

Theory of "International Dictatorship" Is a Gangster Theory of Social-Imperialism

> The "May 7 Directive" Lights the Way



U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism Step Up "Middle East Munich" Plot

CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG'S Latest instructions

The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. 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.

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With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war.



The State Council Greets and Expresses Admiration for Unyielding Czechoslovak People in Cable to Czechoslovak Government

The State Council of the People's Republic of China, in a cable to the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on May 8, greeted and expressed admiration for the unyielding Czechoslovak people on the occasion of the National Day of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The cable reads in full:

Prague

The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:

On the occasion of the National Day of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Chinese people and Government extend greetings to and express admiration for the unyielding Czechoslovak people.

> State Council of the People's Republic of China, May 8, 1969.

Chairman of Chinese Side on Sino-Soviet Joint Commission For Navigation on Boundary Rivers Refutes Soviet Slander And Proposes Convening of 15th Regular Meeting in Mid June

The chairman of the Soviet side on the Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for Navigation on the Boundary Rivers sent a telegram on April 26 to the chairman of the Chinese side on the joint commission proposing that the 15th regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet commission for boundary river navigation be convened. On May 2, the Soviet news agency TASS in a news dispatch stood facts upside down and levelled the false charge that the Chinese side had "evaded participation" in last year's regular meeting. The chairman of the Chinese side on the commission replied to the chairman of the Soviet side in a telegram on May 11. in which the Chinese side proposed that the 15th regular meeting

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be held in the middle of June in Poli in the Soviet Union. The telegram refuted the Soviet slander against the Chinese side and pointed out that the Soviet side alone was responsible for the failure to hold the regular meeting scheduled for 1968. The telegram from the Chinese side replying to the Soviet side reads in full:

Smirnov,

Chairman of the Soviet Side, Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for

Navigation on the Boundary Rivers:

Your telegram of April 26 proposing that the 15th regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet commission for boundary river navigation be convened in May this year has been received.

The 15th regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet commission for boundary river navigation should have been held in the Soviet Union in 1968. In your telegram of April 27, 1968, you put forward the unilateral proposal for convening the 15th regular meeting in May the same year in Poli of the Soviet Union. I replied on May 16 that the Chinese side was studying the matter. However, while the Chinese side was making active preparations for the meeting, the Soviet side, without waiting for an official reply from the Chinese side, spread a slander through the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on June 27, in which he brazenly accused the Chinese Government of "remaining deaf" to the Soviet Government's "concrete proposals" for "the joint utilization of boundary rivers for navigation." On August 16 I lodged a protest with the Soviet side against its act of sabotaging the 15th regular meeting, demanding a clarification of the facts and officially informing you that the Chinese side was ready to go to the meeting. But the Soviet side peremptorily indicated that it "will not consider" the just demand of the Chinese side and on August 28 unwarrantedly returned the telegram of the Chinese side. Thus the holding of the 15th regular meeting was sabotaged by the Soviet side singlehandedly.

While proposing once again the holding of the 15th regular meeting in Poli, the Soviet side has now published a news dispatch through the medium of its official news agency TASS, in which, calling black white, it levelled the false counter-charge that the Chinese side had "evaded participation" in the regular meeting of last year. This cannot but make one doubt how much sincerity the Soviet side has for convening this meeting. Nevertheless, proceeding from its consistent stand of safeguarding normal navigation by both sides on the boundary rivers, the Chinese side has still decided to send its delegation to this meeting. The Chinese side hopes that the Soviet side will adopt a positive attitude, as it should, towards this meeting. Our side considers that it is necessary for both sides to make good preparations in order to make a success of this meeting. I suggest that the meeting be held in Poli in the middle of June. The actual date of the meeting will be decided upon by both sides through discussion. You will be notified of the name list of the Chinese delegation later.

Chen Fa-ping,

Chairman of the Chinese Side, Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for Navigation on the Boundary Rivers.

May 11, 1969

Chinese Foreign Ministry Strongly Protests Indian Government's Rabid Anti-China Activities

A responsible member of the First Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry met B.C. Mishra, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy in China, by appointment on May 10, during which he lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government against its slanders and vilifications against

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The Theory of "International Dictatorship" Is A Gangster Theory of Social-Imperialism

by Kung Chun-ping

IN his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao sharply exposed the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's theory of "international dictatorship."

A thief breaks into someone's home and says he did so to "protect" that family's "security" — such is the gangster logic the imperialists and fascists always advocate. U.S. imperialism always falls back on this gangster "theory" when it is launching its wars of aggression. The theory of "international dictatorship" that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has spared no efforts to publicize is simply a new variation of this same gangster logic.

In his speech at the "5th congress" of the Polish revisionist party on November 12 last year, Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev clamoured that when what Soviet revisionism called "the security of the community" (that is, Soviet revisionist colonialist interests in some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia) is threatened, "this becomes no longer a problem of the people of that country alone" and Soviet revisionism has the right to take military action against this member of the "community." Another Soviet revisionist renegade clique chieftain blatantly said that "historical development" had set the task of turning "national dictatorship" into "international dictatorship." The Soviet revisionist press time and again gave great publicity to the idea that at present, to "protect" the "community" "acquires a more profound international character" and that the members of the "community" must be "protected by the joint efforts" of the "community," etc.

By putting out this theory of "international dictatorship," the Soviet revisionists intend first of all to justify their barefaced social-imperialist aggression and, second, to fabricate a "theoretical" basis for their rapacious expansionist ambitions. We must expose this theory for what it is and lay bare the diabolical features of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in the broad light of day.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique glibly talks about "national dictatorship" and "international dictatorship." Let the question be asked: Which class exercises the "dictatorship" you speak of, and which class is subjected to this "dictatorship"? Our great teacher Chairman Mao has pointed out: "To protect the masses or to repress them — here is the basic distinction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has established fascist reactionary rule at home, laid down all kinds of counterrevolutionary "laws" and "regulations," deprived the working people of their democratic rights and carried out bloody repression, thus throwing the Soviet working people into the abyss of misery again. This fully confirms that the "dictatorship" exercised by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at home is an out-and-out bourgeois dictatorship.

Foreign policy is the continuation of domestic policy. By turning "national dictatorship" into "international dictatorship," the Soviet revisionists are out to extend their domestic counter-revolutionary bourgeois dictatorship abroad and, by plunder and aggression, exercise a counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the people of other countries. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has made use of the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" to push its social-imperialist policies in some East European countries and in the People's Republic of Mongolia, ruthlessly exploit and plunder the people of these countries and trample on their sovereignty at will, thus turning them into its dependencies and colonies.

The "specialization of production" and "international division of labour" brayed about and put into operation by the Soviet revisionists have brought about a lopsided development of the economies of those East European countries and turned them into workshops of the Soviet revisionists for processing raw materials and dumping grounds for their goods. Moreover, by "granting credits," Soviet revisionism has savagely plundered these countries and grabbed fabulous profits from Such plunder and squeezing have incurred them. growing resistance from the broad masses in these countries. Soviet revisionism has dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to hold down the people of these countries, and even carried out, in the case of Czechoslovakia, armed aggression and military occupation. Plunder, aggression, suppression of the people of other countries, and even military occupation - this is the

reactionary essence of the Soviet revisionists' so-called theory of "international dictatorship."

Today, under the pretext of "safeguarding the socialist gains," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sends its troops marching into Czechoslovakia and imposes "international dictatorship" over the people of that country. Tomorrow, under the pretext of "safeguarding" something else, it can send aggressor troops marching into another of its "fraternal countries" in the "socialist community" or into countries outside this so-called "community" to violate their territorial integrity and sovereignty. In fabricating the theory of "international dictatorship," a theory for fascist aggression, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has a completely vile purpose in mind.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The governments of the imperialist countries, though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue." The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are no exception. To deceive people, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique decked out the completely fascist theory of "international dictatorship" in the cloak of "internationalism." But their counter-revolutionary activities nail them down as having completely betrayed proletarian internationalism. Behind the slogan of the theory of "international dictatorship" is concealed the ugly, vicious counter-revolutionary aggressor's face.

The theory of "international dictatorship" preached by Soviet revisionism is aimed at realizing its ambitions to redivide the world in collusion with U.S. imperialism, and to meet its needs in collaborating and contending with U.S. imperialism. This "theory," on the one hand, serves U.S. imperialist aggression and legalizes its military occupation; on the other hand, it can be used to contend with U.S. imperialism for spheres of influence and designate at will any country as being within Soviet revisionism's own sphere of "international dictatorship." U.S. imperialism supports Soviet revisionism in instituting "international dictatorship" within its own sphere of influence; and in like manner. Soviet revisionism supports U.S. imperialist aggression against other countries under the shameless lie of "defending the free world." This is the filthy bargain these two have struck.

There isn't the slightest difference between this theory of "international dictatorship" and the fascist excuses for aggression. The German fascist gangsters once ran up the rag of the "New Order of Europe" and carried out wanton aggression against other countries. In invading China and Southeast Asian countries, the Japanese pirates clamoured about setting up a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." After World War II, U.S. imperialism advocated an "international government." Aren't all these precisely the same as the Soviet revisionist theory of "international dictatorship"? The Soviet revisionist social-imperialists and all the imperialists and fascists are jackals from the same lair, and their "theories" are cut from the same cloth.

The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi is a running dog of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction. He frantically pushed a counterrevolutionary revisionist line, vainly trying to restore capitalism in China and realize the rabid ambitions of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to subvert socialist China. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has overthrown Liu Shao-chi and company and smashed their conspiracies. Like a cornered beast, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique recently resorted to armed provocations against China and carried out armed invasion of Chinese territory Chenpao Island. and it was duly punished for this. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has committed crimes against the Chinese people as well as against the Soviet people. The people of China and the Soviet Union share a profound revolutionary friendship. We are convinced that the proletariat and other working people of the Soviet Union will surely rise to overthrow the bourgeois fascist rule of the clique of a handful of Soviet revisionist renegades and cut off its vicious aggressive claws. As our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out, "The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, 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."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must be clearheaded, that is, we must not believe the 'nice words' of the imperialists nor be intimidated by their bluster." Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the workers at the Taching Oilfield profoundly understand this great teaching of Chairman Mao's. The Soviet revisionists, in co-ordination with the U.S. imperialists, imposed an economic and technical blockade on China in an attempt to strangle us on the question of petroleum. But we were not overwhelmed by this. Led by Chairman Mao and guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the workers at the Taching Oilfield have persisted in selfreliance and, by relying on their own efforts, built up a big oilfield that ranks with the best in the world. This has dealt the Soviet revisionist renegade clique a telling blow. From now on, no matter what tricks the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys play or what their pretexts are, if they dare to continue to invade our country we will resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out them. Holding high the banner of opposing imperialism and revisionism, we pledge to unite with the revolutionary people the world over to bury, once and for all, imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

Away with all pests!

Our force is irresistible.

("Hongqi," No. 5, 1969)

May 16, 1969

The "May 7 Directive" Lights the Way

It is three years since our great leader Chairman Mao issued his brilliant "May 7 Directive." In a letter to Vice-Chairman Lin Piao on May 7, 1966, Chairman Mao issued this extremely important directive pointing out that the People's Liberation Army, factories, villages, schools, the commercial units, the service trades, and Party and government organizations should all become great schools for revolutionization.

Armymen and civilians throughout the country pledged to follow Chairman Mao's instruction and turn the whole country into a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought. In the past three years, they have made great progress in every field. Following are three examples. - Ed.

Sailors as Well as Workers

A CTING on Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," one ship group of the South China Sea Fleet has been making its own repairs since 1966. In the past three years, the P.L.A. commanders and fighters of this ship group have done an excellent job of making several thousand repairs on six big and medium-sized warships. The ships all made successful trial cruises immediately after being repaired. Some have been operating smoothly for thousands of hours.

Naval commanders and fighters repairing their own ships is an important creative effort. Not only do they run the vessels, they are also maintenance and repair workers. In addition to bringing the ships' combat effectiveness into full play, this also saves large amounts of expenditures. Most important is that, by repairing their own ships, the commanders and fighters get an opportunity to study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way through practical struggle, thus promoting the revolutionization of their thinking and enabling their ship group to be built up into a highly militant body.

The commanders and fighters of this ship group were greatly inspired when they heard the "May 7 Directive" Chairman Mao issued in 1966. In it Chairman Mao pointed out: "The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this school, our army should study politics and military affairs, raise its educational level, and also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and run small or medium-sized factories to make products for its own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values." They were determined to translate this brilliant instruction into concrete action. Not everyone, however, held the same view. A few said: "The warships are an exception we're constantly in a state of alertness for combat duty. We don't have many hands; there's a detailed division of work, and we're never in one place long. Setting up factories or farms sounds impractical." Others replied: "There's nothing exceptional about us. There's no reason why we can't set up farms and factories, and go in for side-occupations, too."

Amid these heated debates, ship No. 351 was sent to the shipyard for scheduled repairs. This enlightened them in their discussions. Looking at it in the light of the "May 7 Directive," the P.L.A. men realized that the ship became a small repair plant in itself while under repair. Why couldn't they run this "plant" themselves instead of handing it over to the shipyard workers? They thus hit on a concrete way to carry out the directive according to their specific conditions.

Making their own repairs was an inspiring event for the seamen of this ship group. They had done a number of minor repairs in 1958 on their own ships without sending them to the shipyards. This was a new-born phenomenon shining with Mao Tsetung Thought. But it met with frantic opposition from the counter-revolutionary revisionists Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching. They raved that it was pure "folly" for sailors to repair their own ships. Demanding that such work be done through "regular channels," they ruthlessly suppressed this new-born thing. Now, however, it has been revived under the illumination of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive."

Actively supported and led by the Party organization, the commanders and fighters relentlessly criticized the slavish comprador philosophy of copying foreign rules and regulations in repairing ships and conscientiously studied the spirit of the directive. This helped them to further raise their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. The crew of the No. 351 took over and did a good job in repairing their own ship. The Party committee of the ship group summed up their experience and founded a May 7 Sailor-Worker Ship-Repairing Plant. Each ship sent part of its crew to take turns working there. Whenever a ship came in for repairs, the crew also came along to take part in the work.

Guided by Chairman Mao's policy of "selfreliance," the sailor-workers built their own workshops and supplied their own equipment and installations by unearthing long unused machinery and parts

from scrap heaps and putting them back into working order. The comrades soon set up a plant which could do repairs on large ships.

Among those successively sent to the new plant was the No. 355, a big ship which used to be repaired by large shipyards only. Since its machinery and equipment were highly complicated and its right main engine was badly in need of repairs, some comrades doubted whether the plant could do the job. With this problem in mind, the comrades studied Chairman Mao's relevant teachings and were determined to accomplish the job by relying on invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. They cited many vivid examples to support their conviction. When the plant was first set up, for instance, the comrades did not know how to make drawings or calculations for a small boat's tail shaft, but they learnt while they worked and eventually made a high-precision one for a fraternal unit. In another case, they were asked to repair the oil grooves in a generator. They brought the factor of man into full play and used simple tools such as chisels and files instead of the milling machine required. The process of cutting the oil grooves demanded high precision and the tolerance must not exceed half a hair's breadth. The comrades succeeded once again. A third time when there was a sudden breakdown of a ship's engines, the comrades in the plant came aboard and boldly invented a new technological process for the repair work, thus completing in a dozen minutes a job which ordinarily took a week. Countless facts showed that naval commanders and fighters armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, with hearts boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, could create miracles with their own hands. The more they worked, the bolder and more confident they became. They finished the repair job on the No. 355 in the shortest possible time, and the repaired vessel made record speed in its first trial cruise.

Part-Time Agriculture, Part-Time Industry

IN accordance with Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Fuchengtungchieh brigade, Shuiyeh Commune, Anyang County, Honan Province, have relied on their own efforts in setting up many small factories such as machine-repairing, oil-pressing, grain-processing, foundry and paper-making. By engaging mainly in agricultural production and taking industrial production as the side-line, they have vigorously spurred the development of agriculture.

Situated in a hilly area, the brigade has insufficient land for its population. It only has 1,040 mu of land for more than 1,500 people. The grain output was low.

In 1962, in answer to the demands of the poor and lower-middle peasants, the Party branch led the peas-

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ants in energetically tapping the potential in agricultural production; it also led them in developing collective side-line occupations like making bricks, earthen cooking pots, hand-made paper, farm tools and tool repairing. In 1965, small factories were set up for these side-occupations as mechanical equipment was brought in.

In 1966, Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" was published. Chairman Mao pointed out: "While mainly engaging in agricultural production (including forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries), the peasants in the communes should at the same time study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level. When conditions permit, they should collectively run some small factories. They also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie." Delighted and encouraged, the poor and lower-middle peasants further strengthened their faith and determination in taking the road of part-time agriculture and part-time industry. They said: "To engage in part-time agricultural production and part-time industrial production is a bright road leading to communism. We will follow it for ever."

How to run the factories - by relying on their own efforts or asking for help from above? This question confronted them when the factories were first set up. Through debates, the poor and lower-middle peasants reached unanimous agreement: They must persist in the policy of relying on their own efforts and running the factories diligently and thriftily. They must not depend on help from the state. They said: "With Mao Tsetung Thought, all kinds of difficulties are nothing. They collected money among themselves and used their own hands to collect raw materials. They built sheds for the foundry workshop in an old temple out of straw mats. Poor-peasant Wang Chih-tung and P.L.A. dependent Lai Kuang-chu volunteered their newly built houses comprising seven rooms for use by the factories. In buying equipment, the peasants made a little money go far by using the old things instead of new, and home-made things instead of modern machinery. Lacking technical knowledge, the poor and lowermiddle peasants learnt as they worked. Members of the machine-repair plant learnt by themselves to repair tractors, water pumps and motors. They can now keep all the brigade's machines and parts in good working order.

Gradually overcoming the lack of funds, equipment and technique, the brigade's poor and lowermiddle peasants have set up factories from scratch and are developing them, thereby opening a new way for the peasants to run factories.

Since these brigade-run factories were set up, there were heated discussions about what orientation for management and what road to take. The poor and lower-middle peasants related in the discussions their actual conditions to their ruthless repudiation of the big renegade Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line of "putting work-points in command" and

"putting profits in command." Thus they came to a clear understanding of the correct orientation for the brigade-run factories. They said: "We peasants must take agriculture as our main task. We should not discard agriculture to engage in side-occupations. The aim of running factories is to promote agriculture. Chairman Mao calls on us to take the road of part-time agriculture and part-time industry. We should not take Liu Shaochi's road which separates industry from agriculture." These brigade-run factories stuck to the orientation of serving agriculture. From 1966 to the end of 1968, they repaired over 18,000 small farm tools of various types. Through many experiments, they produced and repaired 30 motors, some 30 hoes and over 800 other farm machinery and tools. This has greatly speeded up the pace of the mechanization of agriculture.

In recent years, the brigade's poor and lower-middle peasants followed persistently the road of part-time agriculture and part-time industry, which not only promoted the development of agricultural production, but narrowed the gaps between city and countryside and between industry and agriculture. In the three years of 1966-68, they provided more than 100,000 yuan for agriculture, which were spent on tractors, sowing machines, motors, draught animals, fertilizers and other machinery, tools and means of agricultural production. This has mechanized ploughing, watering and threshing and speeded up the growth of farm output. The per-mu yield of grain was raised to 949 jin in 1968 from 657 jin in 1962. In the last three years, they delivered and sold to the state 50,000 jin of grain and 73,000 jin ginned cotton, as well as reserving some grain for the collective. In the wake of the development of production, the brigade members increased their income. Moreover, the brigade ran welfare facilities for the members, such as bath houses and a co-operative medical service.

In this brigade which is a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought, 400 young and middle-aged commune members are both farmers and workers. They are a generation of new, socialist peasants, who can plough with hoes, work with hammers, fight with guns and write articles repudiating the bourgeoisie with pen.

Remarkable Achievements in Ideological Revolutionization

F^{IRMLY} following the bright road indicated by Chairman Mao in his "May 7 Directive," students of the Liuho "May 7" Cadre School in Heilungkiang Province have made remarkable achievements in revolutionizing their thinking in the past year.

On May 7 last year, more than 140 cadres from former organs at the Heilungkiang provincial level set

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up their "May 7" Cadre School on the banks of the Liuho River (see *Peking Review*, No. 41, 1968). From the day it was founded, the students made Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" the principle guiding their thinking in running the school. They regarded cadres' integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers as the way to bring up revolutionary cadres who are always loyal to Chairman Mao, who can work both at higher and lower levels and be "officials" as well as common people, and who can be workers as well as peasants and are capable of doing mental as well as manual work.

Chairman Mao issued this instruction on October 4 last year: "Going down to do manual labour gives vast numbers of cadres an excellent opportunity to study once again," and affirmed the direction followed by the Liuho "May 7" Cadre School. Group after group of new students and their children have arrived at Liuho. There are now more than 1,100 students in the school.

Braving winds, storms and extreme cold, the students of this school have opened up $3,600 \ mu$ of cropland in the past year. They have raised many livestock and reaped their first bumper harvest. They have collected and transported some 6,000 cubic-metres of timber, built many houses and built or expanded machineryrepair and nail-making workshops as well as a non-staple food processing factory, thus tremendously developing industrial and agricultural production in the Liuho area.

In the past year the students stood the tests in the fierce struggle between the two classes and between the two roads, and while transforming the objective world they have been transforming their own subjective world. After being tempered, many veteran revolutionary cadres have been imbued with greater vitality. Young cadres who have been re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers have become much closer to the working people in their thinking and feelings. Having summed up the experience and lessons in the struggle between the two lines, some cadres who made mistakes are resolved to make new contributions in the service of the people in the future struggle.

One veteran cadre who went from Shanghai to Yenan in 1942 risked her life breaking through the enemy blockade to join the revolution during the War of Resistance Against Japan. After liberation, because she was ideologically unprepared for the socialist revolution and poisoned by Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, she made some mistakes. She received a profound education during the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. After coming to the school she arrived at the deeper understanding that the fundamental reason for her mistakes was that her world outlook had not been thoroughly remoulded. Accordingly, she devoted herself to the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, consciously remoulded her world outlook and raised her conscious-

ness of the struggle between the two lines, thus bringing about constant changes in her mental outlook.

Many of the students had cooped themselves up in office buildings for a long time and were divorced from the masses, labour and practical work. At the school they are at all times with the masses of workers and peasants and join them in struggle so that they draw closer to the workers and peasants in their thoughts and feelings. They often invite worker, peasant and soldier activists in the study of Mao Tsetung Thought to their school to make reports or they themselves go out of the school to make social investigations and learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers. With the increase in the number of students, the school has invited more poor and lower-middle peasants from the nearby production teams to settle down there and assigned them to leading posts or teaching positions.

All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and are for their use.

- MAO TSETUNG

Always Courageously Advance Along Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line In Literature and Art

Commemorating the "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching"

by Hung Wen and Hsueh Ching in the office under the direct administration of the navy

Holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, Comrade Chiang Ching convened a forum on the work in literature and art in the armed forces in Shanghai in February 1966 at a time when the proletariat was engaged in a sharp struggle against the bourgeoisie in China. Entrusted to Comrade Chiang Ching by Comrade Lin Piao, this forum handed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line a decisive blow and occupies an extremely important place in the history of China's cultural revolution. The summary of the forum was examined and revised by Chairman Mao three times and made public in May 1967. (It was published in "Peking Review," No. 23, 1967.)

Comrade Lin Piao pointed out that this summary "applies Mao Tsetung Thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance."

May 16, 1969

Following is a slightly abridged translation of **d** commemorative article recently printed in "Renmin Ribao." — Ed.

G UIDED by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the workers, peasants and soldiers have become the real masters of the socialist stage. The birth of the eight revolutionary model theatrical works,*

^{*} After a fierce struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionists who had usurped the leading positions in literary and art circles and were backed by the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party, the revolutionary artists led by Comrade Chiang Ching successfully created eight theatrical works on revolutionary themes. They are Taking the Bandits' Stronghold, On the Docks, The Red Lantern, Shachiapang and Raid on the White Tiger Regiment (Peking operas); The Red Detachment of Women and The White Haired Girl (ballets) and Shachiapang (a symphonic work). Resplendent with Mao Tsetung Thought, these model works have been acclaimed by revolutionary people at home and abroad.

which were personally fostered by Comrade Chiang Ching, the piano music The Red Lantern with Peking opera singing and the big revolutionary oil painting Chairman Mao Goes to Anyuan - which were later created - has once and for all "reversed this reversal of history" during which "the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters." Taking advantage of the excellent situation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, thousands of amateur literature and art Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams composed of workers, peasants and soldiers, with the force of a mighty torrent, have cleared away the foul morass of all the exploiting classes. They sing and act for our era. More than that, contingent after contingent of industrial workers and their ally - poor and lower-middle peasants - have themselves mounted the political stage to lead the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure and are performing a hitherto unwitnessed earth-shaking great epic. This is a truly magnificent scene!

A revolution "to root out all exploiting-class ideologies, which poison the minds of the people" as pointed out by the "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching" three years ago, is now being waged victoriously and in a deep-going way.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Historical experience merits attention." And he recently emphasized that "it is necessary to sum up experience conscientiously."

Why after the founding of New China was the most complete, most thoroughgoing and most correct Marxist-Leninist line in literature and art, formulated by Chairman Mao in his Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art over 20 years ago, not carried out in most cases by literary and art circles?

Why could not this "epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera" pointed out by Chairman Mao in his "Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels" as early as January 1944 (see Peking Review, No. 23, 1967) be made a common practice "which will prevail throughout the country" in some ten years after liberation?

Why did the shadow of the class enemies which had been driven off the stage of history still linger on and they even dominate the stage in our literature and art?

Why did the workers, peasants and soldiers have virtually no place on this stage and why was socialist literature and art trampled on, put down and throttled for well over ten years after the founding of New China?

Why. . . ?

The Summary resoundingly answered this series of questions by using invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. Analysing the situation in the sharp, complex and fierce class struggle on the literary and art front since liberation in an all-round, penetrating and correct way, it unearthed a sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art which was opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in this field.

Working in collusion with the handful of other Party capitalist roaders to restore capitalism, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi used the leadership they had usurped in the cultural departments to frantically thrust forward this sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. They did their utmost to peddle feudal, bourgeois and revisionist wares in the field of socialist literature and art, creating a miasma in the literary and art world and repeatedly launching wild attacks on the young dictatorship of the proletariat.

The struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front for more than ten years in the past is a struggle between the two classes for leadership, a struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. What the class enemies really want is to breach the outpost of literature and art in order to get back their lost paradise. They want to seize the political stage by means of literature and art.

Since the founding of New China, our great leader Chairman Mao has many times personally initiated and led the militant revolutionary criticism of feudal and bourgeois literature and art around the struggle between political lines. Chairman Mao's great works, such as "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film The Life of Wu Hsun," "Letter Concerning Studies of The Dream of the Red Chamber," and "Two Instructions Concerning Literature and Art," (see Peking Review, No. 23, 1967) are resplendent milestones in the course of the struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front since the founding of New China.

Criticizing and repudiating various reactionary ideologies of the exploiting classes while leading these important struggles, Chairman Mao has particularly emphasized exposing and repudiating their expression in the Party. He has sharply pointed out their reactionary political line and incisively elaborated the basic Marxist view that all class struggles are political struggles. Raising the class struggle on the literary and art front to the plane of political power, he has time and again warned the whole Party and dealt heavy blows to the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art represented by Liu Shao-chi.

In "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film The Life of Wu Hsun," Chairman Mao denounces this reactionary film for its "reactionary propaganda vilifying the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, the history of China and the Chinese nation." He immediately follows this with the cutting statement: "Some have even capitulated to these reactionary ideas. Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party?"

In the "Letter Concerning Studies of The Dream of the Red Chamber," Chairman Mao indignantly reviewed the many struggles on the literary and art front before 1954 and concentrates criticism on the handful of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the Party. He points out: "They form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and become willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films Inside Story of the Ching Court and The Life of Wu Hsun were shown."

It was none other than Liu Shao-chi, the initiator and chief backer of the sinister line in literature and art, who exalted as "patriotic" the Inside Story of the Ching Court which is in fact a film of national betrayal. It was none other than Liu Shao-chi and his gang, agents of the bourgeoisie in the Party, who formed "a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of The enemy inevitably makes last-ditch idealism." struggles. Severely criticized by Chairman Mao on several occasions, Liu Shao-chi and his gang became even more unbridled in pushing their sinister counterrevolutionary revisionist line in literature and art and opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art.

In 1962, our great leader Chairman Mao issued the militant call: "Never forget class struggle."

Again in 1963 and 1964, in the two instructions concerning literature and art, Chairman Mao issued militant calls to march against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In his instruction of December 12, 1963, Chairman Mao piercingly pointed out: "In many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The 'dead' still dominate in many departments."

In an instruction issued on June 27, 1964, Chairman Mao further pointed out that, "in recent years," many departments where the power was usurped by the sinister line in literature and art "have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club."

The instructions Chairman Mao issued in the course of the struggles on the literary and art front have all called attention to the crucial fact that contention for leadership is the essence of the struggle. This enabled us to finally see through this sinister line in literature and art and to fight to bury it.

Responding to our great leader Chairman Mao's calls to battle, Comrade Chiang Ching has charged courageously forward to the frontline of class struggle.

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After prolonged and systematic investigation and study and a profound analysis of the history of the struggle between the two lines in literature and art, Comrade Chiang Ching led the Shanghai proletarian revolutionaries in breaking through the many obstacles set up by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and launching a fierce attack against the sinister line. Then she organized the criticism of the play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, which was a most poisonous weed. This blasted open the key citadel of this counterrevolutionary revisionist clique and shook the whole counter-revolutionary front. It also inspired and mobilized the workers, peasants and soldiers and strategically prepared public opinion for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Because it was a sharp struggle for power, Liu Shao-chi and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique he supported and manipulated --- with those like Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han in it -attacked and persecuted Comrade Chiang Ching and the proletarian revolutionaries. Even after Chairman Mao had pointed out that "the crucial point" of the play Hai Jui Dismissed From Office "is 'dismissed from office," they went on spreading rumours and lies and made phoney criticism and self-examinations. Finally, in a last desperate effort in February 1966, they came up with the "February Outline" - a counterrevolutionary proclamation to smother all revolutionary criticism. This was done under the personal direction of Liu Shao-chi, the chief backer of the sinister line in literature and art.

Thus the crucial moment for the proletariat to launch a general counter-attack against the bourgeoisie had arrived.

Criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed From Office became an issue over which the two classes, the two lines and the two headquarters set the scene for tit-for-tat struggle. February 1966 was no ordinary month. Both the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters were tensely engaged in strategic disposition.

Almost at the very moment when Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen were putting together their counterrevolutionary "February Outline" in Peking, Comrade Lin Piao entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching with calling and presiding over a forum in Shanghai on literary and art work in the armed forces. The Summary of this forum was worked out. It is a historic document that holds high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought. These then were the widely different orders from the two different headquarters.

Illuminated by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and in sharp opposition to the counter-revolutionary "February Outline," the Summary summed up trenchantly and in an all-round way the history of the struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front. It issued the militant order for waging the Great

Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It bluntly pointed out that since the founding of the People's Republic of China literary and art circles had been "under the dictatorship of a sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. This sinister line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s [in the Kuomintang areas of China]."

Ideologically, this sinister line tried to corrupt and poison the proletariat with feudal, bourgeois and revisionist trash. Under many different signboards, it set loose for many years large numbers of ghosts and monsters which flooded our newspapers, radio, periodicals, books, textbooks, speeches, literary and art works, films, operas and plays, *quyi* balladry, fine arts, music and dance. One by one, it turned literary and art positions into reactionary strongholds for creating public opinion for restoring capitalism.

Politically, this sinister line opposed the Party, socialism, and Mao Tsetung Thought; it opposed serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. It was a vital part of the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line represented by Liu Shao-chi. Those who pushed this line "have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction." Instead, they energetically prepared counterrevolutionary public opinion for restoring capitalism.

This sinister line also followed the revisionist organizational line of recruiting deserters and turncoats and forming cliques to work for its private interests and of corrupting and enticing people. It made reactionary literary and artistic persons of the 1930s its core to usurp leadership in every sphere of culture. It rallied feudal remnants of all descriptions, ghosts and monsters and many counter-revolutionaries around it, forming a counter-revolutionary faction and an independent underground kingdom hidden inside the revolutionary ranks. On the other hand, it frantically pushed the policy of the "three well-knowns and three highs"* and corrupted and wheedled literary and art workers to its side so that the whole literary and art world became a hot-bed for engendering revisionism and a tool for restoring capitalism.

Following the great teachings of Chairman Mao, the Summary uprooted this influential sinister line. Its initiator and chief backer Liu Shao-chi was also exposed in the course of the mass movement in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Conclusive facts show that the handful of top persons in power in the Party taking the capitalist road represented by Liu Shao-chi tried in every way to have the landlords, the bourgeoisie and all kinds of ghosts and monsters perform on the stage of literature and art in all their frenzy, and they unrestrainedly pushed a sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line. This conformed to their counter-revolutionary political needs in restoring capitalism. Making use of the dominant position of the landlord and capitalist classes in the cultural field, they waged last-ditch struggles against the proletariat. Chairman Mao teaches us: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." The ultimate reason the sinister line and its chief backer Liu Shaochi boosted the Inside Story of the Ching Court and manufactured Hai Jui Dismissed From Office was to create counter-revolutionary public opinion to restore capitalism and overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Summary revealed the soul-stirring struggle between the two lines in literature and art, broke the landlord and bourgeoisie's monopoly over literature and art, and put Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art directly in the hands of the workers, peasants and soldiers. It wrote a militant prologue to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Responding to the great call in the Summary to "completely eliminate this sinister line," the workers, peasants and soldiers in the last three years wrathfully marched against the literature and art of the landlord and capitalist classes which had dominated and poisoned the working people for thousands of years, and shattered the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique headed by Liu Shao-chi, thereby shaking the world. In the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, the Summary called on workers, peasants and soldiers to disdain all exploiting-class ideologies, Chinese or foreign, and first of all to wield the proletarian pen in sharp battle against the literature and art of the landlord and capitalist classes, to criticize and to struggle and make revolution against it. Magnificent flowers of proletarian literature and art have already blossomed in the course of thorough criticism of the old literature and art, and they will continue to blossom.

We must conscientiously sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front, continue to raise our consciousness in the struggle between the two lines, and resolutely implement and defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art with our lives. Steadfastly following Chairman Mao's great teaching "The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture," we must build all ideological and cultural positions into indestructible, red proletarian bulwarks to prevent and oppose revisionism for all time.

^{*}Referring to well-known writers, actors and directors, high salaries, honorariums and bonuses.

The Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party Warmly Greeted

Greetings From Argentine Communist Vanguard

Dear Comrade Mao Tsetung,

Chairman of the Presidium of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China,

Dear Comrade Delegates:

With great happiness and immense joy, the broad masses of Communists, advanced workers and peasants as well as revolutionary students of Argentina have received the news of the convening of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China. To us, this important event is of political and ideological significance which goes beyond the frontiers of the People's Republic of China. Its influence has spread to all the peoples of the world who regard China as their reliable revolutionary base of support and the Chinese Communist Party as the beacon light illuminating their path in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. This important meeting of Chinese Communists is held at a time when the U.S. imperialists. Soviet revisionists and reactionaries all over the world have suffered defeat after defeat. It is a great inspiration and support to the peoples the world over who are fighting for their liberation. The magnificent example of the Chinese Communists who have made notable advance in socialist construction and have created an experience with no equal in the history of mankind, that of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is extremely valuable to all Argentine revolutionaries. We have noticed with great satisfaction that the proletarian headquarters led by Comrade Mao Tsetung has been strengthened, and all the stupid illusions of the group of enemies headed by the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi who defended the bourgeois revisionist reactionary line and tried to turn back the wheel of history and restore capitalism in China are completely shattered. The Communist Party of China has purified its own ranks, cleared out the revisionist renegades and brought about a more profound understanding of the guiding ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This has assured the firm orientation of the Chinese revolution which is taking the path to commu-

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nism. The Chinese people have strengthened the ties which unite themselves with the Communist Party and their great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung. Exalted is the revolutionary spirit of the fraternal Chinese people who stand firm like an impregnable bastion in the face of provocations of imperialism and its collusion with the "new Soviet tsars" and who are the reliable rearguard of the revolutionaries of the whole world. Comrade Mao Tsetung has once again demonstrated his calibre as a great proletarian revolutionary leader, a meritorious successor to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, whose theory he has notably enriched. He is the indisputable leader of the great world revolution in our times.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has strengthened the Communist Party of China has also influenced our Party positively, impelled our organization to tighten its links with the masses and unite with them in their struggle. It has constituted a great historic lesson from which teachings have constantly come up for the masses of Party members and cadres.

Moreover, the international dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought, Marxism-Leninism of our epoch, has helped more and more revolutionaries to take hold of this invaluable weapon for the struggle against imperialism and military dictatorship now being waged by the Argentine people and our organization. The repeated study and putting into practice of the wise teachings of Comrade Mao Tsetung have enabled us to fulfil better the revolutionary task and are an inestimable assistance to the elaboration of the thesis to be considered in our first national congress at which the Revolutionary Communist Party of Argentina will be established. For all these reasons, we are anticipating with the greatest interest the documents of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in which the Chinese Communists will sum up their rich experience that will doubtlessly be of great significance to us all. China has not changed its colour and will remain red for ever. This is most important to all Communists and revolutionaries. Dark hours would be awaiting the whole world had the schemes of the revisionist group headed by the traitor Liu Shao-chi succeeded. Then the liberation of our fatherland would also be delayed. However, it has not been so. On the

contrary, the Argentine people have never enjoyed such militant solidarity and support from the Chinese Communists as today.

Today the Argentine people are suffering from the brutal domination of the pro-U.S. military dictatorship and are carrying out a growing resistance to the oligarchical-imperialist plans. The struggle of the working class and the people is mounting daily. We are sure that the Argentine people will grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, build their own revolutionary party, unfold bravely the struggle in order to wage a people's war which would put an end to the power of imperialism and all reactionaries. The great heroic deeds of the Chinese people will sooner or later find its echo in Argentina. We, the Argentine revolutionary Communists, pledge our everlasting loyalty to Mao Tsetung Thought, to the general line for the liberation of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to the principle of people's war. Therefore, we, the revolutionary Communists of Argentina, will carefully study the conclusions of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, in order to apply them creatively to the concrete reality of our country and emulate your successes in Argentina.

With this salute, we sincerely wish your Ninth National Congress a complete success and that it may provide useful lessons for the revolutionary Communists and workers of the whole world.

Long live the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China!

Long live Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the world proletarian revolution and the great Marxist-Leninist!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Argentine Communist Vanguard April 17, 1969

Greetings From Austrian Revolutionary

Workers' Association

(Marxist-Leninists)

Peking

Chairman Mao:

The Austrian Revolutionary Workers' Association (Marxist-Leninists) hails most warmly the congress. The congress has tremendous significance for the world communist movement and the world revolution against imperialism and revisionism.

> Alfred Jocha April 24, 1969

Greetings From Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China,

Dear Comrades:

In the name of all members and the leaders of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador and conveying the sentiments of the revolutionary masses of our people, we extend warm revolutionary greetings to the Ninth Congress of the fraternal Communist Party of China, the vanguard of world revolution.

Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the Communist Party of China, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of its own country, wisely led the most numerous revolutionary people on earth to carry out, through people's war and prolonged bloody struggle, the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist democratic revolution, winning victory over the internal and external enemies. This has shown the peoples of semifeudal and semi-colonial countries the correct road to their liberation, thus enriching the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and bringing about a radical change in the world balance of forces in favour of revolution.

The Communist Party of China, being loyal to the interests of the working class, of which it is the best representative and leader, has firmly defended the dictatorship of the proletariat in solid alliance with the peasants and other sections of the revolutionary people, and it has taken deep root among the broad masses. It has led the socialist revolution in all spheres and guided the people in socialist construction, converting China from a backward country into a powerful one, with advanced agriculture, modern industry, highly developed culture, technology and science, and with a military strength capable of defending the brilliant achievements of the people against the schemes of the internal and external enemies.

Taking into consideration the negative experience in other socialist countries whose leaders have betrayed the revolution and are sunk in the revisionist swamp, the Communist Party of China, being loyal to the destiny of its people and of world revolution, has conducted, through complicated class struggle and by bold and gigantic mobilization of the masses, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which has smashed revisionism in the country, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat by clearing the ranks of the Communist Party and all the state organs of the representatives of the bourgeoisie and other reactionaries headed by Liu Shao-chi, prevented the restoration of capitalism in this great socialist country, tremendously promoted the development of the socialist society in all fields and, creating a new type of man, laid the foundation for the building of communism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has achieved fundamental victory all over China and is going to gain thorough victory. This

has dealt a heavy blow to imperialism, revisionism and reaction the world over, and it is an important contribution to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of all countries.

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have consistently adhered to the fundamental principles of proletarian internationalism, and are continuing to put them into practice as they weaken the world strength of imperialism by their revolution and as they give unconditional aid to all the revolutionary peoples who dare to carry the struggle for liberation through to the end.

The Communist Party of China has well applied a correct revolutionary policy in its relations with fraternal Parties, a policy of co-operation and unity based on principle, of mutual respect and treating each other on equal footing.

The resolute struggle waged by the Communist Party of China in recent years against modern revisionism and the whole course of her revolution have set a great example of class firmness, of intransigence on principles and boundless loyalty to the revolutionary theory of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism, and, at the same time, a great example in creatively applying and genuinely enriching this ideology in the course of struggle.

The genuine revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party of China deserves, as it has always deserved, the sincere respect, love and support of the Ecuadorian Marxist-Leninists and of the working class and people whom they represent and serve. It is also an immense inspiration and example in their struggle. Our Party is aware of the fact that all the great achievements of the fraternal Chinese Party are connected with the constant practice of Mao Tsetung Thought — Marxism-Leninism of our era, and is making serious efforts to study it and apply it to the concrete conditions of our revolution.

Dear comrades, we are convinced that your congress will make new contributions to the great cause of the Chinese people and to that of the world revolution. We wholeheartedly wish your congress success in accomplishing its tasks of far-reaching importance. We are united, firmly united, with you and with all genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries of different countries, and we will continue to be so for ever in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the ruthless struggle against imperialism and all the reactionaries and their partners and agents — the revisionists of every description — thus fulfilling the task of unremittingly leading our people in the war of liberation and making contribution to world revolution through the struggle.

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the militant unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement throughout the world!

Long live the triumphant struggle of all the peoples of the world against imperialism and revisionism!

May 16, 1969

Long live Mao Tsetung Thought — Marxism-Leninism of our era!

With fraternal revolutionary greetings,

Rafael Echeverria, First Secretary, Central Committee, Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador

April 6, 1969

Statement by Communist Party of Australia (M-L)

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) issued a statement on May 7 saying that "the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China was a profound and tremendous victory for the revolutionary people of China and for the revolutionary people of all the world. In Australia we hail this world-shaking victory. This congress was a congress of unity and victory."

The Chinese Communist Party, the statement said, "stands like granite and emerges stronger than ever. It is correctly designated the 'great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China.' It took another gigantic step in equipping the minds of the world's revolutionary people with the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought there is nothing that the revolutionary people cannot achieve."

It continued: "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China aroused the Chinese masses and the masses throughout the world to renewed struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and revisionism the centre of which is the Soviet renegade revisionist clique. The documents of the congress serve as an inspiring guide to be integrated with our own reality. Everyone will closely study the press communiques, the magnificent report of Lin Piao and the new Chinese Party Constitution. The report of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao is a brilliant and consistent exposition and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The questions of political power, for or against the dictatorship of the proletariat, how to maintain, defend and develop the dictatorship of the proletariat are critical questions for all revolutionaries. They are systematically examined and elucidated in Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's report."

The statement pointed out that "unless one understands that Mao Tsetung Thought is an entirely new stage of Marxism-Leninism, is Marxism-Leninism of the contemporary world, one is unarmed in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism."

Truly for or against Mao Tsetung Thought, it said, "is the touchstone of loyalty to the socialist revolution. Liu Shao-chi was against it for decades. He opposed Mao Tsetung Thought, opposed the dictatorship

of the proletariat. Mass investigation showed that this was no accident. He was a long time traitor, renegade, spy and scab. He worked for the internal and international reaction. He worked for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a profound theoretical and practical lesson."

The statement said: "In our conditions, the question of the struggle for political power, for the political power of the Australian working class is the critical question." It denounced the Aarons renegade revisionist clique for betraying the interests of the Australian working class.

The statement said that the report of Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, "has given us a wonderful weapon of Mao Tsetung Thought. We too must place Mao Tsetung Thought in command of everything."

Editorial by Japan's "People's Star"

People's Star, organ of the National Council of the Japanese Communist Party (Left), said in its May 5 editorial: "This congress has demonstrated to the country and the world the composition of the powerful leading organ of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China personally founded and nurtured by Comrade Mao Tsetung. It has solemnly proclaimed the great victory of Mao Tsetung Thought. It is not only a congress full of vigour and vitality and with farreaching influence in the history of the Chinese Communist Party, but is also an epoch-making congress of paramount historic significance in the history of the world communist movement. It is bound to have far-reaching influence on the liberation struggle of the people of all countries."

The editorial pointed out that Comrade Mao Tsetung has summed up in a scientific way the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, comprehensively expounded the question of contradictions, classes and class struggles under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and put forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It said that this was an ineffaceable contribution to the development of Marxism and to the cause of the emancipation of mankind.

Comrade Mao Tsetung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions concerning the proletarian revolution in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory and has led China's socialist revolution to tremendous victory. He has solved both in theory and practice the question of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. He has pointed out to mankind the road of advance towards communism and has opened up a new era for the emancipation of mankind.

The editorial said: "Comrade Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist of our time, the greatest standardbearer standing at the forefront of the world proletariat and the greatest leader of the people throughout the world. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era and the powerful ideological weapon guiding the liberation struggle of the world's people to victory."

It said: "Comrade Mao Tsetung has waged a titfor-tat struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre; he has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Tsetung has led the big international struggle of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism from victory to victory and dispelled the dark clouds temporarily brought about by modern revisionism. This has enormously inspired the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world and the struggle of the Japanese Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism."

It pointed out: "The victorious Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, held under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and amidst the song of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is the most vivid symbol of the new era of world revolution with Mao Tsetung Thought as its great banner; it is a clarion call to the people of the world to march to new victory."

Article Broadcast by "Voice of the People of Thailand" Radio

The "Voice of the People of Thailand" Radio, in an article broadcast recently, most warmly acclaimed the victorious close of the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

The article said: The victorious close of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is a great victory for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, for the Communist Party of China, for the 700 million Chinese people and for the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world. The revolutionary people of Thailand under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand jubilantly and warmly greet the great victory scored by the congress.

It noted: "This congress not only is sure to have a far-reaching influence in the history of the Communist Party of China, but also on the international communist movement and the world revolution. It will go down in history as a tremendous contribution to mankind."

The article continued: "The victory of the congress is further proof that the Communist Party of China personally founded by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world, is great, glorious and correct. It demonstrates the unprecedented might and unity of the Communist Party of China."

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao Tsetung's proletarian revolutionary line, the Chinese Communist Party has always stood firmly at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre, the article said.

The victory of this congress, it said, will make Mao Tsetung Thought shine with brighter radiance in China and the rest of the world, make the dictatorship of the proletariat in China still more consolidated and ensure that the People's Republic of China — the most reliable rear, base area and bulwark of world revolution — will never change its colour.

The article pointed out that the militant call by the congress to thoroughly smash the U.S.-Soviet plot for redividing the world, and to carry through to the end the great struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction has given immense inspiration to the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world and struck terror into the hearts of imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The congress will speed up the development of world revolution.

The revolutionary people of Thailand under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand, the article said, are immensely elated and inspired by the great victory of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. They regard the victory of the congress as their own victory.

The article stated that the people of Thailand will follow the teaching of the Communist Party of Thailand to hold the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought still higher, study Mao Tsetung Thought well while waging people's war, and more effectively integrate Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the revolution in Thailand so that the radiance of great Mao Tsetung Thought will shine over all Thailand. In conclusion, the article said: "Together with the Chinese people and all other revolutionary people, the people of Thailand will carry the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction through to the end. 'A new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without any system of exploitation is certain to be built.'"

Article by India's "Jammu Sandesh"

In an article on April 10, the Urdu weekly Jammu Sandesh of India pointed out that the people and the revolutionaries all over the world welcome the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China with warm feelings and enthusiasm.

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The article said: The heroic and revolutionary Chinese Communist Party during its 48 years of life has accomplished most outstanding deeds. This is the Party whose militant heroes astounded the world by completing the 25,000-li Long March. This is the Party which through its 22 years of uninterrupted armed struggle made the Chinese people the arbiters of their own future by defeating U.S. imperialism, Japanese imperialism and their Chinese lackeys. This is the Party which launched the struggle against international revisionism with Soviet revisionism as the centre. This is the Party which successfully carried out the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This is the Party which today stands in the forefront as a vanguard in the wiping out of the most ferocious enemies of the people of the world - U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The article pointed out that the holding of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is indeed the most momentous event in the international communist movement.

The article said: "The great leader of this heroic Party Mao Tsetung has raised Marxism-Leninism to a new peak." "Mao Tsetung Thought represents the sum total of the loftiest wisdom in the world today and is the embodiment of his incomparable genius." It pointed out that Mao Tsetung Thought is lighting up the path of advance for the people.

The article said: "To the oppressed people the congress will show them the road of how to get rid of their oppression, whereas for U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism it will sound their death-knell. Its decisions will instil fresh courage and enthusiasm among the revolutionaries and frighten U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys to death."

The article said: "Mao Tsetung Thought is the universal truth of the present era." "Mao Tsetung Thought is illumining the minds of 700 million Chinese people and the other 2,300 million people of the whole world with new refulgence. The brilliance of Mao Tsetung Thought is the greatest obstacle in the path of the gangsterism of the imperialists, revisionists and their lackeys." "Mao Tsetung Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of the present era and the great guide to the international communist movement."

The article said: The Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party will once again confirm the Marxist-Leninist truth that the future definitely belongs to the people; that, historically, imperialism, revisionism and their lackeys are all dying forces; that the people sooner or later will surely overthrow them.

Greetings From France-China Friendship Association

The France-China Friendship Association has enthusiastically acclaimed the holding and victorious close of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

In a message of greetings, the association said: We who shoulder the task of developing ties of friendship between the French people and the People's Republic of China acclaim the great victories of Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line achieved in the great congress of unity.

The message declared: "We extend warm congratulations to Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and the new Central Committee elected by the congress." It said: "We are certain that the Chinese people's victories will strengthen the confidence of the people of the world in the outcome of their struggle, and we shall intensify our efforts to make known to the workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals of France the real condition of socialist China."

The message concluded with the slogans: "Long live the militant friendship between the French and Chinese peoples!" "Long live the great People's Republic of China!" and "Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung, a long, long life to him!"

People of India Embark on the Road of Armed Struggle

COMMUNIST revolutionaries in India are vigorously studying and applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the light of the concrete questions of the Indian revolution and are beginning to lead the revolutionary people of India on to the revolutionary road of armed struggle. They are making remarkable achievements.

"Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun"

India is a big country with a population of 500 million. For several hundred years, brutal rule by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism has plunged the Indian people into the depths of misery. Plagued by hunger and poverty, the Indian people are among the most downtrodden in the world. To fight for emancipation, they have tried various kinds of revolutionary struggle. To stamp out the revolutionary flames of the people, India's reactionary ruling class has long propagated the "doctrine of non-violence." The Indian revisionists who cater to the needs of the reactionary ruling class are doing their utmost to spread illusions about "peaceful transition" in a vain attempt to lure the Indian people on to the "parliamentary road." The crimes of the Indian revisionists in shamelessly betraying the Indian revolution have won the praise and support of the notorious Khrushchov and the renegade. hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought launched a powerful struggle in the sixties of this century against modern revisionism and scored a great victory. In this situation, the Indian Communist revolutionaries took concrete action to rebel against the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party, smashed the "parliamentary road" shackles and embarked on the revolutionary road of armed struggle. They translated the brilliant works of Chairman Mao into different dialects and published them in large quantities and widely spread Mao Tsetung Thought in revolutionary journals. They distributed and put up large quantities of revolutionary leaflets and posters, and laid stress on spreading the great truth pointed out by Chairman Mao — "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The Indian Communist revolutionaries began going deep into the rural areas to lead and rouse the peasants to armed struggle. A peasant revolutionary struggle developed in Naxalbari and other areas of Darjeeling District, West Bengal State, at the beginning of 1967, and it struck India like a spring thunderbolt. By heroically using violence against reactionary rule and feudal oppression, the Naxalbari peasants have unfurled a glorious banner for the Indian people's struggle for emancipation.

The spark kindled by the Naxalbari peasants' revolutionary struggle has blazed in several parts of India in the last two years. Under the leadership of the Indian Communist revolutionaries, the hill people in Srikakulam District, Andhra State, who are ground down by the Indian reactionaries, arm themselves with bows and arrows and time and again deal heavy blows to the reactionary police. The flames of their struggle have spread to the plains and coastal areas and on to adjoining Orissa State. In a number of places in Bihar State and Uttar Pradesh, revolutionary peasants organized themselves, heroically beat back armed suppression by the landlords and reactionary troops and police and seized back large tracts of land from the landlords. A peasant revolutionary armed force recently appeared in the jungles near Lakhimpur in Uttar Pradesh, striking repeatedly at the reactionary police

force. In Kerala State, revolutionary peasants have also waged one armed struggle after another.

Integration of Marxism-Leninism-Mac Tsetung Thought With Revolutionary Practice

While firmly taking the revolutionary road of armed struggle, the Indian Communist revolutionaries and Indian revolutionary people constantly summed up the experience in and drew lessons from the revolutionary practice of the last two years, applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the solution of a series of questions arising from their revolutionary practice.

After summing up the experience and lessons gained in the Naxalbari struggle, the Indian Communist revolutionaries pointed explicitly to the importance of building a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In a report summing up the experience of the Naxalbari struggle which was published not long ago, they pointed out that one of the causes of the temporary setback in the Naxalbari struggle is: "The absence of a Party which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its highest development in the present era, Mao Tsetung Thought, which is closely linked with the masses, which does not fear self-criticism and which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist style of work."

The Indian Communist revolutionaries in the Naxalbari struggle have pointed to the importance of establishing revolutionary political power. The Naxalbari peasant struggle, they pointed out, is a struggle not only for land but for political power. The heroic Naxalbari peasants set up revolutionary committees and established peasant political power in different places. They declared bourgeois law and the law courts in the villages null and void. The decisions of the revolutionary committees are law. While summing up the experience of this struggle, the Indian Communist revolutionaries pointed out that only by arming the peasants, organizing guerrilla units and a regular armed force, and building liberated areas in India can the political power of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords be overthrown and new political power inaugurated. On the question of seizing political power by armed force, the Indian Communist revolutionaries resolutely exposed the Indian revisionists for their revisionist line of limiting the peasant struggle against feudalism to the distribution of land and opposing the seizure of power by the peasants through armed force.

Another important question raised by the peasants in Naxalbari and other areas in the course of the revolutionary struggle concerns having faith in and relying on the masses and fully arousing the masses. The Indian Communist revolutionaries organized some 90 per cent of the rural population in all these areas into peasant committees. They warmly praised the originality displayed by the Naxalbari peasant masses and the important role they play in the democratic revolution, and stressed the necessity to protect the initiative

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of the masses. Many fighters in the Naxalbari struggle who have studied Chairman Mao's works now have a better understanding of the mass line. One revolutionary said: "Chairman Mao has taught us that we should cherish boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. I used to work in the villages. and my feeling about the peasants was superficial. I wrongly took it for granted that the peasants should welcome me and be grateful since I was there working for them. Judged by Chairman Mao's thesis on 'serving the people whole-heartedly,' I discovered that I'm individualistic in thought, and my world outlook is now undergoing a change." Another fighter who had taken part in the Naxalbari struggle said: Self-reliance is a matter of fundamental importance in the revolutionary struggle. To persist in self-reliance, one must have confidence in and rely on the masses of the people, politically and economically.

The Indian Communist revolutionaries attach much importance to rural investigation and class analysis. An article they published in the weekly Deshabrati quoted Chairman Mao's teaching in his brilliant work, Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society. Chairman Mao said: "The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies." The article pointed out that to ensure success for the revolution, it is imperative that the Indian revolutionaries make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Indian society, including the latter's respective attitudes towards the revolution. The Indian Communist revolutionaries have carried out pilot investigation and class analysis in some villages so as to obtain a clear picture of the class alignment in the countryside and settle the basic question of who are to be relied upon, who are to be united with and who are to be the targets of attack.

Indian Communist Revolutionaries Lead the People Forward Triumphantly

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle."

The broad masses of revolutionary people in India are applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to solve the strategy and tactics of revolution and other questions and constantly expose and repudiate the absurdities and lies spread by the Indian reactionaries and Indian revisionists, thus steadily pushing the revolution forward.

1969 is a year of paramount importance for the revolutionary people the world over. In this year, the Communist revolutionaries and revolutionary people of India will surely strengthen their unity, frustrate the intrigues and machinations of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists, Indian reactionaries and Indian revisionists and march forward in bigger strides on the glorious road of armed struggle. They will gain more and bigger victories!

Organizing the Peasants, Building Up a People's Armed Force and Launching Armed Struggle For Complete Overthrow of Reactionary Rule

— Revolutionary Indian journals carry a report which uses Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to sum up the experience and lessons of the peasant armed struggle in Naxalbari and other places

THE Indian weekly Deshabrati and the monthly Liberation recently carried a report which uses Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to sum up the experience and lessons of the peasant armed struggle which reached a high tide in March and April 1967 in Naxalbari and other places in the Siliguri subdivision, Darjeeling District in the northern part of West Bengal State.

The report points out that in a country like India, the only way to overthrow the regime of the compradorbureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlord class is by arming the peasants, building a people's armed force and waging armed struggle. It also severely denounces the Indian revisionists for acting as an accomplice of the reactionary Indian Government in suppressing the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle.

Importance of the Peasant Question In India

The report first stresses the importance of the peasant question in India. It says: Ours is a semicolonial and semi-feudal country, 80 per cent of whose population live in the villages. The contradiction between the people of our country and feudalism is the principal contradiction. The comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords have been carrying on their rule and exploitation through their political organization, the Congress Party, by protecting fully and developing imperialist interests and by covering up the basis of feudalism with legal coatings. So the peasants are the main force of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle. Unless the peasants are liberated it is impossible to achieve the liberation of all other oppressed classes. The Terai [hilly areas below the Himalayas] peasants are a part of our country's peasantry. These heroic peasants dealt merciless blows to the obsolete and rotten feudal elements - the landlords and usurers. The state apparatus of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords is preserving the feudal system by force and carrying on an armed rule. Inspired by Chairman Mao's teaching, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," the heroic peasants opposed this armed rule with armed revolt.

It continues: The peasants of Terai not only dealt a fierce blow at feudalism, they also expressed their intense hatred for the imperialist exploitation of India, especially its exploitation by U.S. imperialism, swept into the dust the political, economic and social authority, dignity and prestige built up in the villages by the landlords who represent feudalism, and established the rule of the peasant committee in the villages through their armed revolt. That is why the Naxalbari struggle has shown the path for the liberation of India's oppressed classes.

It says: The struggle of the heroic peasants has brought to the forefront quite forcefully the role of the peasants in India's democratic revolution overcoming the fierce and active opposition put up by all the reactionaries and revisionists.

Account of Peasant Struggle in Siliguri

The report then gives an account of the peasant struggle in the Siliguri sub-division, Darjeeling District.

It notes that a peasant convention was held in the Siliguri sub-division. The convention gave out the call to (1) establish the authority of the peasant committees in all matters of the village, (2) get organized and be armed in order to crush the resistance of the landlords and rural reactionaries and (3) smash the landlords' monopoly of ownership of the land and redistribute the land anew through the peasant committees. The convention further declared that the peasants' struggle against feudalism would have to face repression by all reactionaries, be it Indira Gandhi's government in New Delhi or the United Front government in West Bengal. So, all their repression must be resisted by force of arms and by carrying on a protracted struggle.

The report says: "Almost all the villages got organized during the period from the end of March to the end of April 1967. Whereas, previously, the membership strength of the Kisan Sabha [peasant association] could not be increased beyond 5 thousand, the membership now jumped to nearly 40 thousand. About 15 to 20 thousand peasants began to do whole-time work and built up peasant committees in villages. The young men of the villages who had never before been seen in the front ranks of the Kisan Sabha now occupied the place of veteran peasant cadres. With the speed of a storm the revolutionary peasants, in the course of about one and a half months, formed peasant committees through hundreds of group meetings and turned these committees into armed village defence groups. In a word, they organized about 90 per cent of the village population. This action of the peasants completely changed all of our old ideas of organization. Chairman Mao teaches us: 'The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy.' We came to realize more profoundly the significance of this teaching of our great teacher Chairman Mao from this action of the Terai peasants."

Ten Great Tasks for Wiping Out the Feudal System in the Villages

The report points out that the revolutionary activities of the peasants united all the peasants irrespective of their nationality, religion, language and caste. The peasants mainly accomplished the ten great tasks for wiping out the feudal system in the villages that had existed for centuries.

1. They declared that all land which was not owned and tilled by the peasants themselves was to be redistributed by the peasant committees.

2. They held meetings and burnt all the legal deeds and documents relating to the land.

3. They declared null and void all agreements relating to the mortgage of land and bullocks, which the peasants had been forced into by the landlords and money-lenders, as well as the huge burden of interest imposed on them.

4. They confiscated and distributed among themselves rice and other things hoarded by the landlords.

5. They brought to trial notorious landlords and sentenced them to death.

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6. They brought to trial the wicked, ruffian elements and flunkeys of the landlords, some of whom were paraded through the streets with fools' caps on their heads.

7. They armed themselves with traditional weapons like bows, arrows and spears, as well as with guns forcibly taken from the landlords, and organized armed groups.

8. They arranged for night watch; announced that severe punishment would be awarded in case of theft and dacoity; and shouldered the responsibility of running the schools.

9. In every area they created revolutionary committees and established the peasants' political power.

10. They declared the bourgeois law and lawcourts null and void in the villages. The decisions of the revolutionary committees were declared to be the law.

The report says: The leadership of this struggle was, naturally, in the hands of the landless peasants, who are the most militant section of the peasantry. The reason why these revolutionary actions could become so far-reaching and so vast in their sweep is that the leadership of the struggle was in the hands of the poor landless peasants, who constitute 70 per cent of the peasantry.

It continues: "All the so-called Left parties joined the Congress Party in their mad crusade to vilify the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai. But all their vilification can never hide the fact that the peasants of Terai have overthrown feudalism root and branch, a feat which could not be done through any legislation or any other thing during all these hundreds of years."

Struggle to Seize Land and State Power

It points out that this struggle is a struggle not only for land but also for state power.

The report quotes Chairman Mao's teaching: "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, for China and for all other countries."

The report says: "In our country also, we can succeed in overthrowing the regime of the compradorbureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords only by arming the peasants and by building up guerrilla groups and a regular armed force. The peasants of Terai have taken up exactly this work."

The report denounces those so-called communists dressed up as "Marxists" who want to keep the anti-

feudal struggle pegged to the question of land distribution. They become panicky whenever they see armed peasants.

It says: "The struggle of the peasants is not merely a struggle for land. On the contrary, in order to end the monopoly of land ownership and feudal exploitation by the landlords in the villages, which are being preserved by the Congress Party, the political party of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the landlords, with the help of the political, economic, social and cultural structure that serves the landlords, a new political, economic, social and cultural structure must be created by establishing a new political power. This political power can be established by arousing and arming the peasants, by organizing guerrilla groups, by creating liberated areas, by building a regular armed force, and by protecting and expanding this force. Such a political power, no matter in how small an area it is established, is the embryo of the future people's democratic state power in India."

Referring to the question of the united front in the anti-feudal struggle, the report points out that an important aspect of the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai is its success in gaining the support of the teagarden workers and other toiling people and, thus, intensifying the struggle still further by building a united front in the anti-feudal struggle. This is the most important task. A united front of all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal elements that can be united, can be built only on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance carrying on armed struggle.

Deviations and Lessons in Struggle

The report then sums up the deviations and lessons in struggle. "Why have we failed, though temporarily, to advance the struggle of the heroic peasants of Terai? The reasons are: lack of a strong Party organization, failure to rely wholeheartedly on the masses and to build a powerful mass base, ignorance of military affairs, thinking on old lines and a formal attitude towards the establishment of political power and the work of revolutionary land reform. We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings in discussing these matters. He teaches us: 'New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts."" "By the lack of a strong Party organization we mean the absence of a Party which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its highest development in the present era, Mao Tsetung Thought, which is closely linked with the masses, which does not fear selfcriticism and which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist style of work."

The report states: "We were unable to raise the struggle firmly to a higher stage because we failed to rely wholly on the people and to build a powerful mass base." "Whenever the heroic peasant masses took the initiative and wanted to do something, we of petty bourgeois origin opposed them. The reason is, we did not understand, nor did we even try to understand, the actions of the masses. On the contrary, under the influence of old revisionist habits we arbitrarily set limits as to how far they should go. This resulted in thwarting the initiative of the masses and blunting the edge of the class struggle."

The report says: "During the second stage of our struggle, we have resolved, we must link ourselves with the needs and wishes of the people, go to the people with boundless love and respect in our heart and integrate ourselves with the people."

The report points out emphatically: "Chairman Mao teaches us: 'All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.' If, in any struggle, we happen to over-estimate the enemy's strength politically, it will never be possible to gain victory in that struggle. In other words, if we do not have, from the strategic viewpoint, the courage and firmness required to defeat the enemy, we shall inevitably face defeat."

Deeply Study the Political and Military Theories of Chairman Mao

In conclusion, the report says: What we have learnt from the struggle of the Terai peasants is that we must deeply study the political and military theories of Chairman Mao, apply them in practice and then study them again. Our greatest responsibility is to make arrangements for our worker and peasant comrades to study the thought of Chairman Mao.

Furthermore, we have learnt from the experience of our struggle that the armed groups formed after arousing the people in the villages and arming them will become the village defence groups.

We must acquire knowledge of guerrilla warfare by arming the peasants with traditional weapons (bows and arrows, spears, etc.) and by organizing assaults on the class enemies.

We are to build up liberated zones gradually by forming peasant guerrilla groups and by carrying on their activities. It would not be possible either to form guerrilla groups or to carry on their activities for long, if we do not, at the same time, persevere in building liberated zones also. We must lay utmost stress on building a people's armed force. To build a people's armed force, we must form centrally organized groups of armed guerrillas. These, we think, will be the embryo of the people's armed force.

In some other areas, again, we may try to organize armed peasant revolts and build the people's armed force comprising those armed peasants who have risen in revolt.

U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism Step Up "Middle East Munich" Plot

A "four-power meeting" of the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain is going on in New York. Purported to be a meeting for "settling the Middle East question," it is actually an intensified effort in plotting a "Middle East Munich" so as to realize the criminal ambition of the imperialist and revisionist powers — primarily the United States and the Soviet Union — to dominate the Middle East.

Delegates of the United States, the Soviet Union. France and Britain to the United Nations have held seven meetings since early April in an effort to put together a plan for a "political solution" of the Middle East question to be imposed on the Arab people. It is their hope that, through this "Middle East Munich," they will be able to force the Arab countries to come to terms with and capitulate to Israel, a tool of imperialist aggression, completely liquidate the Palestine cause of liberation, and stamp out the flames of the Palestinian people's armed struggle. This plot is an important part of the counter-revolutionary political deal being made between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in their wild attempt to redivide the world.

"Four-Power Meeting" — A Meeting Between U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism to Divide the Spoils

The convening of the "four-power meeting" is a continuation and development of the "political solution" fraud on the Middle East question which U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have been pushing for the past two years. In order to forcibly effect in the Middle East a "political solution" which is resolutely opposed by the Arab people, France, which is anxious to "return to the Middle East," proposed in mid January this year with the support of the Soviet revisionists that the "four powers" hold a meeting within the framework of the United Nations to work out a formula. Beginning in February, delegates of the four countries had frequent behind-the-scenes "bilateral contacts" to sound out each other's intentions in preparation for the meeting. In early April, the United States, which was said to be "encouraged" by its "bilateral contacts" with the Soviet revisionists, proposed that the four countries meet without delay. So, starting from April 3, delegates of the four countries to the United Nations met once or twice a week, which served as the curtain-raiser for the current counter-revolutionary "four-power meeting."

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist socialimperialism are playing the main role in this counterrevolutionary sinister meeting. Before the meeting started, U.S. President Nixon, Secretary of State Rogers and Soviet Ambassador to the United States Dobrynin

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had held talks which Nixon described as "inspiring." After that, Dobrynin called at the U.S. State Department and held 11 secret talks with Sisco, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, plotting back-room secret deals. This shows that the "four-power meeting" is actually a meeting between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to divide the spoils, with Britain and France merely playing a minor role in the hope of getting a few crumbs from the table.

Fully revealing its hideous features. U.S. imperialism has been most arrogant and blustering inside and outside the "four-power meeting." After consultations with Israel, the United States dished up on March 24 a "nine-point working paper" on the so-called -solution of the Middle East question" which was to be the basis for bargaining at the "four-power meeting" side by side with the "five-point plan" put forward by the Soviet revisionists at the end of last December. It was revealed that the U.S. imperialists openly proposed putting down the armed struggle of the Palestinian people and forcing the Arab countries to cede territories to Israel in the name of "border adjustments" (including the cession of the Golan Heights of Syria and Jerusalem), granting Israeli vessels the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran, and recognizing the "sovereignty" of Israel. In addition, it also proposed the stationing of a so-called "U.N. force" in the "demilitarized zone" to carry out "supervision" with a view to facilitating control by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists.

Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism's Expansion in the Middle East

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, on the one hand, is contending with U.S. imperialism for spheres of influence in the Middle East, infiltrating into the Arab countries politically, militarily and economically by means of sham assistance but real control. To stage a show of force and step up its expansion, in April it once again sent a large number of warships to the Mediterranean, and the number of Soviet warships there was at one time boosted to nearly 60. On the other hand, it has been eagerly seeking collaboration with U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and coordinating with it in pressuring the Arab countries to compromise and surrender, in an attempt to strangle the armed struggle of the Palestinian people. For this purpose, the Soviet revisionists proposed a "five-point plan" at the end of last year and, inside and outside the "four-power meeting," are now going a step further in betraying the interests of the Arab people. In the past, the Soviet revisionists still held on to the sign-

board of demanding Israel's withdrawal to the ceasefire line prior to the June 1967 war, which in fact tolerated Israel's occupation of large tracts of Arab territory. But now, as revealed by the Western press, "the negotiators" at the "four-power meeting," including the Soviet revisionist delegate, "have reached the point where they no longer insist that Israel should withdraw to the frontiers existing in June 1967." Moreover, Soviet Ambassador to the United States Dobrynin had indicated agreement to U.S. Assistant Secretary Sisco on "minor adjustments" of the border of the Arab countries, or, in other words, on the cession of Arab territory to Israel.

Firm Opposition From Palestinian and Other Arab People

While plotting a "Middle East Munich," U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have spared no efforts to intimidate and cajole as well as split and disintegrate the Arab countries. Soon after the opening of the "fourpower meeting," King Hussein of Jordan put forward a "six-point plan" for a so-called "peaceful solution of the Middle East question." This plan has been denounced by Arab public opinion as one of capitulation and has met with strong opposition from the Arab people. The Lebanese authorities have likewise been dencunced by Arab public opinion for openly supporting Hussein's "six-point plan" and repeatedly persecuting and suppressing Palestinian commando units. Mass demonstrations have broken out on a large scale in Lebanon protesting the government's suppression of the Palestinian guerrillas, and the Lebanese Government was forced to resign.

The Palestinian people, who are fighting for the just cause of national liberation, and the masses of the Arab people and Arab public opinion have resolutely exposed and denounced the "four-power meeting" for plotting a "Middle East Munich." They will never allow imperialism and social-imperialism to decide their destiny.

The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization has declared in a statement that neither big powers nor other countries have the right to interfere in the Palestinian cause. It has reiterated its rejection of the U.N. Security Council resolution, the Soviet plan and the U.S. "working paper," and stressed that the Palestinian people are firmly determined to continue their armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine. The "Voice of Assifa" radio of Al Fatah (the Palestine National Liberation Movement) has denounced the conspiracy being concocted in New York by the four imperialist powers, "whose aim is to strike at the Palestinian revolution and agree on a conspiratorial settlement and a solution of capitulation to be imposed upon our people and our nation." A representative of the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine and a leading member of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have issued statements exposing and condemning the "four-power meeting" conspiracy. Syrian papers and radio in their commentaries have strongly opposed the scheme of the "four-power meeting" to impose a "political solution" devised by the United States and the Soviet Union on the Arab people. The Iraqi paper Al Thawrah said that the days are gone for ever when the "four powers" could impose their will on the people of other countries and that it is the Arab people, not the bosses of any country or the United Nations and its Security Council, who will decide the Palestine issue.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "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. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun." The conspiracies and counter-revolutionary moves of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism may create some difficulties and make the revolutionary people encounter twists and turns on the road forward, but they can never prevent the revolutionary torrent from surging forward. Final victory surely belongs to the valiant Palestinian and other Arab people who are determined to persist in the struggle against aggression.

Kremlin's New Tsars

Butchers of the People's Revolution in Southeast Asia

PURSUING their counter-revolutionary global strategy of "U.S.-Soviet joint domination of the world," the new tsars in the Kremlin are making a furious bid to undermine and suppress the people's revolutionary struggles in Southeast Asia. Working hand in glove with renegades and scabs, they plump for the

"parliamentary road," hoping in this way to cut the ground from under the people's revolutionary movement. They even provide reactionary regimes with arms for butchering the people's revolutionary armed forces who are valiantly fighting their oppressors. In a word, they have entered into counter-revolutionary

pacts with a handful of reactionary rulers in Southeast Asia.

The facts are clear. Like U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a pack of hangmen out to put down the people's revolution in Southeast Asia, the sworn enemy of the people in this region and social-imperialists of the darkest hue.

Grooming Reactionaries in Many Countries

These new tsars in Moscow are straining every effort to groom reactionaries of every colour in the region of Southeast Asia where the people's revolutionary struggle is surging forward with great vigour. They hit it off well with these reactionaries and stop at nothing in their counter-revolutionary activities.

This Soviet revisionist renegade clique takes as its intimate friends the Japanese reactionaries, who are the chief accomplice in the futile efforts of U.S. imperialism to suppress the national-liberation movements in Southeast Asia and prepare a large-scale war of aggression in Asia. Back in 1961, Khrushchov sent Mikoyan to Tokyo to seek closer collaboration with Japanese reaction. In 1964 Khrushchov fell from office, and Brezhnev, Kosygin and their kind came to power. Inheriting Khrushchov's mantle, they went further in ganging up with the Japanese reactionaries. In 1967, Kosygin himself told Takeo Miki, then the Japanese Foreign Minister who was on a visit to the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Government would "cooperate" with the Sato government in what he called "organizing counter-attacks against aggression." This was virtually an open announcement by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to form an anti-China military alliance with the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. The Soviet revisionists also embellish the Sato government which is intensifying its armaments drive and war preparations in a bid to realize the old dream of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." They have praised the Sato set-up for being a "stabilizing force in Asia" and "peace-loving" and expressed their desire to strengthen "co-operation" with the Japanese reactionaries.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has gone to great lengths to prettify and foster the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime whose hands are stained with the blood of the Indonesian people. It extols this counter-revolutionary clique which represents Indonesian feudal landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists as "revolutionary" and boosted Suharto as a "revolutionary leader." Since March 1968 when Suharto appointed himself "president," flattery of Suharto by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has become even more nauseating. Pravda, the mouthpiece of Soviet revisionism, in addition to carrying the news of Suharto's climb to power, published a "short biography" of this butcher of Indonesian Communists and revoltingly applauded him as Indonesia's "outstanding leader."

In the case of the Ne Win regime, a regime which mowed down more than 100 unarmed students in Rangoon in 1962 shortly after being in office, and a regime which rode to power by suppressing the Burmese people, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has also been quite open in its eulogy and support. Even at a time when the Ne Win clique was ruthlessly massacring the revolutionary Burmese people, the Soviet revisionist clique saw fit to glorify the Ne Win military regime as having embarked on a "non-capitalist road" and having begun the "transition to socialism" in Burma.

The Rahman puppet clique of "Malaysia," a stinking offspring of neo-colonialism, is esteemed by the Kremlin's new tsars as an intimate pal. Last November, they openly backed the "Malaysian" authorities in annexing the North Kalimantan territory of Sabah to preserve the colonial interests of the U.S.-British imperialists.

The fact that these new tsars are on the most intimate terms with the reactionary regimes in Southeast Asia shows that they are birds of a feather. The exposure of the reactionary nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in this respect has educated the people by negative example and enabled them to see more clearly the great truth that to fight imperialism it is imperative to fight revisionism as well.

Hobnobbing With Renegades and Scabs

For purposes of expanding its social-imperialist influence, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has collected renegades and scabs in Southeast Asian countries to serve as its agents. Flying the banner of "socialism" and in the name of "communists." the Kremlin's new tsars use these dregs of society to undermine from within the people's revolutionary movement and play a vicious role which the U.S. imperialists cannot hope to play themselves.

In India, they have been using as their agent the notorious renegade S.A. Dange, a turncoat who handed himself over to the enemy while in a British imperialist prison. As one of the bosses of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is controlled by the Soviet revisionists, Dange frequently travelled between the Soviet Union and India. Carrying out the orders of his Soviet revisionist masters, he has been energetically peddling the sordid goods of "peaceful transition" and the "parliamentary road" to sap the revolutionary will of the Indian people and betray the Indian revolution. No sooner had Khrushchov trotted out that "peaceful transition" trash in 1956 at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. than Dange and his like responded by creating a so-called "communist government" in Kerala State and sparing no pains to push this shabby example of "peaceful transition" throughout India.

After Dange's letter of confession was made public and the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party

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were obliged to part company with the Dange clique organizationally, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sought to buy over some revisionist bosses in the Indian Communist Party in one way or another by inviting them to the Soviet Union for "recuperation," "medical treatment" and "visits." Upon returning to India, one of them wrote to the Home Minister of the reactionary Indian Government, openly asserting that their (the Indian revisionists) task was to "save parliamentary democracy" and that it was madness to talk about armed revolution and so on. Like the Dange clique, these revisionists have also degenerated into despicable lackeys of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian reaction.

After India's "general elections" in 1967, they formed state governments in West Bengal and Kerala in partnership with members of the Dange traitorous clique. As a subordinate part of India's reactionary state machine, these state governments have frenziedly tried to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the workers and peasants. They called out the police to shoot down and beat up many revolutionary peasants in Naxalbari and other places, and threw large numbers of revolutionary people into prison. Working overtly and covertly with the new tsars in the Kremlin, these renegades are savage hatchetmen of the reactionary Indian Government at putting down the people's revolution.

In Japan, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has all along been trying to destroy the people's patriotic movement against U.S. imperialism by supporting the so-called "parliamentary road" of the Miyamoto revisionist clique in the Japanese Communist Party. When the American and Japanese reactionaries found themselves in a tight corner in the face of the great struggle launched wave upon wave by the Japanese people against the Japan-U.S. "security treaty," the Miyamoto clique shamelessly came out for "winning" national independence through the bourgeois parliament. It prated that "if a majority is won in the Diet and a democratic government charged with the task of opposing the 'security treaty' is formed," this government could "notify" the U.S. Government that it has abrogated the Japan-U.S. "security treaty." This is a scheme to lead the Japanese people's vigorous anti-U.S. movement into the dead end of "parliamentary road" and thus help U.S. imperialism perpetuate its occupation of Japan. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has also taken a direct part in undermining the Japanese people's anti-U.S. struggle. In 1966, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique collaborated with the Miyamoto clique in pushing a counter-revolutionary policy of sham opposition to the United States but real opposition to China at the 12th session of the World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. It has thus completely trampled underfoot the Japanese people's glorious anti-U.S. tradition in their movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs.

In Indonesia, after coming to power in 1965 the Suharto military junta drowned the Indonesian Communists in a blood-bath. The Indonesian Communists wiped off the blood, reorganized their ranks and embarked on the revolutionary road of armed struggle. At this time, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique carried out a series of criminal activities in an attempt to split the Indonesian Communist Party. It got together in Moscow a handful of renegades from the Indonesian Communist Party and, pirating the name of the Indonesian Communist Party, published there a revisionist political programme. This political programme, which peddled the "peaceful road" and other wares steeped in the discredited revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., was designed to nip the Indonesian people's armed struggle in the bud. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique also helped a handful of renegades from the Indonesian Communist Party publish in the Soviet Union a counter-revolutionary journal called the People's Will to carry out counterrevolutionary propaganda and sabotage the Indonesian people's revolutionary armed struggle.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

The criminal, counter-revolutionary activities carried out by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in league with a handful of renegades and scabs in these Southeast Asian countries can never hold back the triumphant advance of the people's revolution.

Rendering Service in Suppression of People's Armed Struggle

The Kremlin's new tsars' most glaring counterrevolutionary crime in Southeast Asia is the arming of the reactionaries in Southeast Asian countries with large quantities of weapons and other military equipment to help them rabidly quell the revolutionary armed struggles of the people.

So far, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has provided Indonesia's reactionary troops with 1,200 million U.S. dollars' worth of arms, which is much larger than those provided by U.S. imperialism. It was disclosed that 90 per cent of Indonesia's naval vessels and half of its air force's aircraft are Soviet made. Most of the aircraft and field pieces used by the Indonesian reactionaries in their counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the people's armed forces in West Kalimantan and other places came from the arsenals of the Soviet revisionists. In the latter part of 1968, the arms used in "training a new-type infantry," organized by the reactionary military authorities in the Indonesian provinces to suppress the people's armed forces, were provided jointly by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

Furthermore, to ensure the effective use of Sovietsupplied weapons, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique

sent the Indonesian reactionaries military "experts" to give them "technical guidance." It also trained large numbers of Indonesian military cadres in the Soviet Union free of charge for the Suharto fascist military junta to use in suppressing the people's armed forces. It has even repeatedly sent military personnel to the frontlines in the counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns staged by the Indonesian fascist military regime against the people's armed forces: These Soviet military personnel put their knowhow at the disposal of the Indonesian reactionaries and tried to boost their morale. The Japanese journal Research on Military Affairs has revealed: "The antiguerrilla units of the Suharto regime were trained in the Soviet Union. . . . High ranking officers of the Soviet armed forces have been sent on missions to the East Java region to give support to the punitive operations against the guerrillas."

Last July, at a time when the Indonesian fascist military regime massed its Soviet-equipped hordes to "encircle and suppress" the East Java people's armed forces, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique signed with this regime "ratifications" on deferring the repayment of Soviet arms loans. In this way, it energetically supported the regime's criminal suppression of the people's armed forces.

From 1960 to August 1967, the total value of arms provided by the Soviet revisionists to the Indian reactionaries amounted to 900 million U.S. dollars, outstripping all countries supplying arms to the Indian reactionaries. Apart from giving them the latest weapons that the U.S. imperialists have not yet supplied, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique also helped them build aircraft plants and other military projects for the purpose of menacing India's neighbours and putting down the Indian people's revolutionary struggle.

In the past few years, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has increased its military collaboration with the reactionary Ne Win government of Burma, and committed hosts of crimes against the Burmese people's armed forces which have been fighting heroically over the last 20 years. According to revelations by the Western press, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique quietly sent a "high-powered delegation" to Rangoon at the end of 1967 to hold secret talks lasting over a month with the reactionary Ne Win regime "on the possibility of more Russian aid." In a letter to the Ne Win regime, Kosygin, chieftain of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, pledged "full support" to this reactionary regime. Shortly afterwards, large quantities of Soviet arms were shipped to Rangoon for use by the reactionary Ne Win regime to butcher the Burmese people's armed forces.

Giving counsel on how to suppress the people's armed forces, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, working through its journal *New Times*, openly encouraged the Ne Win fascist military junta "to keep its powder dry" in order to deal with the people's armed forces "in some parts of the country."

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Last May, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique flagrantly invited "Malaysian" puppet deputy prime minister Razak to Moscow and promised him "military aid" to suppress the revolutionary armed struggle of the people of Malaya and North Kalimantan.

Referring to the reactionaries in all countries, our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."

In helping these reactionaries suppress the people's armed forces, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in the end can only promote the development of the people's armed struggle in all countries and bring on the reactionaries' doom sooner.

Sure Triumph for the People, and Sure Defeat for Soviet Revisionism

The regressive and outrageous actions of the Kremlin's new tsars in Southeast Asia have fully revealed their vicious social-imperialist nature to the people of the region. The broad masses of the people have come to understand that the so-called "friendship with all people" trumpeted by these new tsars is nothing but collusion with the reactionaries of all countries, that their so-called "support for the progressive forces of all countries" is nothing but support for a handful of renegades and scabs, and that so-called "socialism" mouthed by these new tsars in the Kremlin is nothing but socialimperialism. Stripped of its camouflage, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is nothing but the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism and the butcher of the people's revolution in Southeast Asia.

The world revolution has now entered a great new era. In Southeast Asia, the liberation struggle of the oppressed people and nations is going forward with renewed force and developing vigorously. The flames of the people's revolutionary armed struggle are raging fiercer than ever and the people's fight against imperialism and revisionism rides the waves forward triumphantly. The situation is excellent. As for imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism whose centre is the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the reactionaries of all countries, they are at the end of their rope and are falling on harder and harder times.

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has pointed out: "People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."

No matter how the Soviet revisionist renegade clique may try to undermine the revolutionary cause of the Southeast Asian peoples by collaborating with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, they will eventually be smashed to smithereens under the hammer blows of the revolutionary people.

Soviet Revisionism Heading for the Grave Along Road of Fascist Aggression

 Albanian paper Zeri i Popullit exposes Soviet revisionist social-imperialism's policy of military aggression

The Albanian paper Zeri i Popullit recently published an editorial entitled "Military Pressures — Basis of Dictate and Political Blackmail of the Soviet Revisionist Leaders."

The editorial said: Military adventure and armed aggression of a fascist type constitute the main feature of the present foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists. The occupation of Czechoslovakia and the barbarous provocations against the Chinese border are two concrete examples of the most typical ones. They are an expression of the practical implementation of the notorious policy of dictate and blackmail by means of military pressures which the Kremlin leaders exert on their "allies" and other countries. They are a concrete application of the joint Soviet-U.S. imperialist strategy for dividing spheres of influence and for world domination.

The editorial said: In recent years, and especially before and after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the activities of the Soviet revisionist leadership were based on military blackmail. The Warsaw Treaty has become its main tool for blackmail.

The Soviet revisionist chieftains have chosen the road of military adventurism because they have no alternative, the editorial pointed out. They have resorted to extreme measures of violence because they can no longer rule by peaceful means, inasmuch as their demagogy and lies no longer work.

The editorial stated: The continued stationing of Soviet armed forces in East European countries, which resembles the bases and stationing of the U.S. NATO troops in Western Europe, shows very clearly that the Soviet revisionist clique is seeking, by means of its armed forces, to dictate on the peoples of this region.

The editorial said: The shadow of the tanks which the Soviet revisionist chieftains have let loose on other countries, the frequent movements of the armed units or the numerous military manoeuvres, as well as the presence and movements of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the Pacific, all these have only one aim — to ensure the subjugation of others to Soviet hegemony and dictate.

But the Soviet revisionists can no longer scare people with their bankrupt policy of blackmail and pressure through bayonets. Their adventures have failed and will continue to fail despicably in face of the determination of the peoples, in face of their resolute struggle to defend their supreme interests, freedom and independence, and the right to be the masters of their own countries. Albania has long given the best reply to the militarist, adventurous and provocative policy pursued and carried out by the Soviet revisionists by force of arms. She bravely withstood the pressures, intervention and threats of Nikita Khrushchov, and denounced the Warsaw Treaty which the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique had turned into a mere instrument of aggression. Another resolute rebuff to this policy was made by great People's China recently during the Soviet provocations on the Wusuli River.

The editorial said: The Soviet revisionists were hoping to shatter socialist China by such armed provocations as those on the Wusuli and prevent her from advancing victoriously towards communism. But the opposite happened. The Brezhnev gang "went for wool but came home shorn." The crude crimes of the Soviet revisionist renegade leadership met with the powerful fist of the 700 million Chinese people who, united as one around their Communist Party and their great leader, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tsetung, rose up to firmly defend their socialist motherland, to fully and completely annihilate the enemy who dares to attack great People's China.

The editorial stated: The global strategy of hegemonic expansion of the Soviet revisionists through aggression is now quite clear. The first stage of its realization is the complete military domination, under the cloak of the Warsaw Treaty, of the territories included in the so-called Soviet zone of influence. The Soviet revisionists hope to realize this first adventurous step without pain and without repercussions to the Soviet-U.S. alliance. The attitude of the U.S. Government towards the occupiers, more benevolent than indifferent, is quite a concrete example. In this direction goes also the "Appeal for European Security" which the Soviet leaders made on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty at the Budapest meeting to the capitalist countries of Europe. Assuring the big European bourgeoisie, and first of all, U.S. imperialism, of tranquillity on the military borders between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, they ask U.S. imperialism to remain neutral when the Moscovite tsar is seeking to establish "order" in his East European estates.

"European security," as the revisionists conceive it, means ensuring the present status quo, that is, ensuring the Soviet-U.S. alliance to preserve the dominating positions of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists in various European countries.

The editorial pointed out: For a long time, the Soviet revisionist chieftains have in an open and scandalous way been watching Rumania like wild beasts. Pressures are now overt. "Rumania must be occupied like Czechoslovakia" — this is the aim of the Soviet revisionist gangsters. However, the militarist adventurous policy of the Soviet revisionist chieftains has met with the resolute resistance of the Rumanian people and working class, who are courageously opposing the Soviet revisionists' attempts of intervention in their country.

In the circumstances when the Soviet revisionists have drawn their swords and are threatening armed intervention in those countries which do not submit to their dictate, the Rumanian people have the right to vigilantly defend their freedom and national independence. We are sure that they will never allow anyone to touch them and play with their destinies, and to deny and trample upon the most sacred things — freedom, national independence and the victories of socialist revolution. The Rumanian people have full right to arm themselves and to be always prepared to cope with all direct or indirect attacks by the Soviet revisionists.

The editorial pointed out: Now, in the revisionist countries too, visible resistance in one form or another is being put up to Soviet hegemony, to the political, economic and military pressures of the Soviet revisionist leadership. The Soviet revisionists are meeting with rebuffs almost everywhere. Czechoslovakia is quite a significant example. Seven months have elapsed since the armed intervention, but the Czechoslovak people have not bent their knees or submitted to the revisionist dictate of the Soviet leaders. The complete boycott and isolation of the occupiers, the open manifestation of hatred and the bold demonstrations against the occupation have now become powerful weapons against the invaders of their motherland. The tanks sent by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique cannot and will never be able to suppress the freedom-loving spirit of the Czechoslovak people. The longer the occupation troops of the Soviet revisionists stay on Czechoslovak territory, the more frequently they intervene in Czechoslovakia's domestic affairs and the more intrigues and pressures the Soviet revisionist occupiers resort to, the stronger will be the unity of the Czechoslovak people and the greater will be their determination not to submit or retreat before the pressures, intimidations and blackmail of their enslavers. The demonstrations sweeping the whole of Czechoslovakia recently against the occupation by the Soviet revisionists constitute further proof of this.

The editorial stressed: Socialist Albania and the Albanian people led by their Party of Labour are inviolable and they will annihilate anyone who dares to attack them. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "There were

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not born, either yesterday or today, those brave men that can intimidate the Albanians. Albania's frontiers and the Albanian territories are defended by a **people** and a Party who fire bullets into the mouths of all those that would dare to touch them."

The Soviet revisionists and their allies are well aware that Albania is not alone. They must have no illusions whatsoever especially with regard to the everlasting friendly ties and unbreakable alliance binding the Albanian people and the Chinese people. Whoever touches Albania will be touching great People's China. Chairman Mao Tsetung has said: "If the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and their lackeys dare to touch Albania even the least little bit, nothing but a thorough, ignominious and irrevocable defeat awaits them."

The editorial went on: The adventures, which the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union is preparing, link it ever more closely with U.S. imperialism in strengthening the Soviet-U.S. alliance which has as its main objective the encirclement and annihilation of China. But the big adventure against China, should they dare to undertake it, would spell doom for imperialism and revisionism as a whole.

Numerous aggressive plans are being hatched by the Soviet revisionists. But their path is full of insurmountable obstacles which will inevitably lead them from defeat to defeat till their final destruction. The great Soviet people, the Russian working class and all the working people of the Soviet Union who have great revolutionary traditions and who have in the past given brilliant proofs of proletarian internationalism, will nëver allow the homeland of the October Revolution. the homeland of Lenin. Stalin and the Soviets to be turned back into the Russia of the tsars and into a gendarme of world reaction. We are convinced that the glorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism which remain alive in the hearts of the Soviet people can never be wiped out, no matter how ruthless the revisionist oppression may be and how diabolic the propaganda of the ruling clique in the Kremlin which has usurped political power. We are convinced that the Soviet people will raise once again the banner of revolution and free themselves from the revisionist pest that has fallen on them.

The editorial said in conclusion: The Soviet revisionist leadership is now in the tight grip of insuperable contradictions. The difficult situation in which it is finding itself pushes it towards adventures and the open use of military pressures. At the same time, its adventurism arouses everywhere a determined resistance and struggle on the part of the peoples; this makes the situation even more difficult for it. And this cannot be otherwise. The peoples will not be intimidated by the military threat of the Soviet revisionist leadership and will not retreat before pressures. They are vigilantly on their guard and are ready to fight to the end in defence of their freedom and independence and to deal fatal blows to any aggression, big or small, with or without modern weapons.

Soviet Revisionists' Armed Provocations Against China Denounced

Letter From C.C. of Communist Party of Brazil

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil has recently written a letter to our great leader Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, expressing unreserved support for the Chinese people's struggle in resolutely repulsing the Soviet revisionists' armed provocations and in defending the sacred territory and sovereignty of their country. The letter reads:

With immense indignation the proletarian revolutionaries and progressive forces of Brazil learnt of the attacks launched by the Soviet revisionist troops on the territory, soldiers and people of China in the border area on the Wusuli River.

In face of these armed provocations, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, in the name of all the Communists, expresses its strong condemnation and at the same time conveys, through you, to the great Chinese people its unreserved support for their fight in defence of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their country.

The current aggressive actions taken by the revisionists in Moscow against People's China are not accidental. They are the result of the Soviet revisionist leading clique's betrayal of socialism and proletarian internationalism. They arise from the conversion of the Soviet Union from a socialist country to an aggressive, fascist imperialist country. They are the continuation of the Soviet revisionists' anti-communist, anti-China counter-revolutionary policy which, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, aims at encircling and attacking People's China and redividing the world into spheres of influence. In short, they reflect the profound internal and external contradictions which disintegrate Soviet revisionism and land it in a desperate situation.

Imbued with big-power chauvinism and filled with hatred for New China, the Soviet revisionist renegades arrogantly slight the Chinese people, underestimate their strength, and think that they can return to oppress, divide and enslave China as former tsarist Russia and other imperialist powers did. But China today is no longer the same nation of the past which was weak and dismembered. China today is a socialist country whose 700 million sons and daughters are firmly united under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China and its wise and staunch helmsman Comrade Mao Tsetung. It is a big country of the victorious Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which, like a hurricane, has swept away the residue of the defeated exploiting classes and their agents who have infiltrated into the government and the Party. China is the strong impregnable bulwark on which triumphantly flies the red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, Marxism-Leninism of our era, and it is the powerful revolutionary base on which all the oppressed peoples fighting for their national and social liberation can depend.

Thus, the armed attack of the Soviet revisionists on Chenpao Island has received condign punishment by the Chinese people. Millions upon millions of Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers have risen in anger and, together with the revolutionary forces and the oppressed masses all over the world, have condemned the aggressors, warned them and called upon the Soviet people and the Bolsheviks faithful to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin to stop the crimes of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique. The Chinese people have demonstrated that they fear neither the revisionists nor the U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries. No matter how they brandish their atomic bombs and ballistic rockets and resort to threats, the Chinese people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought will smash all the provocations carried out against their territory and will in the end completely and thoroughly defeat all their enemies.

You may rest assured, dear comrades, that the Brazilian people, who are fighting under the terrible conditions of a military dictatorship to liberate themselves from the yoke of U.S. imperialism and its props at home, sympathize with your cause and that the Brazilian Communists will do everything to enlighten the people and arouse them to action for an indispensable world united front of the peoples against the U.S. imperialists and their allies, the Soviet revisionist renegades, the common enemies of democracy, national independence, socialism and peace.

Document of C.C. of Communist Party of Poland

I N a recent document, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland condemned the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its armed intrusions into China's territory Chenpao Island and expressed full support for the heroic stand of the Chinese people. Entitled "Armed Adventure Against the Chinese Border by the Soviet Clique of Renegades to Communism," the document reads in full as follows:

Only six months after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, there were new armed provocations against the border of the People's Republic of China. On March 2, 職業があったと

Soviet armed troops, under the instructions of Brezhnev and Kosygin, intruded into China's territory Chenpao Island on the Wusuli River. The Chenpao Island area is Chinese territory both historically and legally. Therefore, in the face of the Soviet imperialists' aggression, the People's Republic of China has the fundamental duty to defend this area.

The great, heroic Chinese people fought for their sovereignty and their state and national independence in a protracted and bloody war of national liberation. Today, the Chinese people armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and Mao Tsetung Thought will never allow anyone to encroach on their sacred territory and go unpunished. The era of the Opium War, of imperialist which were invited by China's weakness - has gone for ever and will never return. Treaties to carve up China, like those carving up Poland, were then put into effect by the imperialist countries through armed force. The first country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by Lenin, considered these treaties null and void and denounced and abrogated them. However, the renegades to communism in the Kremlin have opposed Lenin both in theory and in practice. The new tsars in the Kremlin have departed from the path of revolution, betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, disfigured Stalin's remains, discarded Lenin's behest and embarked on the road of old-time tsarist imperialism.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia, the aggression against the Chinese territory in the area of the Wusuli River, the milliards of money loaned by the Soviet Union to the Indian bourgeoisie for armament, and so on and so forth have all proved that the Soviet renegade clique has taken the road of counter-revolutionary intrigues, great-nation chauvinism, economic plunder, armed provocations and imperialist wars. But times have changed and the balance of social forces in the world today is different from that in the times of Péter the Great or Yekaterina the Second. Successors to the tsars, Khrushchov, Brezhnev or Kosygin, are all renegades and political hangmen playing the role of ridiculous clowns. The People's Republic of China today is a socialist power under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party which has been tested in revolutionary struggles. The heroic, industrious and peace-loving Chinese people threaten nobody; but, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and Mao Tsetung Thought, they will never permit anyone to encroach on their sacred rights and the gains of the revolution and remain unpunished.

In the early days after the liberation of the whole country except for Taiwan Province, the Government of the People's Republic of China put forth proposals on settling boundary questions to all her neighbouring countries, and has since signed treaties with Afghanistan, Burma, Mongolia and Pakistan on terms favourable to these countries. It was only India under the rule of Nehru and the Soviet Union under the Khrushchov-Brezhnev rule which opposed the stand of the Government of the People's Republic of China for defining the boundary lines through bilateral talks on the principle of equality. The reactionary governments of India and the Soviet Union rejected the correct proposals of the Government of the People's Republic of China and, at the expense of the interests of their own nations, embarked on the road of economic, political and military collaboration directed against China.

The border provocations organized by the Nehru government met with a fatal counter-attack from the Chinese Liberation Army and ended in a shameful defeat befitting an imperialist aggressor. The same fate is in store for the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, the organizer of the provocative armed intrusions into the area of Chenpao Island. The territory belonging to the Chinese people is sacred and inviolable. The Communist Party of Poland, the working class and all other working people of Poland denounce the policies of war adventure and imperialist plunder pursued by the Soviet renegade clique — the renegades to the dictatorship of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and to the revolution and the cause of socialism in the world and fully support the heroic stand of the Chinese people.

The fascist invasion of Czechoslovakia and the piratical armed attacks on the territory of the People's Republic of China have greatly alerted the people of Poland. The working class of Poland and the entire Polish people can never stand aloof from and remain indifferent to the fascist acts of the Soviet imperialists. From these two incidents we can see how these hypocritical advocates of the policy of "peaceful coexistence" directed their tanks, aircraft and carbines at their neighbouring countries, at the Chinese and Czechoslovak peoples. Secret pacts and intrigues, armed provocations and atomic blackmail, as well as collaboration between U.S imperialism and Soviet imperialism, are all futile and will eventually end in a deserved and ignominious defeat. The People's Republic of China is a socialist power and a pillar of world revolution and socialism. All revolutionary and progressive forces in the world are on the side of the 700 million armed Chinese people. The heroic Polish people are also on the side of the heroic Chinese people.

The domestic and foreign policies followed by the Soviet Union today are policies directed against the people, socialism and revolution. They represent neither the interests of the heroic Soviet proletariat nor

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the interests of the forces of world revolution and socialism. The policies of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique are a continuation of those of the tsars. The secret diplomacy and behind-the-scenes deals and intrigues conducted between the Soviet renegade clique and U.S. imperialism for world domination have been fully exposed today, and are to a great extent seen through by the labouring people - not by the Soviet labouring people alone. The invasion of Czechoslovakia, the armed provocations on the Wusuli River, the atomic blackmail against the neighbouring countries and servility to U.S. imperialism have enabled all the Soviet people to see clearly the Soviet revisionists' betrayal of the revolution and socialism in their own country. The Soviet renegade clique's current policy is the policy of great-nation chauvinism of old Russia, the imperialist policy of Peter the Great, Ivan the Terrible and Yekaterina the Second. It is based on military strength, survives in war and perishes in war. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Great October Socialist Revolution overthrew the bloody reactionary rule of tsarism. Today, these weeds of renegades to communism growing on the grave of the tsarist system will first of all be uprooted by the heroic Soviet proletariat through revolutionary struggle. The soldiers and heroic working people of the Soviet Union will on no account shed their blood for the interests of counter-revolution. The Soviet clique of renegades to communism has a openly and shamelessly embarked on the road of war and armed provocation and the road of Napoleonism which will only lead the war criminals to their final and ignominious defeat and to their deserved doom.

In the name of the Party, the working class and all the heroic working people of Poland, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland appeals to the heroic Soviet working people and all the Bolsheviks — successors to the behests of Lenin and Stalin: Step up the common revolutionary struggle against the renegades who have betrayed communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland and in the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland salutes the heroic Chinese people who, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, which is crowned with glory in revolutionary struggles, and its Chairman Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great Marxist-Leninist of our era, are waging a just struggle to wipe out the revisionist remnants and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Long live the fraternal and revolutionary friendship between the peoples of Poland and China in their struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of revolution and of socialism!

Long live the great Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tsetung!

Shame on the renegades who have betrayed communism and the cause of the proletariat!

> The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland

> > March 15, 1969, Warsaw

Article by French Paper I'Humanite Rouge

THE French paper *l'Humanite Rouge*, in an article, condemned the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its armed provocations against China.

"The social-imperialist clique which has usurped power in the Soviet Union," the article said, "is escalating the provocations against People's China. Brezhnev and Kosygin have taken over the policy of colonial expansion of the tsars. These new tsars, Brezhnev and Kosygin, have a stronger appetite than the old ones."

Exposing the criminal aims of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's armed provocations against China, the article pointed out that they stemmed from the diplomatic need of the Soviet revisionists to cover up their subservience to West German militarism on the West Berlin question and to further curry favour with U.S. imperialism, collaborating with it against China.

The article said: "Since the Soviet renegades have chosen the road of betrayal, People's China has remained loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, has creatively developed these principles and achieved repeated successes in socialist construction, particularly since the cultural revolution, thus becoming their sworn enemy."

The article pointed out that another aim of the clique's armed provocations against China is to fan up anti-China sentiment among the Soviet people.

"But," it said, "the Soviet masses' affection for socialism and their friendship for the Chinese people will make Kosygin and Brezhnev who made such a calculation lift a rock only to drop it on their own feet."

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's armed provocations against China have proved that this revisionist clique has degenerated into a gang of social-imperialists, it said.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, it noted, "keeps a firm hold over its so-called allies by a sort of colonial pact which enables it to sell its products to them at much higher than world market prices and buy from them at very low prices. It maintains its privileges by armed aggression, if necessary, as it did in Czechoslovakia." This clique is also infiltrating into Asian and African countries, vigorously pushing neocolonialism which is exactly the same as that of the United States.

The revolutionaries the world over express support for China and strongly condemn and oppose the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, it declared.

In conclusion, the article said: "Hundreds of millions of the Chinese people have risen to express their indignation and to affirm their determination to defend the territory of their country. The Russian socialimperialists have become so insane as to send their troops to attack People's China. They will be taught the lesson that a people waging a people's war and armed with Mao Tsetung Thought is invincible, and that they will certainly be annihilated."

Statement by C.C. of Peruvian Communist Party

THE Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party has in a recent statement condemned the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its armed provocations against China.

The statement says: "The savage provocation committed by Soviet revisionism against the fraternal Chinese people is merely a self-exposure as well as a sign of its apparent strength and actual weakness and agony."

It points out: The Soviet revisionists' encroachment on Chinese territory Chenpao Island "is but another manifestation of revisionist social-imperialism which has restored capitalism in the Soviet Union and resorted to the methods of exploitation and domination characteristic of the capitalist system. This aggression is nothing but part of the futile attempt of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to dominate the world and redivide spheres of influence."

The statement says: "The fact that the People's Republic of China has been converted into a gigantic base of support for the world revolution constitutes the biggest obstacle to the imperialists and socialimperialists in carrying out their policy of world domination. Therefore, they dream of destroying through

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reactionary violence the glorious China of Mao Tsetung. which has been further strengthened by its Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have seen the frustration of their hope of capitalist restoration in People's China where their agents and henchmen Liu Shao-chi and his ilk have been totally and definitely defeated. This has brought great disappointment to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists who are in collusion."

Condemning the Soviet revisionist clique for its savage military occupation of Czechoslovakia, the statement points out that this revisionist clique "has usurped state power in the Soviet Union, liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, established its own bourgeois dictatorship and embarked on the road of colonial rule over the East European peoples whom it enslaves." The statement says that the Soviet revisionists have vainly attempted to stamp out the flames of world revolution. They are co-operating with U.S. imperialism in the suppression of the national-liberation struggles and colluding with their U.S. imperialist masters more and more closely. They can deceive nobody by fabricating the story that they were attacked by China.

The statement says: "The counter-revolutionary nature of revisionist social-imperialism will drive it to commit still bigger follies and provocations, which will only reveal to the people of the world its true reactionary features and fan up still more fiercely the revolutionary flames throughout the world, including the countries enslaved by it as well as its own country." "The Soviet revisionists will be buried by the very peoples they enslave and will share the fate of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys," it adds.

The statement declares: "The Peruvian Communist Party, while denouncing the Soviet revisionists' socialimperialist aggression, supports the glorious People's Republic of China which, under the leadership of its heroic working class, the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tsetung, has fittingly repelled the abovementioned sanguinary aggression. It is firmly convinced that, if Soviet revisionism persists in its desperate policy of attacking China, it will be irreparably destroyed by the People's Liberation Army and the millions upon millions of the revolutionary Chinese people. Soviet revisionism is doomed to failure in its vain attempt to oppose Mao Tsetung Thought and world revolution. The revolutionary Chinese people and the revolutionary peoples of the world will win. Instead of helping them, all the desperate acts of the imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys will only make the flames of the world revolution rage still more fiercely."



 $\mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{A}}^{\mathrm{IRMLY}}$ carrying out Chairman Mao's great policies of "grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war" and "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," an independent battalion of the engineering corps under the Tsinan Command of the People's Liberation Army overcame an extraordinarily big flood carrying a mass of ice floes, the biggest on the Yellow River in a century. It did so by displaying the P.L.A.'s fearless proletarian spirit of waging arduous and valiant struggles and not fearing sacrifice. Its commanders and fighters protected the people's lives and property, the victorious fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line at the cost of their own blood and lives.

An urgent telephone call from the Pingyin County Revolutionary Committee in Shantung Province was received by the comrade on duty in the battalion late on the night of February 10, 1969: A torrent of ice flogs on the Yellow River was rushing down to the Chengkuan and Luanwan Communes at three to four metres per second. The people's lives and property were seriously threatened. The People's Liberation Army was requested for immediate help.

As soon as he put down the phone, deputy battalion commander Kao Feng-shun notified members of the battalion Party committee to come to an emergency meeting. The flood was their order. The P.L.A. commanders and fighters quickly assembled in front of a portrait of Chairman Mao and recited aloud Chairman Mao's teaching: "Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests." Holding high their red-covered Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung, they made a solemn pledge to "be loyal to Chairman Mao, never changing our minds; closely follow Chairman Mao, never turning back; defend Chairman Mao, never fearing death."

Full of spirit, they braved a bitter 7 force wind to rush to the marconed villages in pitch dark.

Vanquishing All Enemies and Advancing Wave Upon Wave

Pingyin County lies on the lower reaches of the Yellow River. The weather this spring was erratic. When the ice thawed on the upper reaches and the floes moved downstream, the lower reaches were still ice-bound. This made the floes jam and an immense flood overflowed the flood detention area of Pingyin County. Led by deputy company commander Chang Hsiu-ting, a detachment carrying flood-prevention equipment dashed to the vicinity of Liukuanchuang Village. The village is in a low-lying area close to the Yellow River and three torrents converged near it. The situation was critical and not a second was to be lost.

Chang Hsiu-ting immediately made the decision to organize a shock brigade. He led its 11 other members to jump into the icy water and forced their way to Liukuanchuang against the rushing torrent. When they reached a low place, the flood waters rose quickly to their waists and then up to their chests. Undaunted, the comrades locked their arms tightly and shouted in unison: "This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield." Despite all the difficulties, they pressed on. When an ice floe the size of a room suddenly swept down, platoon leader Wu An-yu stepped forward and pushed it aside with his shoulder. By this time some members of the shock brigade had been cut off from the others. Suddenly, the wind carried to the comrades in front the faint shouting of "Long live Chairman Mao!" They immediately realized that the comrades in the rear were in danger.

Communist Party member Chang Hsiu-ting said in a determined voice: "The flood is our enemy! Communists must lead in the charge!" He turned back to lead the comrades to help their comrades-in-arms behind. Platoon leader Wu An-yu, another Communist, realized that staying one minute longer in the flood meant added danger to the lives of the comrades and that it would be still more dangerous to go back and help their comrades-in-arms behind. At this critical point, he stepped forward and said: "Deputy company commander, you are the commander. You can't go back. Give me this task." He then led several comrades to valiantly make their way back to help their comradesin-arms behind. They fought heroically against the cold wind and ice floes. Suddenly, big waves carrying huge ice floes pressed down upon them. The shouting of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" was heard. Wu An-yu, a good fighter boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, had heroically given up his magnificent youth to save the lives and property of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

"To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai." This shock brigade led by Chang Hsiu-ting battled fiercely for more than two hours in the icy waves. They were cut and bruised by the ice floes and their wounds bled and their legs became numb. They had to make extra efforts even to go one step forward. But the revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tsetung Thought defied death for the sake of the people. They said: "As long as our hearts beat, we will go forward!" As they got nearer and nearer to the village and victory was imminent, bugler Chou Teng-lien recited loudly: "Give full play to our style of fightingcourage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest)." The fighters were immediately filled with inexhaustible strength. Full of spirit, Chou Teng-lien rushed forward to battle the waves up front. A big ice floe suddenly bore down upon him. Twice the comrades tried to save him but failed to reach him. By his heroic action, Communist Youth League member Chou Teng-lien fulfilled his heroic pledge that he had written down before his death in an unfinished application for Communist Party membership: "When mankind is liberated I will be liberated; I dedicate my life to the people."

Communist Chang Hsiu-ting led his shock brigade in a courageous advance. Confronted by the flood waters which had engulfed his comrades-in-arms and looking at the lights ahead that had been lit by the poor and lower-middle peasants as a signal for help, Chang withstood the great pain caused by his arthritis and continued forward against the raging current. He had great difficulty going ahead but when his comrades tried to help him, he declared firmly: "To safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to save the lives of the poor and lower-middle peasants, we would rather die in taking a step forward than live by retreating an inch!" At this point, a whirlpool descended upon him and sent him reeling. Seeing this, fighter Tung Hsiu-ching immediately went to his aid, but the latter shouted, "Never mind me! Hurry and save the poor and lower-middle peasants!" He had hardly said this before he was sucked into the rampaging flood waters and carried away.

The revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are invincible. To save the poor and lowermiddle peasants, some of them had heroically laid down their lives, others had been swept away by the flood waters. Only Tung Hsiu-ching remained, but he continued to fight tenaciously against the flood. His lower limbs were numb from the icy water and his stomach ached as if it were pierced by needles. But as he recalled Chairman Mao's teaching, "No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as a single man remains, he will fight on," his daring increased and this built rock firm confidence in him: "As long as I'm alive, Liukuanchuang will be saved! I must go forward!" By now, the village was only thirty metres away, but covering even this distance meant great difficulty and hardship. Every step forward was an expression of

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the revolutionary fighter's boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao and a manifestation of his deepest feelings for the poor and lower-middle peasants. After half an hour's hard struggle, he succeeded in entering Liukuanchuang.

Greatly moved, the poor and lower-middle peasants in Liukuanchuang told one another, "The beloved ones sent by Chairman Mao have come! We are saved!"

Heroic Battle for Victory, Wholly and Entirely For the People

Overcoming many obstacles and breaking through countless barriers fraught with danger, the commanders and fighters of this battalion finally rushed into all the villages besieged by the flood.

Together with the production brigade cadres the P.L.A. men rescued three to four hundred of the old and weak and women and children in the badly hit villages — Liukuanchuang and Shihchuang — taking them to safety by boat.

When the fighters reached Tungchangying, the waters had already rolled into the village. Seizing every minute, they saved the poor and lower-middle peasants and the brigade's grain, draught animals and other things.

Keeping in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, "These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests," the commanders and fighters, in this battle against flood, regarded serving the people "wholly" and "entirely" as their highest criterion in the defence of the people's lives and property, as actual deeds in defence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and as a concrete expression of their determination to safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They had truly turned Mao Tsetung Thought into living reality and served the people wholly and entirely.

Deputy political instructor Yang Chia-feng, an activist in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought in a P.L.A. unit under the Tsinan Command who had had the joy of meeting our great leader Chairman Mao, always fought in the van against the flood. When he and the fighters he led had finished the rescue work at the Hsinchuang brigade, he made further inquiries whether anyone was missing, to make sure he had done his work thoroughly. When the brigade cadres told him of their uncertainty about the situation at a pumping station of the Wangying brigade in low-lying land three li away, Yang Chia-feng and his fighters, following Chairman Mao's instruction of "wholly" and "entirely" serving the people, unhesitatingly hastened to row there. As the boat forced its way through the swift current, the jutting edge of an ice floe cut a hole in it and the situation became critical. The fighters had only one conviction -use Mao Tsetung Thought to direct their battle.

Calm and courageous, they quickly plugged up the hole and went ahead. When they arrived at their destination, they saw that the building had already collapsed in the flood, and two commune members tending the pump were hemmed in by water. Seeing the fighters who had come to their rescue, both said with emotion: "Caught here, we never expected that you'd find us. You are really serving the people heart and sou!!" Without delay, deputy political instructor Yang helped them into the boat and took them back to the Wangying brigade. Seeing that their class brothers had been saved, the brigade's poor and lower-middle peasants cheered elatedly: "Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army!" "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

If the Army and the People Are United as One, Who in the World Can Match Them?

The invincible power of the revolutionary masses and revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the tremendous power of the unity between the armymen and civilians were fully demonstrated in this battle against the flood and in the rescue work. As our great leader Chairman Mao teaches, so long as the army and the people are united as one, "we can surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us while we can crush any enemy."

At the Tungchangying brigade, a beam was swept away by the flood. Storehouse keeper Liu Wan-lun and two other commune members immediately rowed out to salvage it. When their boat had raced more than 300 metres and had just reached the beam, the savage flood waters rose and the boat was unable to move because it was jammed between ice floes. Two other commune members went to the rescue in another boat, but ice floes rolled in and stopped it.

The violent wind whipped up tremendous waves and ice floes that were bigger than the boats rushed past, hitting against each other. The two boats were in peril of being crushed at any moment.

Everybody was anxious about the five class brothers as P.L.A. commanders and fighters, on hearing this, hurried to their rescue bringing several boats with them. Risking their lives, the fighters secured the stranded boats with ropes. Through the concerted efforts of the armymen and the civilians, the five commune members and two boats were removed from danger. Praising them, the masses said: "With the great strength in the unity between the army and the people, there is no difficulty to fear."

The army cherishes the people and the people support the army, and class feelings are deeper than the ocean. Fighters Sung Meng-chu and Hsu Shangyung, who had joined the shock brigade to rescue the poor and lower-middle peasants in Liukuanchuang Village, were swept by the torrent to the foot of Hsiaomashan, a hill some 600 metres from Liukuanchuang comrades to a small hut, Hsu had already fainted from the cold and Sung was numb all over and unable to speak. Comrades collected wood and built a fire. By the light of the fire, they saw on the front wall a portrait of our great leader Chairman Mao, who was smiling kindly, as though he were affectionately waving to the fighters. The thought then raced through their minds that Chairman Mao was by their side, directing them in the battle. The comrades hurried to cover the two fighters with their cotton-padded jackets. Unbuttoning his coat, fighter Chou Feng-min held one of the stricken P.L.A. men against his chest to give him warmth. Fighters Chi Tung-hua, Hao Yi-yuan and others put their own chests to Hsu's two stiff legs. When their chests got cold, they warmed them by the heat of the fire and again transferred the warmth to Hsu's legs. It was at this time that the poor and lowermiddle peasants who had been rescued learnt that two P.L.A. fighters had been in great peril. They immediately sent representatives to Hsiaomashan with cottonpadded jackets and shoes, hot potatoes and spirits. The armymen and the people co-ordinated their efforts to save the two men. The brilliant sunshine of Mao Tsetung Thought and the profound proletarian feelings of the poor and lower-middle peasants and their fellow fighters warmed the two fighters. When they came to, what they saw at first glance was the portrait of our great leader Chairman Mao, and the first words they uttered were: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long,

Village. When they were carried up the hill by their

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

long life to him!"

Commanded by Mao Tsetung Thought and displaying a heroic spirit, the commanders and fighters of the battalion, together with the broad masses in the area along the Yellow River in Pingyin County, conquered this unusually heavy torrent after four days and nights of hard battle. As a result, not one of the more than 20,000 people in this area died or was hurt.

Nine heroic P.L.A. fighters gloriously laid down their young lives in this battle in defence of the lives and property of the people and the rich fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and in safeguarding Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

"Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!"

Any difficulty, however big, can be overcome with such a heroic army and such a heroic people. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the Chinese people are invincible! Whoever dares to invade our great socialist motherland, no matter in what strength and with whom he comes, will surely be wiped out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely! -

ROUND THE WORLD

DICTATORIAL JUNTA OPPOSED

Greek People Keep Up Just Struggle

Backed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and by American bayonets, the Greek dictatorial military regime came to power by a military coup d'etat in April 1967. It has since disbanded all political parties and hundreds of mass organizations, set up military tribunals and concentration camps and made mass arrests throughout the country. Thousands of patriots, savagely tortured in prisons and concentration camps, are under brutal persecution. It is hell for the Greek people.

However, as our great teacher Chairman Mao has pointed out when referring to the reactionaries, "In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."

Though conditions are extremely difficult, the Greek people have set up many militant organizations over the last two years. They courageously paint numerous slogans against U.S. imperialism and fascist rule on the walls of university and government buildings, and in streets and alleys as well. They also publish newspapers and leaflets which expose the reactionary policies of the dictatorial regime and call on the people to unite and struggle.

Tens of thousands of people held a powerful demonstration in the Greek capital against the dictatorial military regime last November. This April, large numbers of peasants in central Greece rose to fight land confiscation by the dictatorial government.

When the Greek fascist regime recently "celebrated" the second anniversary of the coup d'etat, a bomb exploded in Athens near the rostrum from which Papadopoulos, the fascist chief, was delivering a speech. It was

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a signal of the people getting their revenge. Leaflets calling on the people to rise in struggle to overthrow the regime were distributed throughout Athens. More than 2,000 political prisoners went on a hunger strike in the concentration camps to demonstrate their firm resistance to fascist tyranny.

Thousands of patriots in prisons and concentration camps have shown dauntless heroism by firmly refusing to sign surrender papers which require them to pledge loyalty to the "government" and "take no part in political activities again."

The just struggle of the Greek people has the widespread support of the revolutionary peoples of the world. In the past two years, the people of many countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania have staged many impressive demonstrations against the Greek dictatorial military regime and in support of the Greek people's anti-fascist just struggle. Resolute support has also come from the revolutionary peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is worth noting that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism, has not only directed the Greek revisionists to undermine the Greek revolution from behind the scenes. In April 1968, when a demonstration was held in Moscow by students from Greece and other countries, it called out large numbers of troops and police to blockade the streets and forbid the students to get near the Greek embassy, and instructed Greek revisionists to tear up the demonstrators' placards containing slogans against U.S. imperialism and fascism. This despicable act of the Soviet revisionists was angrily condemned by the Greek people.

More and more Greek people have gradually come to realize the grave consequences of the revisionist line of "peaceful transition" and "parliamentary road" advocated by the Greek revisionist leading clique,

a clique which tails closely after the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. An ever increasing number of Greek working people is rallying around the genuine Greek Marxist-Leninists, holding aloft the banner of revolution and fighting to overthrow the country's traitorous dictatorial regime.

FRENCH "REFERENDUM"

De Gaulle Reluctantly Steps Down

"General elections" and "referendums" are pure political humbug used by the bourgeoisie to keep itself in power in the capitalist countries. Faced with a deteriorating political-economic crisis - an unstable political situation and sharpening internal class contradictions --- de Gaulle called a "referendum" on April 27 to curtail the senate's power and strengthen the president's hand. However, he was defeated by a majority vote and had to issue a statement in which he declared that he "ceased to exercise the functions as president of the republic" as of mid-day April 28. Alain Poher. Senate President, who took over as interim President of France, would call a new presidential "election" to be held within 35 days.

De Gaulle's resignation is the result of France's rapidly worsening political-economic crisis, which in turn reflects the ever-deepening political-economic crisis in the capitalist countries of the West.

The French financial and economic situation has gone from bad to worse in recent years while the class contradictions between the monopoly capitalist class and the broad masses of the French people have grown sharper and sharper. Industrial production growth has slowed down markedly, inflation is becoming harsher, commodity prices are. soaring and the financial-monetary crisis is heightening. The country's ruling circles try to get out of the crisis by stepping up their ruthless oppression and exploitation of the working

class and other sections of the people, but this has put the masses to strong resistance, as shown in the violent outburst of the May-June stormy nationwide struggle by the French workers and students last year. This revolutionary mass movement which shook the capitalist world dealt the French ruling circles another political and economic body blow.

The struggle of the French masses against monopoly capitalist class reactionary rule has continued to develop in depth this year. To protest against ruthless exploitation by monopoly capital and against the decadent bourgeois educational system and persecution by the ruling clique, workers in all trades and students in different parts of the country held strike after strike and demonstrated in the streets. Even small tradesmen and handicraftsmen closed their shops time and again to show their opposition to government and monopoly capital policies, which are ruining them. At the same time, the outflow of France's gold and foreign exchange reserves has continued unabated, and the franc is shaky. In these circumstances, where the mass struggle is growing in depth and the political-economic crisis is getting more and more serious, the internal contradictions besetting French ruling circles have become ever more acute.

All this has confronted these ruling circles with an unprecedented plight and brought about de Gaulle's defeat.

Sapping the rule of the monopoly capitalist class in the country, the upheaval in the French political situation will at the same time aggravate the difficulties and contradictions bedevilling the imperialist bloc. For the ruling classes of the Western countries, this is a disturbing prospect indeed. "The defeat of de Gaulle," writes the British Daily Mail, "could cause a major political upheaval inside Western Europe." As the French political situation grows more and more unstable, the already shaky franc has suffered another violent shock because of heavy selling, and the crisis-ridden British pound and U.S. dollar are also under heavy pressure. Thus, financial circles in the West have been struck by the common fear that, once the franc is devalued, a chain reaction will set in for the British pound, the U.S. dollar and certain other Western currencies. This will hasten the collapse of the already tottering overall monetary-financial system in the capitalist world.

The last few days have witnessed French ruling circles doing everything they can to prevent the French people from launching still another wave of struggle against monopoly capital rule. At the same time, they are locked in a bitter dog-fight among themselves over the office of the president. But no matter whom the French monopoly capitalist class chooses as its agent, it cannot hope to alleviate its class contradictions with the broad masses of the French working people. Hence, it can never shed its ever-deepening political-economic crisis.

KOSYGIN IN NEW DELHI

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Hatching New Anti-China Plots

In a new anti-China move, Soviet revisionist renegade clique chieftain Kosygin turned up in New Delhi recently to conspire with the reactionary Indian Government for stepped-up military collaboration. He stayed in the Indian capital three days.

Everyone knows that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique views the Indian reactionaries as important partners in its anti-China lineup. This being its consistent policy, it has gone out of its way to help them in their arms expansion and war preparations and to train them as hatchetmen against China. Since its armed provocations against China's territory Chenpao Island early in March — provocations which were given a solid rebuff — the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has sent its Defence Minister Grechko and Minister of Culture Furtseva to India in that order to intensify collusion with the Indian reactionaries. To deceive the Indian people, they spread a welter of futile anti-China lies. And, using the occasion of the funeral service for Indian President Zakir Hussain, Kosygin has now taken the field himself in contriving fresh counter-revolutionary schemes against China with the Indian reactionaries.

Kosygin held lengthy, behindclosed-door talks with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on May 6 and 7. According to Indian papers and Western news agencies, their discussions centred round the "two countries' mutual border problems with China." In these talks, Kosygin strained every effort to spell out the "case" for Soviet revisionist socialimperialism's staging armed provocations against China. What the Soviet revisionists want is that the Indian reactionaries "form a common approach" in strengthening the anti-China military alliance.

Resorting to the shameless trick of "a thief crying 'stop thief,' "Kosygin viciously slandered and vilified China at a New Delhie meeting following Hussain's funeral on May 6. To back up this manoeuvre, Moscow newspapers again gave wide coverage to articles slandering China and distorting the truth about the Sino-Soviet border question the day after Kosygin's vile attack.

The head-on blow the Soviet revisionist renegade clique received from the Chinese frontier guards in its armed provocations against China's territory Chenpao Island has exposed before the whole world the Soviet revisionist new tsars as nothing but a pack of gangsters and paper tigers. Hoping to extricate itself from its impasse and difficulties at home and abroad, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is hatching new plots against China together with the Indian reactionaries. But all such endeavours are futile.

(Continued from p. 3.)

China and its acts of provocation along the China-Sikkim boundary and the Sino-Indian border.

The responsible member of the First Department of Asian Affairs pointed out: On April 24, 1969, Manjit Singh, Director of the East Asia Division of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, made an urgent appointment to meet Chen Chaoyuan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in India, during which he alleged that "Chinese troops at Natu La broadcast to the Indian troops on April 23 and 24, demanding their withdrawal before 12:00 hours on April 24, and saying that failure to withdraw would be answered with bullets." Singh also accused the Chinese frontier guards of being "irresponsible" in "making a serious provocation," and lodged a so-called protest with the Chinese Government.

The responsible member of the First Department of Asian Affairs said: "The above allegation by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs is an out-and-out fabrication and slander. The fact is this: On April 21, linoleum belonging to Indian troops on the Sikkim side of Natu La along the China-Sikkim boundary was blown by strong winds into Chinese territory. Motivated entirely by good intentions, the Chinese frontier guards twice broadcast to the Indian troops on April 23 and

24, telling them to come to the Chinese territory on the left side of Natu La at 12:00 hours Peking time on April 24 to get back the linoleum, and asking the Indian troops to refrain from doing anything detrimental to the hand-over and reception during the process. Having heard the broadcast from the Chinese troops, the Indian troops replied in a broadcast on April 24 that they would not come to get it back and at the same time said some highly offensive words.

"In so doing, the Chinese frontier guards displayed the lofty spirit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. However, the Indian Government deliberately distorted the facts, slanderously accusing the Chinese frontier guards of 'provocations.' A spokesman of the Indian Ministry of Defence even clamoured on April 26 that the Chinese side had issued an 'ultimatum' to India. Instigated by the Indian Government, the reactionary Indian press also seized upon this to heap calumnies on China, thereby staging a clumsy anti-China farce."

The responsible member of the First Department of Asian Affairs also pointed out: "In its note to the Chinese Embassy dated April 23, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs alleged that 'on March 30th three Chinese uniformed personnel' crossed the line of actual control in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border. This is likewise sheer fabrication and trouble-making. Recently,

Indian planes have intruded into China's air space on many occasions, and even penetrated deep into China's Yatung and Gyantse areas for provocations. Indian troops carried out large-scale military manoeuvres in Sikkim, and Indian military personnel have incessantly intruded into Chinese territory by crossing the China-Sikkim boundary at Jelep La. Moreover, of late the Indian Army Chief of Staff went to the Sino-Indian border area for a socalled inspection. Obviously, it is none other than the Indian Government itself that is carrying out incessant provocations and creating tension along the China-Sikkim boundary and the Sino-Indian border. The Chinese Government and people hereby lodge a strong protest with the Indian Government against its lies and slanders and acts of provocation mentioned above.

"The Chinese Government sternly warns the Indian Government: By so rabidly opposing China in an attempt to provoke border incidents and create tension, you are only lifting a rock to drop it on your own feet. The Chinese Government's stand is very clear: 'We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack.' Should the Indian Government obdurately carry out armed provocations along the Sino-Indian border and the China-Sikkim boundary, it must be held fully responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom."

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Lin Piao

Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

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