C.C. OF COMMunist PARTY OF CHINA SENDS
MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCES TO C.C. OF
VIET NAM WORKERS’ PARTY ON PASSING
AWAY OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Special Communique on Passing Away
Of President Ho Chi Minh

Issued by Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers’ Party, National
Assembly, Council of Ministers and Viet Nam Fatherland Front

Chinese Communist Party Delegation Led by
Comrade Chou En-lai Leaves for Hanoi to
Tender Condolences on Passing Away of
President Ho Chi Minh
Eternal glory to
President Ho Chi Minh,
the great leader
of the
Vietnamese people!
Central Committee of Communist Party of China
Sends Message of Condolences to Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers’ Party on Passing Away of President Ho Chi Minh

The Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on behalf of all the members of the Party and the entire Chinese people, expresses, with boundless grief, condolences on the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and the close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people.

President Ho Chi Minh was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary. He applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution. He dedicated his whole life to the national-liberation struggle of Viet Nam and the cause of communism. Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the heroic Vietnamese people waged protracted and unyielding struggles against the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists, won great victories, founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and embarked on the road of socialism. After U.S. imperialism unleashed its war of aggression against Viet Nam, President Ho Chi Minh, by giving full play to the might of people’s war, led the entire Vietnamese people in fighting U.S. imperialism, which is the most ferocious of all, with the result that U.S. imperialism was severely battered, driven into an impasse and confronted with inevitable destruction. He thus made important contributions to the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed people and oppressed nations the world over.

Upholding proletarian internationalism, President Ho Chi Minh actively supported the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat of all countries and of all the oppressed people and oppressed nations. He came to China several times in the years when the Chinese people were waging the national-democratic revolutionary struggle. He shared weal and woe with the Chinese people and fought shoulder to shoulder with them, and built up profound proletarian feelings with the Chinese Communist Party. After the victory of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions, he worked untiringly for strengthening and developing the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Forged through protracted fighting, this friendship and solidarity between our two peoples can stand any test.

It is unfortunate that President Ho Chi Minh passed away at the crucial moment when the Vietnamese people’s war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is about to win final victory. This is a great loss for the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the Vietnamese people and also a great loss for the cause of the anti-U.S. struggle of the Chinese people and all the people of the world. President Ho Chi Minh has died, but his noble revolutionary qualities and fighting spirit of defying brute force will live forever in the hearts of the Vietnamese people, in the hearts of the Chinese people and in the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world.

We profoundly understand and sympathize with the feelings of the broad masses of the Vietnamese people at this moment. We sincerely hope that you will turn grief into strength and deal U.S. imperialism still heavier blows. We are deeply convinced that following President Ho Chi Minh’s teaching “fearless of sacrifices and hardships, . . . determined to carry on and vigorously step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win,” the Vietnamese people, who have a tradition of heroic revolutionary struggle, will certainly overcome every difficulty on their road of advance, smash all schemes to undermine their war of liberation, drive the U.S. imperialists off the territory of Viet Nam lock, stock and barrel, liberate the south, defend the north and
proceed to unify the fatherland by persevering in protracted war, persevering in maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands and persevering in self-reliance.

“The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China’s territory is their reliable rear area.” Following this teaching by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people will, as always, resolutely support the Vietnamese people in carrying through to the end their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated! Viet Nam is sure to win!

Eternal glory to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

September 4, 1969

Special Communique on Passing Away of President Ho Chi Minh

Issued by Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers’ Party, National Assembly, Council of Ministers and Viet Nam Fatherland Front

A special communique on the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh was issued on September 4 by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front. The full text of the special communique released by the Viet Nam News Agency reads as follows:

Special Communique of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front

The Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front feel boundless grief in informing our entire Party and our entire Vietnamese people that Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, passed away at 9:47 a.m. on September 3, 1969, after a sudden, very serious heart attack, at the age of 79.

All through President Ho Chi Minh’s illness, the comrade leaders of our Party and state had attended to him day and night, and had entrusted a collective of qualified and well-equipped professors and doctors with seeking by all means to cure him. Everybody had done his best, determined to cure the President at all costs, but due to his advanced age and serious ailment, President Ho Chi Minh has departed from us.

President Ho Chi Minh was the great, beloved leader of our Vietnamese working class and nation, and all his life devotedly served the revolution, the people and the fatherland. He founded the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, now the Viet Nam Workers’ Party, founded the national united front and the Viet Nam People’s Army, organized the August Revolution and
President Ho Chi Minh was a staunch, outstanding fighter of the international communist movement and close friend of the nations now struggling for independence and freedom.

For more than half a century now, the name, virtues and revolutionary ideal of President Ho Chi Minh have been closely associated with the life and fight of our Vietnamese people. His death is a very great loss to our Party and people.

In token of our regret and our gratitude towards President Ho Chi Minh, the special meeting of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has taken the following decisions:

1. To organize a state funeral for President Ho Chi Minh, with the most solemn rites of our country.

2. Our entire Party and all our armed forces and people of Viet Nam shall mourn President Ho Chi Minh for seven days, from September 4 to September 10, 1969.

3. The Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front shall organize a grand ceremony to the memory of President Ho Chi Minh.

4. To appoint a state funeral committee comprising leaders of the highest ranks of the Party, the state, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and other mass organizations to organize the state funeral for President Ho Chi Minh.

In these days of grief, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front appeal to all our Party, armed forces and people to translate sorrow into revolutionary acts, strengthen solidarity, and channel all our will and forces into the great cause of fighting and defeating the U.S. aggressors, liberating the south of our country, and successfully building socialism in the north, thus materializing the lofty aspiration cherished by President Ho Chi Minh—the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful Viet Nam.

The name and spirit of the great President Ho Chi Minh will live for ever in our hearts! His revolutionary cause will certainly be carried forward and completed victoriously!

The Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party,

The Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

The Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front

Hanoi, September 4, 1969

September 7, 1969
Chinese Communist Party Delegation Led by Comrade Chou En-lai Leaves for Hanoi to Tender Condolences on Passing Away of President Ho Chi Minh

The Delegation of the Communist Party of China headed by Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, left Peking on the morning of September 4 by special plane for Hanoi to tender condolences on the unfortunate death of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people.

Leaving on the same plane were Deputy Head of the Delegation Yeh Chien-ying, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and member of the delegation Wei Kuo-ching, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. Another member of the delegation Wang Yu-ping, Chinese Ambassador to Viet Nam, was already in Hanoi.

The Chinese Communist Party Delegation headed by Comrade Chou En-lai arrived in Hanoi the same morning. It was met by Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Hoang Quoc Viet, Bui Quang Tao and other leaders of the Vietnamese Party and Government. Also present to meet the delegation was Wang Yu-ping, member of the Chinese Communist Party Delegation and Chinese Ambassador to Viet Nam.

Chinese Communist Party Delegation Headed by Comrade Chou En-lai Pays Last Respects Before Portrait of President Ho Chi Minh

The Chinese Communist Party Delegation headed by Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, went to the President's Office of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the afternoon of September 4 to pay last respects to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people, before his portrait.

The delegation laid a wreath before the portrait of President Ho Chi Minh. The wreath carried an inscription which read: *Eternal glory to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people! Mourning with deep respect by the Delegation of the Communist Party of China.*

After laying the wreath, members of the delegation stood in silent memory of President Ho Chi Minh before his portrait.

Leading members of the Vietnamese Party and Government accompanying the delegation in paying last respects to President Ho Chi Minh before his portrait were Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Vo Nguyen Giap, Le Thanh Nghĩ, Hoang Van Hoan, Tran Quoc Hoan, Le Van Luong, Hoang Quoc Viet, Ha Que, Nguyen Van Kinh, Bui Quang Tao, and Tran Quang Huy.

After the ceremony, the delegation wrote an inscription in the mourners' book.

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Chinese Communist Party Delegation Holds Talks With Vietnamese Leaders

The Delegation of the Communist Party of China, headed by Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, held talks with leading members of the Vietnamese Party, Government and armed forces on the afternoon of September 4.

On behalf of Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the entire Chinese people, the Delegation of the Communist Party of China expressed infinitely deep condolences on the unfortunate death of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people, and profound sympathy with the Vietnamese Party, Government and armed forces and the entire Vietnamese people.

On behalf of the Vietnamese Party, Government, armed forces and people, the leading members of the Vietnamese Party, Government and armed forces said that the arrival of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China is a support and encouragement for the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people are determined to turn grief into strength, carry on the will of President Ho Chi Minh and accomplish his unfulfilled revolutionary cause.

Participating in the talks on the Chinese side were: Chou En-lai, Head of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council; Yeh Chien-ying, Deputy Head of the Delegation, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Wei Kuoching, member of the delegation, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, and Wang Yu-ping, member of the delegation and Chinese Ambassador to Viet Nam.

Present on the Vietnamese side were: Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party; Truong Chinh, Member of the
Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly; Pham Van Dong, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Premier of the Government; General Vo Nguyen Giap, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, Vice-Premier of the Government...

An atmosphere of unity and militant friendship between the people of China and Viet Nam prevailed throughout the talks.

**Chinese Communist Party Delegation Headed By Comrade Chou En-lai Returns to Peking**

The Delegation of the Communist Party of China headed by Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, left Hanoi for home on the evening of September 4 after tendering condolences on the unfortunate death of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people.

The delegation was seen off by leading members of the Vietnamese Party and Government Pham Van Dong, Vo Nguyen Giap, Hoang Van Hoan and Hoang Quoc Viet.

Wang Yu-ping, Chinese Ambassador to Viet Nam, also saw the delegation off.

The Chinese Communist Party Delegation headed by Comrade Chou En-lai returned to Peking on September 5 by special plane.

At the airport to welcome the delegation home were Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; (the following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames) Li Hsien-nien, Li Tso-peng, Wu Fa-hsien, Chiu Hui-tso, Yao Wen-yuan, Huang Yung-sheng and Hsieh Fu-chih, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Chi Teng-kuei and Li Teh-sheng, Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; and leading comrades of other quarters.

Also present were Ngo Minh Loan, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to China, and deputy heads of the visiting D.R.V.N. Government Economic Delegation: Ly Ban, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, and Tran Sam, Vice-Minister of National Defence.

Nguyen Van Quang, Ambassador of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam to China, was also present.

**Message of Condolences From Standing Committee Of National People’s Congress of People’s Republic Of China to Standing Committee of National Assembly of Democratic Republic of Viet Nam**

Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam:

The Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress of the People's Republic of China is shocked to learn of the unfortunate death of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. With the utmost grief, we ex-

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press our profound condolences to you and through you to the fraternal Vietnamese people.

President Ho Chi Minh is the most esteemed and beloved great leader of the Vietnamese people and the closest comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people. President Ho Chi Minh's life was the militant life of a proletarian revolutionary. He dedicated his whole life to the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people and made valuable contributions to the development and strengthening of the militant friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.

The passing away of President Ho Chi Minh is a great loss to the Vietnamese people and also a great loss to the cause of revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world.

At this time of mourning, we are convinced that the Vietnamese people will certainly turn grief into strength and, following the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh, persevere in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and drive the U.S. aggressors off Vietnamese soil, lock, stock and barrel.

The Chinese people will always stand together with the Vietnamese people and firmly support them in carrying through to the end the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

September 5, 1969

Message of Condolences From State Council of People's Republic of China to Council of Ministers Of Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam:

Shocked to learn of the unfortunate death of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Chinese Government and people are filled with deep grief. We wish to express our profound condolences to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the fraternal Vietnamese people.

President Ho Chi Minh was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary, the most esteemed and beloved great leader of the Vietnamese people and the closest comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people. He dedicated his whole life to the fight for the national liberation of the Vietnamese people and the cause of communism and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the course of revolutionary struggles. He personally took part in China's revolutionary struggles, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese people and forged a profound militant friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples in the course of struggle. He supported and made outstanding contributions to the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat and the oppressed people and nations.

President Ho Chi Minh's militant revolutionary spirit will live for ever in the hearts of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and the revolutionary people of the whole world.

The unfortunate death of President Ho Chi Minh at a time when the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is about to win final victory is a great loss to the Vietnamese people. We are deeply convinced that the Vietnamese people will certainly turn grief into strength and, following the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh, carry through to the end the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, liberate the south, defend the north and proceed to reunify their fatherland.

Firmly following the teachings of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, give powerful support to the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation until final victory is won.

Eternal glory to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people!

State Council of the People's Republic of China

September 5, 1969
Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and Other Comrades Tender Condolences at D.R.V.N. Embassy On Death of President Ho Chi Minh

— In the name of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, expressing, with boundless grief, condolences on the unfortunate death of President Ho Chi Minh

COMRADES Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and other comrades of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee called at the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in China on the morning of September 6, tendering condolences on the unfortunate death of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people.

The national flag of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam edged in black hung on the wall of the embassy hall. A portrait of the late President Ho Chi Minh, draped in black, stood on a pedestal before the national flag. In front of the pedestal were placed the wreaths presented by our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao.

A white ribbon across the wreath from Chairman Mao carries this message: "To Comrade Ho Chi Minh, outstanding proletarian revolutionary and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people." The message on the white ribbon across the wreath from Vice-Chairman Lin reads: "To Comrade Ho Chi Minh, outstanding proletarian revolutionary."

There was a wreath from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Other wreaths were presented by Comrade Chou En-lai, Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the departments under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Chinese government departments.

Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, arrived at the embassy at around 8 a.m. with (listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames) Comrades Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsin-nien, Li Tso-peng, Wu Fa-hsien, Chiu Hui-tso, Yao Wenyuan, Huang Yung-sheng, Tung Pi-wu and Hsieh Fuchih, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., and Comrades Chi Teng-kuei and Li Teh-sheng, Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. They stood in silent tribute before the portrait of the late President Ho Chi Minh.

Accompanying them were Ngo Minh Loan, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to China, and deputy heads of the D.R.V.N. Government Economic Delegation: Ly Ban, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, and Tran Sam, Vice-Minister of National Defence. Nguyen Van Quang, Ambassador of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam to China, was also present.

Comrade Chou En-lai had a cordial talk with Ambassador Ngo Minh Loan. Comrade Chou En-lai said: "In the name of Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., and on behalf of the Chinese people and the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, we express in extreme grief our condolences on the unfortunate death of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people, to the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Standing Com-
mittee of the National Assembly of the D.R.V.N., the Council of Ministers of the D.R.V.N., the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese people's armed forces. Please convey our regards to all comrades of your embassy.”

“The late President Ho Chi Minh,” he added, “cherished profound proletarian feelings for us, and so we did for him. The passing away of President Ho Chi Minh is a grief and a loss both to you and to us. President Ho Chi Minh's proletarian revolutionary spirit will live in our hearts for ever. We hope that you will turn grief into fighting force, persevere in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, defeat our common enemy U.S. imperialism, realize President Ho Chi Minh's behest, liberate the south, defend the north and proceed to reunify the fatherland. Following the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Vietnamese people will stand firmly with the Vietnamese people and resolutely support them in carrying the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end. U.S. imperialism is bound to be defeated. The Vietnamese people will assuredly be victorious.”

Ambassador Ngo Minh Loan expressed hearty thanks to Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people. He pointed out that the profound friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples had been established by President Ho Chi Minh and that the Vietnamese people had the duty to do their utmost to consolidate and develop this friendship. The Ambassador said: “To liberate the south and reunify our fatherland is the behest left us by President Ho Chi Minh. We will follow the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh and go on fighting until there is no U.S. aggressor left on the soil of our fatherland.”

Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng signed in the mourners' book and wrote in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: “Eternal glory to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people!”

Among those who called at the Vietnamese Embassy the same morning to tender condolences were:

Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China;

Chen Yi, Hsu Hsiang-chien and Nieh Jung-chen, Vice-Chairmen of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.;

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Li Fu-chuan, Vice-Premier; Teng Tsu-hui. Li Shu-kwang, Teng Ts-yuan, Shen Yen-ping and Hau Teh-heng, Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; Fu Tso-yi, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council;


September 7, 1969

Before the portrait of the late President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people, are laid the wreaths presented by our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao.
Wu Chung, Chang Shih-chung, Chang Hsii-chuan, Yang Chun-sheng, Lo Yuan-fa, Nieh Yuan-tzu, Chien Hsueh-sen, Kuo Yu-feng, Huang Wen-ming, Huang Tso-chen, Huang Chih-yung and Yen Chung-chuan;


Standing Committee members of the National People’s Congress, Standing Committee members of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference and democratic personages: Pei Shih-chang, Teng Chu-min, Lu Han, Shih Liang, Chung Hsi-chuan, Hua Lo-keng, Wu Yu-hsun, Chang Yun, Chen Chi-yu, Chen Yuan, Mao Yi-sheng, Lin Chiao-chih, Lo Shu-chang, Chu Ko-chen, Chu Fang, Hu Tzu-ang, Hu Chueh-wen, Liang Ssu-cheng, Chang Shih-chao, Tung Ti-chou, Hsieh Fu-min, Liu Wen-hui, Liu Fei, Chang Hsi-jo, Sha Chien-li and Sun Hsiao-tsung;

Leading comrades of the departments under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chinese government departments and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, and representatives of the revolutionary masses, among them Lo Kuei-po, Chiao Kuan-hua, Hsu Yi-hsin, Ma Wen-po, Chen Teh-ho, Shen Chien, Yang Yu-heng, Liu Chun-fa, Lin Hai-yun, Wang Hsiao-han, Li Yu-chou, Hsieh Hual-teh, Liu Ta-yu and Chang Wen-min. Ting Hsi-lin, leading member of the China-Viet Nam Friendship Association, was also present.

**Peking Revolutionary Masses Express Condolences**

**At D.R.V.N. Embassy**

More than 15,000 revolutionary people in Peking went to express their profound condolences on the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people, at the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on the afternoon of September 6.

Among them were workers, commune members from the city’s outskirts, revolutionary teachers and students, office workers and commanders and fighters of the three services of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army. The long queues moved at a solemn pace into the embassy hall and mourned before the portrait of the late President Ho Chi Minh.

Heading the procession of mourners were representatives of the China-Viet Nam Friendship People’s Commune. Members of the commune had been distressed at the news of President Ho Chi Minh’s death. They said that President Ho Chi Minh had been the great leader of the Vietnamese people and close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people. He had made brilliant contributions to developing and consolidating the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. His death was a great loss to the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people.

They expressed the belief that the Vietnamese people would certainly translate their sorrow into strength, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of defying hardship and sacrifice, and drive the U.S. imperialists off the soil of Viet Nam lock, stock and barrel.

The commune members then sent a message of condolences to the Viet Nam-China Friendship Agricultural Co-operative near Hanoi, extending their condolences on the death of President Ho Chi Minh. On the afternoon of September 6, their representatives, carrying a wreath, called at the Vietnamese Embassy to pay a silent tribute before the portrait of President Ho Chi Minh.

Among the mourners were veteran Chinese workers from many factories who had studied and lived with Vietnamese trainees. They said: The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers sharing weal and woe and they are comrades fighting shoulder to shoulder. There is a profound militant friendship between them. They pledged to firmly follow the great leader Chairman Mao’s teaching “grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war” and, with concrete action, support the Vietnamese people in carrying their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end.

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From the time of the founding of New China, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his gang have seized upon the field of ideology and the superstructure, exercising counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in the various departments they controlled and wildly spreading poisonous weeds. Their criminal aim was to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in preparation for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our great leader Chairman Mao personally led the entire Party and the broad revolutionary masses in waging a tit-for-tat struggle that scored one great victory after another in the many major campaigns launched to criticize the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao further initiated and is personally leading the present great proletarian cultural revolution which has attacked the counter-revolutionary positions in which Liu Shao-chi and his gang were entrenched, and which has brought about an all-round proletarian dictatorship in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. This has consolidated and strengthened the socialist economic base and ensured China’s rapid advance along the socialist road.

“Historical experience merits attention.” In order to increase the masses’ consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and their ability to distinguish between them and enable the working class to firmly occupy the cultural and educational positions and thoroughly transform them by using Mao Tsetung Thought, it is essential that we review the various important campaigns that have taken place in the ideological sphere since countrywide liberation.

Criticism of the Film “The Life of Wu Hsung”

Under Chairman Mao’s direct command, the Chinese people finally overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in 1949 and won nationwide liberation after protracted struggles. However, the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes were not reconciled to their defeat. They launched fierce attacks in every field against the young proletarian dictatorship. The reactionary films, plays and operas, songs and books and journals which then flooded the cultural and art fields were important instruments used in co-ordination with the other activities of the class enemies to stage a come-back.

Not long after the birth of New China, just at the time the revolutionary storms of the great land reform movement and the movement to suppress the counter-revolutionaries swept across China and the proletariat was firmly establishing its dictatorship, representatives of the bourgeoisie and feudal remnants, organized and backed by Liu Shao-chi, collaborated to produce the big poisonous weed The Life of Wu Hsun. This was a film which the Kuomintang’s Central Film Studio did not have time to finish, but which was “inherited” and completed by the counter-revolutionary revisionists Chou Yang and Hsia Yen, who had wormed their way into the Communist Party. It fervently lauded the overthrown landlord class and its running dogs, viciously slandered the Chinese people’s revolutionary struggles and openly advocated the most shameless capitulationism and slavishness in a vain attempt to overthrow the new China which was under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Liu Shao-chi and his follower Chou Yang took the lead in praising it as “one of the best Chinese films” and ordered their henchmen inside and outside the Party to release several hundred articles about it in the press. These played up the so-called “Wu Hsung spirit” and whipped up an evil wind for the restoration of the reactionary forces.

The great leader Chairman Mao set off the first great struggle after liberation on the cultural and ideological fronts against this counter-revolutionary offensive. He wrote an editorial for Renmin Ribao entitled “Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film The Life of Wu Hsun” (May 20, 1951) which sharply pointed out:

“The questions raised by The Life of Wu Hsun are fundamental in character. Living in the era of the Chinese people’s great struggle against foreign aggressors and the democratic reactionary feudal rulers towards the end of the Ching Dynasty, people like Wu Hsung did not lift a finger to disturb the tiniest fragment of the feudal economic base or its superstructure. On the contrary, they worked fanatically to spread feudal culture and, moreover, sedulously fawned upon the reactionary feudal rulers in order to acquire the status they themselves lacked for spreading feudal culture.
Ought we to praise such vile conduct? Can we ever tolerate such vile conduct being praised to the masses, especially when such praise flouts the revolutionary flag of 'serving the people' and is underlined by exploiting the failure of the revolutionary peasant struggle? To approve or tolerate such praise means to approve or tolerate reactionary propaganda vilifying the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, the history of China, and the Chinese nation, and to regard such propaganda as justified." Chairman Mao sternly told Liu Shao-chi and his gang which supported and acclaimed The Life of Wu Hsun: "Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communists claim to have grasped?"

In response to Chairman Mao's great militant call, a vigorous campaign to criticize reactionary bourgeois ideas took place throughout the country. Chairman Mao then initiated and organized a "Group to Investigate Into the History of Wu Hsun." This group waged resolute struggles against the counter-revolutionary rightists sent out by Liu Shao-chi and his gang and wrote the "Report on the Investigations Into the History of Wu Hsun" after extensive and deep-going investigations. Revised by Chairman Mao, the article was published in Renmin Ribao in July 1951. It gave iron-clad evidence that Wu Hsun had been nothing but a big scoundrel, money-lender and landlord who served the landlord class and the reactionary government by his drive for "free education." The article solemnly declared: "Now that we are in the era of the People's Republic of China, it is high time to put an end to this malicious trick of using Wu Hsun, who is only a corpse, to dupe the Chinese people." This was the best summing up of this great debate.

Criticism of "Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'"

1954 marked an important period in the deepening of China's socialist transformation. Guided by the general line mapped out by Chairman Mao of realizing step by step socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, new socialist phenomena constantly appeared on every front while new-born Marxist forces in the ideological sphere also boldly criticized the bourgeoisie and hit them hard. Two "nobodies" published an article in a journal which criticized the reactionary academic authority Yu Ping-po's reactionary bourgeois idealism, formalism and scholasticism embodied in his Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber.' Greatly mortified, the revisionist clique in the literary and art field represented by Chou Yang and Co., which was under the wing of the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi, came out openly to back the bourgeois "authorities" and praise them in journals and papers which they monopolized. Like overlords, they suppressed and persecuted the new-born Marxist forces. They gave their full support to the extremely reactionary idealism of the Hu Shih school and served the bourgeoisie in resisting socialist transformation.

Once again Chairman Mao started the criticism against the Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" and Hu Shih's reactionary ideas. In a letter to the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and other comrades concerned, Chairman Mao profoundly and sharply criticized Liu Shao-chi and his gang's crime in suppressing criticism of the bourgeoisie. He vehemently pointed out:

"The whole thing has been set going by two 'nobodies', while the 'big shots' usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and become willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films Inside Story of the Ching Court and The Life of Wu Hsun were shown. The film Inside Story of the Ching Court, which has been described by certain people as patriotic but in fact a film of national betrayal, has not been criticized and repudiated at any time since it was shown all over the country. Although The Life of Wu Hsun has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by 'nobodies' are obstructed. This deserves our attention." This letter was the proletariat's battle order in the ideological sphere. It was most inclusive in criticizing the crime of Chou Yang, one of the revisionist chieftains in literary and art circles, who publicized reactionary bourgeois ideas, and it thoroughly exposed the reactionary bourgeois line which attacked the revolutionary forces. Breaking through the barriers and blockade set up by Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary clique, a great struggle to criticize the Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" and Hu Shih's reactionary ideas swiftly developed. It ended in victory for still one more campaign on the ideological front.

Criticism of the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's socialist revolution made continuous advances from 1954 to 1955 on the political, ideological, economic and cultural fronts, winning one great victory after another. Unreconciled to their defeat, the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, as well as the counter-revolutionary cliques which they secretly set up on the mainland and their lackeys, resorted to frantic actions. Internationally, following the death of Comrade Stalin, the adverse current of modern revisionism began to spread and ghosts and monsters came into the open one after
another. Under such circumstances, Hu Feng, the counter-revolutionary element who had wormed his way into the literary and art circles, came up with his so-called 300,000-character "proposal" concerning literary and art questions which was addressed to the Party’s Central Committee. This "pile of grenades" openly attacked our great leader Chairman Mao and great Mao Tsetung Thought and venomously compared the correct proletarian revolutionary line—the advocacy of the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, integration with workers, peasants and soldiers, the ideological remoulding of the intellectuals, service to proletarian politics, and the Chinese national forms loved by the masses—to "five cleavers hanging over the heads of writers and readers." This counter-revolutionary programme was a sinister signal flare raising up all ghosts and monsters and hidden counter-revolutionaries to seize back power from the proletariat. Directed by Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and company feverishly praised Hu Feng, calling his reactionary programme "excellent" and flattering him as a "Bolshevik outside the Party." They also handed over to him the platform and market-place to spread his poison. This again revealed their fierce counter-revolutionary features.

The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao dealt severe head-on blows to the reactionary forces that made wild challenges. It thoroughly exposed, criticized and overthrew the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, and dug out the hidden counter-revolutionaries on all fronts. Playing dead, Hu Feng in January 1955 came up with a phoney self-criticism. In May and June, Renmin Ribao made public in three instalments materials about the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. Chairman Mao wrote an introduction and many very penetrating and very important editor’s notes for these materials, and issued the militant call to criticize the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The task of this counter-revolutionary faction and underground kingdom is to overthrow the People’s Republic of China and restore imperialist and Kuomintang rule." He incisively taught the whole Party and the whole nation: "In the era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress all counter-revolutionary classes, groups or individuals resisting the revolution, stop their activities aiming at a come-back and prohibit all counter-revolutionaries from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes." This instruction enormously raised the revolutionary vigilance of the revolutionary people throughout the nation. A great struggle was then immediately launched to eliminate all hidden counter-revolutionaries.

The momentous mass movement, which was a shattering blow to the social base of the Liu Shao-chi counter-revolutionary clique, purged the handful of counter-revolutionaries who had sneaked into the revolutionary camp, and scored great victories.

Drawing his conclusion from the struggle to criticize the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, Chairman Mao pointed out: "If there is anything positive the Hu Feng clique can give us, it is the marked raising of our political consciousness and sensitiveness through the present soul-stirring struggle and the consequent resolve to suppress all counter-revolutionaries; this will help greatly to consolidate our revolutionary dictatorship, so that we can carry the revolution through to the end and achieve the objective of building a great socialist state."

**Criticism of Liu Shao-chi’s Bourgeois Idealism And Metaphysics**

In 1952, at the crucial moment in the fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines at home and abroad, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi republished his big poisonous weed, the sinister book Self-Cultivation, which he had written in 1939. This book liquidated revolution, discredited class struggle, betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and disseminated reactionary bourgeois idealism and metaphysics. By republishing this evil book, Liu Shao-chi launched an attack against our Party, the proletariat and the revolutionary people. He never talked about waging struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction or consolidating the state power of the proletariat in his sinister Self-Cultivation. On the contrary, he spared no efforts to peddle feudal landlord class ideology, asking Communists to "ponder over their mistakes behind closed doors" in isolation from the great revolutionary practice and engage in idealistic "self-cultivation." At the same time, he also energetically advocated the decadent bourgeois philosophy of life, such as "losing a little to gain much." He tried to turn Communists into "docile tools" surrendering to the evil gust of restoring capitalism and to change the political colour of our state under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao was the first to perceive the danger of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi and his gang, and put forward at the working conference of the Party’s Central Committee in January 1962 the question of guarding against revisionism. Then, Chairman Mao made public in May 1963 his brilliant writing — *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* which thoroughly criticized the reactionary bourgeois idealism and metaphysics spread by Liu Shao-chi in his sinister *Self-Cultivation* and in a series of his other poisonous weeds. Chairman Mao pointed out: "They [correct ideas] come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle
for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.” “It is ... necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfilment of our great internationalist duty.” This great call of Chairman Mao's shattered Liu Shao-chi and company's attempt to use reactionary bourgeois ideology to lead our Party on to the revisionist road.

At the same time, Chairman Mao, aiming at Liu Shao-chi's plot to restore capitalism, once again warned the entire Party in the “Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work” (i.e., the 10-Point Decision), which was worked out under his personal direction: If classes and class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten, “then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!” Chairman Mao led the entire Party and the broad masses of the people to carry out the socialist education movement in a deep-going way and on a wide scale in all spheres and wage a fierce and tit-for-tat struggle against the capitalist and feudal forces represented by Liu Shao-chi, that were attacking frantically. As a result, their counter-revolutionary arrogance was suppressed.

Criticisms of Literary and Art Departments Controlled by Liu Shao-chi

Making use of the power he usurped after the liberation of the country, Liu Shao-chi recruited renegades and turncoats to control the cultural, art, educational, journalistic and health departments in the superstructure and pushed the revisionist line in literature and art in an all-round way. Their aim was to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in preparing for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the usurpation of Party, army and government leadership.

During the three years of natural calamities from 1959 to 1961, a frenzied anti-Party adverse current rolled across the ideological field alongside with the evil wind to reverse previous correct decisions and restore capitalism that had been set loose by the ghosts and monsters in society, and the big imperialist, revisionist and reactionary anti-China chorus in the international arena. Liu Shao-chi openly babbled in 1961 that Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother (a Peking opera in praise of a renegade), The Emperor Flirts With the Waitress and The Two Faithful Courtiers (two reactionary gutter Peking operas) should be “kept” and “inherited.” Next, sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist dramas such as Hai Jui Dismissed From Office and Hsieh Yao-huan and other poisonous numbers were rushed forward. The stage was filled with all kinds of plays and operas about emperors and kings, generals and ministers, talents and beauties, ghosts and foreign mummies from the 17th and 18th centuries. A foul stench covered the stage.

Chairman Mao on many occasions thoroughly exposed and severely criticized these serious phenomena in the literary and art departments. He pointed out sharply in 1963: “Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The 'dead' still dominate in many departments.” As to the Ministry of Culture, “if it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies.” Likewise, the Ministry of Health should be renamed the “Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords.” Chairman Mao sternly asked: “Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?” Hitting the nail on the head, he once again pointed out in 1964: “In the last fifteen years... by and large the people” in the literary and art departments “(that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In recent years, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.”

Under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao and the direct leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the fields of Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music, fields that the landlord and capitalist classes had regarded as “sacred and inviolable.” Comrade Chiang Ching solemnly declared: “We must create literature and art that protect our own socialist economic base.” Despite every possible kind of resistance and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, the proletarian revolutionary
At a conference of the Party's Central Committee in 1965, Chairman Mao issued the militant call to the whole Party: "We must criticize reactionary bourgeois ideas." He also clearly stated that it was necessary to criticize the reactionary bourgeois "authority" Wu Han and criticize his anti-Party and anti-socialist Hai Jui Dismissed From Office. Guided by Chairman Mao, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan wrote the revolutionary critical essay "On the New Historical Drama Hai Jui Dismissed From Office," to declare war on the bourgeois headquarters.

The publication of this article was a vital blow to the Liu Shao-chi counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. They made furious counter-attacks in a futile effort to stubbornly hold the bourgeois reactionary positions. Liu Shao-chi directed the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture to launch open resistance, and Peng Chen issued the order for all Peking newspapers not to carry Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article. Seeing that they were unable to hold back the revolutionary tide, they stepped forth with the counter-revolutionary "February Outline" after careful plotting, and actually carried out connivance under the disguise of phoney criticism in a vain attempt to lead serious political criticism astray into "pure academic discussion." But the great leader Chairman Mao saw through their plot in time and pointed out in one of his talks: "The crucial point [of the play Hai Jui Dismissed From Office] is 'dismissed from office.' The Emperor Chia Ching dismissed Hai Jui from office, and in 1959 we dismissed Peng Teh-huai. And Peng Teh-huai is 'Hai Jui.'" Chairman Mao personally presided over the working out of the great historical document the Circular of May 16, 1966. The Circular, which thoroughly criticized the "February Outline" aiming at undermining the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, issued the fighting call to the entire Party: "Hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres."

Guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the working class and the broad revolutionary masses have destroyed the obstacles of the bourgeois reactionary line set up by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, shattered the "Palaces of the Rulers of Hell" such as the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, and rushed forward along the broad revolutionary road. With the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt, the mammoth Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has swept all China and shaken the entire world.
Another Step in New Tsars' Expansion in Asia

— Expose expansionist essence of so-called "Asian collective security system"

by An Chun-tao

Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev personally took the field at the sinister counter-revolutionary meeting in Moscow, clamouring that "the course of events is also putting the task of creating an Asian collective security system on the agenda." He was followed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's Foreign Minister Gromyko who ranted that the purpose of rigging up an "Asian collective security system" is to enable "all the peoples of Asia to live in peace." To peddle this malodorous and sinister piece of goods and present it as a fine thing, the Soviet revisionists have shamelessly turned on their propaganda machine full blast to sing their own praises in a gangster and swindler tune. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has sent more than 20 delegations to operate abroad, led by chieftains big and small. It has chummed up with the reactionary Sato government, successor to Japanese fascism, and with the Indian reactionaries, faithful lackeys of U.S. imperialism. It has fraternized with the reactionaries of Indonesia, Burma, Thailand and "Malaysia" and made overt and covert contacts with the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique, which has long been spurned by the Chinese people. It has fished out all these ghosts and monsters to act in co-ordination.

This is a new step in Soviet revisionist social-imperialism's expansion in Asia.

The "system" advocated by Soviet revisionism in Asia aims at cajoling and coering, in the guise of "collective security," Asian countries into relinquishing their independence and sovereignty, further expanding its colonial influence in the Asian countries and contending with U.S. imperialism for Asian hegemony. At the same time, in collusion with the reactionaries of all countries and in co-ordination with U.S. imperialism, it aims at sabotaging and suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the Asian peoples and opposing great socialist China in a futile effort to vamp up a new anti-China, anti-people and counter-revolutionary military alliance.

The great leader Chairman Mao has incisively pointed out: "The governments of the imperialist countries, though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue." This is exactly the case with Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Gromyko glibly said in his anti-China report to the Supreme Soviet that the establishment of this "system" requires "the collective efforts of all Asian states" for "safeguarding security in that part of the world." Standing truth on its head, the Soviet revisionist press has viciously smeared China for having "created trouble" in Asia. These clumsy tactics of a thief crying "stop thief" can deceive nobody.

The security of the Asian countries today is indeed being seriously threatened and undermined. Long suffering from imperialist enslavement and plunder, the Asian people are well aware that the security of the Asian countries is threatened by U.S. imperialism, which is aggressive by nature, and by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, which has in recent years ganged up with U.S. imperialism, collaborating and contending with it, in a scheme to divide up Asia. To date, U.S. imperialism still occupies China's territory of Taiwan. It has sent over half a million aggressor troops to burn, kill and loot in south Viet Nam and it has never ceased its bombing raids against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. It has built military bases and massed troops in Japan, south Korea, the Philippines, Thailand and many other places. Its warships throw their weight around in the Taiwan Straits and the Pacific. On its part, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, by means of its so-called military "aid," has the troops and key military departments of the Mongolian People's Republic on a string and has turned that country into a military base for aggression abroad. It controls Indian armament produc-
The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has shamelessly claimed that the establishment of such a “system” is for the “consolidation of national independence in each of the Asian countries.” This is like a bandit who, breaking into someone’s house, says he is there to protect the occupant!

The entire course of modern history shows that trampling underfoot other countries’ sovereignty and undermining their national independence by “treaties,” “multilateral guarantees,” etc., is the usual tactic of imperialism in pushing its colonial policy. Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is also picking up this gimmick. In Eastern Europe, it makes use of its tools, the “Warsaw Treaty” and the “Council for Mutual Economic Assistance,” to violate the sovereignty of the member states of its “community” at will and, in the case of some countries, to completely control their internal and foreign affairs. For a long time, Soviet revisionism has served as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in opposing the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, betraying the revolution of the people of many countries, supplying the reactionaries with information and arms and undermining and suppressing the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed nations. At the same time, it tries in every way to extend its claws of aggression into the nationally independent countries in order to put them under its thumb. All these actions make it all too clear that the “consolidation of national independence in each of the Asian countries” on the lips of the Soviet revisionists means just the opposite, that is, to force, by intimidation or cajolery, “each of the Asian countries” to relinquish its “national independence,” to submit to the dictates of the Soviet revisionists in everything and to put itself at their mercy.

Taking advantage of the aspirations of the Asian countries to develop their national economies, Soviet revisionism, brandishing the signboard of “regional economic co-operation” and using the bait of helping them “solve their common problem of economic backwardness,” tries to lure them into its trap. This is designed to create conditions for the establishment of the “collective security system.”

Lenin pointed out that the imperialist powers “have doggedly pursued a policy of incessant economic rivalry aimed at achieving world supremacy, subjugating the small nations, and making threefold and tenfold profits on banking capital, which has caught the whole world in the net of its influence.”

For many years, the Soviet revisionist clique, a gang of bloodsuckers, has, under the signboard of

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"economic co-operation," carried out ruthless economic plunder in some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia. It has turned these countries into Soviet commodity markets, suppliers of raw materials and auxiliary processing plants, and into economic appendages condemned to a lopsided economic development and a constant state of backwardness. Such "economic co-operation" actually means freedom for Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to plunder other countries' resources and control their economies at will.

To put it bluntly, when Soviet revisionism trumpets "regional economic co-operation" and offers to help the Asian countries overcome their "economic backwardness," it means building up its colonial system in Asia by applying there what it has done in East European countries. Its "economic co-operation" with India is a telling case in point. While U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism team up to support the Indian reactionaries, they also contend for supremacy in controlling India. Up to the beginning of 1969, U.S. imperialism had granted the Indian reactionaries about 9,000 million U.S. dollars in economic "aid" and 340 million dollars in military "aid," while Soviet revisionism had given them 1,350 million dollars in economic "aid" and about 1,000 million dollars in military "aid," topping U.S. imperialism in the latter and becoming India's biggest arms supplier. In the name of helping India "develop its heavy industry," Soviet revisionism has step by step got control of such major branches of India's industry as iron and steel, machine-building, oil refining and power. It is in the course of this "friendly co-operation" that it has made off with huge quantities of India's industrial raw materials and robbed the Indian working people of tremendous wealth, leaving India helpless and dependent on Soviet revisionist social-imperialism economically, politically and militarily. Indian reaction has become a tool of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people.

And Soviet revisionism is not without company. At a time when Soviet revisionism tries hard to advertise "regional economic co-operation" in Asia, U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon also chants "economic co-operation" at the top of his voice. To bring about an improvement in the extremely grave political and economic situation resulting from U.S. wars of aggression, Nixon, in his "new Asia policy," energetically advocates as a first step the use of economic "aid" to get the satellite countries organized through a "regional economic co-operation program," and then the re-consolidation of the long disintegrated military blocs so as to preserve a U.S. imperialist foothold in Asia for aggression. This shows the strife between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for hegemony over Asia and, on the other hand, their collaboration and co-ordination in opposing China, the people and revolution. Lavishing praise on Soviet revisionism, the U.S. imperialist press says: "Russia seems to be preparing to assume the so-called 'white man's burden' (which should read: the imperialists' and colonialists' burden) in Asia"; it lauds to the skies Moscow's readiness "to deal with ... anti-communist governments in Asia" and hopefully says that "the U.S. stands to gain" in this. This shows that Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is an out-and-out accomplice and partner of U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia.

That Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has taken such pains to throw together an "Asian collective security system" in order to extend its aggressive position in Asia is both a further exposure of its reactionary nature and a manifestation of its extreme weakness. Threatened with political and economic crises and ridden with contradictions as a result of its all-round restoration of capitalism at home, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique finds the going tougher and tougher. So it has tried to divert the attention of the people at home from the target of their struggle and to save itself from approaching doom by stepping up aggression and expansion abroad and by trying to "contain" socialist China. But this will only all the more reveal its reactionary features. Every step of aggression Soviet revisionist social-imperialism takes in Asia sharpens its contradictions with the Asian people and arouses them to greater resistance. No sooner had Soviet revisionism served up its "collective security system" fraud than it met with strong opposition from the Asian people. Even the national bourgeoisie of some countries have seen through its aggressive nature. Some Asian governments quickly made it clear that they are not interested in Soviet revisionism's efforts to rig up a military alliance and they refused to take part. The Soviet revisionists will only speed up their own doom by going further down the criminal road of aggression in disregard of the opposition of the Asian people.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "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 trick they may resort to, be it the banner of the "Asian collective security system" waved by Brezhnev and company or the "new Asia policy" advertised by Nixon and his kind, their aggressive schemes will certainly be smashed by the iron fists of the united Asian peoples!

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Let the Storm of the Czechoslovak People's Struggle Against Soviet Revisionism Rage on More Fiercely

— Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent

The people of Czechoslovakia launched a new mighty storm of struggle against the Soviet revisionist new tsars on the first anniversary of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism’s armed aggression against Czechoslovakia. It dealt a heavy blow to the rule of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism in Czechoslovakia, thereby greatly deflating the arrogance of the Kremlin new tsars and raising the Czechoslovak people’s morale.

The heroic Czechoslovak people are not to be bullied. The revolutionary masses of Czechoslovakia have come to a deep understanding through their struggles that, in order to liberate their motherland from the fascist yoke of Soviet revisionism, they must resist aggression through struggle and oppose counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. In their struggle against brutal oppression, their fighting slogans “Russians are the Gestapo!” and “Russians go home!” reverberated like spring thunder throughout Czechoslovakia. This proclaimed the Czechoslovak people’s determination to drive the Soviet revisionist aggressors out of their country and was their clarion call in denouncing the Soviet revisionist new tsars.

Outstanding features in this struggle against tyranny were that it came with a violent force and on a large scale, and that it was a fierce and well-co-ordinated fight. In the course of the struggle, Czechoslovak people of all strata, closely rallying around the banner of opposing military occupation and national betrayal and of striving for national independence, waged a resolute fight in various forms and with bitter national hatred against the Soviet revisionist aggressors. The roaring flames of struggle first started in Prague on August 18 and swiftly spread to Bratislava, Brno and many other cities. The valiant Czechoslovak workers, students and other revolutionary masses in the struggle held the tens of thousands of Soviet revisionist occupation troops in contempt, and thought nothing of the hundreds of tanks and armoured cars and the thousands of fully armed troops and police sent out by the Soviet revisionists and the Czechoslovak revisionist ruling clique to suppress the demonstrating masses. “You have tanks, we have truth!” — with this heroic spirit, the masses, fierce-browed, coolly defied the lethal weapons of the reactionaries. They indignant shouted: “Russians go home!” “Russians are the Gestapo!” and “Down with the traitors!” They stood fearlessly in the midst of fascist terror, battling the fascists with bare fists. They had no guns, but they resisted suppression by thousands of troops and police with rocks, pieces of iron and bottles. Some of them bravely picked up the unexploded tear gas bombs thrown at them by the Czechoslovak revisionist troops and police, and hurled them back in retaliation.

Under the direction of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the troops and police of the Czechoslovak revisionists carried out a bloody suppression of the demonstrating masses. According to obviously minimized figures released by the Czechoslovak revisionist authorities, many demonstrators were killed or wounded and more than 3,000, mostly workers, were arrested. But the Czechoslovak people, who have a glorious tradition of struggle against fascism, defied brute force and kept fighting. In the face of tanks, armoured cars and fully armed troops and police of the Soviet revisionists and the Czechoslovak revisionist authorities, the enraged demonstrators erected street barricades and road blocks and engaged the repressive forces in street fighting. When the fight reached its climax on August 21, several thousand people in Prague boldly stormed and occupied the Czechoslovak revisionists’ national aviation company, turning it into a strongpoint in their fight. The frightened Czechoslovak revisionist authorities hurriedly rushed tank reinforcements there to carry out suppression, but the demonstrators persistently fought the tanks. They overturned tram-cars, pulled down traffic police boxes and set fire to military and police vehicles. They also charged into a number of military barracks and attacked some Czechoslovak revisionist police stations.

This fierce fight by the Czechoslovak people dealt a severe blow to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

On August 22, in a dispatch from Prague, the Soviet revisionist news agency TASS bitterly cursed the Czechoslovak people’s struggle as “anti-socialist” and a “provocation.” This only serves to reflect the
fear and helplessness of the Kremlin revisionist overlords in the face of the struggle.

In this struggle against tyranny, the Czechoslovak people directed the spearhead mainly at Moscow's new tsars. At the same time, they waged a struggle against the Czechoslovak revisionist clique, a willing and loyal lackey of the Kremlin rulers, and its capitulationist policy. This struggle strikingly shows that it is the unshakable and unified will of the Czechoslovak people to drive the Soviet revisionist aggressor troops out of their country and to oppose the Czechoslovak revisionists' capitulation to the Soviet revisionists, whatever the cost may be. It was this unity of will which brought more and more people to join the demonstrations against tyranny. In Prague, the number increased from several thousand at the start to ten thousand, twenty thousand and up to more than one hundred thousand. Defying the bloody suppression by the Soviet revisionist occupation troops and the Husnik clique, they broke through ring after ring of cordons and blockades set up by the reactionaries and formed themselves into a mighty army of fighters. It was also this unity of will that spurred nearly one million workers, students and other citizens of Prague to take concerted action on August 21 and join the fight. On that morning, they boycotted all public vehicles and the shops as an angry protest against the Soviet revisionists' military occupation. As a result, buses and trams throughout the city were practically running without passengers and shops had hardly any customers. At twelve noon, a city-wide 5-minute general strike took place. All the vehicles in Prague came to a dead stop and simultaneously honked their horns in a deafening blare, while pedestrians stopped walking and shouted together: "Russians go home!" The shouting of slogans and the blaring of horns merged into earth-shaking roars of protest. In the face of this powerful united action, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists were completely helpless, like miserable creatures weeping in a corner.

Chairman Mao has said: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." The mighty strength displayed by the Czechoslovak people in their struggle against brutal oppression has completely shown Soviet revisionism up as a paper tiger.

A year ago, imitating the ignominious action of the Hitlerite fascists, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism wantonly sent several hundred thousand troops to invade and occupy Czechoslovakia. Putting blind faith in armed force and pushing "power politics," it entertained the hope that by means of military occupation it could do what it pleased with the Czechoslovak people, enslave them and maintain its colonial rule there. However, brutal oppression can only arouse strong resistance. By means of the bayonet, Soviet revisionism could only create puppets, but it could not subjugate the people there. Over the past year, the Czechoslovak people have risen wave upon wave in a resolute struggle against the Soviet revisionists. The recent large-scale struggle against brutal oppression is another outburst of the pent-up wrath of the Czechoslovak people for the Soviet revisionist aggressors over the past year. Condemning the imperialist crimes of tsarist Russia and other powers in partitioning Poland, Engels angrily pointed out more than 90 years ago that no one who enslaves a nation can go unpunished. The recent struggle of the Czechoslovak people who are suffering from Soviet revisionist enslavement is another punishment for Moscow's new tsars.

Before the recent struggle of the Czechoslovak people began, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique had long sensed that an oncoming storm against its brutal oppression would strike on the first anniversary of its aggression against Czechoslovakia. Beginning from July this year, it had on many occasions summoned the Czechoslovak revisionist clique's bigwigs to work out plans beforehand to prevent and suppress the struggle. In early August, it sent Epishev, Director of the General Political Department of the Soviet Army and Navy, to Czechoslovakia to direct from behind the scenes the bloody suppression of the Czechoslovak people. It was only on August 21, the first anniversary of the Soviet revisionists' aggression against Czechoslovakia, that he rushed off. Meanwhile, the Soviet revisionists had busily held troop movements and "military exercises" in a show of force to intimidate the Czechoslovak people. Under the direct instigation and order of the Soviet revisionists, the Czechoslovak revisionist authorities, from August 14 on, repeatedly issued "statements" and "orders," made speeches and adopted a series of repressive measures to threaten the people not to "violate orders" or hold demonstrations on the first anniversary of the Soviet revisionist aggression against Czechoslovakia; otherwise, suppressive "actions" would be "promptly taken." Moscow's new tsars believed their strength to be very powerful and the repressive measures they had arranged beforehand meticulous. But the Czechoslovak people smashed the suppressive plots of Brezhnev and company, and this threw the Soviet revisionist renegades into panic. This clearly shows that no suppression by the outwardly powerful Soviet revisionist new tsars can sap the strength of an awakened people.

It is still fresh in the minds of everybody that a year ago the Soviet revisionist renegades raised the outcry that their dispatch of troops to invade Czechoslovakia was to "fulfil their noble internationalist duty" and was a "wise policy adopted towards the fraternal Czechoslovak people." And now, this incident has become a running sore for Soviet revisionism. Therefore, at the anniversary, the Soviet revisionists, like burglars avoiding where they had committed burglary, dared not mention a word about the "noble" and "wise" action they had taken last year. Tough as bulls then,
they now are as timid as mice. One can see how greatly the Kremlin revisionist overlords are haunted by their guilty conscience and unjust cause!

In one of his poems, Chairman Mao said:

Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards
And wild bears never daunt the brave.

The recent struggle of the Czechoslovak people against brutal oppression has dealt blows at the enemy and further tempered themselves. They have tightened the noose around the neck of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, landing it in a worse plight than ever. At present, Moscow's new tears are stepping up the plot of new repressive measures against the Czechoslovak people, and a white terror of an unprecedented magnitude reigns in Czechoslovakia. But the flames of struggle of the Czechoslovak people against aggression and enslavement cannot be quelled. Further suppression will only evoke stronger resistance. So long as they are closely united and persevere in struggle, the proletariat and revolutionary people in Czechoslovakia, with the support of the revolutionary people of the world, will certainly succeed in finally driving the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists out of their country, restoring independence to their motherland and re-establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The red flag of socialism will surely fly high over Czechoslovakia.

Let the storm of the Czechoslovak people's struggle against the Soviet revisionist new tsars rage on more fiercely!

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MAGAZINES FROM CHINA

We recommend a number of magazines from China. These periodicals will help the revolutionary people all over the world to follow the rapid developments in various aspects in socialist New China. From different angles, they report how the Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, have scored great victories in socialist revolution, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in particular, and how brilliant achievements in socialist construction have been made. These periodicals cover the resolute struggle being waged by the Chinese people against imperialism headed by the United States, against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and all reaction, and reflect the Chinese people's firm support for the revolutionary struggle of the world's oppressed peoples and nations.

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