

PEKING REVIEW

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June 6, 1969

C.C. of Communist Party of China Sends Message to C.C. of Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha

Expressing most heartfelt thanks for their warm congratulations
on Ninth National Congress of C.P.C.

Working Class Triumphantly Leading The Struggle-Criticism-Transformation In the Superstructure

Fearing Neither Hardship Nor Death

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

“A bosom friend afar brings a distant land near.” China and Albania are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers but our hearts are closely linked.

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Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished.

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We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations.

C.C. of Communist Party of China Sends Message to C.C. of Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha

— Expressing Most Heartfelt Thanks for Their Warm Congratulations
On Ninth National Congress of C.P.C.

The Central Committee of the
Albanian Party of Labour

Dear Comrade Enver Hoxha,

Dear Comrades:

We received your messages of greetings, which were filled with warm feeling and revolutionary friendship, at the time of the victorious opening and the successful close of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The Albanian Communists and working people held grand meetings and parades in all parts of the country, warmly celebrating the convening of the Ninth National Congress of our Party. We express our most heartfelt thanks for your militant friendship and tremendous political support.

We are extremely glad to inform the Albanian comrades-in-arms that, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Ninth National Congress of our Party went extremely well and was a great success. This is a congress of far-reaching influence in the history of our Party, a congress of unity and a congress of victory. At present, our whole Party and all the people in the country, under the leadership of the Ninth Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, are striving to fulfil every militant task set forth by the Ninth National Congress and win still greater victories throughout the country.

The glorious Albanian Party of Labour, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the heroic Albanian people are the closest and staunchest comrades-in-arms of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. In the common struggle against imperialism headed by the

United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, and all reaction, you have always held high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, fought valiantly and performed immortal meritorious deeds in the cause of world revolution. We extend our warm and militant salute to you.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. On the one hand, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and of the people of all countries is vigorously surging forward. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are bogged down in political and economic crises, beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, and are in an impasse. They are engaged in arms expansion and war preparations in a vain attempt to put up a last-ditch struggle by launching new war adventures. But this can only hasten their doom. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people will always uphold proletarian internationalism and always unite with the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people, with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and Marxist-Leninists all over the world and with all oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, and fight together with them to thoroughly smash the plot of the United States and the Soviet Union which are collaborating in a vain attempt to redivide the world, and carry the great struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction through to the end. Victory definitely belongs to us.

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

May 27, 1969

Afghan Ambassador Gives Independence Day Reception

Mohammad Asef Sohail, Afghan Ambassador to China, gave a reception on May 27 to celebrate the Independence Day of Afghanistan.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Kuo Mo-jo were present.

Ambassador Sohail and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien spoke at the reception.

In his speech, Ambassador Sohail said: The traditional friendship and good neighbourly relations between China and Afghanistan have always been developing and progressing. History shows that there has never been any conflict or dispute between our two countries. The Sino-Afghan boundary agreement as well as the technical, economic and cultural agreements, which were signed in recent years between the two countries, have further strengthened the friendly feelings between our two nations. The friendship between China and Afghanistan is based on good will, mutual respect and understanding and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien pointed out in his speech: China and Afghanistan have always lived together amicably. Our two countries concluded a treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression and settled our boundary question left over by history smoothly, and good progress has also been made in the fields of economic co-operation and cultural exchanges between the two countries. What should be pointed out in particular is that in the relations between our two countries, we have always treated each other as equals and neither of us imposes his will on the other; we respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and firmly oppose expansionism and big-power chauvinism; we both adhere to the principle that the people of all countries should be left to settle their own affairs and that they should not interfere in each other's internal affairs. The friendly relations between China and Afghanistan

fully show that, in spite of the difference in social systems, it is possible not only to maintain but also to develop the friendly relations between the two countries, so long as both sides strictly abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Li Hsien-nien added: Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people are now carrying out the great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian policies in an all-round way, actively fulfilling the fighting tasks set forth by the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China and **"grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war."** A thriving and invigorating atmosphere prevails throughout the country. We will certainly follow the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao, unite with the revolutionary people of the whole world, firmly support the just struggles of all the oppressed people and nations, firmly support all the just struggles to safeguard national independence and resist foreign aggression, and struggle together to completely smash the imperialists' and social-imperialists' policy of aggression and their scheme to redivide the world.

Strong Protest Against the Bulgarian Government's Shameless Anti-China Activity

The spokesman of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China in a statement on June 3 lodged a strong protest with the Bulgarian Government against the extremely grave political incident in which, tailing after U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in the plot to create "two Chinas," it openly invited a so-called "government delegation" of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang to attend the "World Inter-Governmental Conference on Tourism" in Sofia. The statement reads in full as follows:

Recently, the Bulgarian Government has openly invited a so-called "government delegation" of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang to at-

tend the "World Inter-Governmental Conference on Tourism" which opened in Sofia on May 15, and thereby staged an anti-China farce of creating "two Chinas." The Bulgarian Government has gone to the length of treating as its distinguished guests the "delegation" of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, a political corpse that has long been repudiated by the Chinese people, giving it a "warm reception" and inviting it on many occasions to take part in official functions organized by the Bulgarian side. This is an extremely grave political incident engineered by the Bulgarian Government in tailing after U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in their plot to create "two Chinas" and is a brazen provocation against the Chinese people. Against this, we express our utmost indignation and hereby lodge a strong protest with the Bulgarian Government.

The Bulgarian Government has long been closely following U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in the criminal plot of creating "two Chinas." It has repeatedly engaged in underhand dealings with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang through various channels. Furthermore, the Bulgarian press has time and again called China's Taiwan Province a "country" and flagrantly carried the picture of Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the Chinese people. And now, ignoring the repeated warnings and strong protests by the Chinese Government, the Bulgarian Government, clinging to its reckless course, has insisted on inviting a "delegation" of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang to Bulgaria and thrusting it into the "World Inter-Governmental Conference on Tourism," a conference with Bulgaria as the chairman, which was engineered under the personal direction of T. Zhivkov. This is another new crime committed by the Bulgarian Government in deliberately creating "two Chinas" and making itself the enemy of socialist China.

The present grave incident of creating "two Chinas" has been engineered by the Bulgarian Government at the instigation of Soviet revisionism. For a long time, Soviet revisionism has been actively working

(Continued on p. 30.)

Working Class Triumphantly Leading the Struggle-Criticism-Transformation In the Superstructure

As in other fields all over China, the mass movement of struggle-criticism-transformation is being unfolded in a deep-going way on the cultural, art, education, journalism and health fronts. All these are important departments in the superstructure where intellectuals were predominant in number and places long dominated by the persons in power taking the capitalist road. For many years prior to the great cultural revolution, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his agents regarded these departments as important tools for restoring capitalism, and exercised the leadership they had usurped there to propagate a large amount of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist trash, suppress the worker, peasant and soldier masses and feverishly oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In such circumstances, these departments have always been the frontline of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams organized by the working class have gradually entered the units in the realm of the superstructure since last July. They have shouldered the task of leading the struggle-criticism-transformation there.

After the working class enters the various departments of the superstructure, it first of all firmly grasps the fundamental: using Mao Tsetung Thought to command and transform everything and letting Mao Tsetung Thought occupy every position. It organizes the revolutionary masses to run Mao Tsetung Thought study classes and to carry out Chairman Mao's latest instructions. It uses invincible Mao Tsetung Thought to re-educate the intellectuals there so as to rally them closely around the proletariat in forming mighty revolutionary contingents to struggle against the enemies, unfold revolutionary mass criticism, purify the class ranks and consolidate the Party and fulfil other tasks in struggle-criticism-transformation. At the same time it leads the masses in carrying out all Chairman Mao's proletarian policies.

The following three articles show the way in which the working class puts Chairman Mao's great teaching "the working class must exercise leadership in everything" into effect in leading and pushing forward the victorious advance of struggle-criticism-transformation in the realm of the superstructure so as to change the outlook of these places. — Ed.

Uniting With the Majority of the Intellectuals and Re-educating Them

THE workers' and P.L.A. men's Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team stationed in Hopei University organized the revolutionary teachers, students and staff there to study Chairman Mao's latest teaching: "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of man-

kind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them." They have carried out Chairman

Mao's different proletarian policies towards the intellectuals; made a strict distinction between the two different types of contradictions — contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people — and united, educated and remoulded the majority of the intellectuals, thereby giving a powerful impetus to the development of the struggle-criticism-transformation in breadth and in depth.

The majority of the university's professors and lecturers come from exploiting class families. They have relatively complicated personal histories and social connections. The education they received in the past was a bourgeois one. Their world outlook had not been transformed very well, and most of them had carried out the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education and spread a lot of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist poisonous rubbish. At the beginning, some comrades did not fully understand the importance of winning over, uniting with and educating the majority of the intellectuals. Such people thought they would rather be "Left" than Right. They regarded the old-type intellectuals as "a mess," and felt that the policy of uniting the majority was not applicable to the university. As a result, the Party's policy towards the intellectuals could not be swiftly carried out.

To solve these problems, the propaganda team organized the revolutionary teachers and students to run Mao Tsetung Thought study classes.

The team organized the leading members, people who do investigation work on persons with political problems, revolutionary teachers and students, professors, lecturers, and dependents of those with political problems to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's latest instructions concerned and his brilliant works such as *On Policy, Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals, On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*. They discussed these in the light of the actual conditions and deepened their understanding of the Party's policies. Many revolutionary teachers and students said: "Chairman Mao has long ago taught us that 'the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals in our country want to make progress and remould themselves, and they are quite capable of remoulding themselves.' In the past we only saw their complicated histories and their problems, but not their desire to remould themselves. Such is very serious one-sidedness."

On the basis of raising the level of their understanding, the propaganda team mobilized the masses to look for the gap between their work and the advanced experience of Tsinghua University, and to sum up their experiences and lessons in carrying out policy. By comparing themselves with those with advanced experience, the comrades in the biology faculty found their gap. As a result, they strengthened education of several lecturers who had committed mistakes or had ordinary problems of a political nature in their histories and "liberated" them in time. They also fostered some activists among lecturers who come from exploiting class families but who have given a good account of themselves politically. Other faculties were spurred on by their action.

Taking Chairman Mao's policy towards the intellectuals their weapon, revolutionary masses in many faculties made a class, historical and dialectical analysis of the problems of a particular professor or lecturer, or analysed in an all-round way the situation of the professors and lecturers in their faculty or in a teaching and study team. Through these analyses of typical cases, they deepened their understanding of the Party's policies, thus gaining a correct understanding of the ranks of the intellectuals. For instance, after the serious mistakes of a "diehard" professor had been related, manifestations of his willingness to remould were also brought up. As a result of this kind of all-round analysis, many people said: "These people are quite capable of being remoulded. As has been done in Tsinghua University, we should severely criticize their mistakes, do political and ideological work well and show initiative in stimulating their transformation."



Members of the workers' and P.L.A. men's Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team at the Tunghua Medical College in Kirin Province discuss with revolutionary teachers and students problems in implementing policy.

Through a series of work, they came to understand the meaning of Chairman Mao's teaching of **"bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones."** That is, expanding the revolutionary ranks to the maximum and isolating the handful of class enemies to the maximum is Chairman Mao's consistent thinking which should also be the general thinking guiding our implementation of the Party's policies.

The professors and lecturers come from the old society, and in general, their political histories are comparatively complex and their bourgeois ideology quite rampant. Taking this into consideration, the propaganda team acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings that we **"should . . . adopt a careful attitude towards"** the intellectuals and that **"we should unite with them, educate them and give them posts according to the merits of each case, and only a tiny number of die-hard counter-revolutionaries among them will have to be appropriately dealt with through the mass line."** The team led the revolutionary teachers and students to strictly observe policy, to unite, educate and remould the majority of the intellectuals, and deal heavy blows at the handful of the diehard class enemies only. There was, for instance, one professor who had political problems in the past, but had confessed to them and has behaved quite well since liberation. After unifying their thinking, the propaganda team and revolutionary teachers and students put faith in him boldly and helped him get rid of his mental "burden." This professor has made big progress ideologically through education.

Some professors and lecturers had spread bourgeois ideology and bourgeois reactionary academic views. The propaganda team guided the revolutionary teachers and students to distinguish these people from those who viciously attacked socialism from a reactionary stand. They severely criticized their bourgeois world outlook and reactionary academic views, and at the same time patiently did ideological and educational work to lead them to understand gradually the reactionary nature of their world outlook and academic views, and be resolute in undergoing a thorough transformation.

With regard to those in the enemy camp, the propaganda team, following Chairman Mao's teaching of **"giving a way out,"** adopted the policy of dealing with each case on its merits and dividing and disintegrating them. It acted leniently towards those who had admitted their crimes and had confessed thoroughly. Thus, they have united with all those who could be united and isolated the handful of the diehard class enemies.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Our task is to unite with all intellectuals, artists and doctors of the old type who can be useful, to help them, convert them and transform them."** **"The remoulding of the intellectuals remains a question of major sig-**

nificance throughout the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction." Uniting with the majority of the intellectuals cannot replace re-educating them. The propaganda team held that the fundamental tasks for the working class in leading the revolution in education are to exercise the leadership politically and using Mao Tsetung Thought to re-educate the intellectuals. In giving re-education, the propaganda team mainly guided them to study Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education advanced by the big renegade Liu Shao-chi and his agents, denounce the handful of counter-revolutionaries who hid themselves in the ranks of the intellectuals, criticize the reactionary bourgeois thinking and reactionary academic views spread by some intellectuals, so as to enhance their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, thus ideologically and politically helping them become aware of their mistakes, and solve the questions of whom to hate, whom to love and whom to follow.

The propaganda team led the professors and lecturers to join with the revolutionary teachers and students in studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way in struggle-criticism-transformation, and to sum up their experiences and lessons in remoulding their thinking. It carried out class education by having them visit exhibitions and hear reports recalling the past sufferings of the working people. After visiting the exhibition on class education in Santiaoshih, an old industrial area in Tientsin, some professors and lecturers said: **"The process of hearing about the past misery of veteran workers is the process by which we criticize ourselves. We promise to do well in receiving the workers, peasants and soldiers' re-education so that we can thoroughly remould ourselves."** In addition, they also took part in suitable manual labour and added to the working people's ideology and sentiments in their own minds.

Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching: **"We should assign appropriate work to all intellectuals who are reasonably loyal and useful, and we should earnestly give them political education and guidance so that in the long course of the struggle they gradually overcome their weaknesses,"** the propaganda team paid attention to bringing into play the role of the professors and lecturers in the struggle-criticism-transformation. The propaganda team and the revolutionary teachers and students let a professor take part in the leading work of the group for revolutionizing education. He said with emotion: "This is the greatest faith and encouragement Chairman Mao has put in me. I'm determined to receive re-education from the workers, peasants and soldiers and to follow Chairman Mao in making revolution all my life." Together with the revolutionary teachers and students, he enthusiastically went to the countryside to make investigations and study.

Helping Cadres Who Made Mistakes Return to Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

FOLLOWING Chairman Mao's teachings that "we must unite with the great majority of the cadres" and "as for good people who have made mistakes, they should be given more help through education, and when they are awakened, they should be promptly liberated," the workers' and P.L.A. men's Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team stationed in the Opera and Dance Theatre of Kirin Province, helped the theatre's revolutionary masses act according to Chairman Mao's policy towards the cadres in analysing the problems of the cadres in the theatre who had made mistakes, and conscientiously did a good job of ideological and political work. As a result, a number of cadres who had made mistakes raised their level of consciousness, returned to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and have been promptly liberated.

The revisionist line in literature and art had a very profound influence on this theatre. For more than a decade, the five high level cadres and some cadres at the middle level in the theatre had carried out this revisionist line. They also carried out the bourgeois reactionary line in the great cultural revolution. Some comrades believed that the theatre was different from other places and therefore could not, like the other units, unite the great majority of the cadres.

After repeated investigations and study in the theatre, comrades in the propaganda team considered that though the situation was rather complex there, Chairman Mao's analysis concerning the cadres and his policy towards them were universally applicable. The fact that some comrades stressed the "peculiarity" of the theatre in carrying out the policy towards the cadres was mainly the result of failing, in a fairly complex situation, to make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions according to Chairman Mao's teachings. Therefore, the team organized a Mao Tsetung Thought study class in which participants studied the related teachings of Chairman Mao and the Party's policy, and concretely analysed each of the cadres at the theatre's high level. This class helped the revolutionary masses raise their ideological understanding and clarify the following three questions:

1. Though these cadres had done many bad things, the majority, who had carried out Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art, are different from counter-revolutionaries who plotted to restore capitalism and frantically opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

2. The main reason they made mistakes is that they did not have a high level of consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. In solving the cadre problem, stress should be laid on helping them differen-

tiate right from wrong in the struggle between the two lines, raise their ideological consciousness and avoid making similar mistakes in the future. Emphasis should not be put on personal responsibility.

3. Though these cadres had arrived at the brink of danger, they have all been educated through serious criticism in the tremendous movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As long as the revolutionary masses conscientiously carry out the policy, these cadres can be saved.

It is therefore necessary to give them more help through education in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and to win them over instead of pushing them to the side of the enemy.

This analysis helped the revolutionary masses see more clearly that Chairman Mao's policy towards the cadres is a universally applicable truth and that in the literary and art units, though the situation is relatively complex, this policy should also be firmly carried out. After they had increased their understanding, they all took action under the leadership of the propaganda team to earnestly carry out the policy and do a good job in "liberating" the cadres.

One leading cadre had heard Chairman Mao deliver the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* in Yen-an in the 1940s. Following Chairman Mao's teachings, he took part in creative work and performances in Yen-an's Lu Hsun Art Academy. Because he was corrupted by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art of Liu Shao-chi and Chou Yang, he later changed gradually.

In the light of his specific case, the revolutionary masses were emphatic in leading him to review and sum up his historical experience in the struggle between the two lines over the past 30 and more years since he joined the revolution. They helped him dig out the reasons that had brought about such a transformation, see the danger of such a degeneration and find out the direction of his future advance. This kind of education touched him to his innermost being. He pledged his determination to deeply criticize his mistakes, resolutely correct them and return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Another cadre who had made mistakes did not give prominence to proletarian politics and was not concerned with the struggle between the two lines. Although she had done some good things, she also carried out the revisionist line in literature and art. She did many bad things which she considered good deeds. Criticism could not convince her. The revolutionary masses helped her make a concrete analysis of Chair-

man Mao's proletarian line in literature and art and Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. Her level of consciousness of the struggle between the two lines was greatly raised by this, and she saw clearly the many serious mistakes she made and was determined to honestly accept the criticism of the masses, correct her mistakes and turn over a new leaf.

As these cadres began to change, some comrades entertained new thoughts. Some comrades wanted to "liberate" a cadre who had made mistakes but had made only a very preliminary self-examination. Members of the propaganda team held that the "liberation" of cadres was a very serious and important matter which could never be carelessly handled. The team guided the revolutionary masses to discuss, in relation to this case, the fundamental aim and great significance of "liberating" the cadres. This helped the masses understand that only when the cadres were helped to raise their level of consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and of class struggle could they be really "liberated." This was the genuine attitude of "cure the sick-

ness to save the patient." Otherwise, it is similar to allowing a patient who has not been cured to leave the hospital. Sooner or later, the disease will recur and bring on more serious consequences. This not only educated the masses but further educated the cadres who had made mistakes. Very moved, the cadre who had made mistakes said: I thank Chairman Mao for his concern and the comrades for their help. I am determined to criticize my mistakes together with the comrades and unswervingly follow Chairman Mao in making revolution. She quickly made a self-examination that touched her to her being and won the understanding of the masses.

The comrades in the propaganda team then gave the revolutionary masses a new task: to do a good job among the "liberated" cadres.

The revolutionary masses in the theatre are now using various methods to help the "liberated" cadres constantly raise their level of consciousness and make big efforts to remould their world outlook. Their outlook is going through profound changes.

Big Changes in Tungfanghung Hospital Under Working-Class Leadership

THE Tungfanghung Hospital is a big hospital specializing in neurosurgery in Peking. It has undergone enormous changes since the workers' and P.L.A. men's Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team entered it last September and remoulded it according to Mao Tsetung Thought.

Before the great cultural revolution, the hospital was controlled by a handful of capitalist roaders in the Party and bourgeois reactionary "authorities" who pushed Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in every respect. At that time, many poor and lower-middle peasants who came from far away for medical attention received very perfunctory treatment. Highly indignant, they said: "This isn't a hospital for us poor and lower-middle peasants."

Chairman Mao says: **"This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle."** The propaganda team has grasped this firmly since it entered the hospital. Following Chairman Mao's teaching: **"In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas,"** the propaganda team organized the medical staff to go to the countryside in groups to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants directly. In addition, the hospital has opened a special clinic for the poor and lower-middle peasants. It has abolished irrational regulations, such as limiting the number of daily consultations, which caused the poor and lower-middle peasants considerable inconvenience.

One poor peasant woman said happily: "I didn't use to like coming to this hospital because the procedures were too complicated for getting medical attention and medicine. We had to wait a long time and the doctors treated us very casually because we were poorly dressed and they considered us dirty. Chairman Mao's instruction that **'the working class must exercise leadership in everything'** is wonderful. Now that the hospital is led by the working class it is quite different. The doctors treat us like their kith and kin. They give us prompt attention when we come to the clinic and give us injections and medicine without delay. They are doing an excellent job."

Another poor peasant said excitedly: "It was late the night I brought my wife to the hospital, and the out-patients department was closed. But a doctor ignored his meal to give her a careful examination. He told me she needed an operation. There wasn't a vacant bed in the hospital, so he arranged a temporary lodging for us in a small room next to the out-patients clinic and lit a stove for us, too.

"My wife had a pituitary tumour and was afraid of an operation. But when she saw the comrades of the propaganda team in the operation theatre leading the doctors and nurses in reciting Chairman Mao's teaching on **servicing the people whole-heartedly**, she stopped worrying. The operation was successful. I really don't know how to express my gratitude."

The first thing the propaganda team did after entering the hospital was to promote the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. The team helped the doctors and nurses fight self-interest and implant the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly deep in their minds.

Many doctors and nurses in this hospital come from exploiting class families. Long divorced from productive labour and the masses, they did not have much feeling for the working people.

Following Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's instruction: "Without knowing what classes are, without knowing what exploitation is, one will not be able to understand revolution," the Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team made great efforts to give the medical workers class education. The team members often recounted the history of their families, so full of blood and tears, to help the medical workers understand the sufferings in the old society in contrast with the happiness of today. They also invited workers, peasants and soldiers to the hospital to give reports describing how they suffered in the old society.

P.L.A. fighter Chen Chan-wu's family worked like beasts of burden for the landlords for generations. They never owned a single house or a plot of land. Out of the family of ten, eight were brutally driven to death. Two uncles were killed by the Japanese aggressors. The Japanese gangsters threw his two aunts into a big cauldron of boiling oil after violating them. Another uncle worked for a landlord as a hirehand. Dissatisfied with the amount of firewood he had cut, the landlord cut off his arms, tied him up with rope and drowned him in a well.

This aroused the medical workers' wrath against the old society, heightened their consciousness of class struggle and deepened their feelings for the working people. They pledged never to forget the working people's past sufferings and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers all their lives, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings.

A number of patients whose ailments had been diagnosed as "incurable" and who were thrown out of the hospital came back when they heard that a propaganda team had entered the hospital. They have all received effective treatment.

One worker named Li Yen-shu had suffered from tumour of the choroid plexus of the fourth ventricle, a condition which endangered his brain. It was quite dangerous to have an operation. Deeply poisoned by the revisionist line in medical and health work, the chief doctor in charge of his case was afraid that if the operation failed his reputation would suffer. He merely made a small incision and then stitched it up.

The patient came back after the propaganda team had entered the hospital. The team members started a special Mao Tsetung Thought study class for the doctors and nurses who were handling Li Yen-shu's case. They again studied *In Memory of Norman Bethune*

to unify their thinking with Mao Tsetung Thought. The study class also roundly repudiated the renegade Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in medical and health work. The doctors and nurses realized that this patient was their class brother and what attitude they took towards a sick class brother was a major issue concerning the defence of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Treating Li Yen-shu was a stern test for every one of them in whether they were serving the people "wholly" and "entirely." All pledged to do everything they could.

In line with Chairman Mao's teachings, "strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously" and "the masses are the real heroes," the propaganda team called on the medical workers to study the case carefully and draw lessons from the previous operation. In the course of discussion three proposals on how to perform the operation were put forward, so as to cover all contingencies.

During the operation, the propaganda team put Mao Tsetung Thought in command and encouraged the medical workers to surmount one difficulty after another. After more than seven hours of intense effort, in which they had the co-operation of the entire staff, they succeeded in completely removing the tumour which had tortured the patient for four years.

With deepened understanding, the doctors said: "If we don't have a correct political point of view, we cannot bring our technique into full play. Poisoned by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line in the past we pronounced many cases incurable. Actually many could have been cured if we had done everything possible. Now that we are guided by Mao Tsetung Thought and have working-class leadership, we not only dare to treat those cases we refused to consider in the past but we can cure them."

Illuminated by the radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought, the hospital is now filled with a lively revolutionary atmosphere. The first thing the medical workers do when they come on duty is to study quotations from Chairman Mao related to the day's work. When they finish work they sum up the day's work with Mao Tsetung Thought.

In contrast to the days before the cultural revolution, portraits of Chairman Mao and placards bearing quotations from Chairman Mao are put up in the wards. Every ward runs a Mao Tsetung Thought study class where the patients fight their diseases by studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way. One young woman suffering from an abdominal tumour was very worried and did not talk much at first. After studying *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* in the study class with the help of the propaganda team, she was no longer worried and proved very co-operative during the operation. She later became head of the study group and helped other patients study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way.

Fearing Neither Hardship Nor Death

by the P.L.A. squad in which the late Wang Chieh served

PROLETARIAN revolutionaries must fear neither hardship nor death.

Comrade Wang Chieh, a good fighter of Chairman Mao's and our good squad leader, was this kind of revolutionary. Unafraid of hardship or death, he wholeheartedly worked for the revolution and gave his young life to the revolution.

Following the example of our late squad leader Wang Chieh, all of us in the squad, in revolutionizing our thinking, put fostering the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death in first place. We develop this spirit in the course of fighting self-interest and criticizing revisionism, and strengthen it in our revolutionary practice.

This spirit is the thoroughly revolutionary fearless spirit of the proletariat which has been advocated by our great leader Chairman Mao all along. It is a concentrated expression of the Party spirit of the Chinese Communists. It represents the superb state of mind and the greatest combat effectiveness of the people's army founded by Chairman Mao personally and under the direct command of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao. In the present new situation of class struggle at home and abroad, it is of paramount importance for fighters who are determined to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to profoundly understand the great teachings of Chairman Mao and to bring the revolutionary spirit of not fearing hardship nor death into full play.

The Demand of Continued Revolution

Class struggle and the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat call for the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. . . . Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place."** Practice in the

struggles fought during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has enabled us to obtain a deep understanding of the far-reaching significance of this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's. We must never forget class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must closely follow our great leader Chairman Mao in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying it through to the end.

In order to carry the revolution through to the end, we must carry forward the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. It was with this spirit that our revolutionaries of the older generation and revolutionary martyrs fought and won the red socialist state at the cost of their blood and lives during the democratic revolution period. During the socialist revolution period, we still have to pay a considerable price in waging a life-and-death struggle against the class enemies when we continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For us revolutionary fighters, this price for revolution, in the final analysis, is either hardship or death. **So long as we are unafraid of them, we can work willingly for the revolution like a "never-rusting and glistening cog" in ordinary times, and dauntlessly "brave a mountain of swords and a sea of raging flames" when revolution calls for the dedication of our lives, as our late squad leader Wang Chieh did.** With such a fearless revolutionary spirit we can surmount every difficulty, defeat all enemies and guarantee that our socialist state will never change its political colour.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: **"There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets."**

The bourgeoisie has a wide range of sugar-coated bullets. Love of pleasure and a comfortable life is one kind of sugar-coated bullet the bourgeoisie fires at us. Haven't some people been hit by such bullets? Haven't they gradually become revisionists while living in comfort? Craving for a comfortable life and continuing the revolution are as incompatible as fire and water. The more comfort one seeks, the less revolutionary will

and spirit one has. Anyone bent on a comfortable life becomes a non-revolutionary who may later go against the revolution.

In the years of war, our revolutionary comrades fought hard under poor conditions and for a long time did not get any pay. Their food was rationed — 1.5 jin of rice, 3 qian* of cooking oil and 5 qian of salt for each comrade every day, and even that was not easy to get. Despite this, the comrades were closely united and bravely fought the enemy precisely because they had the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, and none talked about seeking for comfort.

We must always uphold the glorious tradition of plain living and arduous struggle and hand it down from generation to generation. With this tradition which makes us firmly revolutionary, clear-sighted and courageous, we dare to charge through gunfire and cannot be hit by sugar-coated bullets. Casting away this tradition, working people will forget their class origin, the army will degenerate, the Party will turn revisionist and the state will change its political colour. Comrade Wang Chieh said: "It isn't happiness when one person eats and dresses well. Only when the poor all over the world live a decent life can there be real happiness." "A revolutionary fighter should not only see the whole country but also the whole world while he is in the company. He should see that there still are many, many poverty-stricken people in the world who have not been liberated and are still leading a miserable life." Wang Chieh meant what he said. He closely linked his everyday life to the lofty ideals of the revolution. He set himself a high standard politically, while in his daily life he lived on a low standard and maintained and carried forward the glorious tradition of plain living and arduous struggle. We must follow Comrade Wang Chieh's example and never forget our class origin, never indulge in comfort and always wage arduous struggles and live a simple life so as to carry the revolution through to the end.

The Demand of Preparedness Against War

Chairman Mao recently taught us: **"We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated."** Chairman Mao's great teaching enables us to understand more deeply that our task is a very glorious and arduous one. Only when we fear neither hardship

nor death and establish a firm communist world outlook, is it possible to endure the prolonged trials of class struggle and the trials of war and win the victory of the world revolution.

The most fundamental thing in preparedness against war is arming ourselves with Mao Tsetung Thought and carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of not being afraid of hardship nor death. Boggled down in political and economic crises and beset with difficulties at home and abroad, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism find themselves in an impasse. Simultaneously, they collude and contend with each other, vainly trying to redivide the world. They consider China a thorn in their flesh and repeatedly carry out armed provocations against our country. We must never ignore the danger of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression, and we must be prepared to fight a war. In his political report to the Party's Ninth National Congress, Vice-Chairman Lin instructed us: "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." From the valuable experience in winning victories in war over the past decades, we have learnt that preparedness against war means mental and material preparations, primarily the former. Being prepared mentally means not fearing hardship nor death. With this kind of preparation, we certainly can vanquish the enemy in close-range combat taking place within 200 metres. The enemy relies on planes, artillery, armoured cars and tanks. We rely on foot-soldiers, men armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, fighting at close quarters and fearing neither hardship nor death. With this revolutionary spirit we can shoot down the enemy's planes and blow up his tanks. This is the mightiest spiritual atom bomb our army has, the orientation for building our army, and the fundamental thing in being prepared against war.

In their attempt to usurp the leadership of the army and the Party and restore capitalism, the arch conspirators and careerists Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching spared no effort in advocating "putting military affairs first," "putting technique first" and the theory that "weapons decide everything." Their scheme was to prevent us from grasping this spiritual atom bomb of fearing neither hardship nor death. By his actions, our late squad leader Comrade Wang Chieh refuted the fallacies of Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching. In military training, he firmly carried out Vice-Chairman Lin's instruction to give prominence to proletarian politics and tempered his ideology and working style. He said: "Technique can be perfect only when ideology is in the lead." After we had studied the teachings of Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin on courage and not fearing death, we relentlessly criticized, in the light of Comrade Wang Chieh's spirit of heroic sacrifice and dedication to the revolution, the fallacies of Peng Teh-huai and

* 1 qian = 1/160 jin.

Lo Jui-ching, such as "putting military affairs first" and "putting technique first." This helped us realize even more deeply that in doing a good job in preparedness against war and military exercises, fostering the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death is very fundamental. With this spirit we shall be able to deal with whatever war the imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionaries launch, whether it comes early or late, be it a conventional war or a large-scale nuclear war. We shall be able to overcome all kinds of difficulties and defeat any enemy. Vice-Chairman Lin instructed us: "What is the best weapon? It is not aircraft, artillery, tanks or the atom bomb. The best weapon is Mao Tsetung Thought. What is the greatest fighting power? It is men armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and courage and not fearing to die." This instruction of Vice-Chairman Lin's most clearly, powerfully and profoundly explains the extreme importance of fearing neither hardship nor death in war.

The great leader Chairman Mao points out: "**We must be prepared. Being prepared, we shall be able to deal properly with all kinds of complicated situations.**" We must act according to Chairman Mao's teaching and be mentally prepared to be unafraid of hardship or death. If U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries insist on imposing a war on us, we are determined to fight. We shall fight them resolutely and fiercely, completely annihilate them and make still greater contributions to world revolution.

Studying and Applying Mao Tsetung Thought In a Living Way, Thoroughly Remould Our World Outlook

After Comrade Wang Chieh's heroic sacrifice, we responded to Vice-Chairman Lin's great call — "Learn from Comrade Wang Chieh, study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way and serve the revolution wholeheartedly." Taking Comrade Wang Chieh as our example, we have fostered the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, wherever we are — in the sharp class struggle, in training in preparedness against war, and in production and construction. What do we depend on to foster this spirit?

First, study Mao Tsetung Thought diligently and strive hard to apply what we are studying. Mao Tsetung Thought is the source of the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. To really master Mao Tsetung Thought, all comrades in the squad emulate what Comrade Wang Chieh did — "I will do whatever Chairman Mao says." We regard the study of Chairman Mao's works the first need in our lives, study and apply these works with the spirit of seizing the day and seizing the hour always and everywhere, and put into practice whatever we have learnt. We keep in our minds Chairman Mao's teachings on fearing neither hardship nor death, the fundamental in-

terests of the masses and the brilliant images of our heroes. We make Chairman Mao's related teachings our mottoes, repeatedly study and apply them and become capable of fearing neither hardship nor death in the interests of the people. A revolutionary fighter, we realize, can possess the fearless revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death and be invincible only when he makes Mao Tsetung Thought his soul and serves the revolution wholeheartedly without reservation.

Secondly, take the initiative to fight self-interest, continue the revolution and thoroughly remould our world outlook. The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "**This change in world outlook is something fundamental.**" We understand that the concentrated expression of the bourgeois world outlook is self-interest. When one has selfish ideas, that person is bound to fear hardship. Since he fears hardship, he is certainly afraid of death. Being afraid of death, he will not make revolution. On the contrary, the essence of the proletarian world outlook is wholehearted devotion to the public interest. Anyone devoted to the public interest will not be afraid of hardship or death. To foster the proletarian world outlook, we often actively expose and fight our self-interest, directing at the living ideas in our minds that fear hardship and fatigue. We have arrived at the understanding that one can be fearless only when one is selfless. Only when self-interest in one's innermost being is wiped out can the proletarian world outlook of fearing neither hardship nor death be established.

Thirdly, strive hard to temper ourselves and constantly foster the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death in struggle. Our great leader Chairman Mao says that to remould ideology "**you must make up your mind to undergo a long and even painful process of tempering.**" Why could Comrade Wang Chieh quickly establish the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death in the People's Liberation Army — a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought? The answer is that, guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, he was tempered under difficult circumstances and by arduous tasks in construction, production and flood-prevention for more than three years.

All of us have been brought up in the new society and none has suffered great hardship or stood the tests of big storms. This is a weak point. To overcome this weakness, we deliberately seek experience in being tested through hardship. In construction we chose the biggest rocks to carry; in production we do the hardest work. Since we had not covered great distances, we went on a military exercise which included a 500-kilometre march, fully armed. We realize that communism is a great and arduous cause, to be completed by tens of millions of people who have a lofty ideal, an iron will and the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. And this revolutionary spirit can be cultivated only through being tempered in hardship.

Full Support for Chinese Government's Just Stand on Sino-Soviet Boundary Question

— Editorial by Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*

THE Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit* published on May 28 an editorial on the May 24 Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Sino-Soviet boundary question, expressing full support for the Chinese Government's just stand on the question. The editorial reads:

The Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the truth about the Sino-Soviet boundary question, published in our press yesterday, is a document of great international importance. This statement once more illustrates, through documental evidences and historical facts, the indisputable truth about the question of the border between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. It shows the causes for the tension created. It exposes the pharisaic hypocrisy of the Moscow revisionists and their great-Russian chauvinistic policy. It denounces and condemns the anti-China criminal activity of the Soviet social-imperialists. The Government of the People's Republic of China, proceeding from its good will and sincere desire, puts forth in the statement practicable and fully just proposals so that the Sino-Soviet boundary question should be settled in an overall way through negotiations and a new agreement concluded on equal basis to replace the old unequal treaties.

This principled attitude, good will and sincere desire for a just solution of the Sino-Soviet boundary question springs from the consistent Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party and Government of the People's Republic of China, from their determined struggle to defend the just principles governing the relations between states. This attitude springs from the determined struggle of socialist China to defend her sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity against anyone who dares to violate them. It springs from her really peace-loving policy which has nothing in common with any expansionist aim detrimental to other states. The whole world has witnessed the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China, pursuing such a principled Marxist-Leninist policy, has satisfactorily settled complicated boundary questions left over by history and has concluded boundary treaties with neighbouring countries such as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Afghanistan, with the exception of the Soviet Union and India.

The principled, essentially peace-loving policy of People's China is highly appraised and strongly backed

by the revolutionary people everywhere in the world. Events have confirmed and will continue to confirm ever more clearly that the People's Republic of China never says one thing and does another, that it resolutely strives for real peace and international security. The great China of Mao Tsetung has become the most staunch, powerful and sincere defender of the freedom and independence of the peoples, of their struggle for the preservation and strengthening of national sovereignty, against the plots and hegemonic and enslaving plans of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. It is an indisputable fact that the People's Republic of China has not a single inch of foreign land on its territory and not a single soldier or military base on the territory of any other country.

The numerous documental evidences and facts put forth in the Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China clearly indicate that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government have always stood for the settlement of the Sino-Soviet boundary question through diplomatic channels and through negotiations and for the maintenance of the status quo of the boundary and for avoiding conflicts pending a settlement. But the Soviet revisionist leaders have been motivated by quite different aims and have acted quite differently on this question. The Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China, mirroring the truth as it is, tears off and smashes to smithereens the mask of "peace" of the new tsars in the Kremlin. It thoroughly exposes their hypocrisy and demagogy. It shows up their real countenance as chauvinists and social-fascists. It puts them on the pillory. It shows that they are fully responsible for the tension they have created on the Sino-Soviet border.

The chauvinistic attitude of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique and its expansionist aims detrimental to the People's Republic of China are not an isolated episode. The attitude of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is the logical and inevitable outcome of its treacherous policy. It stems from the Soviet-U.S. "holy" alliance for the domination of the world by the two "super-powers" and for the suffocation of revolution and socialism. It is not accidental that both parties, the chiefs of U.S. imperialism as well as those of Soviet revisionism, have spearheaded the main sword-edge of their counter-revolutionary strategy against People's China. The People's Republic of China has become a steel-like for-

tress, an insurmountable obstacle to the realization of the imperialist-revisionist plans to subjugate and enslave other peoples. That is why both Washington and Moscow are doing everything in their power, secretly and openly, each doing its part but in accordance with a co-ordinated plan, to undermine the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China. They are doing their utmost to extend and strengthen the U.S.-Soviet "fire ring" around the People's Republic of China. The brilliant victories of the Chinese people in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the triumph of the revolutionary line of the Communist Party of China, of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of Mao Tsetung, the shattering of the hopes to take the Chinese fortress from within through the hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, the all-round strengthening of the People's Republic of China — all this has worried and infuriated U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

Infuriated by their successive defeats, the Kremlin revisionists became uncontrollable in their all-round anti-China activity. They passed from calumnies and plots to open acts of aggression, to criminal actions on the Chinese border. Their armed attacks on March 2 and 15 on China's Chenpao Island were another proof of the social-imperialist character of the Soviet revisionist clique. This clique of renegades, sticking obdurately to its nationalist and chauvinistic policy, not only is seeking to justify the aggression committed by tsarist Russia which occupied more than 1,500,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory and forced unequal treaties on China, but has gone even further. On the order of the Brezhnev-Kosygin traitorous group, the Soviet border troops are pushing their line of observation deeply into the Chinese territory where they enter like bandits, commit heinous crimes and abduct Chinese border inhabitants. The Soviet revisionists, like the new imperialists, are trying to stretch their bloody claws farther than what tsarist Russia did. It is a publicly known fact that they have transformed some countries in Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of Mongolia into dependent and semi-colonial countries, into their military bases. They launched open aggression of a fascist type against Czechoslovakia and are keeping her occupied under their heel. In order to cover up this crime, the Moscow revisionists have worked out all sorts of "theories" and "doctrines." Brezhnev's neo-fascist doctrine of "limited sovereignty" is nothing but an effort to justify any aggression, occupation and adventure that the new Kremlin tsars may undertake against other sovereign countries. Included also in the policy of pressure and blackmail, aggression and new occupation are the show of strength of the Soviet military fleet in the Mediterranean, the threats against Rumania and Yugoslavia, and the frantic hostile campaign against socialist Albania.

The aggressive, counter-revolutionary and anti-China policy and actions of the Soviet revisionist leadership differ by no means from those of U.S. imperialism. In fact, the policy and actions of both sides in their efforts to strangle revolution and socialism and to estab-

lish their world hegemony are more and more integrating and co-ordinating with each other. It is not a coincidence that the main political and military leaders of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism visited at the same time the very countries that are near the People's Republic of China. Such visits have become even more frequent recently. This happened recently in India where the revisionist Kosygin and high U.S. officials were present at the same time. The same also happened in Thailand and Afghanistan. These visits are previously planned in the White House and the Kremlin having as their main target the co-ordination of anti-China activities and the hatching of new plots against the People's Republic of China.

This criminal anti-China activity as a whole thoroughly exposes the demagogic declarations of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique on its alleged readiness to solve the Sino-Soviet border conflict. It needs this hypocritical trick to hoodwink its own people and other peoples, as well as to use it as a capital in the anti-China campaign prior to the revisionist meeting on June 5 in Moscow. But everybody sees that the Soviet revisionist leadership, following the example of its partner, the Nixon Administration, speaks in the language of a "peacemaker," while it continues in deed to carry out provocations, plots and aggressive acts. If the Moscow revisionists think that threats, blackmail and provocations can intimidate and bring the Chinese people to their knees, they are daydreaming. The Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China is a serious warning, a resolute rebuff to the policy of war and nuclear blackmail of the Soviet revisionists. "Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," the Statement emphasizes, "the 700 million Chinese people are not to be bullied." The Chinese people do not fear the blackmail of their enemies. They possess everything they need to give telling counter-blows to any aggressor or coalition of aggressors who would dare to raise their hand against the Chinese people's socialist homeland.

The Albanian people have always highly appraised the principled Marxist-Leninist policy of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese Government. This policy is always aimed at maintaining peace and real security in the world, the defence of freedom, independence and the sovereign rights of the peoples. The initiatives, struggle and efforts of the great China of Mao Tsetung on the international arena have always served and are serving this lofty goal. The Statement of the Chinese Government on the truth about the Sino-Soviet boundary question is another proof of this. Our people, close comrades-in-arms of the Chinese people in the struggle for the same ideals, for the cause of revolution and socialism, and against the same enemies — imperialism, revisionism and reaction — hail and fully support the principled and firm stand of the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Statement of the Chinese Government is a just, dignified and determined answer to the Moscow social-imperialists.

Down With the New Tsars!

If They Insist on Fighting, We Will Keep Them Company and Fight To the Finish

by Hsu Lien-wen, Deputy Political Instructor
of a Frontier Guard Unit in Chenpao
Island Area

THE full-length documentary *The New Tsars' Anti-China Atrocities* records the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's numerous flagrant anti-China crimes on the Wusuli and Heilung Rivers. It warmly sings the praises of the heroic spirit of daring to struggle and daring to win displayed by our armymen and civilians in the border areas and exposes to all the real paper-tiger features of Soviet revisionism. Over the past years, we fighters guarding the motherland's borders have seen with our own eyes the countless intrusions and provocations committed by the Soviet revisionist new tsars against our country; what the film shows is only a small portion of these crimes.

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." The reality of the struggles which our armymen and civilians in the Chenpao Island area waged against the intruding Soviet revisionist ruffians has borne out the incomparable correctness of this brilliant thesis of our great leader Chairman Mao. We have personally seen how the new tsars in the Kremlin have completely cast away the glorious tradition of the Soviet Red Army, an army which was built by the great teacher Lenin. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique beguiles its soldiers by political deception and corrupts them by material allurements, and relations between officers and men are most unequal. Such an army can only resort to lies and deception to cover up its aggressive nature and rely on junky "tortoise shells" [tanks and armoured vehicles — Tr.], aircraft and heavy artillery to cover up its weakness. We have seen for ourselves how every time it makes provocations it first comes full of bluster, but as soon as it is confronted by the determined struggle waged by our armymen and civilians then it shows itself as nothing but a paper tiger and makes itself a laughing stock for all.

On one occasion, when four of our comrades-in-arms were patrolling Kapotzu Island, which is on the Wusuli River and has always been Chinese territory, a Soviet revisionist bad egg Captain "Limpy" hastily led seven of his frontier troops to unwarrantedly obstruct us. Holding aloft their treasured red books — *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* — our comrades-in-arms told them off so forcefully that they became silent because there was nothing they could say. Our fighters making up the patrol then marched proudly and heroically on along their normal patrol route. This threw the Soviet revisionist captain into a panic. He waved his cap to the Soviet side of the river bank and then fired his signal pistol. Soon another 14 Soviet revisionist frontier troops came over with a scoundrel in civilian clothes to try and make trouble. The comrades in our patrol firmly stood their ground and angrily stared at this gang of ruffians. When another of our patrols passed this place at noon, the scoundrel in civilian clothes, seeing an increase in our numbers, fearfully sneaked back into his car and raced away. Fourteen more Soviet frontier troops were brought up, and they set up their machineguns and sent aircraft overhead. Then two more cars came and a pot-bellied Soviet revisionist colonel and three majors heaved themselves out. What a show of arrogance and bluster it was.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must never be cowed by the bluster of reactionaries." We confronted the machineguns and aircraft by loudly reading out in unison quotations from Chairman Mao and stood with granite resolve and as firm as Mount Tai. We relied on invincible Mao Tsetung Thought to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them. Seeing us propagating Mao Tsetung Thought, the Soviet revisionist colonel was greatly alarmed and did everything he could to make trouble. The comrades in the patrol held up their treasured red books and used reasoning in the struggle. They solemnly pointed out that Kapotzu Island lies on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel of the Wusuli River and has always been China's sacred territory and sternly denounced the Soviet revisionist frontier troops' intrusion and acts of provocations. This reasoning things out made some of the Soviet soldiers nod in agreement while the Soviet revisionist colonel could find no answer to the questions we asked. He was at a complete loss for words and was badly embarrassed. We immediately shouted slogans and,

like an owl fearing the bright sunlight, the frightened Soviet revisionist colonel slunk back into his car and fled with his tail between his legs.

On March 2 and 15 this year, as the film shows, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique committed new crimes in the Chenpao Island area, which is China's territory. Time and again it sent troops to intrude into our Chenpao Island and, the first to open fire on our patrol, they killed and wounded many of our beloved comrades. They thus created a grave incident of bloodshed. However, the bigger the rock they lift, the heavier it crushes their feet; and the higher they climb in their anti-China ladder, the worse their fall. **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack."** Pressed beyond the limit of our forbearance, we were compelled to fight back in self-defence. On behalf of the people of the motherland, we gave the Soviet revisionist invaders the punishment they deserved and triumphantly defended the sacred territory of our motherland. In the combat, we saw with our own eyes the jam the Soviet revisionist invaders were in under our counter-blows in self-defence. To cope with our small patrol, they had to send large numbers of tanks, armoured cars and aircraft and opened up with all sorts of artillery and poured steel on to the island. This desperate move was nothing but a show of force to cover up their cowardice. We saw with our own eyes how, despite their large numbers, their tanks sat timidly in the field like tortoises trembling under their shells and dared not move forward. As soon as we flung our first hand-grenade their tankmen lost their heads and the motor of the leading tank conked out and it was stranded. We also saw how the Soviet revisionist invaders, despite orders from their boss, hid themselves behind their armoured cars and refused to come out and fight when their cronies met with an ignominious end. . . . All this was a complete exposure of the feeble paper-tiger nature of the Soviet revisionist "toughs."

As Vice-Chairman Lin has 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."

**"Our defence was strong as a wall already,
Now did our wills unite like a fortress."**

Together with the hundreds of millions of armymen and civilians in the country, we frontier guards of the Chenpao Island area will resolutely carry out the combat order of our deputy supreme commander Lin: If they insist on fighting, we will keep them company and fight to the finish. We will resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out all aggressors who dare invade the sacred territory of our socialist motherland, whether they be the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionist

social-imperialists or their lackeys of all descriptions, whether they come from the east, west, north or south, and whether they come by land, sea or air.

A Mountain of Iron-Clad Evidence

by Chang Chia-yuan, Chang Shao-pin and
Huang Chih-kang, Cameramen of the Central
Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio

OUR great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces."** In scene after scene the full-length documentary *The New Tsars' Anti-China Atrocities* exposes the anti-China crimes committed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and shows these social-imperialists up as real pirates. As cameramen shooting this documentary film, we saw with our own eyes how the Soviet revisionist anti-China mountebanks committed numerous anti-China atrocities in our border areas and how, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, our fishermen heroically struggled against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Seething with wrath, we felt it our duty to record the scenes of struggle as testimony to history.

Since usurping the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been sitting on the backs of the people and brutally suppressing the revolutionary masses at home while collaborating with U.S. imperialism abroad in an attempt to redivide the world. This clique sees in the great socialist China a thorn in its side. In active collusion with U.S. imperialism to oppose China, it has massed troops along the Sino-Soviet border, put up line after line of barbed-wire fences and built open and hidden fortifications of all sorts there, and kept intruding into China's territory and air space and carrying out armed provocations.

Chinese fishermen normally catch salmon in the Wusuli River between August and September every year. They have done this for generations. However, in the last few years the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has sent gunboats of all sizes to prowl the river during every fishing season and they rush back and forth to disrupt the fishing and endanger the lives of our fishermen. They also used specially made large-size hooks to rip up our fishing nets. All in all the Soviet revisionist pirates destroyed more than 3,000 metres of our nylon fishing nets in 1967.

There have been many other cases of piracy by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Towards the end of September 1968, a Chinese freighter was on its regular

run on the Heilung River when it was suddenly intercepted by five gunboats sent by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Dozens of fully armed Soviet soldiers forcibly boarded the ship and stuffed themselves with all the food they could seize. By the time they left, they had plundered all the goods the ship carried, including the Chinese crew members' personal possessions.

All these anti-China crimes committed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique prove to the hilt that it is a gang of new-type cut-throats in the 60s who are out-and-out social-imperialists.

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: **"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.** The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is just such a pack of fools. Time and again they sent Soviet troops to kidnap Chinese fishermen at work and use threats and bribery to try and extract information from them about China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But all their criminal attempts were dismal failures. What they heard from the Chinese fishermen were cheers of "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!" and the singing of songs based on quotations from Chairman Mao such as **"All reactionaries are paper tigers"** and **"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."** When Soviet revisionist officers asked a Chinese fisherman for his name, he replied: "My name is — 'Down with Soviet revisionism.'" While detained, the Chinese fishermen spread invincible Mao Tsetung Thought among the Soviet soldiers and exposed the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in betraying Leninism and the Soviet people. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has bragged a lot about its "achievements." But the kidnapped Chinese fishermen found that the Soviet people and soldiers usually had to eat coarse black bread and use imported matches and other daily necessities. With these facts the Chinese fishermen exposed the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's deception of the Soviet people. They also publicized the great achievements of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. . . . In the face of these courageous kidnapped Chinese fishermen, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique did not know what to do and was often compelled to hand them back.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique not only makes trouble on the water. It also thrusts its aggressive claws into China's islands. Situated on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel of the Heilung River, Wupalao Island has always been Chinese territory. The island is named after an old man called Wu Pa-lao who once lived there. The grandson of the old man, who was buried on the island after he died, is still alive. On August 24, 1967, while a dozen Chinese fishermen were cutting firewood on Wupalao Island, a group of fully armed Soviet troops intruded into the island and prevented them from doing this.

The fishermen showed their courage against brute force by struggling with the Soviet soldiers through reasoning. Because truth and justice were on our side, some of the Soviet soldiers had to admit that Wupalao Island is Chinese territory. But they still wanted the fishermen to leave the island because, they said, it was Moscow's orders, and they would have to look out for their own skins if they didn't carry them out. The Chinese fishermen talked to them from 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. and the Soviet soldiers did not know how to answer them. Later, Soviet revisionist officers arrived by helicopter to take charge of the operation. Armed with great Mao Tsetung Thought, the Chinese fishermen courageously took on these little bosses who found themselves without a single argument. In the end, they spitefully ordered the Soviet troops to throw the Chinese fishermen's tools and clothes into the river and push them one by one into the water. However, neither violence nor the bitter cold could cow the fishermen. Though standing in the water, they held aloft their treasured red books, sang songs based on quotations from Chairman Mao and continued to struggle by strongly protesting against the Soviet revisionists' fascist atrocities.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."** The Chinese and Soviet peoples have forged a profound militant friendship in the course of protracted struggles. In the Soviet Union, it is only the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which rabidly opposes China. These revisionists are merely a handful and they are very unpopular and are resisted by the Soviet people. When we met Soviet vessels while sailing on the Wusuli and Heilung Rivers, there were always some Soviet people who managed to escape the watchful eye of the special agents of the Soviet revisionists and waved to us in greeting. Whenever our fishermen were kidnapped by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to its side of the border, the Soviet people would send them snacks and sweets to express their friendship for the Chinese people. Soviet soldiers often told our fishermen which of the Soviet gunboats behaved the worst and who among the Soviet revisionist local chieftains were the most brutal. In the absence of their officers, many Soviet soldiers cursed Brezhnev as an arch renegade and asked the fishermen for Chairman Mao badges and copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung*. Some Soviet soldiers presented Lenin badges to Chinese fishermen and cheered in Russian or Chinese "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" when they received Chairman Mao badges. There were also cases of Soviet soldiers who pulled Chinese fishermen aside to say "Long live Chairman Mao!" to them in a low voice.

We are convinced that, with the tradition of the October Revolution behind them, the great Soviet peo-

ple will surely rise up one day and rebel against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Soviet revisionist rule will not last long!

Rapping the Anti-China Buffoon Simonov

by Chou Hsiang-tung and Cheng Huai-nan,
Red Guards of the Wuhan Iron and
Steel Institute

AFTER the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was duly punished for frantically pursuing its social-imperialist policy of aggression and staging repeated armed intrusions into China's sacred territory—the Chenpao Island area—the pack of vicious curs reared by the Soviet revisionist new tsars vied with one another in making anti-China yaps. Fiercest among them and barking the loudest is Konstantin Simonov, a hired scribbler of the Soviet renegade clique.

In a series of articles in recent issues of *Pravda*, the anti-China buffoon Simonov openly came out in defence of the old tsars. He alleged that the Russians had been the first to “settle” and “open up” the Chinese territory seized by tsarist Russia. This is a barefaced lie. The “Sino-Russian Treaty of Nipchu” of September 8, 1689 stipulates that the Erhkuna River, the Gorbitza River and the Outer Khingan Mountains form the eastern sector of the Sino-Russian boundary and that the vast expanse north of the Heilung River, south of the Outer Khingan Mountains and east of the Wusuli River is Chinese territory. The May 28, 1858 “Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun,” which tsarist Russia imposed on the government of the Ching Dynasty by force of arms, and the November 14, 1860 “Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking,” which was forced on the government of the Ching Dynasty, wrested from China vast expanses of territory north of the Heilung River and east of the Wusuli River. This is an irrefutable historical fact which can never be obliterated.

Let Simonov hear the stern voice of the teachers of the world proletarian revolution who denounced tsarist Russia's aggression against China. Marx pointed out in no uncertain terms in 1857 and 1858 that the Opium War of 1840 was followed by “the successful encroachment of Russia from the north” on China, and Russia “took possession of the banks of the River Amur [the Heilung River—*Tr.*], the native country of the present ruling race [the Manchu—*Ed.*] in China.” After the signing of the “Sino-Russian Treaty of Aigun,” Engels penetratingly pointed out: “When at last England resolved to carry the war to Peking, and when France joined her in the hope of picking up something to her advantage,” Russia despoiled “China of a country as large as France and Germany put together, and of a river as large as the Danube.” The great Lenin also stated that the aim of the Russian imperialist

policy in Asia was “to seize the whole of Persia, complete the partition of China.” Were not these denunciations of the old tsars by Marx, Engels and Lenin a powerful proof of tsarist Russia's repeated annexation of large tracts of Chinese territory? History has relentlessly and thoroughly exposed the lies of this buffoon Simonov. It will for ever ridicule Simonov and castigate him and his like as shameless apologists for the old tsars.

To realize the rabid ambitions of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the anti-China clown Simonov time and again yelled that “war might break out” between China and the Soviet Union. He clamoured that the Soviet revisionists would help the Mongolian People's Republic to “defend” her borders with China. He said, “There is also the 4,000-kilometre frontier between China and the People's Republic of Mongolia, a frontier which we have promised to defend as our own in case of need.” Here Simonov regards the frontiers of the People's Republic of Mongolia as the frontiers of the Soviet Union, thus incorporating Mongolia into the territory of the Soviet Union. In the eyes of the Soviet revisionists, Mongolia is merely their colony. The arrogance of these social-imperialist gangsters is as clear as day.

The great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: “The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways.”

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism will not take its defeat lying down, either. Simonov, its trumpeter, has blatantly howled for a new war. “We know how to handle weapons,” he vociferated. Simonov barks up the wrong tree when he attempts to frighten the Chinese people with such war threats. Let Simonov and his like take notice: The great Chinese people also know how to handle weapons. We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. Should the Soviet revisionist renegades dare to encroach upon China's sacred territory, the hundreds of millions of Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will smash their thick skulls to smithereens.

The anti-China clown Simonov also smugly declared that he “would have to come here (meaning the Sino-Soviet border area) again as a war correspondent.” His readiness to serve in the new tsars' war of aggression proves that he is both a pious scion of the old tsars and a loyal lackey of the new ones.

It is enough to make one laugh one's head off to find Simonov passing himself off as a “patriot.” Actually, he is a coward and a shameless traitor to the Soviet people. In his so-called *War Diary* depicting the Soviet-German War, he confessed that he had been

scared stiff and was "almost in despair" in late June 1941 when this war broke out. A year later, that is, in August 1942, when the editorial department of *Krasnaya Zvezda* told him to fly to Stalingrad, he recalled: "I felt a shudder running down my spine. It seemed that I was afraid of the trip." In 1943 when the Red Army started the offensive along the whole front, he was still filled with "sadness" and "terror" and was "afraid" of a possible summer offensive by the Germans. Victory was already in sight at the end of 1944, but Simonov still could not repress a cry of fear when he wrote: "There are so many dreadful things in my memory. . . ." In *Those Alive and Dead* and *Soldiers Are Not Born* — two of his poisonous novels — Simonov openly lauded the "victories" of the Hitlerite brigands and praised the "might" of German fascism. Aren't these ignomi-

nious records enough to show that he is a traitor devoid of all sense of shame? Small wonder that he has now come out to beat the drums for the revisionist new tsars.

To quote a few lines from one of Chairman Mao's poems:

On this tiny globe

A few flies dash themselves against the wall,

Humming without cease,

Sometimes shrilling,

Sometimes moaning.

Simonov's anti-China howlings are nothing but the shrilling and moaning of flies.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Rallying Peasant Masses for an Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Feudal Revolution

— Communist Party of Bolivia Issues Draft Peasant-Agrarian Programme

AFTER an extended investigation in the rural areas throughout Bolivia, the Communist Party of Bolivia has issued the Party's Draft Peasant-Agrarian Programme. The Draft Programme points out that Bolivia is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country exploited and dominated by U.S. imperialism. The aim of the struggle for national liberation in Bolivia is to get rid of imperialist domination and abolish the feudal relations of production in the countryside. In waging this struggle, it is necessary to have the leadership of the working class and its Party, and to establish a broad front of the people's forces based on the worker-peasant alliance and to direct the spearhead of the struggle at the imperialists and the rulers they sustain. The only road for the national-liberation struggle is armed struggle and the fundamental prerequisite for winning people's war is to rely firmly on the peasants under the leadership of the proletarian party.

After recounting the history of the ruthless plunder of the Bolivian people by both the old and new colonialists and the formation of various relations of exploitation in Bolivia, the Draft Programme points out that at present Bolivia is a country under the exploitation and domination of U.S. imperialism and that feudal relations of production still exist in the countryside. Because it is subject to these exploitations, Bolivia has the characteristics of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country and is extremely backward in all as-

pects of its social, economic and cultural life. Therefore, the aim of the struggle for national liberation in Bolivia should be to get rid of imperialist domination and abolish the feudal relations of production in the countryside. This struggle is a revolution which has the characteristics of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism.

The Draft Programme then points out that U.S. imperialism has controlled all aspects of national life in Bolivia and it has exercised absolute control over the Bolivian economy. U.S. companies have monopolized the wealth of Bolivia, especially petroleum and other mineral resources. Such economic control determines Bolivia's political dependence. Although the successive governments of Bolivia had a variety of policies, all have been loyal representatives of imperialist rule in Bolivia.

U.S. imperialism has even stationed regular troops on Bolivian territory and carried out wanton aggression and penetration in the cultural field. It can be said that there is not a single organization or institution in Bolivia that is not controlled by U.S. "experts."

The Draft Programme points out that Bolivia's economy is built on the basis of the extraction and export of minerals and on agriculture. These two branches of production, which provide the greater part of the country's income, determine the nature of Bolivia as a

dependent country. What is called national industry is simply a subsidiary of foreign industry. On the other hand, agriculture is extremely backward. Semi-industrialized farm production accounts for less than 5 per cent of the country's total farm production.

Analysing the conditions of the different nationalities in the country, the Draft Programme notes that to make Bolivia, which has many nationalities, a free state, it is necessary to free the oppressed nationalities from the control of foreign and domestic exploiters. And this can be realized only by making revolution under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Draft Programme makes the following analysis of the different classes in rural Bolivia:

Poor peasants account for the overwhelming majority of the peasant population in the country. They have little land or are landless hired hands and work in conditions dominated by the feudal relations of production. Like the rubber plantation workers, chestnut pickers and cowherds, the poor peasants are subjected to exploitation by big rubber latifundists, usurious merchants and stock-farm owners, and have no social rights whatsoever. Poor peasants, rubber estate workers, chestnut pickers, hired hands, cowherds and so on and those who have small plots of land constitute 60 per cent of the peasant population.

The rural proletariat sell their labour power in agricultural and stock-breeding industrial enterprises. They are wage-earners. This class is just in the process of formation; therefore its number is small and only accounts for 3 or 4 per cent of the peasant population. Politically, this class is of inestimable significance because of its degree of organization and political consciousness. Thus, it can be affirmed that it is the most advanced class in the rural areas. Its interests are closely linked with those of the poor peasants.

Middle peasants are owners of small plots of land on which they work with their families. They do not hire permanent hands and the yield on their land is very low. To meet their minimum needs, most have to engage in some handicraft labour and some in petty trading. Both the price and quantity of the products they sell are subject to control. To a large extent, these peasants are victims of U.S. imperialism's economic competition. Under the signboard of "U.S. aid," U.S. imperialism dumps its surplus agricultural products in Bolivia, wrecking the production of the Bolivian peasants. The middle peasants have antagonistic contradictions with the dictatorial government and imperialism and are a natural ally of the poor peasants and the urban and rural proletariat. The middle peasants presently account for 18 per cent of the rural population.

The rich peasants consist of the proprietors who own medium-sized or larger estates. They preserve the feudal relations of production. They constitute 3 per cent of the rural population, but possess more than 25 per cent of the arable land.

The latifundists occupy the best land and preserve the feudal relations in labour and production. A latifundist usually owns more than 1,000 hectares of land.

The Bolivian Government carried out a so-called land reform in 1953, but this "reform" was mainly aimed at protecting the big landed property. Although the "land reform act" provides that capitalist type investments should be made in the latifundia, the latifundists actually maintain the feudal and semi-capitalist relations of production in the guise of "agricultural enterprises" and thus keep their land. The "land reform act" also protects the feudal relations in exploitation in the form of reclamation and partnership systems.

The agrarian bourgeoisie is composed of owners of agricultural and stock-breeding enterprises which usually maintain a mixture of feudal and capitalist production relations. The agrarian bourgeoisie is entirely under the control of imperialist capital, and this class has come into being with the support of loans from U.S. institutions. The agrarian bourgeoisie constitutes only 1 per cent of the rural population and possesses 10 per cent of the land.

The rural usurers are made up of traders who, taking advantage of the poverty of the peasants, buy farm and animal products at very low prices and sell them in the towns at high prices. At present, the usurers control nearly 80 per cent of the production by the middle peasants.

The Draft Programme points out that the basic contradictions among the classes in the Bolivian countryside are: the contradiction between the poor peasants with little or no land and the wage-earning peasants on the one hand and the latifundists, the agrarian bourgeoisie, the rich peasants and the rural usurers on the other; the contradiction between the middle peasants on the one hand and the latifundists, the agrarian bourgeoisie and the rural usurers on the other. In addition, there are contradictions between the poor peasants with little or no land, the wage-earning peasants and the middle peasants on the one hand and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie on the other, and between the poor peasants with little or no land, the wage-earning peasants and the middle peasants on the one hand and the imperialist monopolies on the other.

The Draft Programme incisively bares through numerous facts the reactionary contents of the so-called land reform carried out in Bolivia in 1953. It stresses: To make a land reform a true instrument of revolution, it is imperative to have it directed against the interests of the latifundists and the other rural exploiting classes which maintain the feudal relations of production and against the rural capitalists linked with the imperialist interests. That is to say, it should be made an instrument of the struggle for national liberation. Therefore, the land reform cannot be separated from this struggle, otherwise the problems of the reform itself cannot be solved.

Referring to the current situation in the Bolivian rural areas, the Draft Programme points out that the existence of the latifundia and the feudal relations of production is characteristic of the countryside where the broad peasant masses possess no land or miserably little land and have no markets for their produce. There is worsening poverty in the countryside and large groups of peasants are flowing into the cities seeking subsistence. In addition, they are subjected to constant repression by the pro-imperialist military dictatorship.

The Draft Programme strongly denounces the U.S. imperialists who, by passing themselves off as carriers of civilization and benefactors, are increasingly penetrating into and exerting tighter control over the Bolivian rural areas through the "peace corps," "missionary" organizations and other agencies of the United States and the United Nations, and are vainly attempting to stamp out the flames of the peasant revolution against imperialism and feudalism. In a strong appeal, the Draft Programme states that it is necessary to unite the broad masses of the poor peasants, the rural proletariat and the middle peasants to fight against the U.S. imperialists and their allies in Bolivia. It is necessary to unite the exploited peasants and form a revolutionary force capable of winning final victory.

The Draft Programme emphatically points out that the worker-peasant alliance is the pillar in the national-liberation struggle for establishing a democratic people's government which will carry out an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist programme. The most exploited class, the Bolivian working class, has the highest political level and the highest degree of organization; it is the only class which can guarantee the complete liberation of the peasants. A front of the classes and forces of the people in Bolivia functions only when it is led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Bolivia.

The Draft Programme stresses: People's war is the road to the liberation of the proletariat, the peasantry and the other people's revolutionary forces. To win complete liberation of the peasantry and the masses of the urban people from foreign exploitation and the rule of the domestic reactionaries, it is imperative to unfold a tenacious fight to destroy all of the oppressive apparatus imposed by the imperialists and establish a new regime with a new apparatus serving the people. There can be no real liberation without liquidating the reactionary state apparatus and expelling the imperialists. It is now up to the Communist Party of Bolivia to proclaim clearly the road to follow in achieving this purpose—the seizure of power for the people. Comrade Mao Tsetung says correctly: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally." In the present conditions in which the exploited Bolivian people are living, their only way to liberation is armed struggle. The peaceful means advertised by the revisionists will only lead the people away from their true revolutionary objectives.

The Draft Programme lays down a series of principles governing the armed struggle:

The struggle should be directed against the enemies of the people and against the imperialists and the Bolivian rulers who are sustained by them. This struggle should resolve two fundamental contradictions: The contradiction between imperialism and the Bolivian nation and the contradiction between the masses of the poor and the middle strata in the countryside and cities on the one hand and bureaucrat-capitalism and the reactionaries who have usurped state power on the other.

The majority of people should be united in a broad front of the classes and forces of the people, based on the worker-peasant alliance.

Another fundamental prerequisite for the success of people's war is to rely firmly on the peasants as its basis under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. The peasants, by their numbers and the extent of exploitation from which they suffer, are a natural ally of the working class and will be the main force in carrying out people's war. The proletariat will not be able to achieve liberation without the peasants, nor can the peasants win real liberation without the proletariat. Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out: "It is essential to rely mainly on the peasants if the people's war is to be won." The experience of the guerrilla movement in the southeastern part of Bolivia has fully confirmed this Marxist-Leninist thesis on the importance of the peasants, for the principal error of the guerrilla force was that it neglected the role of the peasants, failed to win their support and did not carry out intensive political work among them.

To carry on a people's war, there must be a well organized army endowed with firm political qualities; a revolutionary army, composed of revolutionary workers, peasants and other patriots, is the real guarantee for the defence of the people's interests. Comrade Mao Tsetung has said: "Without a people's army the people have nothing."

The people's army should apply the strategy and tactics of people's war. It should, under the leadership of the Party, accommodate its strategy and tactics to concrete objectives of the people's war and to the conditions in Bolivia. This army should be prepared to carry on a protracted war against the people's enemies.

To carry on political and military work among the masses, it is necessary to have a clear and definite programme. This programme should particularly stress the peasant problem and thus rally the masses of the peasants around the Party and the new-type people's army.

The Draft Programme points out that only when the Bolivian peasants, the proletariat and the revolutionary forces have seized state power can Bolivia attain complete national independence, have all its resources and forces under its exclusive control and establish an anti-imperialist, democratic people's government.

The Draft Peasant-Agrarian Programme of the Communist Party of Bolivia sets forth the objectives of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal agrarian revolution as follows: eliminate completely the latifundium and the feudal relations of production in the countryside; confiscate agricultural enterprises connected with foreign capital and protect those of national capital; confiscate the land of those rich peasants who preserve feudal exploitation and guarantee the properties of those rich peasants who have abolished feudal

exploitation; distribute land gratis to those peasants who have little or no land; protect and guarantee medium-sized property in the countryside; guide and encourage the small and middle peasants to develop collective ownership of land on a strictly voluntary basis; establish state farms for agricultural production and stock-breeding; restore and improve the community system of the Indians; and abrogate the debts to imperialist agencies and usurers owed by the peasants in the colonization areas.

Building a Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat

— Excerpts From an Article by Organ of Ecuadorian Marxist-Leninist Communist Party

THE weekly *En Marcha*, organ of the Ecuadorian Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, has published an article entitled "Building of a Revolutionary Party" in instalments. The article pointed out that to achieve victory in the revolution, it is essential to build a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party which must firmly rely on the masses, forge close links with them, and lead them in launching armed struggle to seize political power. It also pointed out that to build a revolutionary party, it is necessary to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of a given country, constantly sum up the experience of struggle and strengthen the political and ideological education of the party members so that they will actively take part in the mass struggle for liberation.

The article said: "Without a revolutionary party, revolution is an empty word. Without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, it is impossible to think of victory in the revolution."

It said: "There are only two roads in party building: One leads to revisionism, treachery, betrayal and collaboration with imperialism, and the other, to revolution, consolidation and safeguarding of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The first road goes against the interests of the people while the second most faithfully represents the aspirations and needs of the people."

The article pointed out: "The party is an instrument of class struggle and represents the interests of a specific class." "If a party does not represent the interests of the proletariat, it is not a genuine revolutionary party. As it represents the interests of the proletariat, which is the most revolutionary class, the party has taken in and synthesized the interests of the great majority of the people. Therefore, we affirm that the party of the proletariat is most loyal and consistent in serving the people's cause."

It said: "To have faith in the masses and to have faith in the party are two closely linked key principles. Without the party, the masses are wanting in guidance

and will lose their orientation and become paralysed in their struggle against the enemy. Without the masses, there will be no reason for the party to exist, and it will degenerate and die out. It is necessary to have faith in the masses, to rely on them steadfastly and to integrate with them."

The article noted: "The revolution of Ecuador, as we have said, will be a new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat, and this revolution is in essence a peasant war. Therefore, the party should strike deep roots in the rural areas if it wants to mobilize the peasant masses and to make revolution."

The article said: The party will be consolidated and will develop in the course of armed struggle. Without armed struggle there will be no place for the proletariat and its party. "Without a people's army the people have nothing." It is imperative to have faith that the masses can liberate themselves. The revolution cannot gain victory by relying on a few "heroes" or even on the most up-to-date armaments. Without the masses as the mainstay, no armed struggle can achieve victory. All the opportunists, Right or "Left," are afraid of doing mass work. They talk of revolution, but they evade going among the masses. If the party maintains close links with the people, the victory of revolution is secure.

The article said: "To build a party into one capable of leading our people in a war against their executioners, it is necessary to build it on a firm political and ideological basis; it is necessary to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete reality of Ecuador and to integrate Mao Tsetung Thought, Marxism-Leninism of our time, with the concrete conditions of our country."

It added: "In the actual struggle, it is necessary to sum up experiences constantly and to raise them to the level of theory. It is necessary to create and accumulate experience in our own country. This constant summing up and accumulation of experiences must be done from the Marxist-Leninist point of view."

The article said: To ensure that the party will be a proletarian party and will loyally serve the interests of the people, it is imperative to do a good job in selecting party members and strengthen their education. The selection must be made in the course of mass struggle and class confrontation, in which we shall discover the fine sons and daughters of the people, the most valiant and selfless, and those with the greatest firmness and determination. It is necessary to help them so that they can be admitted into the party. In recruiting new party members, special attention should be paid to their class origin.

The article said: "While enlarging the ranks of the party, it is necessary to launch an extensive political education campaign, and study Marxism-Leninism with the sole purpose of applying it to our country's concrete conditions. Party members should actively participate in the mass struggle for liberation."

In conclusion, the article said: "Only a party made up of people with such qualities can become an invincible party, a party capable of mobilizing the people and arousing them to bitter struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society."

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Has Tempered Us

by Yang Han-tang and Li Ching-kuo

Fighters of the company in which the late Chiu Shao-yun served

IN his political report to the Party's Ninth National Congress, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out: "The Chinese People's Liberation Army personally founded and led by Chairman Mao is the army of the workers and peasants, the army of the proletariat. It has performed great historic feats in the struggle for overthrowing the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and in the struggles for defending the motherland, for resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and for smashing aggression by imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, large numbers of commanders and fighters have taken part in the work of 'three supports and two militaries' (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training) and representatives of the army have taken part in the three-in-one combination; they have tempered themselves in the class struggle, strengthened their ties with the masses, promoted the ideological revolutionization of the army, and made new contributions to the people. And this is also the best preparation against war." Reviewing our company's militant course in following Chairman Mao to win victory after victory, our hearts particularly warmed to this statement of Vice-Chairman Lin's as we studied it.

Since its founding in the War of Resistance Against Japan, our company has always followed Chairman Mao and grown up in battle. In the battles to annihilate the Japanese imperialist aggressors and overthrow the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek dynasty, its veterans and revolutionary martyrs performed outstanding services for the people on four occasions and won the title of honour of "Model Company in Taking Strong Fortifications." In the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, our fighters armed with Mao Tsetung Thought dealt telling blows to the U.S. imperialists, and they fled in disorder. Chiu Shao-yun, combat hero and internationalist fighter of world renown, and Li Yuan-hsing and Ou Wen-hui, heroes who distinguished themselves in dynamiting enemy fortifications, emerged in our company. They won immortal merit for the Chinese and Korean peoples.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great movement in political training for us. Our unit has experienced the greatest and best tempering in the battles to smash the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and in the sharp and very complex class struggle which touches people to the core of their being. This great revolution has enabled us to understand better the great truth pointed out by Chairman Mao that "in the histor-

ical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." We obtained a deep understanding of the necessity to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the weapon for continuing the revolution is great, invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has raised our level of consciousness of continuing the revolution.

In response to Chairman Mao's great call that **"the People's Liberation Army should help the broad masses of the Left,"** we have successively gone to factories, schools and production teams to engage in the work of "three supports and two militaries" during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We feel that it is a great happiness and honour to be able to take part in this revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. We united with the broad revolutionary masses in this big classroom, and fought and won victories together with them. Illuminated by brilliant Mao Tsetung Thought everywhere, we propagated and applied Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's latest instructions wherever we went, and constantly deepened our understanding of Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We arrived at the deep understanding: Contradictions are very sharp, struggle is very acute and there is very rich material for us to study in the extremely profound Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In such a classroom, we have the utmost urge to study Chairman Mao's works and his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our comprehension of them is most deep-going, and we are touched to our innermost being, so we can obtain the best results in study and application.

During the mass movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we took the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants as our teachers. Our company's cadres and fighters went to many workshops to study with the workers, and together with them fought self-interest and criticized revisionism and recalled past sufferings in contrast with present happiness. We remoulded our subjective world according to the working-class outlook. We also constantly invited workers and poor and lower-middle peasants to come to our company to tell us the history of struggle between the two lines in the factories and the villages and take part in the discussions to select "four-good" companies and "five-good" fighters. This has greatly raised the level of consciousness of Mao Tsetung Thought and of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines on the part of the cadres and fighters. We also asked veteran workers to help give the lead to the fighters. While engaged in the work of purifying the class ranks, one new fighter revealed misgivings about difficulties involved in making investigations and study.

We asked a veteran worker, who had suffered greatly in the old society and had the strongest hatred for it, to guide him in this work. He soon learnt the revolutionary spirit and the experience in struggle of the working class and successfully fulfilled the task. Many new fighters have thus grown up educated and led by veteran workers.

When our company was supporting the Left in a factory, the Party branch assigned a new fighter to a backward unit. Confronted with the sharp and complex class struggle there, he studied again and again Chairman Mao's great teaching of **"trusting the masses, relying on them,"** quickly went deep among the masses to be their pupil and studied and carried out Chairman Mao's latest instructions together with them. As a result, they soon changed the situation and dug out the class enemies, enabling this backward unit to become an advanced one in the factory and its struggle-criticism-transformation to march ahead with big strides.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has greatly steeled our company's cadres. They have strengthened their mass viewpoint and enhanced their consciousness in using Mao Tsetung Thought to remould their world outlook. At every critical moment of class struggle, our ex-company leader Comrade Tsao Shu-sheng always stood in the van of the fighters. When a hand-grenade was about to explode in an accident, he threw himself fearlessly over a recruit and saved the life of his comrade-in-arms. When a torrential flood breached a dyke and the people's life, property and cropland would have suffered heavy losses, he kept in mind Chairman Mao's teaching of **servicing the people whole-heartedly and bravely jumped into the flood waters and blocked the breach with his own body, thus averting a big disaster. He turned his boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao into action, cherishing and protecting the masses.** The fighters and revolutionary masses praised Comrade Tsao Shu-sheng in these words: He cherishes deep feelings of love for the masses; he maintains close ties with them and their hearts beat as one; he supports the masses with a firm will; he never hesitates to protect them at the risk of his own life.

The great storm of class struggle has enabled every squad and every fighting collective of our company to undergo the most severe tests, and thus has strengthened its combat effectiveness. In the past, the 2nd squad was never cited as a "four-good" unit. But during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it strove to live up to the required criteria for a "four-good" unit in the storm and stress of class struggle, and eventually became one. In 1968, every comrade in the squad was cited as a "five-good" fighter. Our company went to a factory to support the Left last August. Because leadership in the factory's 4th workshop had been usurped by a deeply hidden class enemy, the revolutionary great alliance and three-in-one combination

(Continued on p.31.)

"RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTARIES

Another Revolting Exhibition of U.S.-Soviet Collaboration

SOVIET revisionist ambassador to the United States Dobrynin and U.S. imperialism's new boss Nixon sat side by side the other day in the White House Rose Garden, enraptured by the performance of an American band. They "joined in . . . foot-tapping, hand-clapping" and chatted away "harmoniously." An effervescent Nixon acclaimed the United States and the Soviet Union as "natural friends." On his part, Dobrynin obsequiously piled up superlatives about the "excellent" relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and the "wonderful" White House performance.

"Wonderful" indeed! It is a "wonderful" performance by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique prostrating itself before U.S. imperialism, a "wonderful" performance by this pack of renegades working doubly hard in their team-work with the United States against China. But there is more to this "wonderful" business than meets the eye. Hardly had the Kremlin renegades again apprised the United States, through the gunfire of the Soviet encroachment on China's territory Chenpao Island, that China is the chief enemy to be jointly tackled by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, than the White House concert, which "struck a note of harmony between the United States and the Soviet Union," made it plain to everyone that U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, a pair of arch despots in the world today, are "natural friends" in opposing China, the people and revolution.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause." It is no accident that Nixon should wax enthusiastic in praising the state of U.S.-Soviet relations. Of late, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been stepping up its collaboration with U.S. imperialism and international reaction; on the other hand, it has stopped at nothing in its feverish anti-China activities. Naturally, this gives the boss of the White House much joy and satisfaction.

For some time recently Soviet revisionist chieftains have been journeying here and there with a sense of great urgency. In early May, Kosygin himself visited India where he consulted with the Indian reactionaries mainly on "the two countries' mutual border problems

with China" so as to "form a common approach"; in other words, to dream up new anti-China schemes. Podgorny went to Mongolia in the latter part of the month. Making bellicose threats, he shouted that "any attempt to violate the territorial integrity of the U.S.S.R. or the Mongolian People's Republic will be administered a crushing rebuff." This is a new war threat against China. The Soviet-American duet at the White House and the respective visits of Kosygin and Podgorny to India and Mongolia, coupled with the flirtation going on lately between the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the Chiang Kai-shek gang on Taiwan and intensified Soviet collaboration with the reactionaries of Japan, Indonesia, "Malaysia," Thailand and other countries, are all designed to accomplish the counter-revolutionary scheme of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to slap together a ring of encirclement around China.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Besides keeping their friends in mind, the Chinese people, now at the high tide of revolution, should also keep their enemies and the friends of their enemies firmly in mind."

From the scheming activities in U.S.-Soviet collusion to redivide the world between themselves, the broad masses of the world's proletariat and revolutionary people, including the proletariat and revolutionary people in the Soviet Union and the United States, as



The camera caught this pair of "natural friends" in a nauseating display. Soviet revisionist ambassador Dobrynin (left) fawns on U.S. imperialism's new boss Nixon at a concert, while Nixon, grinning from ear to ear, acknowledges the compliment.

well as all countries and people ready to defend their national independence and oppose the aggression and oppression of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, can see still more clearly that these two "natural friends" are nothing but the common enemies of the people all over the world. The people of the whole world must unite and mount a vigorous and sustained offensive against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The Chinese people, who have won great victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have not relaxed their revolutionary vigilance. They are closely watching developments in the international class struggle. They will join together with all the people of the world in an unrelenting struggle to smash the policies of aggression of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and crush their plot to redivide the world.

(May 30)

A Remarkable Self-Exposure

THE demagogue serving as Secretary of State in the Nixon Administration was in Asia not so long ago busy with some jobs. While in Thailand, William Rogers held forth in Bangkok: "There has been some talk about a possible shift of policy. People say that President Nixon is no longer interested in Asia. I can assure you that is not the case." He added: "We are attempting to change the tone of our comments, to not be so bellicose. But that doesn't mean we are going to quit." This is quite a confession!

Rogers is a teacher by negative example who is giving lessons to people in Asia. He admitted with a large measure of frankness that Nixon, who is in an impasse, is relying more and more on counter-revolutionary dual tactics. In the first place, according to Rogers, the United States is only "attempting to change the tone," so as "to not be so bellicose," but there is to be no change in the U.S. policy of aggression in Asia. In the second place, the United States will hang on in every place in Asia it has occupied and will never "quit." In plain language, stratagems in aggression will be as cunning as possible, nice words will be more and sweeter, but the U.S. policy of aggression in Asia will not change one whit. To quote Rogers again, Nixon "is not going to back away from our responsibilities in Asia. He is not going to quit (Asia)."

Imperialism's appetite has no limit when it comes to aggression. Not that U.S. imperialism does not have the appetite to swallow the whole of Asia in one bite. But the struggle of the Asian people and the people of the United States against U.S. imperialism's policy of

aggression in Asia is mounting. It has put U.S. imperialism in the impossible position of running into the hostility of the people at every turn. It has hemmed U.S. imperialism in as an object for attack by the broad masses everywhere. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism is itself bogged down in a political and economic crisis. Beset by difficulties at home and abroad, it has run into a blind alley. Its strength is just not commensurate with its appetite. Rogers was thus obliged to admit sadly that "the United States has too many problems at home and elsewhere." In the circumstances, when the United States was going further and further downhill, the newly installed Nixon resorted to still more tricky counter-revolutionary double-dealing. He uses the guise of "loving peace" to hoodwink people in and out of the United States and to cover up the true nature of U.S. aggression in different parts of the world.

The people in Asian countries demand that U.S. imperialism get out of all the places it has invaded and occupied. That is only proper. It is completely justified. Now Nixon, Rogers and Co. have come out with statements that the United States will not give up these U.S.-occupied areas in Asia, and that it "is not going to quit." The people say: U.S. imperialism, get out. They say "it is not going to quit." Therein lies an irreconcilable contradiction, a contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed nations. Nixon's hordes of several hundred thousand troops of aggression cannot resolve this contradiction. Neither can it be resolved by a change of "tone" in Nixon's talk. This contradiction can be resolved only by the national-liberation movement and national revolutionary war of the Asian people who are rising and fighting in their hundreds of millions.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle."** This is an irrefutable truth.

The positive experience in the revolutionary struggles of Asian countries bears this out. In a negative way, Nixon and Rogers now are telling us that the "sensibleness" of imperialism means "attempting to change the tone of our comments," but persisting in its policy of aggression in Asia. People can understand quite clearly from this that the "sensibleness" of the Nixon and Rogers set-up only means a variation in the line of action according to the basic interests of the American monopoly capitalist class when they find the going too tough.

(May 31)

ROUND THE WORLD

LAOTIAN PATRIOTIC ARMY AND PEOPLE

Xieng Khoang City Recaptured

U.S. imperialism and the reactionary Vientiane authorities unleashed a "nibbling" campaign against the liberated areas in Xieng Khoang Province at the beginning of the year. Since then about 10 battalions of Rightist troops have been thrown into this offensive, with U.S.-fostered bandit chief Vang Pao commanding them. This was obviously an attempt to recoup their heavy losses in the "nibbling" attacks in Sam Neua and Saravane Provinces which had ended in ignominious defeats.

Rightist troops occupied Xieng Khoang City and adjacent areas on March 20. Committing monstrous crimes against the local residents, aircraft of the United States and the reactionary Vientiane authorities have flown thousands of sorties in indiscriminate bombing of the Xieng Kheang liberated areas in this campaign.

Fighting valiantly, the patriotic armed forces and people dealt the intruders telling blows in Xieng Khoang Province. They have killed and wounded more than 1,000 enemy troops and shot down 29 planes during the last two months.

On May 20, the patriotic armed forces began their battle to recover Xieng Khoang. Recapturing the Phukhe and Dongdan areas west of Xieng Khoang City the next day, they inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. Both Xieng Khoang City and its outskirts were in their hands by the night of May 22.

Between the evening of May 20 and the morning of May 23, the patriotic armed forces wiped out 152 enemy troops and shot down 2 enemy planes in the Xieng Khoang airport and Phukhe area alone. This was followed by pursuit of the fleeing enemy.

PODGORNY IN MONGOLIA

Vicious Anti-China Campaign

Exposing its despicable social-imperialist features once again, the

Soviet revisionist renegade clique has sent one of its chieftains, N.V. Podgorny, to the People's Republic of Mongolia to tighten its grip on the country and fan up vicious anti-China sentiments.

During his five-day stay (May 20-24), Podgorny talked profusely about the so-called "friendship between the Soviet Union and Mongolia" and bragged about the "benefits" his clique had brought to Mongolia. He used this high-flown language to try and cover up the neo-colonialist policy the clique has pursued in that country. It is common knowledge that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has long treated the People's Republic of Mongolia as its colony, exercising as it does strict political control over the country and ruthlessly plundering its wealth. In recent years particularly, this clique has made extra efforts to establish military bases all over Mongolia and station large numbers of Soviet troops there. Committing all sorts of crimes in Mongolia, it has become the new tsars riding roughshod over the Mongolian people. Thus Podgorny is merely wasting his time in trying to pass off his clique as the "saviour" of the Mongolian people and dressing the robber up as a "Buddha." His clumsy show will only open the eyes of the Mongolian people to the true colours of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in a still more telling way.

Following its armed provocations on China's territory Chenpao Island, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has sent a stream of party, state and army chiefs to Mongolia where they spread all sorts of rumours and let loose a string of slanders against China, trying to give the impression that "China has invaded both Soviet and Mongolian territory." This was a futile attempt to divert the attention of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples who are becoming more and more fed up with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Immediately on his arrival in Mongolia, Podgorny went about whipping up anti-China sentiments. Turning

facts upside down, he came up with the spurious charge that China has practised "great-power chauvinism" towards Mongolia and "is further worsening state relations with the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic." He indulged in sabre-rattling when he threatened that "any attempt to violate the territorial integrity of the U.S.S.R. or the Mongolian People's Republic will be administered a crushing rebuff," etc. But Podgorny's "thief crying 'stop thief'" trick will only expose the clique's aggressor nature. Irrefutable facts show that it is this clique which has violated the territorial integrity of Mongolia, dispatched large numbers of troops to occupy the country and brutally trampled its sovereignty underfoot. Everyone knows that China does not have a single soldier on Mongolian soil. Podgorny is only lifting a rock to drop it on his own feet by concocting bare-faced lies to stir up a mad anti-China campaign and poison the friendly relations between the Mongolian and Chinese peoples.

UNDER SOVIET REVISIONIST OCCUPATION

Czechoslovak Economy Seriously Undermined

Serious undermining of the national economy is the result of Soviet revisionist armed invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia. The situation has enabled the Czechoslovak people to see the true social-imperialist face of Soviet revisionism still more clearly.

Last August, the Soviet revisionists overran Czechoslovakia with occupation troops. The pretext was "defending" the "interests of the socialist community." In fact, they have not only trampled underfoot Czechoslovakia's state sovereignty and territorial integrity, but also directly damaged its national economy. *Rude Pravo* revealed that in the first few days of the Soviet revisionists' invasion, Czechoslovakia suffered losses of several thousand million Czechoslovak crowns in buildings, railways, highways, etc. Losses in total output value added up to at least 4,000 million crowns (about 250 million U.S. dollars) and losses in national economy income exceeded

3,000 million crowns. Some Czechoslovak economists estimate that "it will take Czechoslovakia at least several years to recover from the economic damage" caused by this invasion.

Reports show that Czechoslovakia's industrial production has had serious difficulties since the invasion. Many plants are operating at only half capacity or less. In a vain attempt to whip the Czechoslovak people into line, the Soviet revisionists have resorted to economic pressure and drastically cut the supply of coking coal, natural gas and iron ore to Czechoslovakia after the invasion. As a result, the operating capacity of the plants in the industrial region of Ostrava dropped by 35 per cent. Industrial production in the country has plunged still more sharply since the beginning of 1969.

The invasion has also brought serious losses and disruption to farm production. Vast areas of crops were flattened by Soviet military vehicles and large tracts of farmland now lie fallow. The amount of animal husbandry products purchased in the first two months of this year was even less than that of the same period in 1967.

The serious shortage of industrial and farm products has brought about a noticeable scarcity in market supplies. This, along with vaulting commodity prices, inflation and widespread profiteering, poses a direct threat to the people's living standards. *Rude Pravo* admitted that commodity supplies in Czechoslovakia now have "reached a critical point" and the counters in many shops are "quite empty." Another Czechoslovak paper, *Mlada Fronta*, admitted in a report that pork and egg supplies had been "terrifically" poor for a long time.

To get out of its predicament, the Czechoslovak revisionist clique, which was created under the bayonets of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, decided to shift economic difficulties on to the working people. Reactionary measures were adopted, such as raising commodity prices and limiting incomes. Beginning May 14, commodity prices climbed "extensively." This included macaroni, meat, tinned fruit, pre-

pared food, pastries, wines, coffee, sugar; piece goods, clothing, woollen fabrics, bedding, footwear and other daily necessities, as well as radios, sewing machines and other industrial products. Prices of food and tinned food have risen about 100 per cent; wines 25 per cent; linen 20 per cent; woollen fabrics 50 per cent; and some commodities as much as 200 per cent. In addition, prices in service trades directly affecting the life of the people have also risen, such as hairdressing, laundry and tailoring. Even monthly license fees for radio and television sets have moved up nearly 100 per cent.

The economic difficulties created by the Soviet revisionist armed invasion and the reactionary measures adopted by the Czechoslovak revisionist authorities in raising commodity prices in an all-round way have aroused great discontent and bitter opposition from the masses of the Czechoslovak people. Building workers immediately voiced an angry protest when they learnt on May 14 that prices had gone up. In the words of one worker: "All our difficulties are due to Soviet revisionism. Waving the banner of 'internationalism,' it follows the imperialist policy of colonial rule over other countries. There's not the least difference between it and U.S. imperialism!" Others shouted: "Down with the new tsars in Moscow!"

W. GERMAN-JAPANESE COLLABORATION

Reviving the Old Dream of A Fascist Axis

West German Chancellor Kiesinger, a card-carrying Nazi in Hitler's Germany, visited Japan from May 17 to May 21. Before starting out on his trip, this ex-Nazi told Kyodo News Agency that "Japan and West Germany have always been friends in spirit." While there, he talked big about how his visit has "restored the profound friendship which has existed between Germany and Japan." To the discerning eye, the "friendship" mouthed by Kiesinger can only refer to the counter-revolutionary ties between the German and Japanese fascists.

In Tokyo, Kiesinger held behind-closed-door talks with Sato, chief of

the reactionary Japanese Government. In their joint communique, they expressed "satisfaction" over the increasingly close political and economic collaboration between West Germany and Japan. They agreed that their foreign ministers will meet once a year to "co-ordinate" their external policies. This means they are going to step up their collaboration over foreign expansion and plunder.

Asia is one of their chief targets in this respect. In the joint communique, they pledged to "contribute" jointly to the "stabilization" of imperialist colonial rule on this continent. The Japanese paper *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* disclosed that in the eyes of the reactionary Japanese Government Japan and West Germany will become in the 70s the "key countries" in expanding and penetrating into Asia under the guise of "aid," and so it is prepared to appeal to the latter for "joint operations" in this field. Kiesinger was reported to have assured Sato that West Germany will continue its "aid" to some Asian countries. This shows that West Germany and Japan will still more openly support the lackeys of U.S. imperialism in Asia in their suppression of the national-liberation movements in this area.

Thanks to painstaking efforts by U.S. imperialism, both West Germany and Japan, which were defeated "Axis" powers in World War II, have been revived to become hotbeds of war. Both are trying to stage a comeback and realize their old dream of world domination. But Asia today is no longer the Asia of more than 20 years ago. The world today has entered into an era flying the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **"If the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when they will be hanged by the people of the whole world. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States."** The heightened collaboration between these two old-time militarist forces in West Germany and Japan can only end up the same way.

Master Tries to Cheer Up Lackeys

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization held its council meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, on May 20 and 21.

An extremely gloomy atmosphere dominated the entire course of this SEATO council meeting. Jesus Vargas, Secretary-General of the aggressive bloc, whined that never had the validity of SEATO been "challenged" as it was now, to the extent that some suggested "a possible scrapping of SEATO." Khoman, Thailand's Foreign Minister, said dismally that the meeting began "under rather grim and gloomy circumstances." Philippine Foreign Secretary Romulo admitted that this aggressive bloc is "in fact an inef-

fective" organization. Others openly expressed fears of its collapse. After the publication of the session's communique, a Western news agency report held that "it was the lack of any mention in the communique of specific radical changes or improvements which sounded the death knell for the organization."

The vigorous development of the revolutionary armed struggles of the people of Southeast Asia has struck terror into the hearts of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The meeting laid new schemes to suppress these revolutionary struggles. The communique said in alarm that the people's revolutionary struggle in the Southeast Asian countries constituted "a major threat." Expressing particular anxiety over the victorious development of the Thai people's

revolutionary armed struggle, it clamoured for support to the Thai puppet regime in stepping up the suppression of the people in Thailand and for intensified suppression of the revolutionary armed struggle in other countries of Southeast Asia.

At the meeting, U.S. Secretary of State Rogers did his best to cheer up the lackeys of U.S. imperialism and give this aggressive tool a shot in the arm. While braying that the United States is the "steadfast supporter" of the aggressive bloc, he had to admit reluctantly that his country "faces difficult decisions about how to allocate available resources against many claims." This has fully exposed the embarrassing predicament of the Nixon Administration which, wobbling on its last legs, is hard pressed by internal and external difficulties.

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in co-ordination with U.S. imperialism in the plot to create "two Chinas" and has been engaged in underhand dealings with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang. As early as 1963, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique openly let this gang sign as a "sovereign state" on a notorious treaty, the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty; it sat together many times with the "representatives" of this gang at international conferences; what is more, it has recently sent a "correspondent" on special missions to Taiwan, entering into direct counter-revolutionary collusion with this gang. The Soviet revisionist press has also repeatedly carried the flag of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, described as a "country" China's territory Taiwan Province where the Chiang gang has entrenched itself and called Chiang Kai-shek "president." And at the "World Inter-Governmental Conference on Tourism," the head of the Soviet revisionists' delegation made a point of "expressing thanks" to the Bulgarian Government, the organizer of the conference, on behalf of all the "delegations," including that of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang. It was reported that the "delegation" of this gang will further go to the Soviet

Union for activities after the conclusion of the conference. All this fully demonstrates that the present anti-China farce of creating "two Chinas" by the Bulgarian Government was stage-managed wholly by Soviet revisionism. This incident shows to what shameless depths those renegades who are flaunting the signboard of "socialism" have sunk!

As everyone knows, the Zhivkov revisionist clique of Bulgaria, a lackey fostered wholly by Soviet revisionism, has all along tailed after Soviet revisionism in rabidly opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people. In last August, it served as an accomplice in the armed aggression by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism against Czechoslovakia. It has all along been following Soviet revisionism in wantonly slandering and attacking the great Chinese Communist Party and the great People's Republic of China, like a mad dog barking at the sun. After Soviet revisionism created singlehanded the incident of armed intrusion into China's territory Chenpao Island, it has published an endless assortment of anti-China articles, speeches and statements, raising a hue and cry in support of the Soviet revisionist new tsars' acts of aggression. This time

it has again come out to serve as a shameless tool of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in creating "two Chinas."

There is only one China on earth, and that is the People's Republic of China. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people. Taiwan has always been an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang is a mere political corpse under the protection of the bayonet of U.S. imperialism, and it in no way represents any political power or anyone. Armed with invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and resolutely oppose any plot to create "two Chinas." U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and their lackeys will never succeed in their wild scheme to create "two Chinas." We must sternly warn the Bulgarian Government: Bulgaria is a country having diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China; you must immediately stop your activities of creating "two Chinas"; otherwise, you will be held fully responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

(Continued from p.25.)

there were not brought about for a long time. This caused difficulties in setting up the factory's revolutionary committee. Our company's Party branch assigned the 2nd squad the task of helping the revolutionary masses in that workshop to solve this problem in ten days. They immediately went down to the workshop and repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power." They pledged to keep the power in the hands of the proletariat, and joined the revolutionary masses in launching fierce attacks on the class enemies. The 2nd squad comrades had heart-to-heart talks with a leader of the rebels who had failed to see through the schemes of the class enemies for the time being. Together with the comrades, the squad leader visited him three times and asked his mother, who had suffered untold hardships in the old society, to recall the bitter past in contrast with today's happiness. As a result, this leader finally raised his class consciousness and exposed the

crimes of the class enemies. For eight days and nights, the 2nd squad fought alongside the revolutionary masses and succeeded in helping the workshop set up its revolutionary committee.

The raging flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have tempered our boundless loyalty to our great leader Chairman Mao, to great Mao Tsetung Thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Having grasped Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have infinite courage and resourcefulness, and are invincible. Whoever dares to encroach upon the sacred territory and sovereignty of our great motherland, be it U.S. imperialism or Soviet revisionism, will surely smash his head against a stone wall and break his neck in the face of the hundreds of millions of the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

PEKING REVIEW

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RADIO PEKING'S

Daily English Language Transmissions

	Peking Time	Local Standard Time		Metre Bands	
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	40,30	
	01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)	40,30	
		19:00-20:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)		
		20:00-21:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)		
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45	(Monrovia)	31,30,25	
		19:30-20:30	(Accra, Freetown)		
		20:30-21:30	(Lagos)		
	04:30-05:30	21:30-22:30	(Cairo)	31,30,25	
		19:45-20:45	(Monrovia)		
		20:30-21:30	(Accra, Freetown)		
		21:30-22:30	(Lagos)		
SOUTHEAST ASIA	20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	252,32 25	
		19:30-20:30	(Singapore)		
		20:00-21:00	(Saigon, Manila)		
		21:00-22:00	18:30-19:30	(Rangoon)	224,32 31,25,19
			20:00-21:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	
			20:30-21:30	(Singapore)	
		21:00-22:00	(Saigon, Manila)		
		19:30-20:30	(Rangoon)		
SOUTH ASIA	02:00-03:00	23:30-00:30	(Delhi)	248	
	22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	41,40,19	
		19:00-20:00	(West Pakistan)		
		20:00-21:00	(East Pakistan)		
		23:00-24:00	19:40-20:40	(Kathmandu)	41,19
			20:30-21:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	
	20:00-21:00		(West Pakistan)		
		21:00-22:00	(East Pakistan)		
		20:40-21:40	(Kathmandu)		
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30	(Aust. S.T.)	25,19,16	
		20:30-21:30	(N.Z.S.T.)		
	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30	(Aust. S.T.)	25,19,16	
		21:30-22:30	(N.Z.S.T.)		
EUROPE	04:30-05:30	21:30-22:30	(London, Stockholm, Paris)	47,45,25	
	05:30-06:30	22:30-23:30	(London, Stockholm, Paris)	47,45,25	
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00	(E.S.T.)	19,16	
	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00	(E.S.T.)	42,30,19,16	
	10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00	(E.S.T.)	19,16	
	11:00-12:00	22:00-23:00	(E.S.T.)	42,30	
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00	(P.S.T.)	25,19,16	
	12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00	(P.S.T.)	31,25,19,16	