

PEKING REVIEW

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CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG'S LATEST INSTRUCTIONS

Unite to win still greater victories.

In speaking of victory we mean to ensure that the masses of the people throughout the country are united under the leadership of the proletariat to win victory.

Unite for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office and school.

Documentary Film "The Victorious Closing of the Ninth National Congress Of the Communist Party of China" Now Showing

The colour documentary *The Victorious Closing of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China* is now showing in Peking and other parts of the country.

Brimming with political enthusiasm, the film records the moving scenes of the April 24 victorious closing of the Ninth National Party Congress, which is of great historic importance.

The great leader Chairman Mao attended the session.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao presided.

The Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was elected at this plenary session.

The film documents the lively scenes of the election of the Party's Central Committee. The entire hall became jubilant when our great leader Chairman Mao, in high spirits, walked with firm steps to the ballot box to cast his vote. Holding aloft their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* and looking at Chairman Mao, the delegates shouted with great feeling: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" Throughout the voting, the hall was filled with revolutionary enthusiasm. Chairman Mao repeatedly clapped his hands and waved to the delegates and cordially shook hands with them.

The film also vividly shows the delegates' elation at the election of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-

Chairman Lin Piao. When their names were read out, the hall resounded with prolonged, stormy applause and enthusiastic cheers of "Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!" "Long live the united and victorious Ninth National Congress of the Party!" "Long live invincible Mao Tsetung Thought!" "We wish our great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life!" This fully reflects the common desire of the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people and forcefully demonstrates the unprecedented vitality and revolutionary unity of our Party under the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought.

People can see from this film the inspiring scene of Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao happily posing for a photograph with all the delegates. Smiling, Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin waved cordially to the delegates again and again, while the elated delegates, gathered closely around Chairman Mao, joyously cheered over and over again.

The film shows that the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, holding high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, has successfully realized Chairman Mao's great call that it "will be a congress of unity and a congress of victory."

This film will inspire all the people of China to win still greater vic-

tories throughout the country under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Ninth Central Committee of the Party with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader.

Chairman of Chinese Side of Sino-Soviet Joint Commission For Navigation on Boundary Rivers Replies to Chairman Of Soviet Side

The chairman of the Chinese side of the Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for Navigation on the Boundary Rivers, in a reply to the chairman of the Soviet side on June 6, agreed to the date of June 18 for holding in Poli the 15th regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet commission for boundary river navigation. The reply points out: The Soviet side, by making groundless slanders and attacks on the Chinese side in its telegram of May 23, is attempting to place in advance obstacles to the coming 15th regular meeting. The Soviet side must change its wrong attitude and earnestly discuss all the questions put forward by the two sides concerning navigation on the Sino-Soviet boundary rivers. The reply reads as follows:

Smirnov,

Chairman of the Soviet Side,

Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for Navigation on the Boundary Rivers:

Your telegram of May 23 has been received.

On May 11 this year, the Chinese side proposed to your side that the 15th regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet commission for boundary river navigation be held in Poli in the middle of June.

In its telegram of May 23, the Soviet side, while proposing that the meeting be convened on June 18, again stood facts on their head and falsely alleged that the Chinese side "did not show the desire to hold the

(Continued on p. 39.)

The Chinese Government Lodges Strong Protests With the Soviet Government

Chinese Foreign Ministry's June 6 Note

Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in China:

After creating in succession incidents of bloodshed on China's territory Chenpao Island on March 2 and 15 this year, the Soviet Government, while expressing willingness to hold "consultations," has intensified its armed provocations against China and extended these activities of armed provocation from the Wusuli River to the Heilung River, from the sector of the boundary along the river to the sector of the boundary on land and from the eastern sector to the western sector, provoking a series of border incidents. To this day these provocative incidents are still occurring incessantly.

Since March 15, the Soviet Government has directed its troops to continue firing with light and heavy machine-guns and heavy artillery at China's Chenpao Island and areas deep within Chinese territory. They have fired nearly 8,000 shells and have not ceased their firing up to now.

On April 16, 17 and 25, Soviet troops three times violated the status quo of the boundary in the Chiamanchi area of Tahcheng County in Sinkiang, China by pushing their tracking-control belt into Chinese territory and truculently interfered with normal patrols by Chinese frontier guards there.

Since the latter part of April, in the area east of Suifenho in Heilungkiang Province, China, the Soviet side, ignoring repeated protests from the Chinese side, has not only refused to dismantle the wooden house, archway, barbed wire entanglements and other installations it illegally built up in Chinese territory by crossing the Sino-Soviet boundary, but has gone further to dig trenches within Chinese territory in a deliberate attempt to carry out armed provocations.

On May 2, the Soviet Government sent out large numbers of troops, together with several hundred tanks, armoured cars and vehicles, that intruded into the western part of Barluk Mountains in Yumin County, Sinkiang, China, penetrating as deep as seven kilometres into Chinese territory and grossly interfering with the passage of Chinese herdsmen and their flocks on Chinese territory. The Soviet troops aimed their guns at the Chinese frontier personnel on guard there, and threatened the latter by saying that should the Chinese refuse to withdraw from that area, the

Soviet side would wipe them out completely by force of arms. An incident of bloodshed was averted only because the Chinese side exercised forbearance.

Since May 12, Soviet troops have incessantly and frantically fired from the Soviet bank with light and heavy machine-guns at China's territory Wupalao Island on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel of the Heilung River in Huma County, Heilungkiang Province, China, and at the Chinese bank, carrying out harassment and provocations against the Chinese civilians engaged in productive labour on the island. What is even more serious is that around 2. p.m. on May 15, the Soviet troops fired at the Chinese frontier guards who were carrying out normal patrol on the island, killing one of them on the spot.

Around 11 o'clock on the morning of May 14, a patrol boat, a transportation boat and a gunboat of the Soviet side intruded into China's territory the Nuyatung Island area on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel of the Heilung River in Aihwei County, Heilungkiang Province, China. Led by a Soviet officer, 15 fully armed soldiers forcibly landed on the island and from two directions closed in on nine Chinese civilians engaged in productive labour on the island, savagely beat them with rifle butts, seriously wounding two of them, and took four of them by force into Soviet territory. Having subjected them to illegal trial and forcibly detained them for eight days, the Soviet side was compelled to send them back only after repeated protests from the Chinese frontier representative.

At 09:30 hours on May 20, supported by nearly a hundred Soviet armymen, nine Soviet mounted soldiers led by a lieutenant-colonel intruded into Chinese territory in the Yehhsikai area in Khabaho County, Sinkiang, China and grossly interfered in the Chinese frontier guards' patrol there by dashing among them on horseback.

In the afternoon of May 20, large numbers of Soviet troops intruded into Chinese territory in the Chiamanchi area of Tahcheng County, Sinkiang, China, beat up three Chinese civilians engaged in production there and two Chinese frontier guards, carried them away by force, seized the arms and ammunition of the Chinese frontier guards, and have thus far refused to send them back.

At 21:45 hours on May 25, when the Chinese passenger ship *Tungfanghung No. 17* was passing through the vicinity of the county town of Heiho, China while sailing on the main channel of the Heilung River, the Soviet side wantonly directed from the bank the dazzling beams of its searchlight on the ship for provocation, thereby disturbing the Chinese pilot's vision and causing the ship to get stranded. When the Chinese ship sent three persons on a small boat to the Chinese bank to seek rescue, the Soviet troops even sent a gunboat and three patrol boats to carry by force to the Soviet side the three Chinese civilians together with their boat, and have thus far refused to send them back.

At 12:27 hours on May 28, supported by a helicopter, Soviet troops in three gunboats intruded into China's territory the area of Fuyuantachiahsintzu Island on the Chinese side of the central line of the main channel of the Heilung River in Fuyuan County of Heilungkiang Province, China. Over 40 fully armed Soviet troops forcibly landed on the island, illegally carried away ten Chinese fishermen engaged in production on the island and seized their four fishing boats and one motor boat, and have thus far refused to send them back.

During the period from March 29 to May 31, Soviet aircraft, including bombers, fighters and reconnaissance planes, wantonly intruded into China's air space for harassment and reconnaissance in as many as 57 sorties, and some of them even penetrated a depth of over 60 kilometres into Chinese territory covering a distance of more than 240 kilometres.

The above grave incidents of the Soviet Government's deliberate encroachment upon Chinese territory and frantic provocation against the Chinese people are

grave steps taken by the Soviet Government to aggravate tension on the Sino-Soviet border and a new evidence of the Soviet Government's crime in pursuing its social-imperialist policy of aggression. The Chinese Government expresses utmost indignation at this and hereby lodges a strong protest with the Soviet Government.

It is utterly futile for the Soviet Government to try to cover up its crime of aggression by resorting to its habitual practice of a thief crying "Stop thief!" in its notes of April 25, May 4 and 24 to the Chinese Government.

The Soviet Government must immediately stop such criminal acts of intrusion and provocation, immediately stop its firing at Chinese territory, immediately stop its encroachment upon China's air space, immediately send back all the 16 kidnapped Chinese civilians and two Chinese frontier guards as well as the seized guns, ammunition and boats, and immediately stop its disturbance of the normal sailing of Chinese vessels. The Chinese Government also reserves the right to demand compensation for all the losses resulting from the killing, wounding and kidnapping of the Chinese personnel and from the stranding of the Chinese passenger ship. The Chinese Government hereby warns the Soviet Government: Should the Soviet Government ignore the Chinese Government's just demands, the Soviet Government must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China

Peking, June 6, 1969

Chinese Foreign Ministry's June 11 Note

Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in China:

In the evening of June 10, at 21:30 hours, dozens of Soviet troops intruded into the western part of the Barluk Mountains in Yumin County of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China, carried out wanton provocations against three Chinese herdsmen who were grazing cattle there and kidnapped one of the herdsmen. In the same evening, at 21:40 hours, when Chinese frontier guards proceeded to make representations, the Soviet troops, truculently refusing to talk reason, were the first to open fire, killing a Chinese herdsman on the spot. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance, the Chinese frontier guards were compelled to fight back in self-defence. This is a fresh incident of bloodshed created solely by the Soviet Government. Furthermore, the Soviet troops subsequently sent large numbers of tanks and armoured cars to intrude into Chinese territory in an attempt to provoke still larger armed conflicts. The incident is developing.

The Chinese Government hereby lodges a strong protest with the Soviet Government against its direction of Soviet troops to encroach on Chinese territory and deliberately create an incident of bloodshed, and demands that the Soviet Government immediately stop its encroachment on Chinese territory, immediately stop its armed provocations and immediately send back the kidnapped Chinese herdsman. The Chinese Government reserves the right to demand compensation for the losses.

The Chinese Government once again sternly warns the Soviet Government that it must change its policy of territorial expansion and armed provocation against China. Otherwise it will surely meet with severe punishment by the Chinese people and the Soviet Government must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China

Peking, June 11, 1969

June 13, 1969

Hold Aloft the Banner of Unity of the Party's Ninth Congress and Win Still Greater Victories

Editorial by "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

THE strong east wind of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China has swept the vast expanse of our motherland. People throughout the country are enthusiastically studying the documents of the congress, acting in accordance with its spirit and carrying out the policies it laid down and the fighting tasks it set forth. This movement is giving impetus to our country's great cause of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and making it advance with still greater vigour.

From the opening of the Ninth Congress to the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao repeatedly issued the great historic call: **Unite to win still greater victories.** This epitomizes the basic spirit of the Ninth Congress and embodies Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. Chairman Mao said: **"In speaking of victory we mean to ensure that the masses of the people throughout the country are united under the leadership of the proletariat to win victory."** **"Unite for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office and school."** These latest instructions of Chairman Mao's point out the direction of advance for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in consolidating victory and carrying it forward. All regions and units in the country must resolutely carry out these instructions.

After three years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our great socialist motherland is unprecedentedly united and the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people is stronger and broader than ever. This great unity is based on great Mao Tsetung Thought which has been spread among the 700 million people to an unprecedented extent. In the struggle to destroy the

bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, the revolutionary masses have tremendously raised their level of consciousness of class struggle and of the struggle between the two lines and have formed a mighty revolutionary contingent. The People's Liberation Army's participation in the work of "three supports and two militaries" (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left and military control, political and military training) has further strengthened the unity between the army and the people. The revolutionary cadres have tempered themselves and forged closer links with the masses. The establishment throughout the country of revolutionary committees, which combine the representatives of the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary masses and the Liberation Army and unite the forces of all quarters, has strengthened the centralized leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was in this revolutionary situation, characterized by unity and vigour, that the Party's Ninth National Congress was convened.

The congress was convened after ample conditions had been prepared for it politically, ideologically and organizationally. It has successfully carried out Chairman Mao's call to make it **"a congress of unity and a congress of victory."** It elected the new Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. And the new Constitution of the Party clearly reaffirms that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the Party's thinking and clearly stipulates that Comrade Lin Piao is the successor to Chairman Mao. This is a new victory brought about by the unity of the Party's Ninth Congress and of the whole Party.

The excellent situation in the revolution has become still better as people throughout the country have been encouraged and stimulated by the spirit of unity for victory of the Party's Ninth Congress. With Chairman Mao's call "unite to win still greater victories" as the focus, the revolutionary committees at all levels and Mao Tsetung Thought study classes of all types are summing up experience, finding out shortcomings and taking further measures to carry out Chairman Mao's various proletarian policies. All positive factors are being brought into play and the struggle-criticism-transformation movement is developing in depth; the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combination are being further consolidated and developed. The far-reaching influence of the Ninth Congress in the history of our Party has begun to manifest itself and will be felt to an increasingly great extent.

Although we have won great victories and successes, the enemies at home and abroad are not reconciled to their failure and doom. The class struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is by no means over. We must heighten our vigilance at all times.

The fighting tasks set before us by the Party's Ninth National Congress are glorious but arduous. The socialist revolution will continue to advance. We still have a great deal of work to do in consolidating and developing the newborn revolutionary committees, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the revolution in all spheres of the superstructure through to the end. And great efforts still have to be made to fulfil the tasks for each stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in every single factory, every single school, every single commune and every single unit in a conscientious and meticulous way.

Moreover, we should abide by Chairman Mao's teaching "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack," and seriously deal with the plots of aggression of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction, and make preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. The great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought is a sure guarantee that we will fulfil our fighting tasks and defeat our common enemies.

Our unity is a great, broad revolutionary unity under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. It is a great revolutionary unity under the guidance of the principles of Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao teaches us: "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." The working class must act according to Chairman Mao's teachings and strengthen unity in its own ranks, firmly unite with its allies, unite, educate and remould the intellectuals and unite all forces which can be united with. It should, in accordance with the Party's policies, unite with all those who support socialism and love our socialist motherland, with those who committed serious mistakes but are not incorrigible, and with those who committed the errors characteristic of the capitalist roaders in power but are not absolutely unrepentant.

All comrades taking the revolutionary road should unite. It is fine for one to have been among the earliest rebels against the capitalist roaders in power and have played a vanguard role in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, we must understand that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a broad mass movement, in which some people may have recognized the significance of the revolution and taken part in it earlier than others, and we should warmly welcome those comrades who have later caught up. Some comrades who stood on the wrong side in the early stage of the movement should be encouraged once they rectify their mistakes. It is entirely wrong to refuse to recognize their progress.

Some of the earliest rebels against the capitalist roaders in power may also commit mistakes in the tortuous course of the revolutionary movement and they, too, should conscientiously correct them. It is wrong to think of oneself as "the only revolutionary" and "the only Left." This does not conform to reality and is harmful to unity and the revolution. In making revolution, is it better to unite with more people or less people? Of course it is better to unite with more people.

On the question of unity, the leading comrades in the revolutionary committees at all levels should resolutely implement the Ninth Party Congress' principle of unity and do their work well. It is first of all necessary to strengthen the unity of the core of leadership, conscientiously carry out democratic centralism and strengthen collective leadership. The rev-

olutionary three-in-one combination should be consolidated. The representatives of the cadres of the armed forces, the local cadres and the revolutionary mass organizations, who form the three-in-one combination, should trust, help, learn from and support each other. We should boldly assign work to those cadres who have been "liberated." The revolutionary masses should cherish and support the revolutionary committees, promote and help strengthen the unity between the veteran and new cadres on the revolutionary committees.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**We have come together from every corner of the country and should be good at uniting in our work not only with comrades who hold the same views as we but also with those who hold different views. There are some among us who have made very serious mistakes; we should not be prejudiced against them but should be ready to work with them.**" In this very respect, the great leader Chairman Mao is our brilliant example. He has included in the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat the ability to unite with the overwhelming majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes. The Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted by the Ninth National Congress of the Party also stipulates that members of the Party must meet this requirement. All Party members and other proletarian revolutionaries must see to it that they act accordingly.

Our revolutionary cause advances in a continuous process of resolving contradictions. We should apply Chairman Mao's materialist-dialectics of **one dividing into two** in analysing and resolving contradictions. We should be good at distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. In the case of contradictions among the people, we should handle them according to the only correct formula of **unity — criticism and self-criticism — unity** which Chairman Mao initiated; we should proceed from the desire for unity and, through criticism and self-criticism, through heart-to-heart talks and particularly through doing more self-criticism, resolve the contradictions involved and thereby achieve new unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the kind of criticism and self-criticism we advocate should conform to materialism and dialectics. What we mean by conforming to materialism is to seek truth from facts and reflect things as they are. What we mean by conforming to dialectics is: one dividing into two, adopting an analytical attitude towards things, towards people and towards oneself, looking at a problem all-sidedly, and avoiding regarding everything as either all positive or all negative. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**In the appraisal of our work, it is one-sided to regard everything either as all positive or as all negative.**" It is impossible to

consolidate unity if one-sidedness in thinking is not overcome.

Chairman Mao told us long ago and has repeatedly reminded us recently that there is one main tendency in a given period and it covers up another tendency. While opposing the Right erroneous tendency, the "Left" erroneous tendency may appear; while opposing the "Left" erroneous tendency, the Right erroneous tendency may appear. Therefore, our attitude towards work should not be careless. One should not forget oneself in a moment of excitement. It is essential that we must at all times follow Chairman Mao's teaching to **be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness.**

In short, we must closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and resolutely carry out his latest instructions. We must always make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions in all places and units. We should be prudent and careful and pay attention to overcoming one-sidedness.

Upholding unity and adherence to principle are not contradictory. The unity we speak of is revolutionary unity based on Mao Tsetung Thought and not unprincipled unity. The principles we speak of are the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which include unity in the struggle against our common enemy.

Chairman Mao teaches us: Our Party is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard organization of the proletariat and the militant organization armed with Marxism-Leninism. We stand on the side of the masses of the people who make up more than 95 per cent of the total population. We will on no account stand on the side of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists who constitute 4 to 5 per cent of the total population. Internationally, we likewise want to unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people, but will never unite with the imperialists, the revisionists and all reactionaries, all of whom oppose communism and the people.

In his report to the Party's Ninth National Congress, Vice-Chairman Lin issued the call: "Let the whole Party unite, let the people of the whole country unite, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, **be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**" Let us hold aloft the banner of unity of the Party's Ninth Congress and, under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, unite with the revolutionary people of the whole country to do a good job in struggle-criticism-transformation, to **grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war**, and to strive for still greater victories!

(June 9, 1969. Slightly abridged.)

Peking Review, No. 24

Studying Chairman Mao's Theory of Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Serve the People Heart and Soul

by Hsu Tao-yi

*"The Advanced Health Section Which Wholeheartedly Serves the People"**

CHAIRMAN MAO teaches us: **"This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle."** Being wholeheartedly devoted to the people or being concerned with oneself only is the basic distinction between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook. To serve the broad masses of the working people wholeheartedly or to serve a handful of persons belonging to the exploiting classes is the basic difference between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, whether we can solve this question correctly involves the important question of whether we ourselves can continue making revolution.

For many years, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we have firmly grasped this fundamental question of "for whom" to impel ourselves forward in remoulding our bourgeois world outlook, raise our consciousness of the class struggle and of the struggle between the two lines and make wholeheartedly serving the people the starting-point of all our actions. We temper our loyalty to Chairman Mao in the practice of serving the people.

Amid the excellent situation in which Mao Tsetung Thought has been vigorously spread and popularized on an unprecedented scale in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our health section, which had done only common medical operations, guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, removed a 45-kg. tumour from the abdomen of Chang Chiu-chu, a lower-middle peasant, in 1968. (This magazine carried two articles on this achievement in Nos. 24 and 33, 1968.—Ed.)

Approved by our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the

* A health section of a P.L.A. unit renowned throughout China for its outstanding service to the working people. It won the title of honour "The Advanced Health Section Which Wholeheartedly Serves the People" last year.

title of honour "The Advanced Health Section Which Wholeheartedly Serves the People" was conferred on our section by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This shows Chairman Mao's greatest concern for us and gives us all the greatest education, inspiration and encouragement. From our own experience, we have come to know that all our achievements originate from great Mao Tsetung Thought and are attributed to our great leader Chairman Mao. **To persist in using Mao Tsetung Thought to guide our actions, to serve the people wholeheartedly and to constantly struggle against all kinds of bourgeois ideology are the important factors** enabling us to persist in making revolution and to win one victory after another.

During the war years, before the establishment of the new China, comrades in our section had stood up to the severe test of rescuing our comrades-in-arms and moving the wounded, braving gun-fire and at the risk of their lives. However, during the period of socialist revolution which found a new situation of sharp and complex class struggle, some comrades felt that "the old way" was no good. For some time in our section, the spirit of careful treatment of the masses was weakened, the number of our people going down deep into the army companies fell off, and instead, studying technique behind closed doors had become a common practice. Actually this meant that the enthusiasm for continuing the revolution was greatly reduced.

Having studied Chairman Mao's teaching that **"the proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie,"** we felt that the bourgeois thinking of regarding technique as a means of seeking fame and gain was corrupting our militant collective. The Party branch asked us to examine our thinking and actions in the light of the question of "for whom," and as a result we acquired a correct motive and orientation in studying technique. It was in this process of pitting our-

selves against bourgeois ideology that we gradually established the proletarian world outlook of serving the people wholeheartedly.

Struggle has its twists and turns. As the situation in the struggle between the two classes and the two lines oscillated, there were constant reversals in our thinking as regards the question of "for whom." When the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lo Jui-ching whipped up a wind of organizing large-scale demonstrations of and competitions in military skills in 1964, the practice of chasing after only medical technique again appeared in our section. The Party branch organized all the comrades to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way and set off a big debate on for whom medical technique should be learnt and on serving whom. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"It consists fundamentally of the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses."** By examining our attitude in the light of this teaching of Chairman Mao's, we came to understand that there were two diametrically opposite roads concerning the question of raising the technical level. One was to make technique serve proletarian politics, to regard the raising of the technical level as a means of serving the people and to raise the technical level in the practice of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. The other was to make technique serve bourgeois politics, to regard the raising of the technical level as a means of achieving personal aims and to place raising the technical level apart from the practice of serving the people. With the problem of which road to take in mind, we repeatedly studied "the three constantly read articles" and relentlessly criticized the bourgeois thinking of seeking personal fame and gain in the light of the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching of **"utter devotion to others without any thought of self."** Profoundly enlightened, we came to know that which road to take in raising the technical level involved the question of what kind of world outlook to uphold, and "for whom."

On the question of "for whom," every time we fought against self-interest, our consciousness of continuing the revolution and of serving the people wholeheartedly was enhanced. Through debates, every one of us became enthusiastic about going deep among the masses, down to the companies and to the countryside, wholeheartedly serving the rank-and-file fighters and poor and lower-middle peasants. Regarding us as their kith and kin, the poor and lower-middle peasants came to us whenever they were sick.

But this did not mean that the question of "for whom" was thoroughly resolved. When a poor-peasant commune member came for treatment he raised some objections about our work. One comrade grumbled: "We treated him, but he had objections. It's hard to handle." Some comrades were somewhat impatient with civilians who sought medical care. The Party branch considered this a manifestation of the fact that the question of "for whom" had not been completely solved. It organized us to discuss the question of what attitude we should take towards the

civilians who came for treatment. We repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's teaching: **"The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible."** All of us had the view: The fact that the people had come for treatment and criticized us shows that they regard us as soldiers of the people. This shows exactly that the army has become one with the people. We must welcome their criticisms and serve them better. Since that time, we have not only warm-heartedly treated civilians who came, but have constantly sent medical teams to the countryside to give mobile service and help the communes train their peasant-doctors, and did everything we could to create for the poor and lower-middle peasants suitable medical conditions in the countryside.

Our handling of Chang Chiu-chu's case in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution made us understand more deeply that the question of "for whom" is the fundamental question in the struggle between the two lines. During the four years of her sickness, Chang Chiu-chu underwent many hardships and troubles in her search for treatment. However, the bourgeois "specialists," who did not care at all for a common lower-middle peasant commune member, arbitrarily diagnosed her sickness as an "incurable disease" after only very careless examinations and threw her out of the hospital. Only the size of a rice bowl upon discovering, her tumour grew as big as a cauldron. Whose crime was it? It was that of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi who pushed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in medical and health work over a long period. What we were confronted by was no ordinary case of curing a disease, but a fierce battle in the struggle between the two lines. Our section's Party branch ran a Mao Tsetung Thought study class to vigorously expose and criticize Liu Shao-chi's towering crimes. This aroused the comrades' deep hatred for Liu Shao-chi. Our opinion was: The scoundrel Liu Shao-chi didn't care whether the people live or die. But we do. We will cure those people whom the bourgeois "specialists" wouldn't! What the masses sent us was not just a patient, but also a yardstick to judge whether we served the people wholeheartedly and whether we were really loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We should rely on Mao Tsetung Thought to cure Chang Chiu-chu, and by treating her disease show Chairman Mao's careful concern for the broad labouring masses. Guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, the operation was successful and finally saved her from a devilish disease and the clutches of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In this battle to save a life, we arrived at a deep understanding that, fundamentally, serving the people heart and soul is implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and that love for the people is loyalty to Chairman Mao. Only by serving the people heart and soul can we carry on with our victorious march in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese people heart and soul." Last July, just a day before our whole section was ready to go to Peking to attend the meeting at which the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party would confer the title of honour on us, one of our section's in-patient with abdominal tumour in the late stage was on the brink of death. If he was not operated on immediately, this devilish disease would take the life of a class brother. But the difficulty and danger in the operation would be greater than in Chang Chiu-chu's. Should we operate on him? Should we go ahead courageously or retreat because of the danger? This was a new test to see if we are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao and if we cherish infinite love for the people. The Party branch organized us to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's teachings "serve the people wholeheartedly" and "don't rest on your laurels, make new contributions." This made us understand that the honour due to be given us should be carried forward and developed in serving the people. In spite of difficulty and danger, we should seek out the last hope for our class brother. The comrades in the whole section once again took part in a battle to save a life with a really serious and earnest attitude. Danger appeared at every step in the operation. The tumour bled profusely. With a high sense of responsibility to the people, we swiftly took steps to remove the danger which occurred eight times and finally saved the life of a class brother. This battle filled us with the deep understanding that only if we have a high sense of responsibility can we serve the people wholly and entirely.

After receiving the honorary title, we felt deeply that the lofty honour bestowed by Chairman Mao had set a higher standard and demand on us to serve the people wholeheartedly. All the personnel in our sec-

tion constantly checked our work and improved our service. For instance, some comrades found that they still had four different attitudes in medical work: while they attached importance to serious diseases, they paid less attention to minor ailments; they were more earnest in their daytime work than at night; they were more careful when there were fewer patients than when there were many; they showed more enthusiasm for patients coming from long distances than for those living nearby. Once again we studied Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Serve the People* in order to set strict demands on ourselves in line with "wholly" and "entirely" and change these four different attitudes into ones that showed no partiality. We once somewhat neglected the out-patients because of an operation on a patient who was in danger. One patient wrote, criticizing us for our lack of concern. When the comrades in the clinic got the letter, they immediately made a self-examination. In addition, the clinic head and an army doctor made a special trip of scores of li to his home to treat him and ask for his criticism.

We deepen our understanding of the meaning of serving the people through the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought in the storm of class struggle, in practical work and in our contact with the worker, peasant and soldier masses. We obtain the profound realization that the question of "for whom" is a fundamental question which we should remember all our lives. There is no end to serving the people. Persisting in serving the people heart and soul means persisting in making revolution. We must always grasp this question firmly and pay constant attention to study and practice so as to make our whole life one of serving the people wholeheartedly, a life for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a life which is boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao.

Resolutely Taking the Road of Maintaining Independence and Keeping the Initiative in Our Own Hands and Relying on Our Own Efforts

— Refuting Liu Shao-chi's Slavish Comprador Philosophy and His Doctrine Of Trailing Behind at a Snail's Pace

In his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao pointed out: "We must continue to criticize thoroughly and discredit completely the stuff of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi such as the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trail-

ing behind at a snail's pace, and must firmly establish among the cadres and the masses of the people Chairman Mao's concept of 'maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts,' so as to ensure that our cause will continue to advance in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao."

The Chinese working class has actively responded to this great call of the congress. In the course of studying the congress documents, the workers, linking their study with the actual conditions in their places of work, discussed their own experience and incisively criticized the big renegade Liu Shao-chi's slavish comprador philosophy and his doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace. They have thus obtained a firmer grasp of Chairman Mao's great concept of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," and brought about new developments in industrial production.

We publish below two critiques written by workers.
— P.R. Ed.

Following Our Own Road of Industrial Development

by Chin Wei-tung

The Taching Revolutionary Committee

TO strangle us economically, the U.S. imperialists tightened their economic blockade on China and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique put pressure on us on the question of petroleum just when China's economy met with temporary difficulties in 1960. Their political aim was to subvert socialist China. These base acts only aroused the enormous wrath of the Chinese working class. We petroleum workers studied our great leader Chairman Mao's brilliant works over and over. Chairman Mao has taught us: "We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations." This great teaching filled us with infinite wisdom and strength. Like a brilliant beacon, it lighted up our road of advance. Our own petroleum industry must be developed! It must make the grade! We resolved to take the road of self-reliance and smash the criminal plots of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism by our concrete action.

The big battle for petroleum at Taching unfolded under the guidance of Chairman Mao's great policy of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts."

To swiftly change the backward state of China's petroleum industry, we Taching workers who took part in this battle all gave the Party our pledge that we would win glory for the motherland and live up to Chairman Mao's expectations. We vowed to throw the words "backward in oil" out of our vocabulary even if we had to shed our blood and lay down our lives! The big renegade Liu Shao-chi and his agents in the industrial and transport departments, however, frantically opposed and sabotaged the Taching battle for oil. They clamoured: "Industry must make an adequate retreat." "There's no oil in Taching." "It's all a mess."

The devil with "making an adequate retreat"! Dreaming of reducing China to their colony again, the U.S. imperialists set up an economic blockade against us. They wanted us to "retreat." The Soviet revisionists brought pressure to bear upon us on oil, hoping to cause us to give up the principles of Marxism-Leninism and yield to them. They, too, wanted us to "retreat." Playing the exact tune as the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists, Liu Shao-chi and Co. also hysterically told us to "retreat."

Our only way out is to maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts, and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. The great victory of the Taching battle for oil testifies to this.

Who said "there's no oil in Taching"? U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism raved that "China is poor in oil." This was only a futile trick to control China and plunder her economically. Tailing behind them Liu Shao-chi and Co. also shouted "There's no oil." This only served to reveal their true features as imperialist lackeys.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The Chinese people have high aspirations, they have ability, and they will certainly catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in the not too distant future." We Taching workers have high aspirations, we have ability, and we are determined to take the road of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts. Following Chairman Mao's teachings, we fought the battle to wrest oil as a political battle. We used Mao Tsetung Thought to direct our fighting. We diligently studied *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* and analysed and resolved contradictions from the viewpoint of class struggle. We devoted ourselves to the study of the "three constantly read articles" — *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* — and worked heroically with a communist attitude of selflessness towards labour. We Taching workers dared to say: "We're going ahead with or without the necessary conditions! We can create them!" When there were no transport vehicles, we used our arms and shoulders. When we couldn't get water for drilling wells, we broke through the ice to get it, and carried it in our wash basins. In a place on which imperialism had pronounced the sentence of "No oil," we Chinese petroleum workers found the richest resources of oil and declared the total bankruptcy of the theory that "China is poor in oil."

"It's all a mess" — what rubbish! The ranks of oil workers who joined the Taching battle for oil were gathered together all at once in a wilderness. Without experience, equipment, or technical data to go by, we found that things were somewhat in a "mess." But this sort of "mess" is exactly what the revolution called for. It aimed precisely at "breaking down foreign conventions and following our own road of industrial

development." Opposition to a "mess" by Liu Shao-chi and Co. meant that they wouldn't allow us to make revolution, and that they wanted us to follow in the footsteps of the imperialists and be their slaves. According to their doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, before opening the oilfield, living quarters had to be built first, then the factory buildings and finally extracting the oil. All together, this would have taken at least a dozen years. If this is what they meant by opposing a "mess," it amounted to our depending on foreign oil for ever.

Following Chairman Mao's teaching "Ample food and clothing by working with our own hands," we built tens of thousands of houses of tamped earth, overcame the effects of severe cold and opened up wasteland. We studied and applied Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way and adopted the policy of prospecting, extracting oil, and engaging in production and construction all at the same time. We combined revolutionary spirit with a scientific approach and opened and built the Taching oilfield at high speed and with high standards. In only a few months' time, we were able to send petroleum to all parts of the country, giving powerful aid to the socialist construction of the motherland. After three years of hard struggle, we finally took this big oilfield in hand and basically achieved self-sufficiency in petroleum. All this proves that a revolutionary "mess" is wonderful.

The victory of the battle for oil at Taching is a victory for Chairman Mao's great policy of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts." It not only dealt a telling blow at U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, but also mercilessly refuted the big renegade Liu Shao-chi's slavish comprador philosophy and his doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace.

Bankruptcy of the Slavish Comprador Philosophy

by Hung Chuan-kung

The Shanghai Tungfanghung Shipyard

FOR more than a century before liberation the imperialists launched countless aggressive wars against China in order to turn her into their colony. To maintain their rule over the Chinese people for a long time, they had to have a collection of slaves who are the reactionary social basis for the imperialists in



Taching workers relentlessly criticize Liu Shao-chi for his towering crimes at the oilfield.

ruling and oppressing the Chinese people. In modern Chinese history, representatives of the imperialist slaves were Li Hung-chang in the past and later on Chiang Kai-shek and Liu Shao-chi.

Such imperialist slaves always have their own slavish comprador philosophy. The "Westernization Movement" of the big comprador Li Hung-chang is in essence the "comprador movement" which sold out China's territory and sovereignty to the imperialists. The big traitor Chiang Kai-shek went even further. He relied on foreign countries for everything, which actually meant selling everything to them. To restore capitalism in China and turn China into a colony of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi had for a long time pushed a revisionist line in industry which was characterized by worshipping everything foreign and betraying his own country. He babbled that "our technique is poor," and wanted the Chinese working class to "learn from the capitalist countries." Wasn't this asking the Chinese working people to be slaves of the foreign bourgeoisie for generations? Wasn't this turning the wheel of history back to the old semi-colonial and semi-feudal road and selling out the socialist motherland, which had been won with the blood and lives of the Chinese people, to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique? Is there the slightest difference between Liu Shao-chi and Li Hung-chang and Chiang Kai-shek?

Liu Shao-chi did all he could in the ship-building industry to spread the slavish comprador philosophy that "it is better to repair a ship than to lease a ship, lease a ship than buy a ship, buy a ship than build a ship." Kneeling shamelessly before foreign capitalists,

he ordered the buying of worn-out ships from capitalist countries and considered them as something of value. These ships were used after being repaired. This was the height of ignominy!

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Chinese people have high aspirations, they have ability, and they will certainly catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in the not too distant future." Whether it is necessary for us to build ships, and to build big ships, involves the big question of whether China can develop her own ship-building industry by relying on her own efforts. In the past, the big renegade Liu Shao-chi and the handful of capitalist roaders in our shipyard used foreign dogmas to throttle the workers' enthusiasm and creativeness. We, the working class, now have power in our hands. We have Chairman Mao to back us. Our aim is to build big ships, and to build good ones. The revolutionary workers at the Hungchi Shipyard have already set us an example. They broke down foreign conventions, displayed their dauntless spirit of daring to think and break through, and built a big oil tanker, the *Taching No. 27*, with Chinese-made rolled steel in a short period of time. This is a resounding slap in the face for Liu Shao-chi who advocated the slavish comprador philosophy that "it is better to buy a ship than build a ship."

After criticizing the slavish comprador philosophy, the revolutionary workers in our shipyard proudly raised

the slogan: "We want to build 10,000-ton class ships!" That a medium-sized shipyard wants to build 10,000-ton class ships leaves the bourgeois philistines speechless.

Some people said: "It's all right to build 10,000-ton class ships. But not now. Better wait."

We workers said: "No. Making revolution means 'seizing the day, seizing the hour.' You can't achieve anything by just waiting."

Others said: "Conditions in our shipyard are poor. The capacity of our equipment and capital construction is not up to it yet."

We said: "Conditions are created by man. If we wait for the conditions to ripen and then make 10,000-ton class ships, this is no revolution. If this is to be the case, then what's the use of the two hands of the working class? We can perform any kind of wonder with Mao Tsetung Thought."

Through revolutionary mass criticism and debates, we broke down the big renegade Liu Shao-chi's slavish comprador philosophy and upheld Chairman Mao's great thinking of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts." This has resulted in the development of production in our shipyard by leaps and bounds. The work of building 10,000-ton class ships is now going on smoothly. This is a powerful rebuff to Liu Shao-chi who peddled the slavish comprador philosophy.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A Sinister Counter-Revolutionary Conference In Moscow: A Despicable Plot

Editorial by Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*

The Albanian paper "*Zeri i Popullit*" in an editorial on May 28 exposed the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's despicable plot to convene a sinister counter-revolutionary conference. Entitled "On the Threshold of the Moscow Revisionist Farce," the editorial reads in full: — Ed.

A CONFERENCE of revisionist parties is reportedly to be convened, at last, on June 5. The farce started five years ago by Khrushchov and played with great zeal by his successors is now ending in a truly ridiculous performance in Moscow. One cannot remember how many rallies and meetings of so-called initiator, consultative, preparatory, drafting and other groups, commissions and committees have been held during this period. One cannot remember how many communiqués have been issued, how many declarations have been made, how many time limits and dates have

been fixed for this meeting of renegades. Its history is the history of disintegration and political and ideological degeneration of the whole of modern revisionism and, in the first place, of Soviet revisionism. It is the history of the betrayal to Marxism-Leninism and revolution, it is the history of the gradual but final transition of revisionism to the most counter-revolutionary extreme, to social-imperialism and social-fascism. Much toil and much sweat had it cost the chiefs of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union to get together the representatives of the divided, disorientated and disintegrated revisionist parties. Much pressure, many threats, tricks and blackmail, indeed many rubles, too, have they spent to compel the other partners to go to the general revisionist meeting.

The question of convening a broad revisionist assembly has been for the Kremlin chiefs not only a

big question of prestige, but also one of the most preoccupying problems of their career, decisively connected with their global strategy and with their hegemonic and expansionist policy. During the past five years, the objectives of the meeting have changed several times in compliance with the political situations which Soviet Khrushchov revisionism was undergoing, and with the preoccupations and problems facing it during this or that period. But from the very beginning and until now the main objective of the Soviet leaders has been the rallying, around themselves, of all the revisionist forces, the full ideological, political and organizational control of the revisionist front, the plunging without hesitation and without reservation of this front into the fight against revolution and socialism, against the Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labour and against all the Marxist-Leninists. The absolute domination over the other revisionist parties has been and remains for the renegade chiefs of the Soviet Union one of the main bases to rule over the Soviet people and to hoodwink world public opinion. Had they not had a foreign clientele which, willy-nilly, would cheer them, hardly can one think that they would have been able to still hold the mask of "communism," "proletarian internationalism" and the Marxist phraseology with which their demagoguery and fraudulent propaganda are replete.

As a result of the powerful blows of the principled and consistent fight waged by the Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labour and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties against modern revisionism and in particular against Soviet revisionism, the opportunist line of the renegades dominating the Soviet Union has been thoroughly exposed, their treachery has been brought to light, their criminal plans have been unearthed. On the other hand, their activity against revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples, their ever closer collaboration with imperialism and reaction, and the transition, at last, to open, aggressive and colonialist actions against other peoples, have made them more isolated, and have further lowered that authority and prestige that could have still remained with them.

In these circumstances the convening of the so-called "international communist forum," under the aegis of the Soviet revisionist chiefs, constitutes an effort to extricate themselves from this quagmire. They need a certificate of behaviour from this "forum" to show the Soviet people that they not only are not isolated, but also that their home and foreign policies are "Marxist-Leninist" policies which enjoy also the approval of the "world communist movement" and that Moscow allegedly always remains its "centre." Therefore, the discontented, those who criticize them, and especially those that have revolted against their policy, must be silent, they must submit.

On the foreign policy, the exploitation of the general revisionist meeting by the Soviet chiefs goes still farther. They would like to propagandize the fact that the meeting is convened in their capital and under

their chairmanship as an approval by "world communism" of their line of collaboration with U.S. imperialism, as an expression of solidarity with and support to their hegemonic and expansionist actions.

But objectives, desires, hopes are one thing and reality is another. The Moscow revisionist conference is convened in an exceptionally difficult situation for the whole of the revisionist front. Today, not only there does not exist an international unity and co-operation of the revisionist parties, but they are divided and disintegrated both outside and inside. Following the example and traditions of the bourgeois parties, they are corroded by opportunism and liberalism, by factions, career-seeking struggles for power, etc. In the major part they have transformed themselves into nationalist bourgeois parties which think only of serving the narrow interests of the national bourgeoisie. The policy of intervention and pressure that the Soviet leaders have pursued in regard with them has further incited them to advance on this road. The numerous vicissitudes accompanying the very preparation of the meeting indicate perhaps better than anything else the great deterioration and the grave situation existing in the relations between the revisionist parties. The successive campaigns undertaken by the Soviet leaders for the organization of the revisionist conference not only did not lead to a rapprochement of viewpoints or co-ordination of common actions, but made still deeper the divergencies and sharper the contradictions. The opposing attitudes of the various partners have now taken a fully concrete shape. The efforts to escape from the Soviet tutelage and hegemony constitute one of the main features characterizing the internal strife of the revisionist front.

The aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia not only made more tense the relations with the other revisionist parties, but it provides them with the formal justification to oppose the Soviet hegemony and to keep alive their centrifugal objectives, which in many cases go very far.

This is not the main consequence of the aggression against Czechoslovakia. The most important is that it made obvious that the relations of the revisionist parties with those who have usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party can be only relations of submission, servile docility and blind implementation of their dictate. While in Czechoslovakia they resorted to armed violence, in places where they have no possibility to send their tanks they will have recourse to other means to subjugate them or to carry out coups in the disobedient parties and to place on top such leaderships as would be to their liking.

The situation for the Soviet revisionists on the threshold of this meeting is not very agreeable, but, just as they occupied Czechoslovakia and "persuaded" the Czechoslovak revisionist party, they have to dominate also the other revisionist parties politically and organizationally.

In the present situation the various revisionist groups do not seem to be very much willing to accept one hundred per cent Moscow's foreign policy. While

they are united in their fight against Marxism-Leninism and revolution, they are divided on those questions on which the Soviet policy is in contradiction with their national interests. They dispute for dominating positions and superiority in various areas, etc. By renouncing the principles of proletarian internationalism, in the relations between them the irreconcilable national and international contradictions of the bourgeoisie are fully expressed. Each one of the parties demands that the conference should back up and advertise those theses and principles which it propagandizes and implements in its own country, without concerning itself with the question whether they are in conflict or not with those of the other parties.

So many years have elapsed and despite the mutual compromises and concessions, the preparatory commissions have found it very difficult to draft a joint text for the final communique. When it is issued we shall see what this creation of the revisionist "collective wisdom" will be. It is a fact that the Moscow revisionist meeting, designed by Nikita Khrushchov, which his successors spent all their energies to convene and get started to condemn China and Albania, will end in a desperate effort for the establishment of peace between its very participants.

The disputes, contradictions and disintegration of the revisionist front reached their climax with the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia. On the threshold of the meeting the rulers of the Soviet Union have made and are making great efforts to overcome the Czechoslovak obstacle. For this purpose changes were made in the Prague leadership and a series of other measures were taken. Now the Kremlin chiefs are giving Husak some presents and are making many nice promises. Thus, for instance, it is said that they have opened their purse and they will give Czechoslovakia a considerable credit in gold rubles to keep up their national economy which is ever more falling down. Likewise, Grechko has promised that he will before long begin to draw a part of his troops from Czechoslovakia, allegedly as the first stage of a total evacuation. These manoeuvres, of course, are aimed not only at consolidating the internal and external positions of the Husak team, but also at creating the impression that the occupation of Czechoslovakia is a thing of the past. Should this objective be attained, it would deprive some disobedient revisionist parties of the main substantiation that their participation in the Moscow meeting was conditioned by the "normalization" of the situation in Czechoslovakia. Moreover, if there could be a favourable impression created, then the possibility would diminish for the aggression against Czechoslovakia to be the main subject of the Moscow meeting, which would completely destroy the plans of the Soviet chiefs.

But, despite the efforts of the Soviet chiefs, some revisionist parties have given them to understand that at the meeting they would not pass over in silence the "Czechoslovak issue." It has now become for many revisionist parties, especially for those of Western Europe, not only an argument to show the

bourgeois parties that they are independent of Moscow, but also a defensive means against the hegemonic intervention and pressure of the Soviet leaders.

The revisionist chiefs of the Soviet Union, for certain, wish that the present Moscow meeting should approve a document that would express the whole of the ideological and political line of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union, that would accept Brezhnev's theories of "limited sovereignty" and "new proletarian internationalism," that is, complete submission and servile faithfulness towards the Soviet leaders. They wish that the conference should recognize the right of the Soviet revisionists to intervention and aggression in other countries, that it should justify the Soviet-U.S. counter-revolutionary alliance and, what is more, that all the revisionists should range behind them in the ill-famed anti-China campaign and activity, which makes up at present one of the main foundations of the Soviet foreign policy. This was not possible. To accept such a thing, it would be disastrous to each revisionist party. This would mean that they should sign by their own hands their death sentence.

In face of the opposition from their partners and in face of the alternative that the meeting would not be convened at all, the Soviet revisionists were compelled to retreat. They proved to be "generous" and accepted a so-called "limited and unitary" agenda which they called by the name of "present-day tasks in the fight against imperialism and the unity of action of the communist and workers' parties."

As to the essence of the question itself, which, according to the fixed agenda, the conference must discuss, — "the fight against imperialism," — everyone understands that this is an empty phrase, deprived of all political meaning, of all concrete content and of all practical action. Demagogy here reaches such a degree of absurdity that is turned into something entirely ridiculous. Who are the imperialists? And against which imperialism will "the knights of the round table" now meeting in Moscow fight? The Soviet revisionists, who are themselves imperialists of the worst kind and who are bound through a close alliance with their U.S. partners, or the revisionists of Western countries, who are integrating with their imperialist bourgeoisie? Will imperialism be fought by those who have occupied Czechoslovakia and who are rattling their sabres against other countries, or by those who have become standard-bearers of counter-revolution in their own countries?

To see how clumsy is the demagogic bluff of the fight against imperialism, which the revisionist meeting has set to itself the task to discuss, suffice it to mention only this one fact. The preparations for the Moscow meeting have been made simultaneously with the preparations for summit talks between the new Nixon Administration and the Soviet Government. They have been made at a time when the Geneva talks between the Soviets and the Americans are taking place in peace and tranquillity on issues of the nuclear monopoly and of imposition of disarmament on the peoples, when the two great powers are talking about dividing the Middle

East, when the U.S.A. blesses the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and does not conceal its hope that "Moscow," as Nixon puts it, "will incite Hanoi to come to an agreement," when the anti-China campaign unleashed in Moscow and Washington is assuming ever larger proportions, etc. etc.

It is clear to everybody that the real attitude of the conference is not the one which will be mentioned in the rhetorical speeches of its participants, nor the one contained in the documents which it will approve. The real attitude is the one implemented in practice, on daily concrete questions. And practice shows that the attitude of the revisionists not only is pro-imperialist, but much more than that. It is an overt collaboration with imperialism, which has as its objective the suppression of revolution and undermining of the liberation struggles of the peoples, which seeks to liquidate socialism and preserve capitalism. The Soviet-U.S. counter-revolutionary alliance is now a fact of everyday international life. The peoples have entered in a life-and-death struggle against this alliance.

In connection with the forthcoming Moscow conference the revisionists are making a great noise and they claim that it will strengthen and consolidate their unity. This is another bluff, another empty phraseology. There has not been and there will never be unity between the anti-Marxists, traitors and renegades. The division of the present-day revisionist parties is not a fortuitous phenomenon, a temporary one. That is a result of their opportunist and capitulationist line, it is a result of their opposite interests. Almost all the revisionist parties now, on the threshold of their rally in Moscow, have spoken not only of the existence of the various viewpoints and appraisals which they have concerning many political and ideological problems and international relations, but they have pointed out that they will defend them with persistence in Moscow and will preserve them also after the meeting. And these are not divergencies about questions of literary styles or sport passions. They have to do with concrete stands on fundamental problems, as is also the stand towards that imperialism about which they will talk, or towards the Soviet Union itself. One can make demagogy about unity, this costs nothing, but practically it neither persuades nor deceives anyone.

Examining the situation on the threshold of the Moscow revisionist meeting, one cannot help being struck by the emergence of a new factor: the special concern of the U.S. imperialists and of the world bourgeoisie with the conference of the "communists." The general anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary direction without fail draws as by a magnet the attention of world reaction. The accounts of imperialism and reaction are simple. They fear the revolutionary movement and the real Marxist-Leninist Parties, but they are not worried by the existence of the revisionist parties and the present-day policy which they pursue, be it even under the Soviet hegemony. They not only do not constitute a danger to the bourgeois democracy, but they are a real embellishment of it. Their presence in the

capitalist states, their appearance as opposition Leftist forces, creates the illusion of political freedom and of the democratic rights of the working people, which is indispensable to a society with a developed class struggle. Who are better than the revisionist parties that can today, after the failure of the social-democratic parties, play the role of a scab, of a saboteur and underminer of revolution? Are the French or the Italian revisionists not playing this hated role in Europe? Is it not a typical example that the revisionist parties of Latin America which, obeying orders from Moscow, have turned into detachments of the fight against revolution in their own countries, into parties of compromise and national treachery? Their legalization by the military dictatorship, a process going on for some time, has not been done without the "wise advice" of Uncle Sam from Washington. The U.S. imperialists do not worry much if these opportunist groups will also sometimes utter a few words against them. They know that words are words and deeds are deeds. Indeed it is indispensable that the revisionists should pose as anti-imperialists, otherwise they would be exposed soon and would be useless.

Before coming to the present general meeting, the revisionists have also held separate meetings. Well known are those held in Moscow, Budapest and Karlovy Vary. After each one of them, the Soviet leaders, who have been also their organizers, shouted at the top of their voices about their "success." They have bragged about the "strengthening of unity," "common actions," their common ideology, policy and interests. And before long they set to work to convene another one. But life has confirmed that the bragging of the revisionists has been a worn-out demagogy to conceal their defeats, to cover up the deepening of the division, disintegration and disorientation of the revisionist front. There is no doubt whatsoever that the fate of the former ones will also befall the present general revisionist meeting in Moscow. It cannot end otherwise than in a shameful failure.

The present revisionist meeting is based on the fight against Marxism-Leninism, the fight against the really revolutionary parties, on the mobilization to undermine revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples. History, however, has confirmed that treachery towards the proletariat and socialism leads only to failure and destruction. This rule makes no exception for the present-day revisionists either, who have raised the ragged banner of counter-revolution and want to turn the development of society backwards. Their road leads them to death and the resolute struggle of the working class and of the proletariat, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists and of the genuine revolutionaries, will certainly send them to their grave.

By organizing the traitorous Moscow meeting the revisionist chiefs assume a great responsibility before the world communist and workers' movement and the working people of the whole world. The proletariat of all countries can never pardon the revisionist cliques for this dirty undertaking which is aimed at hitting

and splitting the forces of revolution, at undermining Marxism-Leninism and socialism. The proletariat cannot remain indifferent to the efforts of revisionism and the bourgeoisie that seek to hoodwink it and bring it on to an erroneous road in order to oppress it and to tie it up still more tightly with the chains of capitalist slavery.

It is incumbent upon the Marxist-Leninists to rise with courage and determination against this new plot, to expose and mercilessly hit the revisionist usurper cliques, to isolate and destroy them definitely. The real Communists and revolutionaries cannot shrink from this great duty of theirs. Whether inside or outside the revisionist parties they must intensify as much as possible the revolutionary struggle in order to detach the hoodwinked labouring masses from the revisionist influence

and to throw them into the struggle against the renegade cliques. Through concrete bold actions, they must break the chains with which the revisionist chiefs hold in bondage the working people, the rank-and-file party members and lower cadres.

The road of tit-for-tat fight against and of isolation and merciless exposure of the revisionist cliques is the only correct road for the smashing and liquidation of the modern revisionists and for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. This is also the correct road for the creation and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist Parties, faithful right through to the end to the real ideology of the working class and to the strengthening of proletarian internationalism. It is the road to the victory of revolution over counter-revolution.

Soviet Revisionists Discard Mask of So-Called Willingness for "Consultations"

SINCE being badly battered in its armed encroachment on China's territory Chenpao Island, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been zealously resorting to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of political deception and military adventure. It has issued a statement on the Sino-Soviet boundary question, in which it clings to its obstinate aggressor stand and feigns willingness to resume "consultations." At the same time, however, it is frantically carrying out arms expansion and war preparations coupled with creating war hysteria at home, and even brandishing nuclear weapons at China. This has fully exposed the aggressive nature and hypocrisy of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Recently, the Soviet revisionists' party, government and military bosses, big and small, as well as their press, radio and television have made outrageous anti-China war cries, feverishly trying to fan up national chauvinistic sentiments. Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev has bellicose howled that the country "spares neither effort nor means" to strengthen its "defence." The Soviet revisionist brasshats have also spouted that they would "take all necessary measures" to cope with China, make "battle preparations against time" and that this would "admit of no delay." The clique even encourages Soviet troops "not to spare their own blood and lives," but to "shed the last drop of blood" for this handful of renegades to the Soviet people in aggression against China.

To meet the needs of launching wars of aggression, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has resorted to

the practice of the notorious German Nazi Goebbels in fabricating various kinds of absurd "theories" and lies in a vain attempt to fool and mislead the Soviet people. It describes its campaign of fanning up sentiments against China as "defence of the motherland." It even shamelessly rants that "China's frontier extends only to the Great Wall, less than 100 kilometres from Peking." It is very clear that such lies can never deceive the great Soviet people, but only serve to reveal the Soviet revisionists as a pack of fascist gangsters bent on aggression.

While making wild outcries about war against China, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is deploying its armed forces, actively preparing for an aggressive war. These renegades have enormously increased their military expenditures and built a series of air force and guided missile bases along the Sino-Soviet boundary and the Sino-Mongolian boundary. They have greatly reinforced their forces along the Sino-Soviet boundary and in the Far East. They have repeatedly held "military exercises" along the Sino-Soviet boundary and ordered large-scale conscription throughout the country. Large numbers of Soviet citizens have been sent "to settle" along the Sino-Soviet boundary and arms have been issued to inhabitants in the border areas. They have incessantly intruded into China's air space and territory, and carried out provocations on the border. All this fully exposes the social-imperialist aggressor stand, to which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique obdurately clings, and its aggressive designs against the great Chinese people.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has even acted the "nuclear overlord" and used nuclear blackmail against China. It has shouted time and again that "the main weapons of the Soviet armed forces are their missiles with nuclear warheads of unlimited destructive power" and that nuclear guided missile units stationed in Transbaikalia and along the Sino-Mongolian boundary are in "battle array" and "ready at all times" to give China a "crushing nuclear rebuff." Such impudence on the part of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in trying to support its territorial claims by nuclear threats, just like the policy of "nuclear blackmail" pursued by U.S. imperialism, is a big exposure of its own diabolical imperialist features and its paper tiger nature.

It is no accident that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has become so rabid. It is a component part of the Brezhnev renegade clique's plots to push with all its might its social-imperialist and social-fascist domestic and foreign policies and realize by armed force its dream of redividing the world and achieving world hegemony in collusion with U.S. imperialism. This criminal course followed by this clique is directed not only against the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world, but also against the Soviet people. It is vainly trying to use anti-China hysteria to divert the ever mounting discontent and resistance of the broad masses of the Soviet people against its fascist rule and to further intensify its control, oppression and exploitation of the Soviet people.

Exposing the aggression of the old tsars against China, the great Lenin pointed out: "Governments that maintain themselves in power only by means of the bayonet, that have constantly to restrain or suppress the indignation of the people, have long realized the truism that popular discontent can never be removed and that it is necessary to divert the discontent from the government to some other object." The Soviet revisionist new tsars, who have completely taken over the mantle of the old tsars and are resorting to the old practice of their predecessors, try to undermine the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and divert the Soviet people's discontent with them to the great Chinese people. Such a stupid practice, however, will only lead them to a disastrous end.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's arms expansion and war preparations and its frenzied anti-China campaign have completely unmasked what it calls willingness to hold "consultations." Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the 700 million Chinese people will neither be deceived by the political manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionists, nor intimidated by their armed provocations and nuclear blackmail. The great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "As far as our own desire is concerned, we don't want to fight even for a single day. But if circumstances force us to fight, we can fight to the finish." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's policies of war and nuclear blackmail against the great Chinese people will surely meet an ignominious defeat.

"Social-imperialists", that is, socialists in words and imperialists in deeds. . . .

— LENIN

Down With Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism!

Tweedledum and Tweedledee: Soviet Revisionists' "Socialist Community" And U.S. Imperialists' "Free World Community"

*by Li Hai, Cheng Jung and Li Yun-hsiang,
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TO justify its aggression and plunder, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has taken great pains to trumpet all kinds of fallacies. Among these fallacies is the theory of "socialist community" which, like the

theories of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship" also advocated by the Soviet revisionists, is an out-and-out imperialist gangster theory.

In his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao incisively exposes the reactionary nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and the series of reactionary fallacies it advocates. He points out that by this "socialist community," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique simply means social-imperialist colonies, and that there is no difference whatsoever between Soviet revisionism's "socialist community" and U.S. imperialism's "free world community."

In the so-called "socialist community," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique arrogates to itself the role

of a slave-owner, doing as it pleases in the manner of an overlord. It regards the territory and resources of other "community" members as its own and treats the people of other member countries as subjects to be enslaved at will. This handful of renegades are new tsars pure and simple.

The Soviet revisionists ruthlessly plunder and exploit the members of their "socialist community." Using the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" as a tool for carrying out so-called "international division of labour" and "specialization in production," they deprive some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia of their right to develop their economies independently and convert them into their dependencies economically. They turn some of these countries into their suppliers of raw material and others into processing plants. They charge the highest possible prices for the goods they sell, and shove down to the minimum prices for the goods they buy. Their greed for grabbing super-profits in the "socialist community" knows no limits. They even want to carry out "economic integration" in the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" a step further so that they can plunder other member countries still more recklessly. Is this any different from what U.S. imperialism has been doing in the "free world community," where it controls the economic lifelines of other countries, strangles their national economies, plunders raw material, dumps goods on other countries' markets and carries out unequal terms of trade in a big way so as to grab excessive profits at others' expense?

The Soviet revisionists exercise strict political and military control over the members of their "socialist community," wilfully interfering in their domestic affairs and engaging in subversive activities against them. Isn't this bossing and bullying exactly the same as what U.S. imperialism has been doing in the "free world community"?

The Soviet revisionists' theory of "socialist community" serves their colonialist expansion and wars of aggression. Under the pretext of "defending the free world community," U.S. imperialism has stationed large numbers of troops in other countries and carried out military intervention and armed aggression against Viet Nam and other countries. The Soviet revisionists' theory of "socialist community" is cribbed straight from U.S. imperialism. Brezhnev, chieftain of the Soviet revisionist clique, has openly cried out: when the "security" of its "community" is "threatened," the clique is entitled to take military action against "community" members. Using this fallacy as a pretext, the Soviet revisionists have not only stationed huge numbers of troops in some so-called "fraternal countries" and exercised military control there in the name of the "Warsaw Treaty Organization," but flagrantly sent several hundred thousand troops to carry out armed occupation of Czechoslovakia.

It is also to serve the needs of Soviet revisionist and U.S. imperialist collusion and contention with each other, in a vain effort to redive the world, that the Soviet revisionists have so energetically preached the theory of "socialist community." U.S. imperialism gave tacit consent to the Soviet revisionists' aggression against Czechoslovakia and tacitly agrees that countries in the "socialist community" belong to Soviet revisionism's sphere of influence. On its part, Soviet revisionism endorses U.S. imperialism's aggression against Viet Nam, and supports it as the overlord of the "free world community," besides serving as the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism in suppressing the revolutionary movement of the world. Meanwhile, the two scheme against each other and engage in mutual rivalries, each trying to infiltrate the other's sphere of influence. The relationship between them is that of gangsters.

Neither the theory of "socialist community," the theory of "limited sovereignty," nor the theory of "international dictatorship" can cover up the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's social-imperialist features. On the contrary, such imperialist theories as advertised by this clique have more tellingly opened the eyes of the people throughout the world to the ugly features of this pack of renegades.

Our 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 struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun."**

Whatever desperate struggle U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique may put up is useless. Their days are numbered. Should they dare to launch an aggressive war, it will only hasten their doom.

From Hitler's "New Order" to the New Tsars' "Community"

*by Chang Pin, Hung Chao and Chou Ta-sheng,
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VICE-CHAIRMAN LIN PIAO in his report to the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party severely repudiated the reactionary fallacies of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, such as the theories of "limited sovereignty," "international dictatorship" and "socialist community." Vice-Chairman Lin Piao penetratingly pointed out that in essence there is no difference between these fallacies and the reactionary theory of Hitler's "new order of Europe."

About 30 years ago when the iron heel of the German fascists was trampling on Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, France and the Balkan states, Hitler loudly trumpeted his "new order of Europe" and indulged in the pipe dream of dominating the world.

What Hitler labelled the "new order of Europe" was the occupation of Europe by force and the transformation of Europe into a colony of German fascism and the people of the European countries into slaves of "the greater German Reich."

With this reactionary theory of the "new order of Europe," German fascism wrote the darkest pages in modern world history. Blood flowed like rivers in many European cities in the wake of German fascist barbarous aggression. The population in the occupied areas in Europe were brutally massacred by the fascist aggressor troops, who set up incinerators and concentration camps everywhere. Europe under Hitler's fascist rule was turned into a gruesome earthly inferno.

Hitler's "lucky star" however was shortlived. Under the powerful pounding of the Soviet Red Army led by Stalin and of the people of the various East European countries, Hitler completely collapsed and together with him his shamelessly advertised "new order of Europe."

Today, following Hitler's example, the Soviet revisionist new tsars have trotted out the theory of "socialist community." In form it is not altogether the same as Hitler's "new order of Europe." But it is more deceitful because the Soviet revisionists have hoisted the signboard of "socialism." In essence it is identical. Its very purpose is to establish social-imperialist colonial rule by military aggression and economic plunder.

With regard to military aggression, making use of their colonialist tool, the "Warsaw Treaty Organization," the Soviet revisionist new tsars have not only stationed several hundred thousand aggressor troops in some East European countries, but also placed the armed forces of some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia completely under their control by setting up the "Unified Military Command" and the "General Staff of the Unified Military Command." In defiance of worldwide opposition, the Soviet revisionist new tsars flagrantly sent several hundred thousand troops to Czechoslovakia and put the country under armed occupation last August. While committing this shameless crime, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sang the same tune as Hitler when the latter occupied Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland 30 years ago. It asserted that its aggression against Czechoslovakia was out of "concern for the consolidation of peace" and to preserve "the foundations of European peace." What stark impudence!

Imperialism means out-and-out plunder, and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is no exception.

Under the cloak of "socialist community" and playing the tricks of "international division of labour," "specialization in production" and "co-operation in production," the Soviet revisionist new tsars are carrying out ruthless colonialist plunder of the members of the "community," controlling their economic lifelines and turning them into suppliers of raw materials for the new tsars, markets for their goods and auxiliary processing plants, in a word, making them colonies of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism! During the period when Hitler was building his "new order," the German fascists looted as "levies in kind" 75 per cent of France's total production of oats, 80 per cent of its oil, 74 per cent of its steel. On their part, the Soviet revisionist new tsars, by various subterfuges in the name of "co-operation," have unscrupulously plundered the strategic materials of some East European countries. They have carried off nearly all the uranium of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, nearly all Hungary's bauxite and Bulgaria's copper. What is this if not social-imperialism pure and simple?

The Soviet revisionist new tsars follow a fascist gangster logic towards the members of the "community": your sovereignty is "limited" while theirs is unlimited. If you don't obey them, they will exercise "international dictatorship" over you, that is, dictatorship over the people of various countries. Regarding themselves as "patriarch" of the "community," the Soviet revisionist new tsars directly interfere in the appointment, dismissal and transfer of party and government chieftains of some East European countries. Exercising authority which does not belong to them, they drew up decisions in Moscow and imposed them on their "fraternal" countries" or turned up in these countries to issue orders and crammed them down the throats of the latter. Whenever any country in the "community" holds a slightly different view, the Soviet revisionist new tsars act fiercely and stop at nothing in suppressing, sabotaging and subverting it, and even kidnapping members of so-called "fraternal parties." In short, the Soviet revisionist chieftains behave like the "fuehrer," riding roughshod over the people of these countries in exactly the same way as Hitler exercised fascist tyranny in his time.

But in man's world seas change into mulberry fields. In the short span of 30 years from Hitler's "new order" to the new tsars' "community," the world has undergone earth-shaking changes. Today, it is definitely not imperialism, revisionism and reaction but the proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries that will determine the destiny of the world. Hitler's "new order" has already been sent to its grave. The Soviet revisionist new tsars' "community," too, is bound to be swept in the near future on to the garbage heap of history by the revolutionary peoples.

Soviet Revisionism Heavily Besieged by Soviet And World's Revolutionary People

SINCE coming to power, the Brezhnev renegade clique has carried out social-imperialism and social-fascism with increased fury at home and abroad, thus greatly aggravating the contradictions between this clique and the people of the Soviet Union and all the other people of the world. More and more besieged ring upon ring by the revolutionary people at home and abroad, this handful of vermin now find the going tougher and tougher.

Outrages at Home

With Brezhnev as their representative, this handful of capitalist roaders in power have seized the leadership of the party, government and army, and in the country's economic and cultural fields. With the state apparatus in their hands, they have long since ruthlessly enforced the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie — fascist dictatorship — against the broad masses of all nationalities in the Soviet Union. Over the years, they have promulgated one fascist “law” and “ordinance” after another and have greatly strengthened the troops, police, special agents, prisons, courts and other instruments of dictatorship under their control. They have resorted to all forms of brute force — arrest, imprisonment and slaughter — vainly trying to put down the broad masses of the Soviet people who are increasingly discontented with them and are resisting them.

In the days of Khrushchov, he and his gang tried to cover up their crime of abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat by the demagogic slogans of “the state of the whole people,” and “the party of the entire people.” Now, to meet their needs to strengthen the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, Brezhnev and company have gradually discarded the junk of fake bourgeois democracy. Time and again they have fiercely shouted about the “content of the dictatorship” of “the state of the whole people,” and the necessity to further raise the party's “leading role.” They have also vigorously advocated strengthening “iron discipline,” and so forth.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique frantically engages in big Russianism in dealing with the national minorities in the Soviet Union, subjecting millions upon

millions of the people of national minorities to ever more harsher oppression and plunder. It has been revealed that in recent years, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has carried out mass arrests and sanguinary repression in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Georgia, Lithuania and other places. A large part of the people now being detained in the concentration camps of the Soviet Union are minority people who have been labelled “bourgeois nationalists” by the Soviet revisionists. As in the time of the old tsars, all of the Soviet Union has become a big prison for the people of all nationalities. The national contradiction in the Soviet Union has been sharpened as never before.

In addition to ever more openly resorting to violent repression, the Brezhnev renegade clique has made special efforts to tighten its thought control over the broad masses of the Soviet people. In recent years, the Soviet revisionist chieftains called successive meetings on so-called “ideological work” in the party, the armed forces, trade unions and the Komsomol, etc. They have beefed up “political intelligence work,” carried out surveillance and investigations of an espionage character against the broad masses of the Soviet people and shouted for “uncompromising” struggle against any “alien” ideology. Now, to suit its needs for pushing social-imperialist aggression abroad, the clique has gone all out to set its entire propaganda machine in motion for wild counter-revolutionary war cries against China, communism and the people. It unscrupulously inculcates the broad masses of the Soviet people with a reactionary militarist education in a vain attempt to turn them into docile tools whom it can deceive and order about at will.

To bring about an all-round restoration of capitalism in the economic sphere, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has extensively carried out in all branches of the Soviet national economy the experiment, started in the days of Khrushchov, on the “new economic system” in which the capitalist principle of profit-making is the core. Moreover, copying from Western monopoly capitalism, and on the pretext of setting up and developing “joint enterprises,” “joint organizations” and “trusts,” it has amalgamated the medium-sized and

smaller enterprises, "collective farms" and "state farms," and thus further effected a large-scale capitalist reorganization of the national economy in order to bolster its control and monopoly of the national economy.

The intensified restoration of capitalism by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in the economic field has brought more and more serious damage to the social productive forces. The Soviet economy has been thrown into a grave crisis. In the rural areas, collective farms and state farms have degenerated into a kulak economy and capitalist enterprises. Large numbers of the labour force have left the countryside. Many farm machines are unusable. Large tracts of land lie in waste and suffer the ravages of nature. Agricultural production has dwindled steadily. Chaos now reigns in industrial production. Serious dislocations have occurred between the heavy and light industries and between the raw material and processing industries. Many industrial plants are operating under capacity. Poor-quality commodities pile up, while many essential products are in short supply, leaving the people's basic needs unsatisfied.

At home, to dovetail with its aggression and expansion abroad, the Brezhnev renegade clique is feverishly expanding its armaments and preparing for war. It has channelled the Soviet economy into the orbit of war, thus accelerating the lopsided development of the Soviet revisionist economy. The crises in industrial and agricultural production have resulted in an even greater shortage of market supplies, a steady rise in commodity prices and a growing unemployment. The broad masses of the Soviet working people are being further impoverished.

Soviet People's Resistance Growing

The great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **"In capitalist society contradictions find expression in acute antagonisms and conflicts, in sharp class struggle; they cannot be resolved by the capitalist system itself and can only be resolved by socialist revolution."** The perverse course followed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in bringing about all-round restoration of capitalism and intensifying fascist rule in the country has enabled more and more Soviet people to see through the class-oppression character of the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionists. At present, the Soviet people, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, are further awakening and the revolutionary forces are developing and growing in strength. The Soviet people's struggle against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has never let up. From general political and economic discontent, they are turning to frequent actions of resistance. A

number of revolutionary organizations such as the "Stalin Group" have emerged. These organizations, which are standing in the forefront of the class struggle in the country, have set forth clear-cut programmes and called on the Soviet people to carry out a second revolution. The revolutionary struggle of the Soviet people is pounding violently at the fascist rule of the Soviet revisionist new tsars. With the contradictions and class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie rapidly developing in the Soviet Union, a new socialist revolution is bound to break out in the motherland of the October Revolution.

Expansion and Aggression Abroad

In foreign policy, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely taken over the mantle of the tsarist Russian empire's expansion and aggression abroad. As a matter of fact, its ambitions are even more predatory and unscrupulous. One Soviet revisionist military chief blatantly declared: We will go to any place in the world where the interests of our country are or will be involved. His words exposed the rapacious ambitions of the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists who are trying in vain to redivide the world and establish world hegemony in collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

Since coming to power, the Brezhnev renegade clique has intensified the control and exploitation of various East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia. Absolutely denying these countries their integrity of state sovereignty and complete national independence, this clique has openly advanced such out-and-out fascist gangster logic as the theory of "limited sovereignty," the theory of "international dictatorship" and the theory of "socialist community," openly fabricating a "theoretical" basis for pushing ahead social-imperialism by force. Since the struggle of the people in these countries against aggression, control and intervention is mounting daily, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique not only has tightened its control over these countries by political and economic means, but it has not hesitated to use guns and tanks to deal with its so-called "fraternal countries" in order to maintain colonial rule over them. In this respect, the military occupation of Czechoslovakia is a glaring example.

Apart from regarding East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia as its colonies, the Brezhnev renegade clique has also stepped up its collaboration with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all other countries in feverishly suppressing and sabotaging the revolutionary struggles of the people of different countries.

Since they came to power in 1964, this pack of renegades have done many shameless things in betraying the interests of the people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions of the world. They have betrayed the revolutionary interests of the people of the Dominican Republic, the Congolese (K) people and other peoples. They have done all they could to undermine the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and to sabotage the just struggle of the people in Arab countries against aggression by U.S. imperialism and Israel. Collaborating with the reactionary ruling circles of countries in Western Europe and North America, they have disgracefully tried to disrupt the surging people's movement in these areas. In a word, they have become another ferocious international gendarme in the world today.

At the same time, this pack of renegades have made frantic efforts to infiltrate and expand in Asia, Africa and Latin America, hoping to widen their spheres of colonial influence. Through so-called economic and military "aid," they export capital to many countries in these areas, plunder their wealth, grab military bases there and exercise control over the "recipient" countries. The Indian press has revealed that the Soviet Union has become one of India's largest creditor countries. Next to U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism ranks second among the countries India annually repays the principal and interest on loans. Enterprises built with Soviet "aid" control 70 per cent of the total capacity of India's power generating equipment and 80 per cent of its oil exploitation. The Soviet revisionists have also seized the right to build naval bases in India and some other countries. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has become another biggest aggressor and exploiter in the world today.

Under the Fire of the Peoples

The great teacher Lenin said: "**All national oppression calls forth the resistance of the broad masses of the people.**" Extremely barbarous oppression will certainly call forth unprecedented strong resistance. Subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, the broad masses in various East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia have come to realize more and more clearly that their relationship with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is that of master and slave, oppressor and the oppressed, plunderer and the plundered. The Soviet revisionists are new tsars riding roughshod over them and are their most ferocious enemies. The contradictions between them and the Soviet revisionists are irreconcilable contradictions, and their struggle against the Soviet revisionists is a life-and-death struggle.

Under barbarous military occupation by Soviet revisionism, the people of Czechoslovakia are in the vanguard in putting up indomitable resistance to the Soviet revisionist colonial empire. Large-scale strikes, protest

meetings and demonstrations of workers, young students and the broad masses have broken out in succession. The angry masses beat up the Soviet revisionists' aggressor troops, attacked their barracks and destroyed the organs of the Soviet revisionists' occupation forces in Czechoslovakia. They shouted: "Soviet revisionists' aggressor troops go home!" and "We drove out Hitler and we will drive out Brezhnev!" The struggle of the broad masses in other East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is also growing. Many genuine Marxist-Leninists in East European countries are rallying their forces, founding their political parties and organizations and carrying on deep-going work among the masses. Each day, their ranks expand. The people of East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia will surely smash the Soviet revisionist social-imperialist aggression and oppression and win complete liberation.

The revolutionary people in other countries of the world have also seen ever more clearly the reactionary nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. They have sternly pointed out that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is "a gang of renegades to the world's revolutionary people," a pack of "neo-colonialists," and "another common enemy of the world's people." At present, the countries and the people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism are joining hands in waging increasingly fierce struggles against these two common enemies of the world's people. In Asia, Africa and Latin America—the main stormy areas of the world revolution in the present era—the people's revolutionary armed struggle is growing in strength. In Japan, Western Europe and North America, the "heartlands" of capitalism, the revolutionary mass movement has never been as powerful as now, and it is developing vigorously. All this is a heavy blow to the plots of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism which are collaborating in a vain effort to redivide the world. A new historical period of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun. Like U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism has also been besieged ring upon ring and badly battered by the proletariat and other people throughout the world.

The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U.S. imperialism every day. U.S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano.**" Like U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique today is also sitting on the volcano of irreconcilable contradictions. It is sitting on the volcano of the people's resistance at home and on the volcano of the resistance of the people in East European countries and of the other oppressed people in the world. Whatever desperate struggle it puts up, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique cannot save itself from inevitable doom. Sooner or later, the volcano under its feet will erupt, and it eventually will be buried in the raging flames of the people's revolutionary struggle.

Victory Will Go to the Arab People Who Persevere in Struggle

ACTING on the orders of U.S. imperialism, the Israeli Zionists launched a full-scale war of aggression against the Arab countries on June 5, 1967, two years ago. Large tracts of Arab territory came under Israeli occupation. U.S. imperialism then worked in league with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to coerce the Arab countries into accepting a "ceasefire" and the fait accompli it created with the Zionists through military aggression. The revolutionary Arab people were unsubdued. They held high the standard of armed struggle and pitted their strength against aggression, against control, against betrayal and against surrender. They fought heroically for two years against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and the running dogs of both, and have won very big victories.

People's Armed Struggle — the Only Correct Course

The Middle East region is one of the focal points of world contradictions today and also a major storm centre of the world revolution where head-on blows are struck at imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The revolutionary Arab people are now waging a sharp and complicated struggle in this region against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

At present, two different courses face the Arab people. One is to maintain independence and keep the initiative and persist in armed struggle by the people against aggression. The other is to allow themselves to be bossed by the imperialists and revisionists and yield to their plot for a so-called "political settlement" which involves national humiliation and abdication of sovereign rights. Only the first course can lead to genuine national liberation, preservation of national independence and a thorough frustration of the scheme to carve up the Middle East by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. The second means abandonment of the cause of national liberation, loss of national independence and submission to the tender mercies of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The fate and future of the Arab people are bound up with the struggle between these two courses.

By their brilliant victories in the past two years, the heroic, revolutionary people of Palestine have proved that armed struggle by the people is the only correct way to win national liberation. From their protracted struggle the Arab people have come to realize that they can never count on the United Nations which, manipulated by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists, is simply their tool to undermine the people's

revolutionary struggle in various countries. They also know from experience that so-called "political settlements" and "favours" from "big powers" are utterly illusory. Upholding their independence, they march steadily along the road of armed struggle, unafraid of the bluff and bluster of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists.

Growing in strength from day to day, the Palestinian guerrillas are acknowledged the "key force" in the Arab people's struggle today. What worries the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists most is the growth of the Palestinian people's armed struggle, which they regard as the biggest obstacle to their "political settlement" fraud and plot to control and divide up the Middle East between themselves. The Israeli aggressor army itself admits that the Palestinian guerrilla attacks have become a problem that requires "greater attention" on its part.

The development of the Arab people's struggle against aggression once again testifies to Chairman Mao's wise thesis: **"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."** The Palestinian guerrilla units have neither aircraft nor tanks. The "Assifa" guerrillas started with only one machine-gun and 30 hand-grenades. But by relying on the people's revolutionary fighting will, the bravery of guerrilla fighters, the support of the broad masses and a flexible strategy and tactics, the Palestinian guerrillas have grown from strength to strength and scored victory after victory.

From the course of their struggle, the Palestinian people now realize that oppressed nations must rely on people's war to defeat the aggressors and not make a fetish of aircraft, guns, tanks or guided missiles. Putting blind faith in modern weapons, instead of relying on the broad masses, and trying to counter modern weapons with modern weapons, can only court reverses. This is a profound historical lesson. The law of development of revolution has made it plain that a revolutionary armed force, though poorly equipped, can defeat reactionary forces armed to the teeth. The historical experience of the revolutionary wars waged by the Chinese people and the people of other countries in Asia as well as in Africa and Latin America has proved conclusively that it is people, not weapons, that are the decisive factor in war. The Palestinian people's armed struggle once again verifies this truth.

While selling out the interests of the Arab people, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists are doing all

U.S.-Israeli June 5, 1967 War of Aggression: Before and After

Israel, the U.S. imperialist tool of aggression in the Middle East, launched a full-scale war of aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and other Arab countries on June 5, 1967. Going into the war at U.S. imperialism's instigation, Israel occupied large tracts of Arab land. This was the third full-scale war of aggression the Israeli Zionists, acting on the orders of U.S. imperialism, unleashed on the Arab countries since 1948 when Israel was brought into being entirely by U.S. imperialism.

Intensified control over the strategic, oil-rich Middle East was the objective of this war, which had been prepared for a long time. Before manufacturing this war, U.S. imperialism had drawn up a plan for subverting the Syrian Government and had shipped vast quantities of arms and 1,000 U.S. "volunteer" airmen to Israel. On June 1, a war cabinet was installed in Israel. On June 4, Israel's ambassador in

Washington, carrying a confidential message from Johnson, the then chieftain of U.S. imperialism, rushed back home to attend an emergency cabinet meeting convened for unloosing the holocaust. At the same time, the U.S. 6th Fleet and British naval units massed in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Came June 5, and Israel sprang surprise attacks on the Arab countries. Within six days, it had overrun a total area of more than 65,000 square kilometres—the Gaza Strip, the west bank of the Jordan River, the U.A.R.'s Sinai Peninsula, Syria's Golan Heights and other areas.

The war was launched with the tacit understanding and encouragement of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Before the outbreak, communication lines between Moscow, Washington and London were jammed with urgent messages, and the three capitals were visited by an endless stream of "special emissaries." At the height of the hostilities, Soviet re-

they can to spread the poisonous theory that "weapons decide everything" in the Middle East. They want to scare the Arab people and strangle the revolutionary people's armed struggle. At the same time, in the name of giving "arms aid" they use this theory to pave the way for penetrating into the Arab countries. Taking advantage of the difficulties facing the Arab countries, the Soviet revisionist renegades flaunt this "arms aid" signboard in every way possible to gain control over them. Their rabid ambition is to carve up and share the Middle East with U.S. imperialism.

Organize a Mighty Revolutionary Army

What is required to ensure victory in the Arab people's struggle, as shown in the fighting of the past two years, is to arouse and rely on the broad masses of the revolutionary people, to steadily develop the revolutionary forces and expand their ranks, to unite with all those who can be united and to organize a mighty revolutionary army for national liberation.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action." The fighting ranks of the Arab people are growing steadily. There is closer co-operation between different Palestinian guerrilla organizations. Unity between the guerrillas and the Palestinian people and between the Palestinian people and the people of other Arab countries is developing swiftly and widely.

The truth is beginning to be seen more and more clearly by the Palestinian and other Arab people that

the unity of the Palestinian and other Arab people is very important to the struggle to liberate Palestine and to the liberation struggle of the Arab nation as a whole. This is due to the specific conditions of the Arab people's struggle today, and to the fact that the bulk of the Palestinian people, driven from their homeland by the Israeli aggressors, are scattered in various Arab countries. The Palestinian and other Arab people are brothers sharing the same fate, going through thick and thin together, facing the same enemies and having the same objective in struggle.

There is little doubt that the unity of the Arab nation today should be unity against aggression, unity for persisting in armed struggle, unity against compromise and capitulation, unity against the plot for a "political settlement" hatched by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. Without this as its common basis, there can be no genuine unity for the Arab nation. In the past two years, the Palestinian and other Arab people have maintained ties of unity with and, at the same time, kept up a struggle against some persons in power in certain Arab countries, taking them severely to task for being pusillanimous and wavering before the imperialists and revisionists—submission to coercion and bait, afraid of war and suing for capitulation; and for taking a reactionary stand—passive towards the war of resistance against the Israeli aggressors and active in restricting and suppressing the guerrilla forces. To persist in the war of resistance and oppose compromise and to persist in unity and oppose division—this remains today's fighting task for the Arab people.

visionist chieftain Kosygin picked up the "hot line" and gave Johnson to understand: "The Soviet Union does not want war with the United States over the Middle East." When the war was going in favour of the United States and Israel, collaboration between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism went a step further. They at the United Nations worked out a series of resolutions for an "immediate ceasefire," "ceasefire within a time-limit," etc. The purpose was to drag on the Arab countries, which were robbed of large tracts of territory, into accepting an unconditional "ceasefire" and the fait accompli resulting from the U.S.-Israeli war of aggression. This was followed by talks between Kosygin and Johnson at Glassboro where the two reached a secret agreement. On November 22, under U.S. and Soviet manipulation, the U.N. Security Council adopted a "resolution" based on the Glassboro secret agreement and aimed at browbeating the Arab countries into "surrender." In December the United Nations sent its "special envoy" Gunnar Jarring to the Middle East to peddle this sinister U.N. product. He had no success because of the Arab people's opposition and boycott.

In December 1968, the Soviet revisionists trotted out their notorious "five-point plan" for a so-called "political settlement" of the Middle East question.

This is nothing but a frantic effort to sell the Security Council "resolution" of November 1967. Directed against the Palestinian guerrillas, it is also an attempt to put out the raging flames of the armed struggle started by the Palestinian people. On March 24 this year, U.S. imperialism came out with a so-called "nine-point working paper" for settling the Middle East question. The United States and the Soviet Union recently got France and Britain together for a "four-power meeting" in New York and have been working overtime on a "Middle East Munich" plot. They are hoping in vain to realize their ambition of U.S.-Soviet domination of Middle East affairs.

The Arab people have been waging a tit-for-tat struggle against this "political settlement" fraud of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for the past two years. Particular mention should be made of the armed struggle initiated by the Palestinian people, which has dealt telling blows to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. This armed struggle raises the Arab people's morale and punctures the arrogance of all imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. Adherence to armed struggle leads to national liberation. This is the only road ahead. More and more Arab people now recognize this.

They certainly can organize on a broader scale an army of revolutionaries in the course of the struggle and mount fiercer attacks on the enemy.

Resolutely Smash the "Political Settlement" Plot of the Imperialists, Revisionists and Reactionaries

The past two years have seen repeated struggles by the Arab people against various counter-revolutionary plots of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionist social-imperialists. In these struggles, the Arab revolutionary people foiled plot after plot for a "political settlement" on the Middle East question engineered by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. They took the wind out of their sails and raised the revolutionary people's morale.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The unbridled violence of all the forces of darkness, whether domestic or foreign, has brought disaster to our nation; but this very violence indicates that while the forces of darkness still have some strength left, they are already in their death throes, and that the people are gradually approaching victory."** For the past two years, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism have worked hand in glove to push with all their might their "political settlement" fraud on the Middle East question. They did so because they wanted to seize oil, markets, important strategic points and spheres of influence in the Middle East, suppress the Arab national-liberation movement, and meet the needs of their counter-revolutionary strategy in the Middle East and the whole world.

At present, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are energetically working out a Middle East "Munich," with the political aim of liquidating the cause of liberation of Palestine and the military aim of destroying the Palestinian armed forces. For this purpose, they are holding a "four-power meeting" in New York and at the same time making "bilateral contacts," — contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union — in Washington in order to bring their dirty, counter-revolutionary political deal to a speedy conclusion. They are trying, by pressure and bribery and by division and disruption, to browbeat the Arab countries into swallowing humiliating conditions and forfeiting their sovereign rights. It is the way they hope to carry out their "Middle East Munich" plot. What they hate most is the armed struggle waged by the Palestinian people, and they intend to liquidate their liberation cause and put out the flames of their armed struggle by treating the cause as a "refuge problem" and "solving" it through "repatriation" and "compensation."

However, as our great teacher Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."** Today, it is absolutely not the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionist social-imperialists but the people, the great, awakened 100 million Arab people, who will determine the destiny and future of the Middle East.

Thanks to the resolute struggle of the revolutionary Arab people, the "resolutions" of the United Nations, the "formula" of U.S. imperialism, the "plan" of Soviet revisionism, and the "missions" of U.N. "envoy" Jarring

have all failed over the last two years. Painstakingly contrived by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the plot for a "Middle East Munich" will eventually be completely discredited.

Surmount Every Difficulty to Win Victory

The Arab people who have won great victories in their struggle against aggression have a bright future. However, there will be many difficulties ahead and twists and turns in the course of crowning their struggle with victory. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, acting out their counter-revolutionary global strategy, will certainly try to carry out counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics with increasing intensity to strangle the Arab nation's liberation struggle, primarily the Palestinian people's armed struggle. They are stepping up the "Middle East Munich" plot, and this is a grave threat to the Arab people, who are now confronted with a stern struggle.

The Arab people who are growing in strength through struggle know how to tackle difficulties in the correct way. They will be fully prepared ideologically and will take into full account all possible difficulties, analyse them and overcome them with abiding tenacity.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: "The reactionary forces and we both have difficulties. But the difficulties of the reactionary forces are insurmountable because they are forces on the verge of

death and have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future."

The general trend in the world today is that "the enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily." The Arabs are a great, staunch and powerful people. Their righteous struggle has the firm support of the 700 million Chinese people and all the other revolutionary people of the world. Victory will definitely go to the Arab people so long as they ride out every difficulty and go on fighting.



Fine Doctors Nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought

— Chinese Medical Teams Working in Several African Countries

BRINGING with them the deep concern of the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao for the African people, and the important mission entrusted to them by the 700 million Chinese people, Chinese medical teams arrived in Guinea, Tanzania and Mauritania from far across the seas. The members of these teams have won the warm praise of the broad masses of the people of these countries because they always firmly bore in mind the teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao to **serve the people of China and the world**, followed the internationalist spirit of Dr. Norman Bethune, and lived plainly and worked hard and selflessly.

A Mental Case for Many Years Cured

Two members of the Chinese medical team working in Guinea heard that there was a woman maniac named Fandah not far from where they lived. Years of treatment had been fruitless. To keep her from

making trouble, her people kept her locked up in a small room.

Full of sympathy for Fandah and her family, the two medical personnel once again studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people." During a study session of Chairman Mao's works, they told the other members of the medical group about the case. The whole group expressed their determination to overcome every difficulty to cure Fandah.

But the group had no doctor who specialized in mental diseases and no literature to refer to. What was to be done?

"You can't solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When

you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it." This teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao lit up their minds like a shining beacon. After investigations, analysis and study, they discovered the cause of Fandah's trouble. They decided to use the method of enlightening her ideologically supplemented by medication. The Chinese doctors and nurses visited her two or three times a day, brought her medicine and helped her take it, and patiently enlightened her. In less than 20 days, her mental state had greatly improved and she talked and behaved normally on the whole.

With boundless feelings of respect, Fandah one day asked the Chinese doctors for a glittering Chairman Mao badge. She took the badge in both hands and with tears in her eyes said with emotion: "Oh, Chairman Mao! Thank you, it is you who have saved me!" "Chinese doctors are fine!" She also put up a large coloured portrait of Chairman Mao in her room. Her whole family, young and old, stood before Chairman Mao's portrait and cheered again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Now people can see Fandah every day, neatly dressed and wearing a Chairman Mao badge, going to the market or working in the fields, always very happy. She often visits the Chinese medical team with her nephew and niece. News about Fandah's recovery soon spread all over the city of Sigui. The people said: "It is the fine doctors sent by Chairman Mao who saved Fandah! A maniac for many years has gained a new lease on life. The Chinese doctors are really fine!"

Both Mother and Child Saved

The obstetric ward of the Sigui Hospital admitted a woman in labour in critical condition. An examination revealed that an immediate caesarean operation was necessary.

This woman had previously borne five babies but not one was born alive because of difficulties in delivery. How she longed to have a child! But now her sixth baby would also be a difficult delivery and it was a question whether or not the child would survive. The mother's life too was in grave danger. The Chinese medical team had just arrived and they were not familiar with the local diseases and their treatment. Some of their surgical equipment had not yet arrived from Conakry, Guinea's capital, and conditions for performing operations were lacking. But, no matter how numerous the difficulties may be, they cannot awe Chinese medical personnel who are armed with invincible Mao Tsetung Thought.

They immediately went into action and by improvising, made meticulous preparations to operate. Soon there was an intense battle to save the life of the mother and the child.

The entire medical group took part in this operation. The obstetrician and surgeon performed the operation while the others assisted.

One hour passed, then two. The patient's family waiting outside the operating room grew more and more anxious. Suddenly the clear cry of a newborn baby was heard. The operation was a complete success; both mother and child were out of danger. The operating room was filled with the joyful atmosphere of victory. The mother warmly thanked the Chinese medical personnel for saving her and her baby's life. At last she had her first live child which she had wanted for so long. When the Chinese doctors left the operating room, the patient's family immediately surrounded them, warmly shook their hands and again and again expressed their thanks to Chairman Mao.

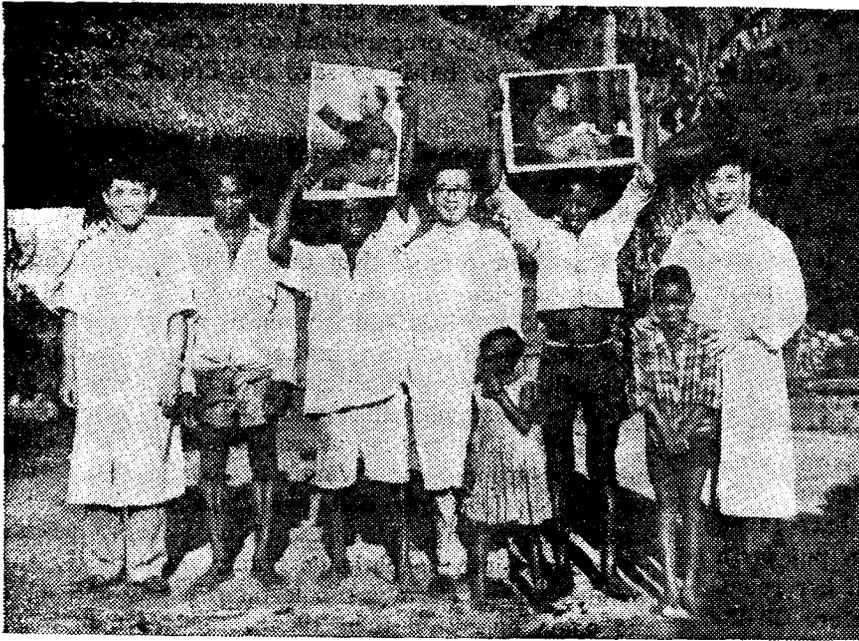
Heal the Wounded, Rescue the Dying

In Tanzania, a woman in her thirties by the name of Merymosha from Masasi Village in the south suffered intensely for eight years from a big tumour in the abdomen and had great difficulty in moving about. She had gone to hospitals run by missionaries from the West, but the European doctors there all asserted that it was a hopeless case. Now she came to the Chinese doctors as the last ray of hope. After careful examination, the Chinese doctors in Nachingwea Hospital diagnosed her illness as myomas of the uterus.

Before operating, the Chinese medical personnel studied anew Chairman Mao's brilliant works—"the



The doctor of the team of Chinese engineers and technicians in Guinea treats Guinean workers at a construction site



Deeply grateful to Chairman Mao for sending such fine doctors, a Zanzibar peasant and his children excitedly hold aloft our great leader Chairman Mao's portraits for a photograph with the Chinese doctors. This peasant had been quickly healed by the Chinese doctors' meticulous treatment and care.

three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*). In accordance with another of Chairman Mao's teaching that "strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously," they again carefully examined the patient, conscientiously discussed among themselves problems that might arise in the course of the operation and ways and means to cope with them, and made full preparations for the operation. The operation was carefully and conscientiously performed according to plan by the Chinese and Tanzanian medical personnel in close co-operation. At one stage during the operation the patient's blood pressure dropped critically, but after active emergency treatment the danger was overcome. After more than six hours, the big tumour, weighing 12.5 pounds, was successfully removed.

When Merymosha was discharged from the hospital a little more than two weeks later, the Chinese medical personnel took her home in their car. Her family and neighbours were so happy that they shouted for joy to see her return in good health. She excitedly told them: "I suffered from the disease for many years but now I'm well and fine. I should thank Chairman Mao who has sent the Chinese medical team here."

One evening in Tarime District Hospital, a poor, middle-aged woman patient, Leonida Tieno, following the removal of a myoma of the uterus went into shock. Her blood pressure dropped steadily and soon became unmeasurable. The situation was very critical and called for immediate blood transfusion. But the relatives of the patient were not available and there was no blood bank in the hospital. What was to be done?

Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching to serve the people whole-heartedly, the Chinese medical personnel volunteered to donate their blood to the patient and vied with each other to have their blood-types tested. The Tanzanian doctors who took part in the emergency treatment were deeply moved and insisted on offering their blood too. The treatment went on far into the night. The Chinese and Tanzanian medical personnel did not leave the ward for a moment, giving no thought to fatigue and hunger. The next morning, a Tanzanian doctor told the smiling patient: "You have blood donated by the Chinese doctors. They have saved your life." When Leonida Tieno left the hospital upon recovery, she clasped the hand of a Chinese doctor tightly and said: "In my veins flows the blood of Chinese doctors. The Chinese people are the best friends of the African people; they are our kith and kin."

Restoring Eyesight to the Blind

When the Chinese medical team making the rounds arrived at Dihimba, a small mountain village in Mtwara region of Tanzania, an old man suffering from entropion (inversion of the border of the eyelids) was overjoyed and immediately went to seek their assistance. The eye trouble gave the old man a lot of pain. He was shy of light and tears flowed continuously. He wore on his forehead a piece of cloth all the year round to shield his eyes. After examining him, the Chinese doctors operated on his eyes in the rural clinic. When the old man took off his bandage several days later, he gazed at the doctors with sparkling eyes, exclaiming: "Thank you, fine doctors sent by Chairman Mao! My lifelong suffering has been relieved by you, Chinese doctors!" The news quickly spread through the village. After that, the Chinese doctors treated eight more similar cases in the same village. All the patients have regained their eyesight.

One day, a Chinese eye specialist in the Mtwara Hospital received an old peasant named Frankasani. He had suffered for many years from cataracts in both eyes and had been treated by Western doctors without effect. He was disappointed, believing that he would be blind for the rest of his life. After he had told the Chinese doctor his case history, the doctor comforted him saying: "Don't worry. We will do our best to help you." At the time, the hospital did not have all the necessary ophthalmological instruments and drugs. Following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese doctors overcame the difficulty by making the necessary instruments with their own hands and performed the operation under difficult conditions. When the bandages were removed a few days after the operation, the patient exclaimed: "I can see now!" Deeply moved,

he thanked the Chinese doctors sent by Chairman Mao for restoring his sight.

A Deaf-Mute Boy Shouts: "Long Live Chairman Mao!"

A Mauritanian friend brought his 12-year-old son to the clinic of the Chinese medical team in Selibaby, Mauritania, from his village ten kilometres away. This friend told the Chinese medical personnel that his son Camara, a clever and lively boy, became deaf and could not articulate words clearly after running a high fever two years ago. Later he lost his speech completely. Since then, the father had taken his son to many places looking for a cure, but all in vain.

After listening to the boy's case, the Chinese medical personnel, following the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching: "Heal the wounded, rescue the dying, practise revolutionary humanitarianism," were determined to cure the boy. They discussed the case and decided to learn from the example of the medical personnel of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and use acupuncture — a traditional Chinese medical treatment.

One morning when Camara came for the ninth needle treatment, he looked bright and alert. On seeing the Chinese medical personnel, he excitedly shouted something in his own dialect. Evidently the patient could speak now! But the Chinese medical personnel didn't know what he said. When it was translated they learnt that the boy had shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" Camara was so deeply grateful to Chairman Mao that he asked the Chinese medical personnel for a glittering Chairman Mao badge and happily pinned it on his shirt.

After another short period of treatment, Camara regained his hearing completely and could speak normally. His father was overjoyed and said to the Chinese medical personnel: "Chairman Mao is really great! You Chinese doctors are really fine!"

Serving the Labouring Peasant Masses

The Chinese medical teams regularly made rounds in the countryside. For the past half year or more, members of the Chinese medical team in Tanzania have called at about 100 villages in eight districts and treated some 100,000 patients. To attend to the sick in out-of-the-way villages, the Chinese medical per-

sonnel often had to travel dozens of kilometres and sometimes more than 100 kilometres under the scorching sun or downpours, climbing mountains and wading across rapid streams. In villages where there was no clinic, the Chinese medical personnel on their rounds would treat the sick in a classroom of the village school. If no suitable room was available, they received the sick under a big tree or on a grassy piece of ground. Sometimes they had to treat seven to eight hundred patients a day. They didn't care what the time was and would not take their meals until they had attended to all the sick. When there was a serious case, they would go to the patient's home to give treatment, bring him medicine, or take him back to the hospital for treatment. The Tanzanian people are deeply moved by the zealous spirit of the Chinese medical workers who sincerely serve them. A septuagenarian in a remote mountain village in Musoma district said with deep emotion: "Many thanks to Chairman Mao who has sent to us African people such fine doctors!"

In just two months, the Chinese medical group in Siguri, Guinea, made more than twenty rounds in the countryside totalling over 1,000 kilometres, treated over 10,000 patients in nearly 60 villages and saved many lives. As soon as they got to their destination they immediately gave treatment to the sick despite their fatigue. They often worked many hours at a stretch and took no rest even after attending one or two hundred cases. They always went to the homes of those who were seriously ill or who had difficulty in walking to treat them or bring them medicine. They would only take a short rest and eat some food they had brought along after all the patients in the village had been cared for. Then they would hurry to another village. Everywhere they went, they explained to the masses general knowledge about health and simple methods of preventing disease. They were warmly welcomed by the peasant masses. Many peasants said with emotion: "You Chinese doctors are really fine. You not only give treatment to the people in cities but often make rounds in the countryside. This fully shows that you are serving us Guinean people wholeheartedly." "It is Chairman Mao who sent us such fine doctors and so much good medicine. We thank the great leader Chairman Mao from the bottom of our hearts. We wish Chairman Mao a long, long life!"

How a County-Run Plant Serves Agricultural Production

THE Funing County Agricultural Machinery Plant in Hopei Province was set up in 1958. There has been sharp struggle between the two lines in the past decade on the question of whom it should serve. With the help of the local People's Liberation Armymen

supporting the broad masses of the Left, the revolutionary workers in the plant have closely followed Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

They have firmly taken the road of serving agricultural production and are warmly welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

From the time it was first set up, the plant aimed to serve the countryside. By making farm machinery and tools needed by the surrounding rural areas, it directly served agricultural production. Later on, however, the capitalist roader in the plant did all he could to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and "put profits in command." For a time the plant only manufactured products which were of greater value and earned bigger profits. It did not make what the peasants needed, and what it did turn out was not needed by them.

The plant's capitalist roader looked down upon repairing farm machinery and tools. He yammered that "the repair service shows little profit," and regarded such repairs as an added burden. As a result, the plant became increasingly divorced from the masses and from reality.

A production team sent back for repair a well-boring machine made by the plant. When the plant flatly refused to fix it, the poor and lower-middle peasants became angry and said: "If you won't repair the machines you make, then who will?"

Another time, a production team needed to replace a valve screw for a diesel engine. In view of the fact that the job would bring little profit, the capitalist roader said coldly: "We cannot replace it. Go buy it somewhere else." The production team had to send a member out of the county in particular to find the replacement.

The heinous crimes of the capitalist roader in undermining the worker-peasant alliance aroused the furious indignation of the workers. Despite the obstructions set up by the capitalist roader, they wholeheartedly served the poor and lower-middle peasants.

During a battle against drought in the busy farming season, a people's commune sent the plant two diesel engines which were not working and asked it to immediately repair them, so that the withering wheat plants could be watered. Shaking his head, the capitalist roader replied: "Tomorrow is Sunday. Even if we take the job, you'll have to wait until next week." When the workers learnt of this, they came forward and said: "Forget about our day off, we'd rather repair the machines for our peasant brothers." They got the two diesel engines back in working order overnight.

Although the workers earnestly wanted to serve the countryside and meet the needs of farm production, their initiative was not brought into full play because the plant's power was then in the hands of the capitalist roader.

It was during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that they seized back power from the capitalist roader and established the revolutionary committee.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching "take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," the workers put an end to the plant's capitalist tendency and brought the plant back on to the road of serving agricultural production.

The first step the plant's revolutionary committee took was to organize all the revolutionary masses to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way and discuss in great detail the great significance of the working class aiding agriculture and the glorious task shouldered by the working class in bringing about the mechanization of agriculture. Using Mao Tsetung Thought as their weapon, the workers soundly repudiated the renegade Liu Shao-chi's "put profits in command" and other counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacies and the plant's capitalist roader for his crimes in opposing serving agricultural production and undermining the worker-peasant alliance. This greatly heightened the revolutionary masses' class consciousness and their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines.

They reached a clearer understanding that agriculture is the foundation in developing the national economy and that the poor and lower-middle peasants are the most reliable ally of the working class. They must share the desires of the poor and lower-middle peasants and consider their urgent needs as their own. They must take the brilliant road of serving agricultural production pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Putting proletarian politics in command, the plant has directed its service to the countryside, made deep-going investigations and study and extensively sought the opinions of the poor and lower-middle peasants. It is now producing whatever the peasants need.

In 1968, the plant's major products included 450 threshers, 3,600 plough shares, 14,000 spare parts for sprayers, 27 hoists for sluice gates, 200 water pumps and 50 mechanized rice threshers. In addition, it trial-manufactured and improved a number of new products in the light of local farming conditions and made 23 technical innovations, thus greatly raising its work efficiency.

During the 1968 busy spring farming season, there was urgent need for several thousand plough shares. According to the old work schedule, it would have taken at least more than ten days to complete the work. With high revolutionary enthusiasm, the workers took only six days to go over the quota, thereby helping spring farming a lot. Last autumn witnessed a severe drought. Because poor water conservancy conditions made mechanical irrigation unfeasible for some communes, buckets were sorely needed. Though making buckets was the task of the handicraft co-ops, the plant's workers concentrated their efforts in the battle for making them so as to help agriculture. They spent six days producing some 700 buckets, thereby giving timely help to the fight against drought. The delighted poor and lower-middle peasants said:

"Things have really been going well since our worker brothers took power in their hands. The plant now supplies us in good time with products that fit our needs and are low priced. That's really wholehearted service to agricultural production."

Through revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, the revolutionary masses came to a deep understanding that, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, they should wholeheartedly serve agricultural production. Considering the difficulties of the poor and lower-middle peasants to be their own, they earnestly take up repair jobs and supply needed parts while trying to cut repair costs in every way.

During last year's rice transplanting season, a production brigade's 18-inch pump broke down suddenly. The required repairs would have taken seven days in the past, and such a delay would have seriously hindered the brigade's fight against drought. The workers broke with old conventions, set apart three lathes to make the needed parts and, working without let-up, fixed the pump in just one day. That same night they rushed the pump to the brigade and helped install it so that more than 1,000 *mu* of the brigade's paddy rice fields could be watered.

The plant has steadily improved its service to agricultural production thanks to the ever-rising political consciousness of the workers. In making repairs, the workers noticed that peasants in some production teams had to travel dozens of kilometres to get a tiny machine part or have a minor repair. Heavy machinery had to be brought on carts, and it took several men to do the loading and unloading. All this wasted money and affected farm work. Acting on Chairman Mao's teaching to serve the people "wholly" and "entirely," the workers discarded the conventional practice of waiting for the customer. During the busy farming season, the plant sends workers with tools and parts to make the rounds of the communes and

brigades to do repair work or give technical guidance in using new-type farm tools.

While doing this mobile repairs, the workers enthusiastically spread Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions. Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching that "on its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle," they learnt modestly from the poor and lower-middle peasants. The latter said with pleasure: "You really serve us heart and soul. We should follow the example of our worker brothers in grasping revolution firmly and promoting production energetically. We promise to grow more grain to help the country's socialist construction and support the world revolution."

The plant's struggle-criticism-transformation campaign is now going deeper, and revolution and production are both in full swing. New people and new things are constantly coming to the fore. To serve farm production still better, it is vigorously organizing people to go deep to the countryside and repair farm machines and tools for the poor and lower-middle peasants, thereby contributing its share in the upsurge of production.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." The enormous changes that have come about in the Funing County Agricultural Machinery Plant during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have fully demonstrated that only by following Chairman Mao's teachings and implanting the idea of wholehearted service to the poor and lower-middle peasants and farm production can an agricultural machinery plant have a clear and correct orientation in its work and take big steps in forging ahead on the socialist road.

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Guided by Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

Growth of Small Nitrogenous Fertilizer Plants

GUIDED by Chairman Mao's policy of self-reliance and "walking on two legs," China's nitrogenous fertilizer industry, with small plants as a strong reinforcement, has grown rapidly in recent years and become one of the world's advanced. The industry was very backward before liberation.

The small nitrogenous fertilizer plants made up more than one-third of China's total production capacity of nitrogenous fertilizer in 1968 and played an important part in supporting agriculture.

New undertakings that started in the years of the great leap forward, small nitrogenous fertilizer plants have grown up in the acute struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

Breaking Down Foreign Conventions and Blazing New Trails

After liberation, China's nitrogenous fertilizer industry expanded a number of the original plants and built some new large ones. Although output increased

tremendously, it lagged far behind the needs of agriculture.

Our great leader Chairman Mao in 1958 put forward the general line for socialist construction: **"Going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism"** and a series of policies on the principle of "walking on two legs." He called on the Chinese people to **"be self-reliant, work hard, do away with all fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind"** and to follow our own road of industrial development.

The masses of workers, revolutionary technicians and revolutionary cadres in the chemical industry, in warm response to Chairman Mao's great call, made determined efforts to break down foreign conventions and build small nitrogenous fertilizer plants on a large scale. They were resolved to take an untrodden path. They advanced the revolutionary slogan of "taking the nitrogenous fertilizer industry to the countryside." Imbued with the spirit of daring to think and to act, they conceived of a new kind of nitrogenous fertilizer to be produced by specially constructed small plants using a new process, and immediately experimented on it. They thus took the first step along a new road.

The class enemies opposed these new undertakings as soon as they were started. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his agents in the Ministry of Chemical Industry frantically opposed the policy of "walking on two legs." They clamoured that nitrogenous fertilizer plants "must be large, not small; this is an objective law." Bourgeois technical "authorities" also tried to frighten the workers by alleging that the nitrogenous fertilizer industry required a complicated technology and that the work was dangerous because of high temperature, high pressure, and the use of inflammable and explosive materials.

The workers, revolutionary technicians and revolutionary cadres resolutely struggled against the class enemies. They held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and fought a hard battle, eventually succeeding in trial-producing the new product. The preliminary result showed that the new process was an advanced one and that "taking the nitrogenous fertilizer industry to the countryside" was entirely feasible. Large numbers of small plants sprang up in a short time in many parts of the country.

Using Indigenous and Modern Methods Simultaneously, Carrying Out Technical Revolution

These plants were built in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that **"we must break away from convention and adopt as many advanced techniques as possible"** and on the principle of employing indigenous and modern methods simultaneously. They

are not simply a reduction in the size of the big plants. They constitute a revolution in the nitrogenous fertilizer industry.

When China's national economy was confronted with temporary difficulties, Liu Shao-chi's agents in the industrial and transport departments and the Ministry of Chemical Industry—because the small nitrogenous fertilizer plants had not, for the time being, solved some of their technical and economic problems—blatantly ordered that all small nitrogenous fertilizer plants be abandoned. They declared: "Use only modern methods, not indigenous ones." They slandered indigenous methods as "unscientific" and a "retrogression in industrial level." Ignoring the strong opposition put up by the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, they forced the small nitrogenous fertilizer plants which were being built at the time to be stopped, and forbade new ones to be built. They even ordered the closing down of all the small plants in operation.

In some small plants where the masses insisted on continuing production, the agents of Liu Shao-chi enforced the using of the old foreign process. As a result, production went down, costs rose and serious financial losses were suffered.

Neither the threats of these class enemies nor the difficulties encountered in their advance could hold the workers back. Most of the workers in the Tanyang Chemical Fertilizer Plant in Kiangsu Province had received only a primary or junior middle school education. Rejecting the view of the bourgeois technical "authorities" that the new process could never pass the test, the workers continued experimenting with the new process, ignoring ridicule and intimidation. To solve the problems of uneven progress at different stages of the production process and blocked valves in the pipes, they collected more than 20,000 items of data in a little over a year. After repeated trials, they mastered the laws of the new process and made a break-through technically and economically. Some small nitrogenous fertilizer plants in Shanghai and in Anhwei and Shantung Provinces also made the break-through in a short time. Production then became normal and output doubled or multiplied several fold. Technical standards and economic efficiency approached or surpassed those of the big plants.

The masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants were overjoyed on learning of the signal achievement by the small plants. Work started again on those that had been suspended. The class enemies then alleged that it was impossible to solve a series of problems—packaging, transport, storage and use. But the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants cooperated closely to devise many effective ways of packaging and transport in the light of local conditions.

Chairman Mao teaches: **"The lowly are most intelligent; the elite are most ignorant."** Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the workers and peasants are

truly most intelligent and competent, and have performed feats the bourgeois philistines never dreamt of.

Giving Play to Initiative in Localities, Extensively Building Small Plants

The superiority of the small nitrogenous fertilizer plant becomes clearer with each passing day. Calling for a small investment and bringing quick results, it makes full use of local resources and economizes on equipment and material. The product is within easy reach of the users. Such plants can be built in large numbers by every province, municipality, special administrative region or county. All this has contributed to the enthusiasm of the localities for building them.

The masses all over the country overcame the shortage of funds and equipment by relying on themselves. They broke with the fetish that the equipment making nitrogenous fertilizer must be produced by big machine-building plants. They mobilized and organized the machine-building plants and handicraft co-operatives in their localities to make the equipment.

There is a handicraft co-operative in Shantung Province which specialized in making small farm tools. Using indigenous equipment, the co-operative turned out high-pressure valves. However, the bourgeois technical "authorities" did not believe they were usable and refused to examine them. One small nitrogenous fertilizer plant boldly tried out the valves and found they met all requirements. Thus, all the technical difficulties involved in making the equipment, such as resistance to high temperature and high pressure and inflammability and the danger of explosion, which were

so exaggerated by the bourgeois technical "authorities," were overcome one by one. The local authorities mobilized the masses and relied on them in putting up factory buildings.

When a small nitrogenous fertilizer plant was to be built in the mountainous county of Yiyuan in Shantung Province, the poor and lower-middle peasants from dozens of *li* around the construction site organized themselves to cut through mountains, build roads and transport sand and stone for the project. There were many such vivid instances in all parts of the country.

With the rapid development of the small plants, their construction has been increasingly speeded up. Most of these plants were designed, constructed and put into production within a year with local resources. Their equipment was also made within that time by the local people. Thus, in building small nitrogenous fertilizer plants, the people have achieved greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The small nitrogenous fertilizer plants have developed more rapidly than ever before during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The production capacity of all the small plants in China today is around six times that before the cultural revolution. Dotted all over the country, they have brought about an initial change in the former irrational distribution of China's nitrogenous fertilizer industry. This is of great significance in carrying out Chairman Mao's great strategic principle: "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people."

Cadres Do Office and Farm Work

GUIDED by our great leader Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive, the cadres of Kiangsi Province's Fenyi County Revolutionary Committee expanded their production during the past year. They have achieved basic self-sufficiency in vegetables and partly met their own food grain needs. The joyful poor and lower-middle peasants said: "The cadres of the revolutionary committee wholeheartedly serve the people. They are doing office work and going in for farming at the same time. The revolutionary committees are really fine!"

There are only 31 working personnel, including the cooks, in the county revolutionary committee after its administrative structure has been simplified. Large tracts of land lay inside and outside the revolutionary committee compound, where the old county Party committee and the old county people's council had been

located. In the past, under the influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, flowers and grass were grown in the compound in the name of "beautifying" it. Later, the cadres warmly responded to Chairman Mao's great call that cadres should take part in collective productive labour, and they opened up a dozen *mu* of paddyfields and non-irrigated land. Four farm workers were employed to take charge of the daily farmwork, while the cadres frequently took part in labour. Tempered in the struggles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the cadres have further raised their political consciousness and come to realize that taking part in productive labour is a fundamental measure for preventing and opposing revisionism and an important way to bring about the revolutionization of their own thinking and office work. Led by the county

revolutionary committee, they made further efforts to study Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive conscientiously. As a result, they were determined to take the road of revolutionization indicated by Chairman Mao and thoroughly change the past state of affairs in which the old outfits were divorced from the masses and labour. They said: Chairman Mao teaches us to **"remain one of the common people while serving as an official."** We, too, are common people and shouldn't divorce ourselves from labour.

To resolutely implement Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive and build up a revolutionized organization, the county revolutionary committee took the following measures: 1. All the land belonging to the old outfits are farmed by the cadres of the revolutionary committee. A production group is set up to give unified leadership and make over-all arrangements. 2. Two afternoons every week are devoted to productive labour during the slack farming seasons and three afternoons every week to productive labour or half-day office work and half-day labour during the busy seasons. When the cadres take part in productive labour, one remains on duty in each office, handling routine work. 3. The four farm workers return to their own village and join in production there. The two cadres in their fifties who were in charge of the warehouse and a cadre whose right leg was disabled have been organized to take charge of ox raising, farm tools and field management, with one of them acting concurrently as advisor in farm technique. 4. They are upholding the principle of self-reliance and carrying out production industriously and frugally. Apart from the amount allocated for expanded reproduction, the remaining income from production is being accumulated. Now the revolutionary committee has bought all the needed farm tools with its accumulated funds.

The Fenyi County Revolutionary Committee has made energetic efforts to promote its own revolutionization. First of all, the atmosphere has changed. Such phenomena as cadres playing Chinese chess, strolling in the streets and chatting after office hours have disappeared. Instead, a new atmosphere in which the cadres diligently study and love labour has emerged. While actively studying Chairman Mao's works, they, hoe in hand, work in the paddyfields and vegetable gardens after office work. Because they always go barefoot in summer, the masses affectionately call them "barefoot cadres." The compound which used to abound in flowers and grass are now all covered with crops. Whenever they come to town, the poor and lower-middle peasants drop in for a look, saying: "The new organization which plants vegetables and crops is a far cry from the old one which planted flowers and grass. We are very happy to come to such an organization." Next, relations between superiors and subordinates have become closer. The leading members of the revolutionary committee always take part in labour together with the ordinary working personnel and a new type of relationship in which the leadership is concerned with the masses and the masses respect the leadership has been

established. Liu Shih-fu, a vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee, was the county head who was not on good terms with his subordinates because of his bureaucratic airs stemming from his long separation from labour. Besides eating and doing office work with them, he now hoes the land and harvests rice together with the ordinary working personnel. Their relationship has thus become very harmonious. The cadres have also acquired knowledge and skills about the struggle for production and strengthened their class feelings for the working people.

There has been fierce ideological struggle in building the Fenyi County Revolutionary Committee into a revolutionized organization in accordance with Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive. At first, some cadres said that when a government organization went in for farming, it did not appear to be a government organization nor to be a farm. Others said: Before, the old county Party committee and the old county people's council had to employ four farm workers even though they had a total of more than 270 cadres. Now that we have a simplified administrative structure and a smaller number of personnel, how can we afford time to do both office and farm work? Following Chairman Mao's teaching that **"there is no construction without destruction,"** the revolutionary committee mobilized its staff members to relentlessly repudiate Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in building state power.

As a result of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, the cadres have heightened their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and understood that taking the road indicated by Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive is an important measure for building up a revolutionized organization. They said: "Planting flowers and grass and being bureaucrats and overlords are signs of a bourgeois government organization. Engaging in farming and remaining one of the common people while serving as an official are signs of a proletarian government organization. Our revolutionary committee must have the proletarian look."

Cadres in the revolutionary committee did everything to prepare for spring sowing last winter and this spring. They have worked out their production plan for this year after democratic discussion. Under this plan which sets goals higher than last year, they will basically meet their food grain needs and become self-sufficient in cotton cloth, edible oil and vegetables.

By conscientiously implementing Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive, the Fenyi County Revolutionary Committee has set an example for all the county's institutions and thus pushed ahead with the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation throughout the county. They are determined to build the revolutionary committee into a great red school of Mao Tsetung Thought as they advance along the bright road indicated by Chairman Mao's "May 7" Directive.

ROUND THE WORLD

Storm Over Latin America

Chasing Out the God of Plague: Beginning May 11, Rockefeller, the notorious Governor of New York State, went on a "tour" of Latin American countries. As Nixon's "special envoy," he had intensive consultations with the U.S. President before he set out. In his entourage were more than 20 "advisors." His mission — to find a way out for U.S. imperialism from its sorry predicament in Latin America.

The Latin American people greeted Nixon's "special envoy" with mammoth anti-U.S. demonstrations. "Rockefeller, get out!" was the first slogan to hit him in the eye when he landed on the soil of El Salvador on May 13. He sneaked into Honduras the next day. But while he was carrying on a "talk" with pro-U.S. military dictator Lopez Arellano, the demonstrating crowd outside the presidential house thundered "Rockefeller, go home!" People in Mexico and other Central American countries visited by Rockefeller in the first stage of his activities (May 11-19) also let loose strong protests.

As a Chinese saying goes, "When the rat scurries across the street, everyone shouts 'kill it!'" When Rockefeller arrived in Colombia on May 27, anti-U.S. demonstrations broke out in all of its major cities. Students burnt American flags and effigies of Rockefeller. They shouted, "Yankee, go home," "Down with Rockefeller," etc.

Rockefeller's visit was a big pain in the neck for U.S. officials abroad. While he was in Ecuador on May 29, student demonstrators in Quito hurled petrol bombs at the U.S. Information Service Centre, stoned the office of the U.S. "foreign aid programme," marched on the U.S. Embassy, bombed the local Ecuadorian-American Cultural Centre and blew up a U.S. diplomat's car.

The Latin American people's angry protests against U.S. imperialism scared the daylight out of Rockefeller. When this U.S. imperialist

"special envoy" arrived in La Paz, Bolivia, on May 31, 3,000 students, workers and people from other strata were ready for him. Frightened by their powerful demonstration, he dared not enter the city, and hastily took his leave after only a three-hour stay at the La Paz airfield. Scurrying to Trinidad the same day, Rockefeller gave up his scheduled visit to Venezuela, discontinuing the second leg of his Latin American tour. He returned to the United States on June 2.

Nixon had planned to use Rockefeller's consultations with the ruling juntas of 23 Latin American countries to map out "joint programmes of action" and "common goals" in stepping up suppression and exploitation of the people in these countries. This was supposed to have helped him design a "new policy" to bolster U.S. imperialism's shaky rule on the continent while alleviating its many contradictions with the local ruling cliques. A real boomerang, the Rockefeller trip unloosed such an angry tide on the part of the Latin American people against U.S. imperialism and military dictatorial rule that the visit ended up handing the Nixon Administration a body blow.

The "alliance for progress" programme pushed by Kennedy and Johnson to enslave the Latin American people has long been discredited. The "new policy" Nixon hopes to draw up will end just as ignominiously. The Latin American people's mounting struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys is bound to win still greater victory.

Struggle Against Tyranny Sweeps Argentina: The courageous worker-student protest action is the biggest of its kind ever to have hit the pro-U.S. Ongania dictatorship in its three-year rule. Starting on May 15, this massive struggle in defiance of the regime's fascist repression soon engulfed all of Argentina's major cities.

The struggle was touched off by the shooting down of students by the

reactionary authorities. When National Northeast University students in Corrientes staged a street demonstration on May 15 to protest soaring prices for school meals, the Ongania regime directed fully armed police to open fire on the unarmed students, killing one and wounding more than 20. This fascist crime stirred the Argentine people to bitter resistance. Students and workers followed one another in going on strike. On May 16, thousands upon thousands marched in the streets of Corrientes, and many shops and firms closed down to mourn the student killed by the reactionary authorities.

Alarmed by the rising flames of the people's struggle against tyranny, the Ongania reactionary authorities announced on the night of May 28 the setting up of military tribunals in different parts of the country and threatened to crack down on the masses who took part in demonstrations. But the Argentine workers were not cowed. A million of them went on a 24-hour nationwide general strike beginning zero hours May 30. Their protest against the reactionary regime's bloody suppression and their unswerving solidarity with the students' just struggle gave the Ongania reactionary regime a jolt. Work in the great majority of the country's factories was brought to a halt; industry, commerce and transportation were almost completely paralysed.

Through this large-scale struggle, the Argentine workers expressed their great anger at the bloody suppression of the workers and students by the reactionary authorities and voiced their protest against the pro-U.S. dictatorial regime's reactionary policy of repeatedly raising prices while refusing to increase wages.

The Argentine worker-student struggle against suppression and persecution is supported by the students of other Latin American countries. For three days in succession ending May 31, students in Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, demonstrated against the repressive atrocities of the Ongania dictatorship. In Bolivia, more than 150 students demonstrated in front of the Argentine Embassy on May 30.

All reactionaries who suppress the people's movement will come to no good end. The bloody suppression of the Argentine worker-student movement by the Ongania reactionary authorities will not only impel the Argentine people to rebel against them, but also arouse the other Latin American peoples to strongly condemn their fascist crimes.

Curacao Workers Demand End of Colonial Rule: A workers' struggle against colonialist exploitation and oppression broke out on May 27 in Willemstad, capital of Curacao Island, a Dutch colony in the Caribbean.

This mass struggle began with a strike for higher wages by the workers of a construction company under contract to the Anglo-Dutch Shell Oil Company. In support of this just demand, the workers of the Anglo-Dutch Shell refinery held a solidarity strike.

As the struggle developed, a group of workers stormed into a radio station on the evening of May 31. They broadcast an ultimatum demanding that the colonial government step down within 48 hours. On June 1, gunfire was still going on in Willemstad and the telephone workers' strike prevented all calls from getting through. During their battle with the reactionary troops and police, the angry workers burnt down many big colonialist-operated stores, and 70 per cent of the firms in the city's business district were destroyed by fire. For the Dutch colonialists, this meant a loss of more than 50 million U.S. dollars.

Terrified by this massive struggle, the Dutch colonialists flew in troops and stepped up their brutal suppression of the workers. It was reported that 4 workers were killed, 150 wounded and more than 1,000 arrested by the reactionary troops and police.

The people's revolutionary struggle on Curacao Island has spread to the Netherlands. About 500 people from the Dutch West Indies, mostly students, demonstrated in the Hague on June 1 to protest the sending of troops by the Netherlands Government to put down the struggle of the Curacao people. They demanded independence for the Dutch West Indies

and the withdrawal of all Dutch troops.

SOVIET REVISIONIST RENEGADE CLIQUE

Stepped-Up Collaboration With Japanese Reactionaries

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has recently stepped up its collaboration with the Japanese reactionaries, economically as well as politically and militarily. This hobnobbing with the lackeys of U.S. imperialism is designed to meet its counter-revolutionary needs in wildly opposing China and pursuing its social-imperialist policy in Southeast Asia.

After the Soviet revisionist renegade clique deliberately provoked the Chenpao Island incidents of March 2 and 15, the Soviet Ambassador to Japan canvassed the Sato government for support on March 11 and 20. In April, the Soviet Ambassador to Japan handed the Japanese Government a copy of the Soviet note to China in which the Soviet Government distorted the truth about the Sino-Soviet question. The disgusting and undisguised way in which the Soviet revisionists courted the Japanese reactionaries was acknowledged even by the *London Times*. "The Russians are courting the Japanese at present," it said.

In mapping out its social-imperialist policy in Asia, this renegade clique does not hesitate to learn from the so-called "experience" of the Japanese reactionaries in their counter-revolutionary activities in Asia. Kyodo News Agency reported that on May 21 a Soviet Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs discussed international issues with the Japanese Ambassador to the Soviet Union behind closed doors. It was reported that the Soviet revisionists had asked for frequent talks of this kind in Moscow and Tokyo. The Moscow correspondent of the Japanese paper *Mainichi Shimbun* reported that of the capitalist countries, "Japan is the first to have established this kind of contact with the Soviet Union."

A Japanese bourgeois journal recently disclosed that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is attempting to rig up an anti-China sea

"cordon" with the co-ordination and help of the Japanese reactionaries. It reported that the Soviet Pacific Fleet is "assigned the task of sailing into the Yellow Sea and the China Sea to tie down China from behind." The "manoeuvring ground" for this fleet has been extended from the Sea of Japan to the Pacific waters stretching from the Kurile Islands to east of Taiwan. The Soviet revisionists smugly reckon that if their Pacific Fleet sails into the Indian Ocean through the Sea of Japan, the China Sea and the Strait of Malacca, which lies between Malaya and Indonesia, it "can encircle China from the sea." The journal noted that to get to the high seas the Soviet fleet must pass through the Soya Strait, the Tsugaru Strait or the Tsushima Strait. This is one of the reasons why the Soviet revisionists are so anxious to improve relations with Japan.

Together with the Japanese reactionaries, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has stepped up its expansion in Southeast Asia while opposing and suppressing the surging people's revolutionary struggle in this region. The Soviet revisionists recently asked Japanese monopolies to "set up joint enterprises" whose products will be dumped on "a third country." To facilitate their colonial expansion in Southeast Asia, the Soviet revisionists even hope to edge into the Asian Development Bank which is controlled by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

"Soviet-Japanese co-operation" and "U.S.-Japanese co-operation" are the same — both are criminally spear-headed against China, communism, and the people. In the past, the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs the Japanese reactionaries have bashed their heads badly because of their criminal activities of opposing China and suppressing the people's struggle in Southeast Asia. Following in the footsteps of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which is working hand in glove with the Japanese reactionaries, will surely suffer still more humiliating defeats in the face of the resolute opposition of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Asian countries.

(Continued from p. 3.)

15th meeting last year" and that the "14th meeting" held in Harbin the year before last "ended up without any result because the Chinese side attempted to bring up for discussion problems that were not within the competence of the commission." These slanders and attacks made by the Soviet side on the Chinese side are utterly groundless.

The Chinese side made it perfectly clear in its telegram to the Soviet side dated May 11 this year that the responsibility for the failure to hold the regular meeting last year rests entirely on the Soviet side. As for the fruitless outcome of the 14th regular meeting held the year before last, that, too, was solely the making of the Soviet side. At the 14th regular meeting, basing itself on the relevant agreement between the two countries and proceeding from its stand of respecting each other's sov-

ereignty and safeguarding normal navigation on the Sino-Soviet boundary rivers, the Chinese side discussed with the Soviet side all the questions raised by the latter and reasonable solutions were indeed found for some of them. The Soviet side, however, adopted a truculent attitude of big-power chauvinism and refused to discuss and solve the questions advanced by the Chinese side, asserting that they "were not within the competence of the commission." Furthermore, in violation of the established practice, the Soviet side refused to enter into the notes of the meeting the different views of both sides, and thus broke up that regular meeting.

Now, in deliberately distorting the truth about the 14th regular meeting and attacking the Chinese side, the Soviet side is attempting to place in advance obstacles to the coming 15th regular meeting. If the Soviet side still has any sincerity for making the

coming regular meeting a success, it must change its wrong attitude and earnestly discuss all the questions put forward by the two sides concerning navigation on the Sino-Soviet boundary rivers.

I now inform you that the Chinese side agrees to the date of June 18 for holding the coming regular meeting and that it will send to the meeting at the scheduled time a delegation of ten headed by Chang Chante, the new chairman of the Chinese side of the Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for Navigation on the Boundary Rivers. You will be notified later of the specific time of the Chinese delegation's arrival at Poli.

Chen Fa-ping,
Chairman of the Chinese side,
Sino-Soviet Joint Commission for Navigation on the Boundary Rivers.

June 6, 1969

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DOWN WITH THE NEW TSARS!

In English

Containing ample and irrefutable facts, this booklet effectively exposes the towering crimes of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which directed its frontier troops to intrude into Chinese territory Chenpao Island, thereby creating an extremely grave incident of bloodshed on March 2, 1969. It also records the Soviet frontier troops' subsequent repeated military provocations and serious encroachment on Chinese territory, and the clique's outrageous provocations against the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union.

The booklet includes "Down With the New Tsars!", an important editorial by *Renmin Ribao* and *Jiefangjun Bao*; "Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Can Only Be Digging Its Own Grave in Ravidly Opposing China," an important article by *Renmin Ribao* Commentator; "Chenpao Island Has Always Been Chinese Territory," an important article by the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, together with protest notes from the Chinese Government and Chinese Embassy in Moscow to the Soviet Government; and relevant Hsinhua News Agency dispatches.

Illustrated by two maps, "Sketch Map Showing Soviet Revisionist Troops' Intrusion Into Chinese Territory Chenpao Island" and "Sketch Map Showing Sino-Soviet Boundary Line in Area Around Chinese Territory Chenpao Island," and by three sets of photographs exposing the Soviet revisionists' crimes of intrusion into China's territory Chenpao Island.

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