino-Russian Boundary in the Kashgar Region" of 1884. Again for instance, in the sector of the Wusuli and Heilung Rivers, the Soviet Government, in violation of the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun", the "Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking" and the established principles of international law, has gone so far as to draw the boundary line almost entirely along the Chinese bank and in some places even on China's inland rivers and islands, marking as Soviet territory over 600 of the 700 and more Chinese islands on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel, which cover an area of more than 1,000 square kilometres.

With regard to the unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russia, the great Lenin always stood for their annulment.

On September 27, 1920, the Government of Soviets led by Lenin solemnly proclaimed: It "declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China and restores to China, without any compensation and for ever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the Tsar's Government and the Russian bourgeoisie".

Furthermore, the "Agreement on General Principles for the Settlement of the Questions Between China and the Soviet Union" signed on May 31, 1924 stipulates that at the conference agreed upon by both sides, they are to "annul all Conventions, Treaties, Agreements, Protocols, Contracts, etcetera, concluded between the Government of China and the Tsarist Government and to replace them with new treaties, agreements, etcetera, on the basis of equality, reciprocity and justice, as well as the spirit of the Declarations of the Soviet Government of the years of 1919 and 1920" and "to re-demarcate their national boundaries . . . , and pending such re-demarcation, to maintain the present boundaries".

In pursuance of the 1924 Agreement, China and the Soviet Union held talks in 1926 to discuss the re-demarcation of the boundary and the conclusion of a new treaty. Owing to the historical conditions at the time, no agreement was reached by the two sides on the boundary question, no re-demarcation of the boundary between the two countries was made and no new equal

treaty was concluded by the two countries, and thus this proletarian policy of Lenin's failed to come true.

The above facts fully show that the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties, that they should all be annulled and that the Sino-Soviet boundary question remains an outstanding issue. In its statement, the Soviet Government did not even say a single word about the fact that under the above-mentioned Declarations and Agreement, it is "all" the treaties concluded with China that are to be annulled and it is "all" the seized Chinese territory that is to be renounced, but uttered the nonsense that the 1924 Agreement did not "consider" the boundary treaties "as being among the unequal treaties" and that "there was no talk of their being annulled". This is indeed a "juggling with history, adapting it to its territorial claims".

Chairman Mao spoke highly of the declaration of the annulment of the unequal treaties between China and Russia made by the Government of Soviets led by Lenin. However, from Chairman Mao's words no conclusion whatsoever can be drawn that there does not exist a boundary question between China and the Soviet Union. The same is true of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's remarks. As for the "Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance" and the "Sino-Soviet Agreement on Navigation on Boundary Rivers", they are in no sense a treaty or agreement for the settlement of the boundary question, still less can they prove that there does not exist a boundary question between China and the Soviet Union.

IV. The Soviet Government Has Violated the Status Quo of the Boundary and Provoked Border Conflicts

It is understandable that the boundary question existing between China and the Soviet Union was not settled when China was under reactionary rule. The founding of the People's Republic of China created all the necessary conditions for a reasonable settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question. Owing to various reasons, no start was made to settle the question at the time, yet the Sino-Soviet border was all along tranquil.

Since 1960, the Soviet Government has gone farther and farther down the road of betraying Marxism-Leninism. It restores capitalism at home and pursues a social-imperialist policy abroad, it allies with U.S. imperialism and opposes socialist China, and it has incessantly violated the status quo of the boundary and tried to occupy Chinese territory which has always been under the Chinese Government's jurisdiction, thus aggravating the Sino-Soviet boundary question. The Soviet Government directed Soviet frontier troops to push their patrol routes into Chinese territory, build military installations within Chinese territory, assault and kidnap Chinese border inhabitants, sabotage their production and carry out all sorts of provocative and

subversive activities. In 1962, the Soviet Government incited and coerced more than 60,000 Chinese citizens in the Ili and Tahcheng areas of Sinkiang, China into going to the Soviet Union, and it has up to now refused to send them back.

Since 1964, the Soviet Government has sent large reinforcements to the Sino-Soviet border, stepped up its violation of the status quo of the boundary, carried out armed provocations and created incidents of bloodshed. From October 15, 1964 to March 15 this year, the Soviet side provoked as many as 4,189 border incidents, two and a half times the number of those it provoked from 1960 to 1964, with its tactics getting even more vicious and its behaviour even more unbridled. Soviet troops intruded into Chinese territory, indulging in murder and arson, killing barehanded Chinese fishermen and peasants by beating and running armoured cars over them or even throwing them alive into the river. Lenin indignantly condemned the Russian government for its atrocities of slaughtering peaceable Chinese inhabitants in these words: ". . . they flung themselves upon it [China] like savage beasts, burning

down whole villages, shooting, bayonetting, and drowning in the Amur River unarmed inhabitants, their wives, and their children".⁵ What difference is there between the present-day atrocities committed by the Soviet Government against Chinese inhabitants on the Wusuli and Heilung Rivers and the atrocities by the tsarist Russian government which were bitterly denounced by Lenin in those days!?

The Chenpao Island incident is the inevitable result of the Soviet Government's violation of the status quo

of the Sino-Soviet boundary and pursuance of its social-imperialist policy over a long period of time. The sanguinary conflicts on Chenpao Island were deliberately engineered by the Soviet Government in order to cover up its capitulation on the Berlin question and curry favour with U.S. imperialism, so that it can further ally with U.S. imperialism against China. By this action, the Soviet Government tells the United States that China is the common enemy of the United States and the Soviet Union.

V. It Is the Soviet Government That Expands Its Territory Everywhere

In its statement, the Soviet Government slanderously asserted that China "queries the present boundaries of the countries neighbouring on China" and that "claims are being advanced on neighbouring territories", vainly attempting to show that the Chinese Government pursues a policy of expansion. Such clumsy tactics are indeed both ridiculous and pitiable! The whole world knows that since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese Government has satisfactorily settled complicated boundary questions left over by history and concluded boundary treaties with neighbouring countries such as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of Mongolia and Afghanistan, with the exception of the Soviet Union and India. China does not have a single soldier stationed in any foreign country. China has no territorial claims against any of her neighbouring countries, and has not invaded or occupied a single inch of territory of any foreign country.

Today, the Soviet Government is not only forcibly occupying the territories of other countries and refuses to return them, but has under new conditions advanced new theories for aggression — the theories of "limited sovereignty", of "international dictatorship" and of the "socialist community". It has already turned some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia into its colonies and military bases. It flagrantly sent several hundred thousand troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and brutally suppress the Czechoslovak people. It regards heroic Albania as a thorn in its

flesh. It menaces Rumania and Yugoslavia. It has dispatched its fleet to the Mediterranean Sea, trying hard to control the Arab countries by taking advantage of their difficulties. Its aggressive designs are even more ambitious, and its claws have stretched out even farther, than those of tsarist Russia.

Harbouring ulterior motives, the Soviet Government, moreover, talked glibly about Soviet assistance to China in its statement. It is true that under the leadership of the great Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people rendered assistance to the Chinese people, which the Chinese people will never forget. In turn, the Chinese people led by their great leader Chairman Mao also rendered assistance to the Soviet people, which the Soviet people will never forget either. Such mutual support and assistance between the Chinese and Soviet peoples in revolutionary struggles will certainly continue in the future. However, it must be pointed out that in the past decade the Soviet Government has completely betrayed the internationalist foreign policy of Lenin and Stalin, done all evils against China and committed towering crimes against the Chinese people. It is not qualified at all to talk about assistance rendered to the Chinese people at the time of Lenin and Stalin. At present, the Soviet Government is everywhere perpetrating acts of aggression and plunder against the people of other countries under the sign-board of "assistance". Such practice of the Soviet Government is exactly the same as that of U.S. imperialism.

VI. The Chinese Government Stands For Peaceful Negotiations and Is Against Resort to The Use of Force

The Chinese Government has consistently stood and worked for the settlement of boundary questions with its neighbouring countries through negotiations and for the maintenance of the status quo of the

boundary pending a settlement. As early as August 22 and September 21, 1960, the Chinese Government twice took the initiative in proposing to the Soviet Government that negotiations be held. Furthermore,

on August 23, 1963, the Chinese Government put forward to the Soviet Government a six-point proposal for maintaining the status quo of the boundary and averting conflicts. Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations finally took place in Peking in 1964. During the negotiations, the Chinese side took the reasonable stand that the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary should be taken as the basis for settling the boundary question, and it made the maximum efforts and showed the greatest sincerity for the settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question. If the Soviet Government had the slightest sincerity, it would not have been difficult to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question. What Premier Chou En-lai said in answering the provocative question of an American correspondent at a press conference held in Kathmandu on April 28, 1960 precisely expressed this idea of the Chinese Government. However, the Soviet Government clung to its big-power chauvinist and territorial expansionist stand; it not only wanted to keep under its forcible occupation the Chinese territory which tsarist Russia had seized by means of the unequal treaties, but also insisted that China recognize as belonging to the Soviet Union all the Chinese territory which it had occupied or attempted to occupy in violation of the treaties, and as a result the negotiations were disrupted. Hence, while China has now settled boundary questions with many of her neighbouring countries, only the boundary questions between China and the Soviet Union and between China and India remain unsettled.

While expressing willingness to resume "consultations" in its statement of March 29, the Soviet Government tried hard to deny the existence of a boundary question between China and the Soviet Union, which actually amounts to saying that there is nothing to discuss at all.

While indicating in its statement that "urgent practical measures should be taken to normalize the situation on the Soviet-Chinese border", the Soviet Government has continued to direct Soviet troops to open fire with light and heavy machine-guns and heavy artillery on China's Chenpao Island and areas deep within Chinese territory, and to this day the firing has not ceased; at the same time, it is carrying out provocations in other sectors of the Sino-Soviet boundary. Reading from a prepared text, the Soviet frontier representative even brazenly threatened on April 3: "The Soviet Union will not cease fire unless the Chinese Government holds negotiations with the Soviet Government, nor will it cease fire unless the Chinese withdraw from Damansky Island" (N.B. China's Chenpao Island).

Furthermore, the Soviet Government has canvassed among the imperialist countries headed by the United States, begging for their support. Meanwhile, setting in motion all its propaganda machines, it has done its utmost to spread lies and slanders, tried to fan up national chauvinist sentiments, made war clamours and brandished nuclear weapons at China.

The above series of facts show that it is highly doubtful as to how much sincerity the Soviet Government has, after all, for negotiations.

The development of the Sino-Soviet boundary question to its present state is not the responsibility of the Chinese side. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government is still ready to seek an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through peaceful negotiations and is against resort to the use of force.

The Chinese Government holds that it must be confirmed that the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties imposed on China by tsarist Russian imperialism. But taking into consideration the fact that it was tsarist Russian imperialism which compelled China to sign these treaties when power was in the hands of neither the Chinese people nor the Russian people and the Soviet people bear no responsibility and that large numbers of Soviet labouring people have lived on the land over a long period of time, the Chinese Government, out of the desire to safeguard the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, is still ready to take these unequal treaties as the basis for determining the entire alignment of the boundary line between the two countries and for settling all existing questions relating to the boundary. Any side which occupies the territory of the other side in violation of the treaties must, in principle, return it wholly and unconditionally to the other side, and this brooks no ambiguity. The Chinese Government maintains that what should be done is to hold negotiations for the overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question and the conclusion of a new equal treaty to replace the old unequal ones, and not to hold "consultations" for "clarification on individual sectors of the Soviet-Chinese state border line".

Of course, on the premise that the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are taken as the basis, necessary adjustments at individual places on the boundary can be made in accordance with the principles of consultation on an equal footing and of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. But it is absolutely impermissible to take such a truculent attitude: What the tsars occupied is yours, and what you want to occupy is yours, too.

In order to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question, the Soviet Government must stop all its provocations and armed threats on the Sino-Soviet border. Neither a small war, nor a big war, nor a nuclear war can ever intimidate the Chinese people. The Chinese Government once again proposes: Each side ensures that it shall maintain the status quo of the boundary and not push forward by any means the line of actual control on the border, and that in sectors where a river forms the boundary, the frontier guards of its side shall not cross the central line of the main channel and of the main waterway; each side ensures that it shall avert conflicts and that under no circumstances shall the frontier guards

of its side fire at the other side; there should be no interference in the normal productive activities carried out by the border inhabitants of both sides according to habitual practice.

The Chinese Government holds that negotiations are intended for settling questions and not for deceiving the people. To make serious negotiations possible, it is essential to adopt an honest attitude, and not a hypocritical attitude. In its note of April 11 to the Chinese Government, the Soviet Government suggested that "consultations" start right on April 15 in Moscow and, without waiting for a reply from the Chinese Government, it published the note on the following day. This attitude of the Soviet Government's is far from being serious, to say the least. The Chinese Government proposes that the date and place for the Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations be discussed and decided upon by both sides through diplomatic channels.

The Chinese Government hopes that the Soviet Government will make a positive response to the above proposals.

The Soviet Government will have completely miscalculated if it should take the Chinese Government's stand for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question as a sign that China is weak and can be bullied, thinking that the Chinese people can be cowed by its

policy of nuclear blackmail and that it can realize its territorial claims against China by means of war. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the 700 million Chinese people are not to be bullied. The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack."** **"As far as our own desire is concerned, we don't want to fight even for a single day. But if circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the finish."** This is the answer of the Chinese Government and people to the Soviet Government's policies of war and nuclear blackmail.

NOTES

¹ Marx, "The British and Chinese Treaty", *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese ed., Vol. 12, pp. 625-626

² Engels, "The Progress of Russia in Far-East", *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Chinese ed., Vol. 12, p. 662, p. 664

³ Lenin, "The War in China", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, pp. 335-336, p. 338

⁴ Lenin, "Socialism and War", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 21, pp. 280-281

⁵ Lenin, "The War in China", *Collected Works*, Chinese ed., Vol. 4, p. 336

Hsinhua News Agency's Note on Release of the Soviet Government's March 29 Statement

Note of the Hsinhua News Agency: On March 29, the Soviet Government produced a statement on the Sino-Soviet boundary question. In this statement, flaunting the signboard of resuming "consultations," the Soviet Government did its utmost to distort the truth about the Chenpao Island incident and the Sino-Soviet boundary question and wantonly slandered and attacked China with its habitual tactics of standing facts on their head and of a thief crying "stop thief," attempting to cover up its crimes of pursuing its social-imperialist policy of aggression, encroaching upon Chinese territory and provoking armed conflicts. On April 11, the Soviet Government further addressed a note to the Chinese side, pressing the latter to arrive in Moscow within four days for "consultations" with it on the Sino-Soviet boundary question and, without waiting for a reply from the Chinese Government, it made public the note on April 12. On April 14, the Chinese Government told the Soviet Government in explicit terms: "We will give you a reply, please calm down a little and do not get excited." However, unable to restrain itself, the Soviet Government hastily jumped out and clamoured that the Chinese Government had tried by

every possible means to conceal from the Chinese people the content of the statement of the Government of the U.S.S.R.

We now publish in full the text of the statement of the Soviet Government.* It is an excellent piece of teaching material by negative example. From this statement, people can see still more clearly the true features of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, and they can also see to what depths the new tsars of today have sunk in trying to realize their fond dream of territorial expansion!

Here we would like to ask the Soviet Government to do the same and publish in full the text of the statement of the Chinese Government in the Soviet press. Please do so if you do not have a guilty conscience and are not cowardly and if you do not want to "conceal" it from the Soviet people!

(*Hsinhua News Agency dispatch, May 24*)

*On May 25, newspapers throughout the country carried the full text of the March 29 statement of the Soviet Government.—*P.R. Ed.*

Nation's Armymen and Civilians Enthusiastically Support Chinese Government Statement

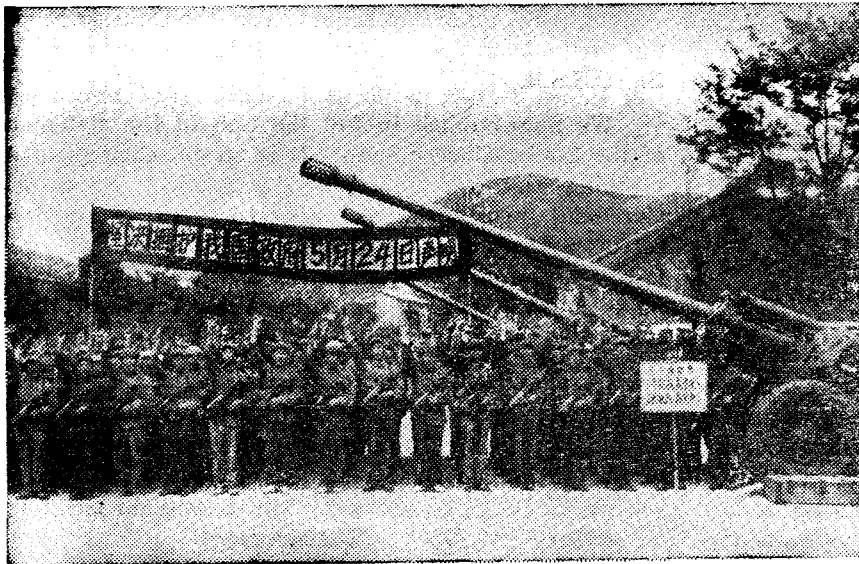
- Resolutely support the Chinese Government's just stand on a settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question.
- Heighten our vigilance and be united as one in completely smashing the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's aggressive ambitions.

THE May 24 statement of the Chinese Government is enthusiastically supported by the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions and by the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army all over the country. They firmly back the Chinese Government's just stand on a settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question, and make it clear that they will raise their vigilance a hundredfold, unite as one and be ready at all times to smash the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists' armed provocations and aggressive ambitions.

Armymen and civilians throughout the country indignantly condemned the Soviet Government's March 29 statement which stood things upside down and mixed up right and wrong. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique was solemnly warned that it must stop all its provocations and armed threats on the Sino-Soviet boundary. Whether the Soviet revisionists launch a small war, a big war or a nuclear war, under no circumstances will the Chinese people be cowed. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the 700 million

Chinese people are not to be bullied. If the Soviet revisionist stick to their reckless course of action, continue to carry out a nuclear blackmail policy against the Chinese people and vainly try to use war to realize their aggressive ambitions on Chinese territory, then the 700 million Chinese people will, in accordance with the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack," resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out all aggressors who dare to come!

Throughout the country, the broad masses of army-men and civilians in the cities and countryside held meetings the night our Government's statement was made public to express their warm support for it and angrily denounce the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's crimes of aggression. In big cities such as Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Shenyang, Wuhan, Kwangchow, Chengtu and Sian, the working class and the revolutionary masses pointed out that our Government's statement held high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, sternly exposed the old and new tsars' towering crimes of aggression against our country, reiterated the Chinese Government's consistent stand on a settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question and expressed the iron will of the 700 million Chinese people to completely smash the aggressive ambitions of the Soviet revisionist new tsars. The broad masses of army-men and civilians in places like Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Heilungkiang and Kirin, which are situated on the anti-revisionist frontlines, said: We will raise the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought still higher and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, unite as one against our common enemy. We pledge to build our motherland's border areas into an impregnable great wall of steel. Members of the "Heroic Tashan Regiment" known for their meritorious exploits



Commanders and fighters of a P.L.A. unit under the Peking Command firmly support our Government's statement. They express unanimous determination to raise their revolutionary vigilance, strengthen preparedness against war and completely smash the Soviet revisionist new tsars' aggressive ambitions. They pledge to defend the motherland's sacred territory with their lives.

in the War of Liberation, and the commanders and fighters of a P.L.A. unit stationed in Ning-sia known for their devastating blows at U.S. imperialism in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, said: Our Government's statement has knocked the bottom out of the Soviet revisionist new tsars' contemptible tricks and has once again exposed the aggressive features of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism for all to see. This has greatly boosted the morale of the revolutionary peoples and has deflated the arrogance of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries!

The broad masses of army-men and civilians all over the country listed a huge mass of irrefutable facts which forcefully denounced the shameless slanders contained in the Soviet Government's March 29 statement and angrily exposed the aggressive nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. The revolutionary masses whose families have lived in the Chenpao Island area for generations said: Chenpao Island has always been Chinese territory. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has fully exposed its diabolic social-imperialist features by repeatedly violating the status quo of the Sino-Soviet boundary, intruding into Chinese territory, provoking border conflicts and doing their utmost to distort the truth about the Sino-Soviet boundary question. The revolutionary masses in the Wupalao Island area who persevered in heroic struggle against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique held meetings on the night of the publication of the statement to denounce the heinous crimes of Soviet revisionist intrusions into Chinese territory. They said: The Soviet revisionists have always cast covetous eyes on China's Wupalao Island. They have sent fully armed Soviet frontier troops to sabotage our production, push us into the river and even open fire on us, seriously endangering our lives. Many old poor peasants angrily said: The old tsars in former times butchered our people, made the waters of the Heilung River flow red with our blood and sliced away large tracts of China's territory; today, the new tsars are massing their troops in a vain attempt to encroach on and occupy our territory. Their appetite is even bigger than that of the old tsars and their claws are stretching out even farther than that of the old tsars.

The broad masses of army-men and civilians throughout the country unanimously pointed out: The Soviet revisionist renegade clique in its March 29 statement did everything possible to sow discord in the friendly relations between the Chinese and Soviet peoples, in order to sabotage their revolutionary friendship which had been formed over a long period of struggle. This will never succeed. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is the common enemy of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. The Chinese people resolutely support the Soviet people in their just struggle to overthrow the new tsars and re-establish the dictator-



Frontier guards defending the Chenpao Island area demonstrate their firmest support for our Government's statement. They pledge to bring the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death into full play, heighten vigilance a hundredfold and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy who invades.

ship of the proletariat. The people of different nationalities in Sinkiang said: Since it came to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev and company, has incessantly and increasingly intensified its efforts to provoke conflicts along the Sino-Soviet border regions. What makes one especially indignant is that in 1962 the Soviet Government incited and coerced more than 60,000 Chinese citizens in the Ili and Tahcheng areas into going to the Soviet Union, and that it has up to now refused to send them back. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has committed every evil deed and is a gang of out-and-out social-imperialists.

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers pointed out: Betraying the great Lenin, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has brought about the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, stepping up the exploitation and plundering of the Soviet people at home and enforcing a bloody fascist rule over them; it has committed towering crimes in pushing its policy of aggression and expansion abroad. To find an excuse for its aggression and plunder, the clique has also concocted a whole range of gangster "theories" such as the so-called theories of "limited sovereignty," "international dictatorship," and "the socialist community." It wilfully sends its aggressor troops into other countries, wantonly tramples on their sovereignty and mercilessly plunders the wealth created by the labour of the people of these countries. This clique and U.S. imperialism are birds of a feather.

Army-men and civilians all over the country emphatically pointed out: the treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are all unequal treaties

imposed on our country by tsarist Russian imperialism. We firmly stand behind our Government which proposes that, instead of holding "consultations" for "clarification on individual sectors of the Soviet-Chinese state border line," negotiations be held for an overall settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question and a new equal treaty be concluded to replace the old unequal ones. The settlement of boundary questions with neighbouring countries through negotiations, armymen and civilians in Yunnan, Tibet, Fukien, Kwangsi, Chekiang and other places declared, is our Government's consistent stand. In the last few years, our Government has satisfactorily settled complicated boundary questions left over by history with neighbouring countries such as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of Mongolia and Afghanistan. For the settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question, the Chinese Government has since 1960 made the utmost efforts and demonstrated its greatest sincerity. But the negotiations were disrupted because of the expansionist ambitions of the Soviet Government. The responsibility for failure to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question thus lies entirely with the Soviet revisionists.

Armymen and civilians are all agreed that great vigilance must be exercised with regard to the aggressive nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and that the danger of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a full-scale war of aggression must never be overlooked. If the Soviet revisionist renegade clique should take our Government's stand for a peaceful settlement of the boundary question as a sign that China is weak and can be bullied, and should it try to realize territorial claims against China by means of war, they declared, then it is completely mistaken. They added: We must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, arm ourselves still better with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, foster the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, further implement Chairman Mao's great policy "**Grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war,**" and resolutely carry out the various fighting tasks set by the Party's Ninth National Congress, and in so doing build our great socialist motherland into a still more powerful country and carry the great struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction to the end.

Frontier Guards in Chenpao Island Area Study and Apply Mao Tsetung Thought In a Living Way

IN line with Chairman Mao's great teaching "**It is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously,**" commanders and fighters of the frontier guards in the Chenpao Island area have launched a new high tide in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and in summing up their experience in the anti-revisionist struggle. The heroic commanders and fighters understand deeply that the most fundamental experience in the anti-revisionist struggle is the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and the application of Mao Tsetung Thought to directing battles. They say that boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao makes them invincible, and no enemy can match them when they put Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything.

The frontier guards of the Chenpao Island area put up Chairman Mao's portraits wherever they go. They study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way with specific problems in mind before they perform each specific task. While carrying out their assignments, they act consciously in line with Chairman Mao's instructions. When they return, they gather at meetings, at which they tell what they have gained by the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought in their fighting.

Keeping in mind this great teaching of Chairman Mao's: "**Our national defence will be consolidated and no imperialist will be allowed to invade our territory again,**" the heroic frontier guards, braving the howling wind and tramping through the snow, are out patrolling day and night, and are always ready to answer the provocations of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique with head-on blows if they intrude into China's sacred territory. One early morning the temperature dropped to over 20°C. below zero. One small detachment on routine patrol on Chenpao Island made their way through the severe cold and snow courageously as they recited Chairman Mao's teaching "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.**"

Constantly using Mao Tsetung Thought to direct the fighting, the heroic frontier guards won one great victory after another fighting in self-defence against the armed provocations of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. In one such engagement, squad leader Yang Lin stood unflinchingly at his post when confronted by a horde of enemy troops rushing towards his squad. He said to his comrades-in-arms in the squad: "Chairman Mao teaches us: '**We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will cer-**

tainly counter-attack.' We are guarding not only Chenpao Island but the dignity of our great socialist motherland, which was personally founded by Chairman Mao, and great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. If the enemies dare to attack, we will resolutely wipe them out!" As soon as the Soviet revisionist aggressors wantonly opened fire with guns and cannon in disregard of our serious warnings, the fighters heroically hit back in self-defence, giving the aggressors due punishment.

Faced with the frantic attack by the Soviet revisionists' tanks and armoured cars, every one of the commanders and fighters of a frontier guard detachment displayed the revolutionary spirit of being **"determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield."** They fought bravely and repulsed the enemy attack, thus triumphantly defending our motherland's sacred territory, and covered themselves with glory. After the battle everyone laughed, pointed at the Soviet revisionists' immobilized tank and said: You fight in your "mechanized" way and we fight in our revolutionized way. The outcome is foregone: our revolutionization will always beat the reactionaries' "mechanization."

While studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way and conscientiously summing up their experience, the commanders and fighters held a gun in one hand and a pen in the other, and, using invincible Mao Tsetung Thought as their weapon, undertook penetrating and sustained revolutionary criticism of Brezhnev and other modern revisionist chieftains and of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and the rest of the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party.

In battle positions or at their sentry posts, they repeatedly study Chairman Mao's brilliant theses on the reactionary nature of the imperialists and the revisionists. They criticize Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in connection with tsarist Russian imperialism, with the past Japanese imperialist aggressors and today's U.S. imperialist bandits, thus seeing more clearly the reactionary nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. They often gather around the shell holes made in our territory by the Soviet revisionists and denounce the latter for their atrocities against China.

They said: "In the past we Chinese people were killed on our own territory by the shells of the tsarist Russian, Japanese and U.S. imperialists. Today, the Kremlin's new tsars are shelling our territory again. Like the tsarist Russian, Japanese and U.S. imperialists, they are murderers of the revolutionary people." The revolutionary mass criticism has roused in the commanders and fighters bitter hatred for the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and deepened their understanding of Chairman Mao's brilliant teachings on the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Squad leader Wang Ching-jung comes from a poor-peasant family. At a meeting to denounce the Soviet revisionist new tsars and criticize the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi, he compared his own sufferings before liberation with the miserable life of the Soviet people under the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Poverty-stricken, his family sold him when he was very young and he went through untold hardships. Boiling with anger, he said, The Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped the political power of the Soviet proletariat to make the Soviet people suffer again. The arch renegade Liu Shao-chi also dreamt of restoring capitalism in China to make us suffer again. We definitely won't allow it!

The new recruit Tu Chi-feng was a Red Guard before he joined the army this year. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution he saw Chairman Mao twice. Whenever he was faced with difficulties in the struggle, he recalled the brilliant image of Chairman Mao waving as he reviewed the Red Guards from the Tien An Men rostrum. Then he was immediately filled with infinite strength. He said, "I advance as Chairman Mao directs! I will always follow Chairman Mao closely and carry the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction through to the end!"

At present the commanders and fighters of the Chenpao Island area are determined to raise the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought still higher, respond to the great leader Chairman Mao's resounding call **"Grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war,"** to heighten their vigilance, strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at any time to hit back resolutely at the Soviet revisionists' new provocations.

Tear Off the Wrappings From the Soviet Revisionists' "Definition of Aggression"

by Wang Chao-tsai

THE great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **"All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinc-**

tion." Today, at the end of their tether, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are conducting desperate struggles of this kind. While intensifying its military adventures, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for some time has been painstakingly concocting

a series of fascist fallacies such as the so-called theories of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship." It has, moreover, been talking profusely about its "definition of aggression," which is a vain effort to provide a "theoretical" basis for the colonial expansion of all imperialists and provide the clique's armed aggression against other countries with a semblance of legality.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has vigorously preached: "The use of force by a state to encroach on the socio-political gains of the peoples of other states is incompatible with the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems." (Speech of the Soviet revisionists' representative at the United Nations on February 26, 1969.) In this way, the clique confines armed aggression only to the limited sphere of "states with different social systems." That is to say, "the use of force . . . to encroach" on states with the same "social system" is "compatible" with the principle of peaceful coexistence and does not fall under the category of aggression. Brezhnev has put it more bluntly: The encroachment on "fraternal countries" by "military" means is an "act . . . to do away with the threat to the socialist system," an act resulting from the "activity which tends to create a threat to the common interest." **Basing themselves on this gangster logic, the Soviet revisionists have described their armed occupation of Czechoslovakia as a step to defend "the security of the entire socialist community" and to "treasure the interests of socialism in that country."**

Karl Marx said: **"To call cosmopolitan exploitation universal brotherhood is an idea that could only be engendered in the brain of the bourgeoisie."** Today, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are playing exactly the same trick; they engage in out-and-out aggression while trying to conceal the truth by every possible means.

The Soviet revisionists' fallacy that armed encroachment on countries with the same social system cannot be regarded as aggression is simply an excuse for their acts of aggression. It is also aimed at absolving U.S. imperialism from its crime of pushing ahead with neo-colonialism. All imperialist aggressions are "justified," according to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's reactionary argument. Instead of being regarded as aggression, U.S. imperialism's bullying in the capitalist world, setting up military bases everywhere, carrying out aggression against a large number of capitalist countries with the same "social system," pursuing colonialist ends and invading and occupying other countries' territories — all this becomes "legitimate." Likewise, instead of being regarded as aggression, the Soviet revisionists' sending of troops to wantonly encroach on other countries' territory and sovereignty and their ruthless suppression of the people's resistance in these countries — all this also becomes "legitimate." How loyally the Soviet revisionists serve

U.S. imperialism and how shamelessly they defend their own aggressive actions!

All this fully proves that Soviet revisionism is the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism. The two contend and yet collaborate with each other: one goes ahead with the building of its "free world community" while the other goes ahead with the building of its "social-imperialist community." No wonder the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been in such a great hurry to beseech the United Nations again and again to adopt its "definition of aggression," and missed no opportunity in tirelessly preaching that this will "have great practical significance."

It is crystal clear that this pack of renegades are frenziedly carrying out aggression and expansion against other countries, yet they have the cheek to proclaim that they are different from U.S. imperialism, that theirs is a socialist country and that their aggression is no aggression, and so on and so forth. What socialism! The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely forfeited the cause of socialism built up by the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. **It has brought about capitalist restoration in all spheres of endeavour in the country.** The behaviour of the Soviet revisionists is all governed by the law of imperialism. They have stationed several hundred thousand troops in some East European countries and the Mongolian People's Republic, and by means of the "Warsaw Treaty" and the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" are wilfully plundering the wealth of these countries, trampling on their sovereignty and interfering in their internal affairs, and carrying out armed occupation of Czechoslovakia. They have even dared to commit repeated provocations against our great socialist motherland and carried out armed intrusions into China's sacred territory Chenpao Island. Aren't all these naked aggressions?

The great leader Chairman Mao said: **"We firmly maintain that all nations should practise the well-known Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence."** (*Renmin Ribao*, November 7, 1957.) A true socialist country will never plunder and commit armed aggression against other countries. Now that the Soviet revisionists have so thoroughly violated the basic norms governing relations between countries, what right have they got to talk about socialism? They know no bounds of shame! They have long since degenerated into a gang of social-imperialists and social-fascists and have been completely exposed as aggressors. Yet they are still dreaming of covering up their crimes of aggression with a preposterous scrap of paper, a so-called "definition of aggression," in order to escape the condemnation and judgment by the people of the world and the people of the Soviet Union. But they will never succeed.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has conjured up a "definition of aggression" to explain away its aggression as no aggression. This subterfuge is nothing new. It is simply junk picked up from their ancestors, the tsars, and from other imperialists. One will not forget that in the past when tsarist Russian imperialism was committing aggression everywhere in Europe in collaboration with other European powers, it also claimed that it was "promoting the welfare of humanity" and "protecting the legitimate government." The German, Italian and Japanese fascist hordes also prettified their acts of wanton aggression against other countries as "maintaining" a "new order" in the Far East and Europe, or as promoting "co-prosperity." During China's Liberation War, the U.S. imperialists who supplied the traitor Chiang Kai-shek with guns and money to help him slaughter several million Chinese people revamped their tricks. They described their aggression as the greatest "philanthropy" and "friendship" and their "traditional policy of friendship for China." In 1950, it was again this rapacious U.S. imperialism which, having sent several hundred thousand troops to Korea under the flag of the United Nations and pushed the war right up to China's frontier, shamelessly described this as a step to "ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea." History shows that all aggressive gangsters invariably try their utmost to deck themselves out with high-sounding phrases and by inventing some "grounds" to cover up their crimes. The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists today are of course not merely copying from their predecessors; they are acting even more cunningly and shamelessly.

Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the Chinese people profoundly understand that whether the imperialists are engaged in military adventure or in political deception, it is a manifestation of their extreme weakness. In appearance, they swagger like a conqueror; but in reality they are an easily punctured paper tiger. During the time of the war on the Korean battlefield, the truculent U.S. imperialists used every kind of modern weapon except nuclear weapons and bragged about their air and ground "superiority." However, the heroic Chinese People's Volunteers, together with the Korean People's Army, badly battered and routed them with rifles, bayonets and hand-grenades. During the battle of interception at Kyuiwoong Mountain, our company, with the co-ordination of fraternal units, beat back scores of attacks launched in turn by two U.S.-south Korean puppet divisions and fought continuously for 16 days and nights, killing more than 740 enemy soldiers and successfully accomplished the task of interception. In the heat of battle, there were only a signal-man and myself on a hill when a squad of U.S. gangsters suddenly came charging against us from behind. Even in such circumstances, these cowards were trembling with fear and we bayoneted seven of them to death. The rest retreated in disorder. Such are the true paper-tiger features of U.S. imperialism which brags about its "superiority." Soviet revisionism is also a paper

tiger. During its recent encroachment on our territory Chenpao Island, no sooner had our frontier guards counter-attacked than these Soviet revisionist invaders were routed and fled helter-skelter.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao pointed out in his political report: "On no account must we relax our revolutionary vigilance because of victory or ignore the danger of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression. We must make full preparations, preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. **In short, we must be prepared.** Chairman Mao said long ago: **'We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.'** If they insist on fighting, we will keep them company and fight to the finish." We are deeply aware that the aggressive nature of the Soviet revisionists, like that of the U.S. imperialists, will not change. They are capable of the worst crime. In dealing with those who are aggressive in nature, **"the only course is to organize forces and struggle against them."** The Soviet revisionists are trying to confound right and wrong and create reactionary public opinion by using fascist fallacies such as the so-called theories of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship" and the "definition of aggression" so as to step up their aggression abroad and to stretch their tentacles of aggression into our country. We must deal with them seriously and repulse them resolutely.

We warn U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys: the Chinese people are not to be trifled with. Nineteen years ago when our young People's Republic was just founded, U.S. imperialism unleashed a war, vainly trying to strangle her. But what it got was a disastrous defeat. Today, 19 years later, particularly after the tempering in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people have raised their consciousness of Mao Tsetung Thought to an unprecedented height and the people's army has never been so strong. If U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are bent on launching a war of aggression, they can only meet with a defeat still more disastrous for them and hasten their own doom. Following Chairman Mao's instructions, we have made full preparations and are waiting for you to come. We will wipe you out in whatever strength you may come. None will be allowed to get back alive.

People of the whole world, unite, completely bury U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys, and eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man on earth!

(*"Hongqi,"* No. 5, 1969)

The author of this article who is Combat Hero, first class, and Hero With Meritorious Service, special class, in the former Chinese People's Volunteers is now Deputy Commander of a regiment of the P.L.A. units under the Tsinan Command.

Wanton Expansion and Aggression Abroad

By Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism

STALIN, the great Marxist-Leninist, pointed out: "Imperialism cannot live without violence and robbery, without bloodshed and shooting. That is the nature of imperialism." This is the case of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique since it embarked on the road of social-imperialism. It has taken over in its entirety the mantle of tsarist imperialism and is faithfully and meticulously carrying out the Russian tsars' policy of foreign expansion, only it is doing it even more wantonly than the founding fathers of tsarist imperialism.

Frantic Armaments Drive for War

At home, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been straining every effort in the last few years in a frantic armaments drive for war. This is to meet the needs of its expansionist policy abroad. In a speech, Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev cried out for "considerably" strengthening Soviet "war preparations." Following suit, Kosygin shouted that "much as intensified modernization of the Soviet army may require large funds, to economize on national defence expenditures in today's circumstances runs counter to the national interests of the Soviet Union." Thus, for some time Soviet military expenditures have risen from year to year. According to figures released by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which obviously are minimized, its military outlays in 1968 were up by 2,200 million rubles as compared with 1967, and what is budgeted for 1969 will be still higher, 1,000 million rubles more than last year. Western sources revealed that the clique's 1969 military budget takes up as much as 37 per cent of the total budget. At the same time, it has expanded the armed forces, with increases in its land forces and development of its marines and paratroops. A new national service law has been proclaimed which, by lowering the age for enlistment, is dragooning large numbers of youth into the army and making them tools of aggression. The Soviet clique is also redoubling its efforts to give fascist "war education" and "militia training" to the people of the Soviet Union. "Militia headquarters" are set up in various parts of the country to carry out this job. People in the factories and the rural areas, teachers and young students, those in positions of leadership and ordinary residents are all required to go through these military "courses." Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the Kremlin has made such military training compulsory for Soviet residents in the Chinese-Soviet border areas. Brezhnev, Kosygin and other Soviet revisionist chieftains have turned up one after the other in Haishenwei, Poli and other places on the Chinese-Soviet border, busying themselves with war machinations against China. The Soviet Far East Commander issued a call to Soviet forces in the Far East to be "combat ready" against China. The way the

Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been making such a feverish war drive in the Soviet Union shows that it is all for pushing its social-imperialist policy abroad.

Turning East European Countries and Mongolia Into Military Bases

For a long time, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been using the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which is completely under its thumb, and vast numbers of armed forces stationed on foreign soil to turn some East European countries and Mongolia into Soviet military bases and "basic rear areas" by which to carry out its expansionist activities abroad. This is an important feature of the social-imperialist policy of aggression it pursues.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique twists round its finger long ago became an instrument of aggression like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Under it are a Unified Military Command and a General Staff of the Unified Military Command, both with headquarters in Moscow and their main posts officered and controlled by Soviet revisionists. The Warsaw Pact has a provision that member states must "turn over" part of their armed forces to be "commanded" by the organization, in other words, "commanded" by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. As to the armed forces not placed under the "command" of the organization, to all intents and purposes they come under the control of the Soviet revisionists, too, for their main equipment is supplied by the Moscow revisionists, their chief officers are "trained" by them and so-called "advisers" and "experts" sent by the Soviet revisionists are very much in evidence in these armies. Thus, the armies of some East European countries and Mongolia have in fact been turned into satellite forces of Soviet revisionism. What is more, the Soviet revisionists station several hundred thousand Soviet troops in these East European countries and Mongolia, directly controlling and enslaving these countries. Today, in all the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, with the exception of one signatory, there are large numbers of Soviet revisionist garrison troops whose size is much greater than before the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet revisionism. The Warsaw Treaty Organization chiefs were recently summoned by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to a meeting at which control over these East European countries was stepped up and other countries were coerced into supporting its military adventure against China.

Intensifying Military Infiltration in Asian and African Countries

Nor is this all. Soviet revisionism is following the beaten track of aggression of British imperialism in Asia and Africa in former days. It is trying to build a

vast network of naval bases from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. Soviet revisionist chieftains visited India close on each other's heels in 1968 and this year. They promised India massive military aid and at the same time grabbed two Indian naval bases and acquired the right to use the naval bases on Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which are of great military importance in controlling the Strait of Malacca and the Bay of Bengal. Collaboration with the reactionary regimes of "Malaysia," Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand has been on the increase, and clandestine activities are afoot to obtain, by the promise of economic "aid" and through other channels, the right to use certain ports. The Soviet revisionist new tsars entertain hopes of filling the "vacuum" in the Indian Ocean left by the British imperialists' projected withdrawal of their forces from east of the Suez to build up Soviet sea supremacy from the Black Sea to the Far East via the Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean.

Under the pretext of providing military "aid," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for some years has been pushing its social-imperialist policy by intensifying its military infiltration in Asian and African countries. In the Middle East, after the 1967 events, it took advantage of the difficult situation confronting the Arab countries which had suffered temporary setbacks. It tightened its control over the Arab countries militarily by various means such as supplying arms and equipment and increasing the number of military "advisers." The supply of such arms and equipment to the recipient countries is coupled with the proviso that the "aid-giving" country enjoys the right of supervision, the right of consultation, etc. Then there is also the demand that their main weapons and equipment be placed under the control of the Soviet military "advisers." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique intends by these manoeuvres to bind the "aid-receiving" countries hand and foot and achieve its criminal objective of working in league with U.S. imperialism to stamp out the flames of revolutionary struggle of the Arab people and dominate and redivide the Middle East between themselves.

Aiding Reactionaries in All Countries to Put Down People's Armed Struggle

In different parts of Asia and Africa, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has dispensed, rather reluctantly, with that phoney signboard of "supporting the national-liberation movement." Using military "aid" as bait, it has openly carried out military collaboration with the reactionaries of various countries in the region. The Kremlin's smug calculation is to use them to stifle the revolutionary people's raging armed struggle and so expand its power and influence. Therefore, the more enthusiastic the reactionary regimes in this region are in their campaigns against China, communism and the people, the more liberally the Soviet revisionists ladle out military "aid." Since the reactionaries in India and Indonesia are the most vehement and rabid in opposing China, communism and the people they get the most military aid. The total value of military "aid" and munitions given by the Kremlin revisionists to the

reactionary Indian Government and Indonesia's fascist military junta at present exceeds that given by U.S. imperialism. The Soviet Union under the revisionist renegade clique thus becomes the biggest military "aid-giving" country as regards the Indian and Indonesian reactionaries. In addition, it zealously furnishes military "aid" to the Ne Win fascist regime in Burma which feverishly conducts "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the revolutionary armed forces of the Burmese people, to the puppet regime in "Malaysia" which is trying to put down the people's armed struggle in Malaya and North Kalimantan, and to the reactionary Nigerian regime which has been butchering the Biafran people. All this is aimed at shoring up the reactionary regimes in these countries.

The military collaboration of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique with the Japanese reactionaries has also become increasingly open. For the purpose of rigging up a U.S.-Soviet-Japanese military alliance against China by ganging up with U.S. imperialism to revive Japanese militarism, it has even decided to collaborate with the Japanese reactionaries for the "joint development" of Siberia, at the expense of selling out the country's sovereign rights. These Soviet revisionists are also working with the Japanese reactionaries for a joint undertaking to expand Soviet ports in the Far East.

Carrying Out Repeated Armed Provocations Against China

It should be pointed out in particular that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, steadily going downhill over the years and finding itself beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, has cast away all pretence and openly follows a policy of war blackmail, armed invasion and even military occupation abroad. Mustering four satellites in the Warsaw Treaty Organization last August, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique mounted a lightning attack, with a large number of aircraft, tanks and several hundred thousand land forces, on Czechoslovakia and put it under military occupation. This is a big and most revealing exposure of the hideous face of Soviet social-imperialism and social-fascism.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has consistently set itself against the Chinese people. For a long time it has been massing larger and larger forces on the Chinese-Soviet border to carry out armed provocations against China. Particularly since the victorious advance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, which sounds the funeral dirge for Soviet revisionism, the Soviet revisionists have become still more panicky and restive, going in for military gambles, extending their tentacles of armed aggression to China and constantly engineering one armed provocation after another. These atrocities have fully exposed the rapacious nature of Soviet social-imperialism.

Soviet Revisionism Can Never Achieve Its Wild Ambition

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably

conduct desperate struggles. They are bound to resort to military adventure and political deception in all their forms in order to save themselves from extinction."

At the end of its rope, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has vainly tried to fall back on reckless military gambles to put up a last-ditch struggle. But it

can never succeed. The fascist crimes of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, which stops at nothing in its armed aggression and expansion abroad, can only stir up still greater indignation and resistance on the part of the people the world over, the people of the Soviet Union included, and eventually send this clique to the gallows.

Nixon's Rabid Activities in Arms Expansion And War Preparations

by Kuo Hsiang-hung

SINCE taking office, new U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon has been chanting the shopworn tune of "peace" on the one hand and feverishly sharpening his sword and stepping up arms expansion and war preparations on the other. At a recent meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters, Nixon again shouted that the United States should maintain "its position of strength," that it should possess "immense retaliatory power," and that it would have to deal with the so-called "potential of a Chinese threat," and so on and so forth. Nixon's bloodthirsty words reveal his murderous intent. This fully shows the aggressive and bellicose nature of U.S. imperialism and points up the obdurate stand of the Nixon government which is bent on being hostile to the people of China and the rest of the world.

Imperialism means war. So long as imperialism and the system of exploitation exist, the imperialists and reactionaries invariably rely on armed force to maintain their reactionary rule and they are bound to unleash counter-revolutionary wars of one kind or another. U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the world's people and the biggest root cause of war in the world today. In the more than 20 years since the end of World War II, over 80 local wars and large-scale armed conflicts have broken out one after another in various parts of the world. Most of these are connected with U.S. imperialist aggression. From Truman and Eisenhower to Kennedy and Johnson, the successive U.S. imperialist governments have desperately pursued the policies of aggression and war and frenziedly gone in for arms expansion and war preparations. The Nixon government is of course no exception.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has pointed out in his political report to the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party that "Nixon, like his predecessors, cannot but continue to play the counter-revolutionary dual tactics, ostensibly assuming a 'peace-loving' appearance while in fact engaging in arms expansion and war preparations on a still larger scale."

A glance at a few facts since Nixon took office makes this quite clear.

U.S. imperialism's military expenditures have risen sharply in the last five years. U.S. military spending in

the fiscal year of 1965 was over 50,000 million dollars, but it exceeds 84,000 million dollars in the budgets of both the 1969 and 1970 fiscal years. Why does the Nixon government have no scruples about setting apart such huge sums for military spending?

Since taking over, the Nixon government has continued to carry out its predecessor's arms expansion plan of strengthening the "strategic nuclear forces" and modernizing the equipment of the naval and air forces. Though confronted by financial difficulties, it still maintains an aggressive force of more than 3,400,000 men. Over 1,500,000 U.S. troops are stationed overseas while, at home, large numbers of men are being recruited into the armed forces. Hundreds of thousands of U.S. aggressor troops still occupy south Viet Nam, and military spending for the aggression against Viet Nam each year is well over 20,000 million dollars. In addition to retaining intercontinental ballistic missiles, nuclear missile-firing submarines and strategic bombers already in service, the Nixon government continues to build nuclear-powered submarines, lays emphasis on the development of "multi-nuclear headed guided missiles" and steps up its plan to build a so-called anti-ballistic missile system. Why does the Nixon government adopt these military measures and deployments?

In less than four months after its inception, the Nixon government held three mobile military manoeuvres in Puerto Rico, West Germany and south Korea. The United States has tried hard to strengthen anew the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and instigate the West European countries to set up a so-called "maritime air forces Mediterranean command" and a "Mediterranean allied fleet," and sent a "task force" on a "display of strength" in the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea. Nixon also openly and shamelessly bellowed that he would continue to send spy planes and ships into other countries' territorial air and seas for military reconnaissance. Why does the Nixon government carry out these acts of military provocation?

Can they all be because of a "love for peace"? Of course not. U.S. imperialism's feverish armament expansion and war preparations, the huge number of planes, guns, warships, nuclear bombs and guided mis-

siles it possesses, and its repeated war provocations are all designed to intimidate, suppress and slaughter the people and dominate the world. Chanting "peace" with a blood-stained butcher's knife in his hand — this is Nixon, the hypocritical priest and gangster rolled into one.

Nixon also uses crafty counter-revolutionary dual tactics towards socialist China. On the one hand, he talks profusely about "peaceful coexistence" and uses the trick of sham relaxation. On the other hand, he persists in continuing to occupy Taiwan, which is China's territory, continually carrying out military provocations against our country, and intensifying efforts in rigging up a ring of military encirclement around China. To replace the now impotent "Southeast Asia Treaty Organization," the Nixon government is stepping up its plot to form a new military alliance with Japan as the "backbone" and the United States as the "buttress." While preparing to unleash a new war of aggression against China, U.S. imperialism is using its running dogs in Asia as hatchetmen in an attempt to stamp out the revolutionary flames on this continent.

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism collude and at the same time contend with each other in their frantic efforts to redivide the world. To realize their ambitions, both are engaged in arms expansion and war preparations. They are now stepping up collaboration in their criminal activities against China, against the people and against revolution. Following the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's armed encroachment on China's Chenpao Island area, Nixon announced his decision to spend some 6,000 million to 7,000 million dollars to set up a so-called "anti-ballistic missile system" directed against China, and sent an aggressor fleet to the Yellow Sea to co-ordinate with the aggressive activities of Soviet revisionism. The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are a bunch of thoroughly wicked gangsters.

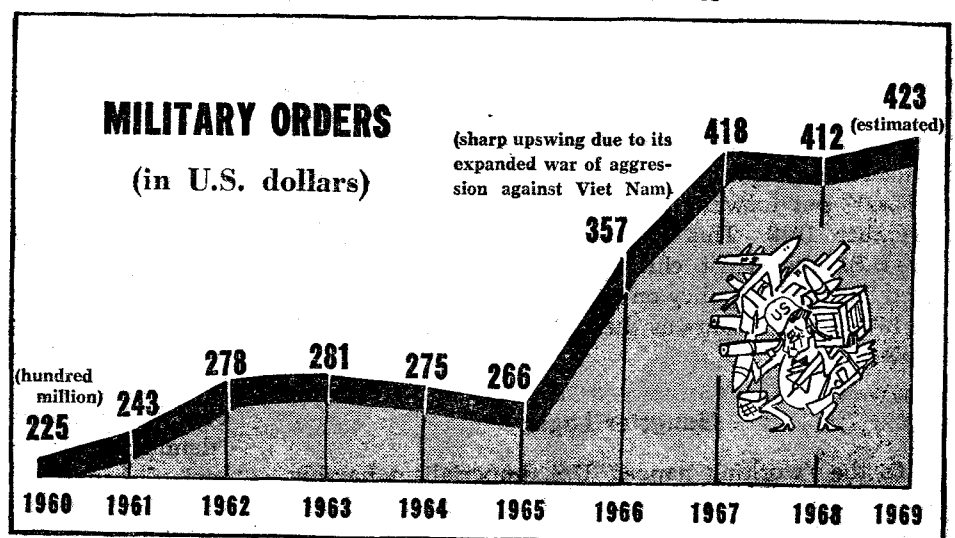
U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have an inveterate hatred for the great socialist China. The extensive spreading of Mao Tsetung Thought throughout the world and the resounding victory of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have struck more fear into their hearts and filled them with panic and dismay. Nixon has openly declared that China is the greatest threat in his life. It is a great honour for the Chinese people that the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries — a handful of vermin — are wildly hostile to China and vainly try to "isolate" her. The great Chinese people pledge to fight shoulder to shoulder with the people of the whole world and resolutely carry

the great struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism through to the end.

Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the 700 million Chinese people are maintaining their revolutionary vigilance at all times, fully aware of the danger of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression. In his political report to the Party's Ninth National Congress, Vice-Chairman Lin Biao solemnly declared on behalf of the whole Party and the entire Chinese people: "We must make full preparations, preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. In short, we must be prepared. Chairman Mao said long ago: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. If they insist on fighting, we will keep them company and fight to the finish." With full confidence in victory, the great Chinese people and Chinese People's Liberation Army are determined to liberate their sacred territory Taiwan and resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out all aggressors who dare to invade our country!

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful." U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, and so is Soviet revisionism. Practice in the people's struggle in all countries has proved that it is the revolutionary force of the world's people that is really powerful. If the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists dare to impose a new world war on the people of the world, the result can only be that they will be aroused still further to rise in revolution and send the whole pack of imperialists, revisionists and all reactionaries to their graves.

CHART SHOWING SHARP INCREASE IN U.S. IMPERIALISM'S MILITARY ORDERS IN RECENT YEARS



Based on figures released by the U.S. Defence Department

The Sinister U.S. Imperialist "Nine-Point Working Paper"

THE U.S. imperialists' "nine-point working paper" is dished up before the "four-power meeting" of the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain to set the tune for a "Middle East Munich" plot which is being hatched by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The putting forth of this "working paper" by the new chieftain of U.S. imperialism Nixon less than three months after he took office fully shows that U.S. imperialism is quickening its tempo in contriving a "Middle East Munich" in collusion with Soviet revisionism. The essence of this plot is to completely liquidate the Palestine liberation cause, strangle the armed struggle of the Palestinian people and force the Arab countries to compromise with and capitulate to Israel, the U.S. imperialist tool of aggression, so as to realize the criminal designs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to dominate the Middle East.

The Mask Is Ripped Off

The U.S. "nine-point working paper" dished up on March 24 after six weeks of "quiet diplomacy" between the United States and the Soviet Union and the "five-point plan" put forward by Soviet revisionism at the end of last year are now serving as the basis for collusion and bargaining between imperialism and social-imperialism inside and outside the "four-power meeting."

Although the full text of the "working paper" has not been officially made public, it could be seen from what has been revealed by the Western press that with the co-ordination of Soviet revisionism, U.S. imperialism is imposing harsher terms of surrender on the Arab countries. It is even more vicious and more undisguised than the U.N. Security Council's November 1967 "resolution," jointly concocted by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and U.S. imperialism's "seven-point proposal" put forward to the United Arab Republic in November 1968. This has completely ripped off the new U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon's mask of professed "impartial" policy on the Middle East and exposed him in his true colours as the sworn enemy of the Arab people.

Gangster Logic

In the "working paper," U.S. imperialism harshly pressed the Arab countries to satisfy the aggressive designs of Israel by ceding territories to it. It openly declared that it was impossible to restore the "cease-

fire lines" existing before the war of aggression launched by Israel in June 1967 and that Israel should only withdraw to "secure" boundaries. It should be pointed out that the "cease-fire lines" came into existence only after Israel had occupied large tracts of Arab territory by means of war and that the Palestinian and other Arab people have never recognized them as "boundaries." U.S. imperialism has now gone further and pressed the Arab countries to cede to Israel the territories it had seized in the aggressive war of 1967, including Syria's highly strategic Golan Heights and the Arab sector of Jerusalem. It hypocritically said that this was "for mutual security" and does "not reflect the weight of conquest." This is out-and-out gangster logic of imperialism. It shows up more glaringly what U.S. imperialism wants to hide.

It is worth pointing out that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which has all along pretended to be the supporter of the Arab countries, is working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in forcing the Arab countries to seek peace by giving up territories. Western news agency reports disclosed recently that Soviet ambassador to the United States Dobrynin had indicated to Joseph Jack Sisco, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, in their secret talks that "minor adjustments" could be made on the borders of the Arab countries. This shows that Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is also following the gangster logic of the "jungle law" and reveals more clearly the hideous and shameless features of the Soviet revisionists in their efforts to sell out further the interests of the Arab people in collusion with U.S. imperialism.

Raging Flames of Armed Struggle Cannot Be Stamped Out

Another sinister purpose of U.S. imperialism's "working paper" is to strangle the vigorous armed struggle of the Palestinian people and liquidate their liberation cause. It flagrantly proposed a ban on all military activities in this area and particularly on the Palestinian guerrillas and their activities. In order to realize this scheme, U.S. imperialism especially stated in the "working paper" that after the "adjustment" of boundaries between the Arab countries and Israel, "demilitarized zones" should be set up along all the revised boundary lines on the east bank of the Suez Canal and the west bank of the Jordan River and that these zones are to be "patrolled" by the "United Nations force." This is mainly aimed at protecting Israel

from the strikes of the Palestinian guerrillas and at serving the criminal scheme of placing the Middle East under U.S.-Soviet control.

Like the "five-point plan" of the Soviet revisionists, the U.S. imperialists' "working paper" tried to write off at one stroke the national rights of the 2 million Palestinian people to liberate their homeland. It alleged that "the desires and aspirations of the individual human beings concerned" should be taken into account. This is an attempt to deny the existence of the Palestinian people as a whole and to divide them. In fact, the guerrilla fighters of "Al Fatah" and other Palestinian nationalist organizations have in recent years told the whole world in clear-cut terms what the desires and aspirations of the Palestinian people are by their armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine! Yet, the U.S. imperialists' "working paper" treats these valiant guerrilla fighters as "individual human beings" and "refugees" some of whom should be "repatriated" while the majority should "resettle" in Arab countries. In other words, in the eyes of the U.S. imperialists, the Palestinian people have no national rights whatsoever and there are only two alternatives before them: either become the slaves of Zionism or continue to live as "refugees" in other Arab countries as they did in the past twenty years. What is this if not sheer imperialist gangster logic?

Imperialism and revisionism have long been plotting to stamp out the raging flames of the Palestinian people's armed struggle. As early as mid January, the then Johnson Administration, in reply to the Soviet revisionists' "five-point plan," notified the Soviet revisionists that "the U.S. views, as a matter of top priority, the undertaking of the Soviet Union and the United States and other countries to use their influence to stop the grave increase of Arab terrorist operations [should read: the Arab people's just armed struggle — Ed.] in the area." An AP dispatch from Washington

on April 8 said: "U.S. experts of the area [the Middle East] agree with the King [of Jordan] that something has to be done soon or things might get out of hand. The main concern now appears to be that the Fedayeen and other irregular guerrilla organizations grow stronger every day." In prompt response, the Soviet revisionists set in motion their propaganda machines and brought their "influence" into play to openly attack and slander the just struggle of the Palestinian guerrillas. In some Arab countries, the activities of the Palestinian guerrillas have been obstructed and suppressed. These trends merit attention and vigilance.

In the "working paper," U.S. imperialism also urged the Arab countries to make a "package deal" with the Israeli aggressors by signing with the latter a "contractual agreement." This is a diabolic attempt to impose on the Arab people, in the form of a legal document, the various monstrous demands mentioned above and other harsh terms (for example, the recognition of Israel's "sovereignty" and the opening of the Suez Canal and Tiran Strait to Israeli ships).

All this boils down to the fact that both the Soviet revisionists' "five-point plan" and the U.S. imperialists' "nine-point working paper" are based on their own imperialist interests and serve their counter-revolutionary strategy. The "Voice of Assifa" Radio of "Al Fatah" (the Palestine National Liberation Movement) said in a recent commentary: We reject these plots, no matter whether they are based on the U.S. "working paper," the Soviet "plan" or the U.N. Security Council "resolution." "For us there is only one way in one direction, that is, the way of armed struggle leading to all-round liberation and complete victory; there is no other way."

The Palestinian and other Arab people will definitely not allow the imperialists and social-imperialists to dictate their destiny. They will resolutely fight for victory in their cause of national liberation.

Why the U.S. Imperialists and Soviet Revisionists Tremble With Fear

THE swift and vigorous development of the progressive student struggle in the United States is a manifestation of the unprecedented sharpening of the class contradictions in that country, a sign of the American people's steady awakening and also an indication that the process of decay of the U.S. imperialist system is accelerating. Since the beginning of the year, progressive American students have waged one powerful struggle after another against the bourgeois educational system, against racial discrimination, against universities serving the war of aggression in Viet Nam and against

fascist suppression by the government authorities. The student strikes and demonstrations, their seizure of college buildings and sealing off war agencies on campuses and, in particular, the Black students rising in "rebellion with guns" in a number of universities — all this has left the new U.S. imperialist chieftain Richard Nixon and his flunkies trembling with fear.

Nixon has come out in person and called on the faculties "to have the backbone to stand up" to students who "terrorize the faculty" and "carry guns into classrooms." U.S. Vice-President Agnew smeared

the just actions of the students as "no more than a dictatorial demand for irrational power." The *International Herald Tribune* in an article cried out in alarm that this situation was "most shocking" and "chilling." It admitted that the students believed "they must arm themselves in order to improve their lot — perhaps even to survive — in America." Scared stiff by the raging fires of the progressive American student movement, Nixon and company evidently are not quite sure what to do.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has contracted Nixon's phobia. Through their propaganda machine, these shameless renegades hurriedly cursed the struggle of the progressive American students as "a major factor of the aggravation of the internal political situation" in the United States. They hysterically accused them of "political inexperience" and vilified their demands as "irrational." This shows how frenziedly the Soviet revisionist renegades hate the revolutionary movement of the American people and how frightened they are by it.

Ours is an era in which the imperialist system is heading for total collapse, like a dying person sinking fast. Therefore, both U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are terrified in the face of the mighty currents of the revolutionary movement of the people of the world. The steady upsurge in the American people's revolutionary movement is threatening U.S. imperialism's very existence, and of course the Soviet revisionist renegade clique also feels this threat. This is determined by their common moribund reactionary class instinct.

What Nixon fears is the rapid rise in the political consciousness of the American proletariat, student youth and the Black masses through tempering in class

struggle. Nixon is frightened by the fact that revolutionary Americans have come to realize that American ruling class suppression must be resisted with the gun. Nixon has sensed through his reactionary class instinct that the swift awakening of the American people and the taking up of arms by the oppressed people are fatal to U.S. imperialism. This is why Nixon is so frightened by the "rebellion with guns" of some students.

Likewise, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is afraid of the rapid rise in the awakening of the Soviet proletariat and working people. It fears that the oppressed people at home will rise to overthrow it. From their reactionary class instinct, Brezhnev and company also have sensed that revolutionary struggle taking place anywhere in the world may influence and promote the awakening of the Soviet people, and that this will be unfavourable to their maintaining bourgeois fascist dictatorship at home and preserving the colonies set up by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism abroad. That is why the Soviet revisionist renegade clique became panicky and came out to abuse it as "political inexperience" and "irrational" when American students vigorously unfolded their struggle and rose in "rebellion with guns" on the other side of the Atlantic.

The great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "Imperialism is outwardly strong but inwardly weak because it has no support from the people." The ugly performances by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in the face of the power of the American students' revolutionary action — "rebellion with guns" — show their mortal fear of imminent doom and show that for all their brutality, they are like birds startled at the mere twang of a bow-string.

(*Renmin Ribao* commentary, May 22)

Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line Lights Up Our Hearts

Fu Yao-shih

*Chairman of Revolutionary Committee of Hsiatsun People's
Commune in Chuhsien County of Chekiang Province*

OUR whole hilly village became a scene of jubilation when the extra good news of the grand closing of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China reached our Hsiatsun People's Commune. In one voice we cheered: Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China! We wish Chairman

Mao, the red sun shining brightly in our hearts, a long, long life! That night, celebration meetings were held in all production brigades, at which we Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants all pledged our loyalty to Chairman Mao. We were determined to set off a new high tide in the living study and application

of Mao Tsetung Thought, to conscientiously study Vice-Chairman Lin's report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, firmly grasp revolution and energetically promote production so as to win still greater victories.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."**

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao has removed the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, the sworn enemy of the poor and lower-middle peasants, from office and smashed his criminal plot to restore capitalism in China. The poor and lower-middle peasants of our Hsiatsun People's Commune, studying and applying Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in a living way and closely following his great strategic plan, have overthrown the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party and liquidated the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi in the rural areas, so that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has taken root in our hearts. Revolution and production are developing apace in the whole commune. The amount of water conservancy construction in 1968 was five times the total of the 18 years since liberation. Grain output increased 12.5 per cent as compared with the record year of 1966. Great changes have taken place in our commune which had long been in a backward state.

Vice-Chairman Lin pointed out in his political report: **"Confronted with a thousand and one tasks, a revolutionary committee must grasp the fundamental: it must put the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought above all work and place Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything."** This is a summing up of the basic experience in doing work well in every respect. More than two years of practice has enabled us to acquire a profound understanding that we will be able to win tremendous successes in our work by conscientiously studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way.

We have vigorously grasped the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the light of the commune's actual conditions, we have paid special attention to thoroughly studying the history of the struggle between the two lines in the Party and reviewing the history of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines since liberation. All this greatly enhanced our consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. The enlightened poor and lower-middle peasants said: **"In the past, we were not clear why our pace on the socialist road was sometimes quick and sometimes slow. Now we understand that there is struggle between the two lines. Whenever Chairman**

Mao's revolutionary line is carried out, we poor and lower-middle peasants are clear-sighted and get a correct orientation; whenever Liu Shao-chi's sinister line reaches out, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists spring forth and the poor and lower-middle peasants suffer."

Through study we arrived at a clearer understanding that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle between the two lines is the concentrated expression of class struggle. Without keeping the struggle between the two lines in mind, we cannot make out the new situation and the new characteristics of class struggle and cannot discern the class enemies who wave red flags to oppose the red flag. Alert in the struggle between the two lines, we can see very clearly who in the commune or brigade follows Chairman Mao and the socialist road and who most zealously peddles Liu Shao-chi's capitalist trash. One person in the Huangcha brigade had been a cadre twice, and when he was on his post he energetically pushed Liu Shao-chi's muck. In the early stage of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he used double-dealing tactics to deceive the masses and took over brigade power. Through the study of the history of the struggle between the two lines, the masses saw his true features and threw him out. In the Party branch of Shanghsiaokou brigade, another comrade for a long time dared to fight the class enemies and the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism. Some people could not see clearly on this and said that he was "fiery," and "not easy to deal with." Through the movement, the commune members came to see that he is a good cadre who holds fast to the socialist road. They unanimously elected him head of the brigade's leading group. **The poor and lower-middle peasants put it well: whether we cherish a person or not depends on which line he upholds. He who is loyal to Chairman Mao is one of us.**

We integrated the activities of fighting self and criticizing revisionism with the study of the history of the struggle between the two lines. Using Mao Tsetung Thought as their weapon, the poor and lower-middle peasants have conscientiously criticized their selfish ideas and upheld the concept of the public interest, and promoted the revolutionization of their thinking. Through these activities they strengthened their consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and their determination in taking the socialist road. In the past, some people could not see through the rubbish advocated by Liu Shao-chi, such as "material incentives" and "putting work-points in command," and thus were influenced by the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism. In their study, they indignantly exposed the manifestations of "material incentives" and their bad effects. Many heart-stirring facts helped the commune members to see Liu Shao-chi's "material incentives" as sugar-coated poison which tastes sweet but kills. They said: **The mere mention of the scoundrel Liu Shao-chi fills us with intense hatred.**

When the people's thinking changes, the earth is changed. The enormous enthusiasm for socialism and

soaring energy which burst forth in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have become the powerful motive force for the swift development of production. Our Hsiatsun Commune has many hills and not enough water. The soil is poor and much land on the slopes produced practically nothing nine years out of ten. After relentlessly repudiating Liu Shao-chi's theory that "the masses are backward" in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the poor and lower-middle peasants have greatly stimulated their revolutionary spirit in taking the Tachai road, that is, to rely on their own efforts and to build socialism by hard work.

In the spring of 1968, the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Kanti brigade, studying and applying Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune, The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*) in a living way, raised the heroic slogan: "Display the Foolish Old Man's spirit and transform the poor hilly regions." They opened irrigation ditches in the hills relying on their own efforts. After a 86-day round-the-clock battle, they built a canal which wound around 18 hill-tops and channelled a stream 5 kilometres away on to the slopes to irrigate more than 300 *mu* of farm land. Inspired by the Kanti brigade's action, the whole commune launched a drive to transform nature. In the last year, without asking for any funds or a single *jin* of grain from the state, the whole commune built 363 *mu* of Tachai-type farm land and opened up 471 *mu* of land, built 13 irrigation channels and constructed or finished the construction of 20 reservoirs, which increased storage capacity by 950,000 cubic metres. All this helped change the situation caused by drought which used to hit them nine years out of ten. The commune members said happily: "Armed with

Mao Tsetung Thought, the people's communes are thriving more than ever." The collective economy of the people's commune has never been so consolidated as it is today.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's directive "It is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously," we recently mobilized the masses to praise the great victory of Mao Tsetung Thought, the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from out of their own experience. Through this, we see more and more clearly that every victory in our Hsiatsun Commune is a victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, that this line is the lifeline of us poor and lower-middle peasants and the beacon light for socialism. The more we talk about these, the greater is our love for Chairman Mao.

In his political report, Vice-Chairman Lin says: "The study and spread of the basic experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the study and spread of the history of the struggle between the two lines and the study and spread of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be conducted not just once but should be repeated every year, every month, every day." We are determined to act according to Vice-Chairman Lin's instruction, to repeat the study and spread of the history of the struggle between the two lines and of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in a deep-going way. We will always be loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tsetung Thought, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and turn the Hsiatsun Commune into a great, red school of Mao Tsetung Thought.

An Agro-Scientific Experimental Station Founded by Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants

INSPIRED by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tungan Production Brigade of the Tungan People's Commune in Shangtsai County, Honan Province, set up its own agro-scientific experimental station in February 1967.

The station, named "Tungfanghung," has 24 members, all poor and lower-middle peasants. Five are experienced farmers, the rest are young people without much schooling. In the past two years, following our

great leader Chairman Mao's teaching: "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country," they have disseminated advanced farming techniques and directed production on the brigade's fields, thus contributing to the development of agricultural production.

The Tungan brigade has fertile soil but not enough land for a large population. The poor and lower-

middle peasants are very keen to increase output to aid socialist construction.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in 1958, poor and lower-middle peasants there organized a number of agro-scientific experimental groups, a network of technical service and a "red and expert" school. They set their sights on getting higher yields.

However, influenced by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, certain people were only interested in "big" and "modern" projects and slashed back these new-born things. They said: "Scientific experiment calls for profound learning; only specialists can go in for it."

One year it was decided that the Tungan brigade would concentrate on growing cotton. Some technicians came, claiming to be authorities. They completely ignored the opinions of the masses.

When the brigade's 12th team began sowing, these "authorities" arbitrarily told the peasants to plant the seeds four to five *cun* deep, to cover them up and then tread down the soil to make the surface flat and firm. Because of this, many seeds did not sprout and the fields were sparsely covered. Only 14 *jin* per *mu* were harvested.

In the middle stage of growth of the cotton, a so-called technical authority came to team 11 and arbitrarily ordered the peasants to trim off the twigs and leaves, with the result that the cotton yield was very low.

In contrast to this, the 2nd team dispensed with all foreign dogmas and managed the fields in a down-to-earth way. Its output was much higher than the other two.

In his article *Our Economic Policy*, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out as far back as 1934 that "it is urgently necessary to set up small experimental farms, agricultural research schools and exhibitions of farm produce in various places to stimulate the development of agriculture."

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, the Tungan brigade's poor and lower-middle peasants decided to take their own road. At the end of 1965 they sent people out to study the experience of other places. In the spring of 1966 they invited three experienced farmers from traditional cotton-growing areas to instruct them. Studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a living way, they modestly learnt from outside experience and cultivated scientifically. The result was that they reaped a rich harvest from the brigade's 1,000 *mu* of cotton fields in a year of severe drought.

This profound lesson and sharp contrast drew the serious attention of the poor and lower-middle peasants. They realized that they must grasp the power of leadership in science and technique in their hands and that agro-technicians must take the road of integrating with the poor and lower-middle peasants. Accordingly, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revo-

lution, they seized back the leadership in science and technique and promptly set up their own agro-scientific experimental station.

Holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, the comrades at the station studied and applied the "three constantly read articles" by Chairman Mao in a living way. With Tachai brigade as their model and through self-reliance and hard work, they shifted over 1,800 cubic metres of earth to fill up hollows and levelled 32 *mu* of land for experimental use.

As soon as the station was set up, it faced the crucial question of which road to take. From the first, the comrades did not rely on the bourgeois experts or copy foreign stereotypes, but turned to Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao teaches: "Don't be overawed by authorities and big names or by men of great learning. One must dare to think, dare to speak and dare to act." This gave them boundless strength. They said: "We should persevere in putting Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything, dare to blaze new trails, study and make investigations and research carefully and thoroughly, and proceed from reality in all cases."

This is what they did:

1. They studied Chairman Mao's works so as to be boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao. The first thing each comrade received on arrival at the station was a copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung*. Their first lesson was one of class education. Along with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they recalled the sufferings of the past and spoke of today's happiness, repudiated the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and waged struggles against the enemy. As a result, their class consciousness and consciousness of the struggle between the two lines were rapidly raised and they were determined to do scientific research work for the cause of the revolution.

2. They ran the station on the principle of self-reliance and frugality. In the two years since the station was set up, they have not spent any money on instruments or other equipment. They have consistently used locally made equipment in place of modern equipment to solve their problems. Having no instrument for artificial pollination of maize, they used a glass bottle they devised themselves. Having no soil moisture-content testing equipment, they weighed out on a steelyard a certain volume of soil, dried it in a heated pan and then weighed it again to determine the moisture content. They always followed the principle of doing things without spending money, or spending the minimum amount for doing big jobs.

3. They experimented with outside experience for local application, summed up local experience and raised it to a new level, and solved concrete problems through concrete research. For instance, when a good strain of Peking sweet potatoes was brought in, all the production teams eagerly asked for it and planted it in spring. But the yield was no higher than local strains. The experimental station, however, carried out experi-

ments by planting it both in spring and in the fields where wheat had just been reaped. The experiments showed that in the latter case, the yield was higher and the sweet potatoes tasted better. Therefore this strain was worth popularizing in the locality.

4. They persisted in integrating theory with practice and in learning through doing. In 1967, in the prime of the cotton's growth, 85 *mu* belonging to the 2nd team turned yellow and bolls began dropping off on 20-odd *mu*. The team members were very anxious. An agro-technician from above took one look and said: "The cotton is wilting. A fungus is spreading in both the soil and the plants. The cotton plants can't be saved." He supported his assertion by quoting books. When comrades of the experimental station learnt this, they made repeated investigations on the spot and made comparisons with the station's cotton plants. They concluded that this was not cotton wilt, but the result of inadequate fertilizers. After additional fertilizers were applied, the cotton plants rapidly turned green again. The per-*mu* yield averaged 93 *jin*. The poor and lower-middle peasants said with admiration: "The comrades in our station are like competent doctors, who can diagnose accurately and give the right prescription."

Whether the station should be run behind closed doors with high-yield experimental plots as the aim, or whether the station should pay attention to the brigade's fields and work wholeheartedly to serve agricultural production in the locality is the sharp contrast between the two different lines in scientific research. When the experimental station had achieved some preliminary success, some bourgeois technicians came up with the suggestion: "Your station should concentrate its efforts on creating a few high-yield model plots, and when you report these to the higher levels you'll be famous right away." The poor and lower-middle peasants said, "We're not seeking fame in setting up the station. What we want is to guide production in the fields. There's no point in creating a few high-yield model plots if production on extensive plots of farmland remains low."

In keeping with this teaching of Chairman Mao's "Make a break-through at some single point, gain experience and use this experience for guiding other units," they always adhered to the principle of integrating experimentation with the popularization of new cultivation methods. They took up major field production problems, collected the ideas of the masses, did research and experiments at the station and promptly introduced successful methods in field production. They coach in different teams and give concrete guidance in the fields to teach technical methods.

In grain production, the Tungan brigade was confronted with the long-standing problem of a large acreage being planted to sweet potatoes in the fields where wheat had been harvested; the late sweet potato harvest affected the next wheat sowing and the sweet potatoes could not be easily preserved. To solve this problem, a few years ago some of the brigade's teams switched over to growing maize on scattered strips of

the fields where wheat had been harvested, but the results were poor because correct techniques had not been mastered. Comrades in the experimental station went among the masses to investigate and study the problem. They discovered that the main reasons for the unsatisfactory results were poor pollination, lack of insect control, and improper crop management in the later stage of growth. They got a firm grasp on the three problems and carried out experiments at the station. Methods were successfully worked out to make double-cross maize hybrids yield 577 *jin* per *mu*, and maize, planted in the fields where wheat had been harvested, yield 475 *jin* per *mu*. This knocked the bottom out of the erroneous idea that maize was not a suitable crop for the locality.

In managing the cotton fields the main problem which affected a rise in cotton production was that they failed to master the laws governing the breeding and activities of cotton pests and the methods for preventing and controlling them. Comrades in the experimental station set to work on small plots in order to provide an example. They persisted in taking the prevention of pests as the primary measure and wiping out pests as supplementary. They invited team members to inspect each stage of their work. By demonstrating real objects, they gave concrete explanations of the growth cycle of each type of cotton pest, what harm the pests did and the methods for preventing and controlling them. The masses readily understood and mastered the techniques and applied them skilfully.

Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tungan brigade have resolutely placed invincible Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything and fiercely repudiated the towering crimes of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi in restoring capitalism in the countryside. They have greatly heightened their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and their revolutionary enthusiasm increased unprecedentedly. At the same time, by practising scientific farming, they brought about an average grain output of 595 *jin* per *mu* in 1968, a 29.3 per cent increase over 1965, and cotton output of 95 *jin* per *mu*. Even more outstanding was the experimental station's average cotton yield of 156 *jin* per *mu* and grain yield of 838 *jin* per *mu*. With the rise in production, the brigade's contribution to the state was bigger and it overfulfilled the 1968 state purchasing quotas of grain and cotton.

The poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres gained the profound understanding that running an experimental station is very important for guiding production and carrying out mass scientific research. They love their experimental station from the bottom of their hearts.

The experience of these poor and lower-middle peasants in running an agro-scientific experimental station is being popularized all over the county.

(Excerpts from an article in "Hongqi," No. 3-4, 1969)

Syrian Military Delegation Leaves Peking for Home

Premier Chou En-lai on the afternoon of May 20 received Major General Moustapha Tlass, Chief of the General Staff of the Army and Armed Forces and First Deputy Minister of Defence of the Syrian Arab Republic, and all the members of the Syrian military delegation led by him. The Premier had a friendly talk with them.

Among those present were Huang Yung-sheng and Chiu Hui-tso, Chief of the General Staff and Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

After concluding its friendly visit to China, the Syrian military delegation left Peking by plane on the morning of May 21 for home via Shanghai.

Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A. Huang Yung-sheng, Deputy Chief of the General Staff Chiu Hui-tso, Vice-Minister of National Defence Hsiao Ching-kuang, and over 1,000 commanders and fighters of the three services of the P.L.A., and militiamen and Red Guards in the capital gave the Syrian friends a warm send-off at the airport.

Reactionary Singapore Authorities' Anti-China Moves Will Come to No Good End

To suit the needs of their internal and external policies, the reactionary Singapore authorities have always been exerting their efforts to discriminate against the Singapore branch of the Bank of China, impose restrictions on it, crudely interfere in its activities, and try their utmost to undermine its reputation and business. They have recently gone out of their way to carry out political persecution against it.

Using the absurd pretext that its liquid assets were not up to the "prescribed minimum ratio," on April 30 the Singapore authorities sent men to intimidate its responsi-

ble member and inform him that they would forcibly post men at the bank. This unwarranted action on the part of the Singapore authorities was justifiably refuted then and there by personnel of the Singapore branch of the Bank of China. On May 2, these authorities again sent men to the bank, unreasonably demanding to check the bank's books and accounts and declaring that they would post men at the bank. The bank's personnel sternly rejected these preposterous demands. Going a step further, these authorities sent court personnel to the bank, threatening to take so-called "judicial measures" against it. The Bank of China's Singapore branch has issued a statement protesting against this serious political persecution.

The Singapore authorities' slanderous allegation that the liquid assets of the Singapore branch of the Bank of China were not enough was aimed at further damaging its reputation and disrupting its normal business. As early as last July 31, these authorities had illegally ordered the freezing of the bank's deposits in various local banks in Singapore. Following this, they brazenly worked hand in glove with the British Chartered Bank in robbing the Singapore branch of the Bank of China of 7,030,000 Singapore dollars which it had deposited in this British bank. This act of piracy met with due and resolute opposition from the Singapore branch of the Bank of China. Last September, the Chartered Bank was compelled to admit that its holding up the deposits was invalid and paid back 1,500,000 Singapore dollars of the held-up deposits. The Singapore authorities not only paid no attention to the stern protests of the Bank of China's Singapore branch, but repeatedly intimidated its responsible member and went so far as to serve a "final warning."

In addition to all this, the Singapore authorities had for a long time unreasonably refused entry to the manager and other staff members of the branch office appointed by the

head office of the Bank of China. Using various pretexts, they even refused entry to personnel sent to Singapore for temporary inspection of the bank.

Lately, the Singapore authorities recklessly spread rumours to slander the Bank of China and damage its prestige. On May 7, 8, 14, 15 and 16, they put on the farce of bringing the Singapore branch of the Bank of China to "trial" in court. On May 15, the Singapore court unreasonably imposed a "fine" on it of 128,000 Singapore dollars.

Following this, the reactionary Singapore authorities on May 18 issued a "statement" in the name of their "finance ministry," viciously vilifying China and threatening that they were considering whether or not to allow the Singapore branch of the Bank of China to continue its business. The "statement" also said that the Singapore authorities might close down the bank by revoking its license on the false charge that it had provoked disturbances with regard to public order. The "statement" also declared that the Singapore Clearing House would no longer accept cheques from the Bank of China as from May 22. This is another act of grave political persecution by the reactionary Singapore authorities against the Singapore branch of the Bank of China.

These unscrupulous anti-China acts by the Singapore authorities have aroused the righteous indignation of the broad masses of the people on that island. One after another they have called at the Singapore branch of the Bank of China to express their sympathy and support, expose and denounce the anti-China crimes of the reactionary Singapore authorities and highly praise the staff members of the branch office for their militant spirit of upholding justice and defying brute force. The masses in Singapore attached their signatures to a protest against the local authorities' political persecution of the bank. For days running, many people ignored the pho-

(Continued on p. 29.)

ACROSS THE LAND

New Antibiotic

QINGDAMYCIN — an antibiotic with unique efficacy — has been successfully trial produced in China amid the nationwide celebration of the Party's Ninth National Congress.

It is the result of joint efforts, made under the illumination of invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, by 36 different units, including the Microbiology Laboratory of the East China Institute of Sub-Tropical Plants under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Shanghai No. 4 Pharmaceutical Factory and the General Hospital under the Foochow Military Area Command. The antibiotic is now in production.

The birth of qingdamycin means a new product made by the Chinese working class, P.L.A. medical personnel and revolutionary scientific and technical personnel as a result of implementing Chairman Mao's great strategic principle of **"being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people."** The drug is highly effective in curing bacterial infections such as inflammation of the respiratory system, infection of the urinary system, meningitis and septicemia and other infectious diseases, some of which are caused by bacteria resistant to commonly used antibiotics. It is particularly effective against bacillus pyocyaneus.

Compared with antibiotics of a similar type produced abroad, qingdamycin has many outstanding features and greater efficacy in terms of experimental data, technological process in production and experimental clinical results. Small doses give highly effective results with negligible side-effects. It is cheap to produce and the process of production is relatively simple.

The production of qingdamycin has filled a gap in China's antibiotics industry, signifying that it has made rapid advances and enormously raised the quality of its products, there-

by leaping to a completely new level. It has forcefully smashed the monopoly and blockade over important antibiotics by the capitalist world headed by U.S. imperialism.

Successful Trial Production Of Special Low-Carbon High-Purity Iron by Electric Arc Furnaces

CHINA has succeeded for the first time in trial melting special low-carbon high-purity iron in electric arc furnaces. This is a new contribution to the development of the metallurgical industry by revolutionary workers of the Shanghai General Machine Repair Plant who, relying on invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, formed a "three-in-one" combination with outside research departments and user-units to produce this type of high-purity iron. Many fraternal plants also co-ordinated their efforts.

High-purity iron is an excellent electrical engineering material. By reducing some of its elements, especially carbon, its electromagnetic property rises markedly. Its successful trial production has provided important conditions for the development of China's electronics and telecommunications industries. This iron is resistant to hydrogen and nitrogen corrosion, and under certain conditions, can replace acid-resisting nickelchrome stainless steel. Its trial production has opened a new road for China to manufacture chemical fertilizer equipment and develop the chemical industry.

Before the great cultural revolution, the melting of special low-carbon high-purity iron was always considered a technically "forbidden zone" by the handful of capitalist roaders and bourgeois reactionary technical "authorities" in the metallurgical departments. During this great revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, relentlessly criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist bunk of the

arch renegade Liu Shao-chi, such as "relying on specialists to run the factories," and firmly took the leadership in scientific research work into their own hands.

With soaring spirits, the workers of the Shanghai General Machine Repair Plant accepted the assignment of trial melting high-purity iron. A "three-in-one" combination group with the steelworkers as the main body and with technicians and revolutionary cadres taking part was formed in the plant. With hearts boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, they were determined to scale the peaks of science and technology. In the process of trial production, the workers displayed the revolutionary spirit of continuous fighting and conquered one difficulty after another before finally succeeding in trial producing this special low-carbon high-purity iron which is up to advanced world levels.

Large Steel Products

THE revolutionary workers of the Paotow Iron and Steel Company's rail-beam mill in only three months' time have successfully produced four types of large steel products urgently needed in China's socialist construction. One of these is the low-alloy, high-strength, lightweight and thin-wall large double T steel, which is of advanced levels. This large, modern rolling mill was only completed and put into operation at the end of 1968.

It usually takes a newly built large rolling mill in some countries 3 to 4 years to advance from making ordinary rolled steel to this type of double T steel. Workers in the rail-beam mill at the Paotow company, however, took a little over two months to do the job. This is a victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a victory for Chairman Mao's great principle to **"grasp revolution and promote production."** From the first day of production, the mill has firmly grasped the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and consistently put revolution in command of production. It has unfolded revolutionary mass criticism and carried out the work of purify-

ing the class ranks in a deep-going way. All this has enabled the revolution here to forge ahead and bring production achievements in its wake.

Large quantities of steel products from this mill are now being supplied to all parts of the country.

Portable Film Projector

THE Chinese working class has succeeded during the great cultural revolution in producing a light, compact, simple and economical portable 8.75-mm. film projector. This new type of projector is convenient for use in villages and mountainous areas to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

It was designed and made by revolutionary workers, revolutionary technicians and revolutionary cadres in the film equipment industry in the spirit of Chairman Mao's teaching that "all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers." Workers in film equipment factories and related factories in 19 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions all over the country took part in the trial manufacture. Its success has opened the way for making still lighter and more compact film projectors, which is of great significance in popularizing China's proletarian cinema.

This type of projector generally has a portable magic lantern and other attached equipments. Apart from showing films and lantern slides, it



P.L.A. fighters think this new-type portable 8.75-mm. film projector is excellent.

can also be used as a radio and an amplifier. The projector is no bigger than a 4-tube alternating current radio and weighs around 15 kilogrammes, all attachments included. Small as it is, it projects clear and steady images on the screen and gives clear and resonant sound. It can cater to an audience of 500. Durable and economical, all parts are made in China, and are easy to maintain and repair. Production costs of film used in this type of projector is low.

Workers in film equipment plants in Peking, Shanghai, Kwangtung and other places have taken this type of projector to show films in remote mountainous regions, villages, pasturelands and sea islands where

communications are difficult. They were warmly received by the audiences. The poor and lower-middle peasants said: "We can easily afford and run this type of small film projector which Chairman Mao taught the workers to make for us. It is very good." After seeing films shown by this type of projector, P.L.A. fighters guarding the motherland's frontiers and coasts praised it as a sharp weapon for spreading invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. When the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers saw on the screen the brilliant image of the great leader Chairman Mao who is in their thoughts day and night, they were moved to tears and burst into cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!"

(Continued from p. 27.)

ney propaganda of the Singapore authorities and went to the bank with great enthusiasm to deposit their money. Over 3,000 new accounts have been opened at the bank in the last few days.

A number of personages in industrial and commercial circles on the

island have expressed strong discontent with the Singapore authorities for their reckless action and their unwarranted persecution of the bank.

The Chinese departments concerned are now closely following the event. They sternly point out that the reactionary Singapore authorities are intensifying their per-

secution of the Singapore branch of the Bank of China in order to curry favour with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and act as their pawn in opposing China. The Singapore authorities must immediately stop these acts of persecution. Otherwise, they will be held fully responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

ROUND THE WORLD

CAPITALIST WORLD

New Financial Crisis Storm

The new financial crisis storm which broke out in late April has hit the British pound, French franc and currencies of some other West European countries hard. Sweeping the financial centres of Western Europe, it has once again put the capitalist world's tottering financial-monetary system in jeopardy.

This is the fourth such stormy eruption in the capitalist world in 18 months. The first took place in November 1967 and it forced the devaluation of the British pound. The second took place in March 1968 and brought about a factual devaluation of the U.S. dollar. The third broke out in November 1968 and the French franc suffered a telling blow. The main feature of the current convulsion is the hectic buying of the West German mark, which enjoys relative stability among Western currencies. The resignation of de Gaulle as President of France at the end of April and West German Finance Minister Strauss' ambiguous remarks on the revaluation of the mark were the immediate cause. In the final analysis, however, the frequent breaking out of the financial crisis is the inevitable result of the daily aggravation of the politico-economic crisis of the capitalist world as a whole.

In the latest financial storm, which developed rapidly, the rush on the West German mark went on with increased furore. The heavy selling not only hit the pound and the franc, which were already in a very weak position, but swiftly involved the dollar and almost all other West European currencies. According to official West German figures, the flow of foreign currencies into the Frankfurt foreign exchange

market to buy West German mark in the two weeks ending May 9 totalled 4,000 million dollars. This far exceeded the scale of last November's storm. On May 8 and 9, the most hectic days, foreign currencies pouring into the Frankfurt market reached 2,500 million dollars.

Exchange rates for the pound and franc in relation to the mark also dropped sharply in other West European foreign exchange markets. Time and again the central banks of Britain and France had to dig into their limited reserve of foreign currencies to bolster the pound and the franc in order to avert a crash.

The contradictions among the imperialist countries have intensified further as a result of the latest crisis storm which has hit them hard. The French Government twice sent sharp diplomatic representations to the West German Government, charging that "rash" talk by Bonn officials on the issue of revaluing the mark had caused the latest stampede. Through various channels, the United States, Britain and France also put pressure on the West German authorities for a mark revaluation to calm down the current turmoil, so that the crisis-ridden financial-monetary system of the capitalist world could prolong its precarious existence. All these countries wishfully thought that once the mark was revalued the prices of West German commodities on the international market would have to increase correspondingly, and that the competitive power of their own commodities would also rise. West Germany, however, withstood this pressure. After an emergency meeting on May 9, the Bonn cabinet reiterated that West Germany had no intention of changing the rate for the mark. "This decision," it declared, "is final."

Although the rush on the mark in West European financial markets

has temporarily eased after the West German declaration, there are signs indicating that the crisis is becoming more aggravated than ever.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out, "The epoch we are living in is an epoch in which the imperialist system is heading for total collapse, the imperialists have fallen inextricably into crisis. . . ." With the continued deterioration of the financial and economic situation in the United States, Britain, France and other major capitalist countries and the intensification of the class contradictions there, the capitalist world faces a still more ominous future in the financial field. A really hard time is ahead for these countries.

MALAYA

White Terror Grips Kuala Lumpur

To save its tottering rule, the reactionary Rahman clique, lackey of U.S. and British imperialism in Malaya, created large-scale bloodshed in Kuala Lumpur and other places in Malaya in mid May. Using this as a pretext, the clique carried out a massive, fascist massacre, arrest and suppression of the people of various nationalities in Malaya.

The first bloody incident broke out in Kuala Lumpur on the evening of May 13. Similar incidents occurred shortly afterwards in Malacca and Penang. From the evening of May 13 to May 18, at least over 300 people were killed, many of whom were shot to death by reactionary troops and police; innumerable numbers were wounded and over 3,000 arrested; many houses were burnt down by arsonists and over 10,000 people made homeless. As in the past, the Rahman clique in slaughtering, arresting and persecuting the people of various nationalities in Malaya, directed its spearhead mainly at Malayan citizens of Chinese descent.

The Rahman puppet clique has loyally served U.S. and British im-

perialism in the 12 years of its rule. In recent years, it has collaborated even more closely with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and intensified its anti-people, anti-communist and anti-China counter-revolutionary policies. This has thrown the people of Malay, Chinese and Indian nationalities in Malaya into a real plight. The class contradictions between the Malayan people of various nationalities on the one hand and imperialism and its lackey, the Rahman clique, on the other have become unprecedentedly acute. Led by the Communist Party of Malaya, armed struggle and other forms of people's struggle have developed steadily. In this situation, contradictions have deepened within the ruling clique of Malaya and the dominant position of the Rahman clique is becoming ever more shaky. To hoodwink the people, it staged a third "general election" farce on May 10, but this fraud was exposed and boycotted by the people of various nationalities in Malaya.

On the eve of the "general election," over 10,000 Malayan people staged a mammoth demonstration in Kuala Lumpur strongly protesting the Rahman clique's fascist atrocity in shooting the young worker Lim Sung Seng. The latter was killed by reactionary police gunfire when he was putting up big posters on May 4 exposing the Rahman clique's "general election" farce and calling on the Malayan people to cast away illusions about the "parliamentary road." This sanguinary incident infuriated people all over Malaya and they immediately rose up to denounce the Rahman clique. The people held a demonstration in Kuala Lumpur during which they carried Lim Sung Seng's coffin and shouted angry slogans demanding payment of the blood debt and opposing sham democracy.

On the evening of May 13, the reactionary Rahman clique incited and instigated a mob to storm into the Chinese quarter. Armed with all

kinds of weapons, the thugs burnt down Chinese houses, shops and schools, intercepted and set fire to cars, and murdered Malayan citizens of Chinese descent. Fires raged in many places in Kuala Lumpur. Overnight, hundreds of people were killed in cold blood and countless injured. It was reported that when these thugs stormed into the Chinese quarter, reactionary Malayan police units which were armed with tear-gas bombs and light weapons made no attempt to stop their criminal action. By May 18, such atrocities had continued for five days in Kuala Lumpur and were rapidly spreading to other places.

After creating the bloody incidents, the Rahman clique immediately carried out ruthless fascist suppression of the people in Malaya. On the excuse that "disloyal elements are trying to overthrow the government," it proclaimed fascist "emergency laws" throughout the country on the evening of May 14. Under these laws, the reactionary government can search, arrest, deport or even put to death people at will. On the following evening, Rahman, on the pretext of "communist subversion," proclaimed a "state of emergency" throughout the country, set up a "national operation council" headed by Deputy Prime Minister Razak, and entrusted it with "supreme power." Rahman raved that he would adopt "strong measures" to crack down on the people of Malaya.

Having created the bloody incidents, the Rahman clique imposed a round-the-clock curfew in Kuala Lumpur. It also sent large numbers of reactionary troops and police as well as many armoured cars and aircraft to put down the people. The Rahman regime ordered its troops to "shoot on sight" anybody "violating" the curfew. With the reactionary troops ransacking the city and arresting and opening fire on ordinary citizens at will, the city was plunged into a reign of white terror. The Malayan troops stationed in Sarawak have now been called back to Kuala

Lumpur to intensify the suppression of the people.

The people of various nationalities in Malaya, however, are not cowed by fascist terror. They are waging a courageous and dauntless struggle against the Rahman clique. Even Rahman's own "official residence" was attacked by the masses after his blood-thirsty television speech on May 16.

SOVIET REVISIONISM

Intensified Collaboration With West German Militarism

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has greatly intensified its collaboration with the West German militarist forces recently. This is an important part of its effort to step up counter-revolutionary collusion with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries since it committed armed provocations against China's territory last March and was dealt a heavy blow.

It was reported that even while the Soviet revisionist renegade clique committed successive armed provocations against Chinese territory Chenpao Island, Soviet Ambassador to West Germany Tsarapkin on March 11 "urgently" sought an audience with West German Chancellor Kiesinger and begged for "support" from West German militarism. He wantonly attacked and slandered China, using what was described as "unusually strong language" in "accusations" against China.

Meanwhile, in order to enlist the support of the reactionary Bonn government, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique openly allowed West Germany to hold its illegal presidential election in West Berlin in exchange. In so doing, it has once again shamelessly betrayed the interests and rights of the German Democratic Republic.

Not long ago, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent its Minister of

Foreign Trade Patolichev to West Germany, begging for "improved" relations with Bonn ruling circles and closer economic "co-operation" with West German monopoly capital. The West German press disclosed that, like a "businessman," this Soviet minister hurried to West Germany ignoring "fatigue and diplomatic consideration" as soon as he received an "invitation" from Bonn. This fully shows the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's eagerness to collaborate with the West German militarist forces.

Through his "visit," Patolichev concluded an agreement with West German monopoly capital on the joint construction of a plant for

large-diameter steel tubes. It was reported that the investment in this project would amount to more than 1,000 million marks, a major transaction between the two sides in recent years. To "whet" the West German monopoly capital groups' appetite for "co-operation" with the Soviet revisionists, Patolichev made proposal after proposal which even the West German side regarded as "really most astonishing." He proposed "to supply West Germany with oil and natural gas on a long-term basis without any political reservations," so as to double its oil imports from the Soviet Union to eight million tons. Patolichev also held "talks" with Bonn Economic Minister Schiller on the question of

extending to West Germany the oil pipe-line which connects the Soviet Union with a number of East European countries. As revealed by DPA, the deal will soon be concluded. Thus, this pipe-line, long boasted of by the Soviet revisionists as a symbol of "sincere friendship" and "comradely mutual assistance," will be extended to West Germany which was reviled by them not long ago as the "hotbed of war in Europe," "amicably" linking this "hotbed of war" with their "socialist community." This shows to what depths the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has sunk in its efforts to curry favour with West German militarism.

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IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China (May 24, 1969)	3	Nixon's Rabid Activities in Arms Expansion and War Preparations	18
Hsinhua News Agency's Note on Release of the Soviet Government's March 29 Statement	9	The Sinister U.S. Imperialist "Nine-Point Working Paper"	20
Nation's Armymen and Civilians Enthusiastically Support Chinese Government Statement	10	Why the U.S. Imperialists and Soviet Revisionists Tremble With Fear	21
Frontier Guards in Chenpao Island Area Study and Apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a Living Way	12	Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line Lights Up Our Hearts	22
Tear Off the Wrappings From the Soviet Revisionists' "Definition of Aggression"	13	An Agro-Scientific Experimental Station Founded by Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants	24
Wanton Expansion and Aggression Abroad by Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism	16	THE WEEK	27
		ACROSS THE LAND	28
		ROUND THE WORLD	30